

# ANTISEMITISM



# ANTISEMITISM

## A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION

VOLUME 1: A–K

Richard S. Levy, Editor

A B C  C L I O

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# CONTENTS

*Contributors and Their Entries, xiii*  
*Introduction, xxix*

## ANTISEMITISM A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION

- A
- Action Française (1899–1945), 1  
Adams, Henry Brooks (1838–1918), 2  
*Adversus Iudeos*, 3  
African American–Jewish Relations, 4  
Agobard (779–840), 6  
Agrarian League, 6  
Ahlwardt, Hermann (1846–1914), 7  
Alexandrian Pogrom, 9  
Algeria, 9  
Alliance Israélite Universelle, 10  
Almohad Persecution, 12  
Alsace, 13  
American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States, 16  
American Nazi Party, 17  
*Angriff, Der*, 18  
Antichrist, 19  
Antisemites’ Petition (1880–1881), 20  
*Antisemitic Correspondence*, 21  
Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914), 22  
Antisemitism, Accusations of, 23  
Antisemitism, Etymology of, 24  
Anti-Zionism, 25  
Anti-Zionism in the USSR, 26  
Antonescu, Ion (1882–1946), 29  
Apion, 29  
Aquarius, Age of, 30  
Arab Antisemitic Literature, 30  
Arab Boycott, 32
- Arafat, Yasir (1929–2004), 33  
Arch of Titus, 34  
Argentina, 35  
Armed Forces of the United States, 37  
Arndt, Ernst Moritz (1769–1860), 39  
Aryan Paragraph, 39  
Aryan Theater, 40  
Aryanization (Germany), 41  
Augustine of Hippo (354–430), 43  
Auschwitz Lie, 45  
Australia, 45  
Austria, 48  
*Auto-da-fé*, 50
- B
- Bailey, Alice A. (1880–1949), 53  
Balzac, Honoré de (1799–1850), 54  
Banker, Jewish, 55  
Bar Kochba Revolt, 56  
Bardèche, Maurice (1909–1998), 57  
Barrès, Maurice (1862–1923), 58  
Barruel, Augustin (1741–1820), 59  
Bartels, Adolf (1862–1945), 59  
Bauer, Bruno (1809–1882), 60  
Bayreuth Circle, 62  
Beilis Case (1911–1913), 63  
Belloc, Hilaire (1870–1953), 64  
Benn, Gottfried (1886–1956), 65  
Berlin Movement, 66  
Best, Werner (1903–1989), 67  
Bettauer, Hugo (1872–1925), 68

- Biarritz* (1868), 69  
 Billroth, Theodor (1829–1894), 70  
 Black Hundreds, 71  
 Black Nationalism, 72  
 Blavatsky, Helena P. (1831–1891), 72  
 Bloch, Joseph Samuel (1850–1923), 73  
 “Blood for Trucks” (Brand-Grosz Mission), 74  
 Böckel, Otto (1859–1923), 75  
 Boer War (1899–1902), 76  
 Boniface Society for Catholic Germany, 77  
 Book Burning (May 10, 1933), 78  
 Boycott of 1912 (Poland), 79  
 Boycott of Jewish Shops (Germany, 1933), 80  
 Brasillach, Robert (1909–1945), 81  
 Brazil, 82  
 Britain (1870–1939), 83  
 British Brothers League, 86  
 British Union of Fascists, 87  
 Bubis, Ignatz (1927–1999), 87  
 Buenos Aires Pogroms (1910, 1919), 88  
 Bulgaria, Holocaust in, 89  
 Burschenschaften, 91
- C
- Camelots du Roi (1908–1936), 93  
 Canada, 94  
 Capistrano, John of (1386–1456), 96  
 Capital: Useful versus Harmful, 97  
 Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early), 98  
 Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern), 102  
 Carto, Willis (1926– ), 107  
*Cause of World Unrest, The*, 108  
 Céline, Louis-Ferdinand (1894–1961), 109  
 Center Party, 110  
 Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith , 111  
 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1855–1927), 113  
 Chesterton, G. K. (1874–1936), 115  
 Chmielnicki Massacres (1648–1649), 116  
 Christian Identity Movement, 117  
 Christian Social Party (Austria), 118  
 Christian Social Party (Germany), 119  
 Christian State, 120  
 Chrysostom, John (349–407), 121  
 Church Councils (Early), 122  
 Church Fathers, 123  
 Churches under Nazism, 125  
 Circumcision, 128  
*Civiltà Cattolica*, 129  
 Class, Heinrich (1868–1953), 130
- Claudius (10 BCE.–54 CE), 130  
 Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea (1899–1938), 131  
 Coin Clipping, 132  
 Colonial America, 133  
 Commissar Order, 135  
*Coningsby* (1844), 136  
 Constantine, Emperor (274–337 CE), 137  
 Constantine Pogrom (1934), 139  
 Coughlin, Charles E. (1891–1979), 140  
 Court Jews, 141  
 Crimes against Humanity (French Trials), 142  
 Croatia, 147  
 Croatia, Holocaust in, 149  
*Cross and the Flag, The*, 150  
 Crusades, 152  
 Cuba, 152  
*Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?* (1919), 156  
 Cuza, A. C. (1857–1946), 157
- D
- Dahn, Felix (1834–1912), 159  
 Damascus Blood Libel (1840), 160  
 Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis (1897–1980), 161  
*Dearborn Independent and The International Jew*, 162  
*Debit and Credit* (1855), 165  
 Degenerate Art, 165  
 Degeneration, 167  
 Deicide, 168  
*Demonstratio Adversus Iudeos*, 170  
 Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919, 170  
 Deutsche Christen, 172  
 Devi, Savitri (1905–1982) , 173  
 Dewey, Melvil (1851–1931), 174  
*Dialogue with Trypho*, 174  
 Diaspora Revolt (115–117 CE), 175  
 Dickens, Charles (1812–1870), 176  
 Diderot, Denis (1713–1784), 177  
 Dietary Laws, 178  
 Dining Society, Christian-German, 179  
 Dinter, Artur (1876–1948), 180  
 Disraeli, Benjamin (1804–1881), 180  
 Dmowski, Roman (1864–1939), 182  
 Doctors’ Plot (1953), 182  
 Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von (1751–1820), 184  
 Dominican Order , 185  
 Doré, Gustave (1832–1883), 186  
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor (1821–1881), 187

- Dracula, 188  
 Dreyfus Affair, 189  
 Drumont, Édouard (1844–1917), 191  
 Dühring, Eugen (1833–1921), 192  
 Duke, David (1950– ), 193
- E  
 Eichmann, Adolf (1906–1962), 195  
 Eichmann Trial, 196  
 1848, 197  
 Einsatzgruppen, 199  
 Eliot, T. S. (1888–1965), 200  
 Emancipation, 201  
 English Literature from Chaucer to Wells, 204  
 English Literature of the Twentieth Century, 206  
*Entdecktes Judenthum* (1700, 1711), 209  
 Erasmus (1466–1536), 210  
 Eugenics, 211  
 Evian Conference, 212  
 Evolutionary Psychology, 213  
 Expulsions, High Middle Ages, 216  
 Expulsions, Late Middle Ages, 218
- F  
 Farhud (1941), 221  
 Farrakhan, Louis (1933– ), 221  
 Fascist Intellectuals (French), 223  
 Faurisson, Robert (1929– ), 225  
 Ferrer, Vincente (1350–1419), 225  
 Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804–1872), 226  
 Fichte, J. G. (1762–1814), 227  
 Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 228  
 Film Propaganda, Nazi, 228  
*Fliegende Blätter*, 230  
 Fontane, Theodor (1819–1898), 232  
 Ford, Henry (1863–1947), 233  
 Förster, Bernhard (1843–1889), 236  
 Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth (1846–1935), 237  
 Fourier, Charles (1772–1837), 237  
 France (1789–1939), 238  
*France juive, La* (1886), 240  
 Franciscan Order, 241  
 Frank, Leo (1884–1915), 242  
 Frantz, Constantin (1817–1891), 244  
 Freemasonry, 244  
 Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939), 246  
 Freytag, Gustav (1816–1895), 247  
 Fries, Jakob Friedrich (1773–1843), 248  
 Fritsch, Theodor (1852–1933), 249  
 Fugu Plan, 250
- G  
*Garbage, the City and Death, The*, 253  
*Gartenlaube, Die*, 254  
 Gemlich Letter, 255  
 General Orders No. 11 (1862), 256  
 George, Stefan (1868–1933), 257  
 German Big Business and Antisemitism (1910–1945), 258  
 German Democratic Republic (East Germany), 259  
 German Eastern Marches Society, 260  
 German National People's Party, 261  
 German National White Collar Employees Association (1893–1934), 262  
 German Peasant League, 263  
 German Racial Freedom Party, 264  
 German Racial League for Defense and Defiance, 266  
 German Students, Association of, 267  
 German-American Bund, 268  
 Germanic Order, 269  
 Germany, Federal Republic of (West Germany), 270  
 Ghetto, 272  
 Ghetto Benches, 275  
 Glagau, Otto (1834–1892), 276  
 Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de (1816–1882), 276  
 Goebbels, Joseph (1897–1945), 277  
 Goga, Octavian (1881–1938), 278  
 Göring, Hermann (1893–1946), 279  
 Gospels, 280  
 Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri (1805–1876), 282  
 Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste (1750–1831), 283  
 Gregory the Great, Pope (590–604), 284  
 Grimm, Brothers, 285  
 Gwynne, H. A. (1865–1950), 286
- H  
 Hahn, Diederich (1859–1918), 287  
 Haman, 288  
 Hamas, 289  
*Handbook of the Jewish Question (Antisemites' Catechism)*, 289  
 Hegel, G. W. F. (1770–1831), 291  
 Heidegger, Martin (1889–1976), 292  
 Heine, Heinrich (1797–1856), 293  
 Heine Monument Controversy, 295  
 Henrici, Ernst (1854–1915), 296  
 Hentschel, Willibald (1858–1947), 296  
 Hep-Hep Riots (1819), 297

- Herder, J. G. (1744–1803), 299  
 Herzl, Theodor (1860–1904), 300  
 Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945), 301  
 Hirschfeld, Magnus (1868–1935), 302  
 Historians' Controversy, 303  
 Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945), 304  
 Hitler's "Prophecy" (January 30, 1939), 306  
 Hitler's Speeches (Early), 307  
 Hitler's *Table Talk*, 308  
 Hlinka Guard, 309  
 Hlond, August (1881–1948), 310  
 Hobson, J. A. (1858–1940), 311  
 Hogarth, William (1697–1764), 312  
 Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in, 315  
 Holocaust, 316  
 Holocaust Denial, Negationism,  
     and Revisionism, 319  
 Homophobia, 322  
 Horthy, Miklós (1868–1957), 323  
 Höss, Rudolf (1901–1947), 324  
 Host Desecration, 325  
 Hugenberg, Alfred (1865–1951), 325  
 Hugh of Lincoln, 326  
 Hungary (1848–1944), 327  
 Hungary, Holocaust in, 331  
 Hungary, Pogroms in (1946), 333  
 Hungary, Post-Soviet, 334  
 Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-  
     (1895–1974), 336
- I  
 Iconography, Christian, 339  
*If I Were the Kaiser* (1912), 342  
 Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.),  
     343  
 Imperial Hammer League, 344  
 Infamous Decree (1808), 345  
 Innocent III (1160/61–1216), 346  
 Inquisition, 347  
 Institute for Historical Review (IHR), 348  
 Institute for the Study and Eradication  
     of Jewish Influence on German  
     Church Life, 349  
 Internet, 350  
 Invocation, The Great, 351  
 Iranian Revolution, 352  
 Iron Guard, 353  
 Irving, David (1938– ), 354  
 Islam and the Jews, 356  
 Islamic Diaspora, 358  
 Islamic Fundamentalism, 360
- J  
 J Stamp, 363  
 Japan, 364  
 Jedwabne, 366  
 Jehovah's Witnesses, 368  
 Jesuit Order, 369  
 Jew Bill (1753), 370  
 Jew Census (1916), 371  
*Jew of Malta, The*, 372  
 Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, 373  
 Jewish Council (Budapest, 1944), 374  
 Jewish Force, 375  
 "Jewish" Press, 375  
 Jewish Question, 377  
*Jewish Question, The* (1843), 380  
*Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and  
     Cultural Problem, The*, 381  
*Jews and the German State, The* (1861), 382  
*Jews' Beech, The* (1842), 383  
 Jud Süß (Joseph ben Issachar Süßkind Op-  
     penheimer), (1692–1738), 384  
*Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon* (1862–1863),  
     385  
*Judaism in Music* (1850, 1869), 386  
*Judensau*, 387  
 Judeo-Bolshevism, 389  
 Jung, Carl Gustav (1875–1961), 391  
 Justinian Code (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*), 393
- K  
 Kallay, Miklós (1887–1967), 395  
 Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804), 396  
 Khomeini, Ayatollah (1902–1989), 397  
 Kielce Pogrom (1946), 398  
 Kishinev Pogrom (1903), 399  
*Kladderadatsch*, 400  
 Kolbe, Maksymilian (1894–1941), 401  
 Konitz Ritual Murder (1900), 402  
 Kosher Slaughtering, 402  
 Kralik, Richard von (1852–1934), 403  
 Kraus, Karl (1874–1936), 404  
 Krushevan, Pavolaki (1860–1909), 405  
 Ku Klux Klan (1915–1941), 406  
*Kulturmampf*, 406
- L  
 Lagarde, Paul de (1827–1891), 409  
 LANC—National Christian Defense League,  
     410  
 Lange, Friedrich (1852–1917), 411  
 Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg (1874–1954), 412

- Lateran Council, Fourth (1215), 413  
 Lavater, Johann Kaspar (1741–1801), 414  
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie (1928– ), 415  
 League against Antisemitism, 416  
 Léon, Abram (1918–1944), 417  
 Leskov, Nikolai Semenovich (1831–1895), 418  
*Leuchter Report*, 419  
 Liberty Lobby, 420  
 LICA—International League against Anti-semitism, 421  
 Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max (1848–1911), 422  
 Lienhard, Friedrich (1865–1929), 422  
 Lindbergh, Charles (1902–1974), 423  
 Linz Program (1882), 424  
 List, Guido von (1848–1919), 425  
 Lithuania, 426  
 Lithuania, Holocaust in, 428  
 Lithuania, Post-Soviet, 429  
 Liutostanskii, Ippolit (1835–1915/1918?), 430  
 Ljotić, Dimitrije (1891–1945), 431  
 Long, Breckinridge (1881–1958), 432  
 Ludendorff, Erich (1865–1937), 433  
 Ludendorff, Mathilde (1877–1966), 434  
 Ludendorff Publishing House, 435  
 Lueger, Karl (1844–1910), 436  
 Luther, Martin (1483–1546), 437
- M**  
 Mahler-Werfel, Alma (1879–1964), 441  
 Manetho, 442  
*Manifesto of the Racial Scientists* (1938), 442  
 Mann, Thomas (1875–1955), 443  
 Marr, Wilhelm (1819–1904), 445  
 Marx, Karl (1818–1883), 446  
 Masculinity, 447  
 Maurras, Charles (1868–1952), 448  
 Maxse, James Leopold (1864–1932), 449  
 May Laws, 450  
 Mehring, Franz (1846–1919), 452  
*Mein Kampf*, 452  
 Melanchthon, Philipp (1497–1560), 453  
 Memminger, Anton (1846–1923), 454  
*Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism* (1797–1803), 455  
 Mexico, 456  
 Michaelis, Johann David (1717–1791), 457  
 Middle Ages, Early (430–1096), 458  
 Middle Ages, High (1096–1343), 460  
 Middle Ages, Late (1343–1453), 463  
 Militia Movement, 465
- Mirror to the Jews, A*, 466  
 Misanthropy, 467  
 Moczar, Mieczysław (1913–1986), 468  
 Mohammed (ca. 570–632), 468  
 Mortara Affair, 470  
 Moseley, George Van Horn (1874–1960), 471  
 Mosley, Oswald (1896–1980), 472  
 Müller-Guttenbrunn, Adam (1852–1923), 474  
 Multiculturalism, 475  
 Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 475  
 Musicology and National Socialism, 477  
 Muslim Brotherhood, 478  
 Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945), 479  
*Myth of the Twentieth Century, The* (1930), 480
- N**  
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel (1918–1970), 483  
 Nation of Islam, 484  
 National Democrats (Poland), 484  
 National Socialist German Workers' Party, 485  
 Nazi Cultural Antisemitism, 489  
 Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939), 491  
 Nazi Party Program, 493  
 Nazi Research on the Jewish Question, 494  
 Nazi Rock, 496  
 Neo-Nazism, German, 497  
 Netherlands in the Twentieth Century, 498  
 Neustettin Pogrom (1881), 500  
 New Age, 501  
 New Left, 503  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900), 504  
 Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom), 506  
 Nilus, Sergei (1862–1929), 508  
 Nordau, Max (1849–1923), 510  
 Norris, Frank (1870–1902), 511  
*Numerus Clausus* (Hungary), 513  
*Numerus Clausus* (United States), 514  
 Nuremberg Laws (1935), 515
- O**  
 Oberammergau Passion Play, 517  
 October Roundup (Rome, 1943), 518  
 Odessa Pogroms, 519  
*On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543), 519  
 Order Police, 520  
 Origen (ca. 185–ca. 251 or 254), 521  
*Ostjuden*, 522  
 Oswego Camp, 524  
*Our Demands on Modern Jewry*, 525

P

Pale of Settlement, 527  
Pan-German League, 528  
Pan-Germans (Austria), 529  
Papacy, Modern, 530  
*Passing of the Great Race* (1916), 533  
Passion Plays, Medieval, 534  
Patton, General George (1885–1945), 536  
Pauker, Ana (1893–1960), 536  
Paul, 538  
Pavelić, Ante (1889–1959), 539  
Pelley, William Dudley (1890–1965), 540  
Peter the Venerable (ca. 1092–1156), 542  
Petliura, Symon (1879–1926), 543  
Pfefferkorn, Johannes (1468/1469–1522), 543  
Philosemitism, 544  
Physics, “German” and “Jewish”, 545  
Pius IX, Pope (1792–1878), 548  
Pius XII, Pope (1876–1958), 549  
The Plan of the Hierarchy, 550  
Pobedonostsev, Konstantin (1827–1907), 551  
Pogroms (Russian, 1881), 552  
Poland (1918–1989), 553  
Poland since 1989, 557  
Polná Ritual Murder (1899), 557  
Populist Movement, 558  
Pork, 559  
Pound, Ezra (1885–1972), 562  
Prague Massacre (1389), 563  
Pranaitis, Justinas (1861–1917), 564  
Preziosi, Giovanni (1881–1945), 565  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 567  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on Trial, 569  
Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1809–1865), 570  
Psychoanalysis, 572  
Pückler, Count Walter von (1860–1924), 574  
Pudor, Heinrich (1865–1943), 575  
*Punch*, 576  
Pure Blood Laws, 577  
Purge of 1968 (Poland), 578  
Purge of the German Civil Service (1933), 579  
Purges, Soviet, 580  
Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich (1879–1920), 581

R

Raabe, Wilhelm (1831–1910), 583  
*Rabbi’s Speech*, The, 584  
Racial Laws (Italy), 584  
Racism, Scientific, 585

Rathenau, Walther (1867–1922), 588

Ratzinger, Georg (1844–1899), 589  
Raymund of Peñafort (1175/1180?–1275), 590  
Rebatet, Lucien (1903–1972), 591  
Reformation (1517–1648), 591  
Régis, Max (1873–1950), 594  
Renan, Ernest (1822–1893), 594  
Restitution (Switzerland), 595  
Restricted Public Accommodations, United States, 597

Restrictive Covenants, 597  
Reuchlin, Johann (1455–1522), 599  
Reventlow, Ernst zu (1869–1943), 600  
Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich (1823–1897), 601  
Rindfleisch Massacre (1298), 602  
Ritual Murder (Medieval), 602  
Ritual Murder (Modern), 605  
Rockwell, George Lincoln (1918–1967), 608  
Rohling, August (1839–1931), 609  
Roman Empire, 610  
Roman Literature, 612  
Romania (1878–1920), 617  
Romania, Holocaust in, 618  
Romania, Post-Soviet, 619  
Rosenberg, Alfred (1893–1946), 621  
Rosenberg Trial, 622  
Roth, Alfred (1879–1940), 623  
Rothschilds, 624  
Rowlandson, Thomas (1756–1827), 626  
Rozanov, Vasilii (1856–1919), 628  
Russia, Imperial, 629  
Russia, Post-Soviet, 632  
Russia, Revolution of 1905, 634  
Russian Civil War, 636  
Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), 637

S

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980), 639  
Schemann, Ludwig (1852–1938), 640  
Scheunenviertel Pogrom (1923), 641  
Schnitzler, Arthur (1862–1931), 642  
Schönerer, Georg von (1842–1921), 642  
Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788–1860), 643  
*Schwarze Korps, Das*, 645  
*Secret Doctrine, The* (1888), 645  
*Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*, 646  
Self-Hatred, Jewish, 647  
Seligman-Hilton Affair (1877), 649  
Settlement *Heimland*, 650  
Shabbetai Zevi, 651

- Shakespeare, William (1564–1616), 652  
 Shylock, 654  
 Simon of Trent, 655  
*Simplicissimus*, 657  
*Sin against the Blood* (1917), 658  
 Slánský Trial, 659  
 Slave Trade and the Jews, 660  
 Slovakia, Holocaust in, 662  
 Smith, Gerald L. K. (1898–1976), 663  
 Social Darwinism, 664  
 Social Democratic Party (Germany, 1875–1933), 665  
 Socialists on Antisemitism, 666  
 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr (1918– ), 669  
 Sombart, Werner (1863–1941), 670  
 Sorcery/Magic, 671  
 South Africa, 672  
 Spain, Riots of 1391, 673  
 Spain under Franco (1938–1975), 674  
 Stahl, Friedrich Julius (1802–1861), 675  
 Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953), 676  
 Stalinization of Eastern Europe, 677  
 State-within-a-State, 680  
 Stauff, Philipp (1876–1923), 681  
 Stavisky Affair (1933–1934), 682  
 Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925), 683  
 Stoecker, Adolf (1835–1909), 684  
 Streicher, Julius (1885–1946), 685  
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 686  
*Stürmer, Der*, 687  
 Stuyvesant, Peter (1592–1672), 688  
 Sudeten Germans, 688  
 Supersessionism, 689  
 Svengali, 691  
 Sweden, 692  
 Switzerland, 694  
 Szalasi, Ferenc (1897–1946), 695
- T**  
 Tacuara, 697  
 Talmud, 698  
*Talmud Jew, The*, 700  
 Talmud Trials, 701  
 Theater, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 702  
 Theodosian Code, 703  
 Theosophy, 704  
 “Three Hundred,” The, 705  
 Thule Society, 706  
 Tiso, Jozef (1887–1947), 707  
 Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder (1882), 707
- Tivoli Program (1892), 708  
 Toland, John (1670–1722), 709  
 Torquemada, Tomás de (1420–1498), 710  
 Toussenel, Alphonse (1803–1885), 710  
 Treitschke, Heinrich von (1834–1896), 711  
 Trollope, Anthony (1815–1882), 712  
 Twain, Mark (1835–1910), 713  
*Twilight of Israel, The* (1932), 715
- U**  
 Ukraine, Post-Soviet, 717  
 Ultramontanism, 718  
 United States, 720  
 USSR, 723  
 Ustasha, 726  
 Usury, 727
- V**  
 Vallat, Xavier (1891–1972), 731  
 Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Levin (1771–1833), 732  
 Vatican Council, First (1869–1870), 733  
 Vatican Council, Second (1962–1965), 734  
*Verjudung*, 735  
 Versailles Treaty, 736  
 Veuillot, Louis (1813–1883), 738  
 Vichy, 738  
*Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The* (1879), 741  
 Visigothic Spain, 742  
*Völkisch* Movement and Ideology, 743  
 Vogelsang, Karl von (1818–1890), 745  
 Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de (1694–1778), 746
- W**  
 Wagener, Hermann (1815–1889), 749  
 Wagner, Cosima (1837–1930), 750  
 Wagner, Richard (1813–1883), 750  
 Waldheim Affair, 752  
 Wandering Jew, 753  
 Wannsee Conference, 755  
 Watson, Tom (1856–1922), 757  
 Webb, Beatrice (1858–1943), 757  
 Webster, Nesta (1876–1960), 759  
 Weimar, 759  
 Weininger, Otto (1880–1903), 762  
 Well Poisoning, 763  
 Wells, H. G. (1866–1946), 764  
 Wharton, Edith (1862–1937), 765  
 White Power Movement, 766

- White Slavery, 768  
White Terror (Hungary), 769  
Wiesenthal-Kreisky Controversy, 770  
William of Norwich (d. 1144), 771  
Winrod, Gerald B. (1900–1957), 772  
Women and British Fascism, 773  
*Word about Our Jews, A* (1880), 774
- X  
Xanten Ritual Murder (1891–1892), 777
- Y  
Yellow Badge, 779  
Yellow Star, 779  
Young Germany, 781  
Young Hegelians, 783  
Youth Movement (German), 784
- Z  
Zionism, 787  
Zola, Émile (1840–1902), 788  
Zündel, Ernst (1939– ), 789

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Middle Ages, Late (1343–1453)

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Rindfleisch Massacre (1298)

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Barrès, Maurice (1862–1923)  
Camelots du Roi (1908–1936)  
Drumont, Édouard (1844–1917)  
France (1789–1939)  
France juive, La (1886)  
Maurras, Charles (1868–1952)  
Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980)  
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Capistrano, John of (1386–1456)  
Chrysostom, John (349–407)  
Deicide  
Demonstratio Adversus Iudaeos  
Dialogue with Trypho  
Iconography, Christian

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(1805–1876)  
Infamous Decree (1808)  
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Antisemitism, Etymology of  
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Böckel, Otto (1859–1923)  
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Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon  
(1862–1863)  
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(1848–1911)  
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George, Stefan (1868–1933)  
Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg (1874–1954)  
List, Guido von (1848–1919)  
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 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1855–1927)  
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# INTRODUCTION

This encyclopedia is the first of its kind. Its mission is straightforward: to present to the educated reader the most accurate, thorough, and up-to-date information on antisemitism in an unbiased manner. That mission, however, is complicated in unique ways by the subject of antisemitism. Although decisions about focus, selection, and length of entries are common to all encyclopedias, few if any works of this type have dealt with a phenomenon so capable of arousing our passions. Indeed, even the very definition of antisemitism is earnestly disputed.

## Problems of Definition

Both antisemitism and its target, the Jews, elude convenient definition. Furthermore, antisemites do not accord Jews the right to define themselves. Early in his career, Leon Trotsky, Lenin's lieutenant in the Russian Revolution of 1917, ceased describing himself as in any way Jewish. Even so, his character and his deeds were subjected to repeated antisemitic attacks. On the strength of his participation and that of several others who did not acknowledge themselves as Jews, the politics and ideology of the entire Communist movement came to be considered by many as a sinister Jewish invention. Benjamin Disraeli, born a Jew, converted to Christianity yet continued to see himself (and was seen by most of his contemporaries) as somehow Jewish. Another convert, Karl Marx, retained no such obvious attachment, although he, too, attracted antisemitic attention and still does. Several historical figures who were clearly *not* Jewish, including popes, the black boxer Jack Johnson, Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and many scions of ancient Prussian aristocratic families, were "Jews," at least according to some antisemitic writers and politicians. By contrast, nearly every prominent reviler of Jews, from Torquemada and Luther to Hitler and Stalin, has at one

time or another been identified by friends or foes as being "of Jewish blood." As in the past, Jews—both real and imaginary—are too diverse. The variety of their identities invites confusion and presents antisemites with welcome opportunities to "prove" whatever it is they feel called upon to prove. Just who is a Jew is, therefore, a question that needs to be addressed in *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution*.

This work, which strives for comprehensiveness, has "solved" the problem of definition arbitrarily. It must be left to antisemites—moved almost exclusively by their fantasies, fears, and hatreds—to decide who shall be included for discussion in this forum. No matter how the target of these animosities defines him or herself, if a person's Jewish identity—self-acknowledged, denied, ignored, or totally fabricated—is at issue, then it is appropriate to include that person in these volumes. "The Jew Mark Twain," as he was labeled by Viennese antisemites in the late 1890s, is a case in point. Twain was not Jewish, but his response to antisemitic slurs is necessarily a part of the history of antisemitism and of this encyclopedia. Antisemites customarily deal in great generalizations, blanket indictments, and all-encompassing theories without respect for the laws of evidence or rational analysis. Indeed, antisemitism cannot survive the making of fine distinctions concerning Jews or what constitutes Jewishness. An encyclopedia of antisemitism must recognize this flawed mentality and give it adequate representation.

The other problem of definition is not so simply resolved. An encyclopedia of antisemitism's scope in time and space will depend on the conception of the word's meaning. The term *antisemitism*, used to describe an ideology and a politics, is only a little more than a century old. The word *antisemite* and the abstraction *antisemitism*

in this sense first appeared in print in Germany around 1879, a somewhat belated response to the granting of equal rights to Jews. Initially, the new terms coexisted comfortably with older expressions such as *Jew-hatred*, *Jew-baiting*, or *Judeophobia*. But soon, anti-Jewish activists, their opponents, and neutral commentators all began making frequent use of *antisemitism*, thereby gaining acceptance for the new word in most modern languages. Its extremely rapid adoption after 1879—the process of its absorption into all the major European languages was complete by 1894—reflected a wide recognition that traditional patterns and motives of persecution had so changed that a new word was now needed to describe a new sort of anti-Jewish activist and activity and the institutions they hastily created: political parties, journals, newspapers, and reform clubs at the grass roots.

This is not to suggest that there was a clean break with the past in 1879 or that the changes were precisely or universally understood. The relationship between traditional Jew-hatred and antisemitism was sensed at the time, and it still has relevance for an encyclopedia dedicated to this subject: antisemitism proceeds from preexisting, deeply rooted anti-Jewish sentiments and is difficult to conceive of without the motivating force of antagonism. This connection notwithstanding, there are many who think it anachronistic to apply the term to the anti-Jewish prejudice and persecution found in antiquity or the Middle Ages. Others argue for a strict delineation between cognition and action, that is, between the ways Jews are thought of and the ways Jews are acted upon.

Popular usage is not so fastidious, however. Use of the word *antisemitism* to describe thinking and behavior intended to do harm to the reputation, rights, and/or physical well-being of Jews for a wide variety of motives and throughout history may lack absolute precision as a definition, but it has the advantage of allowing this encyclopedia to treat the subject broadly and usefully. Even so, many problems remain.

Antisemitism, anti-Jewish stereotyping, and Jew-hatred in whatever degree are phenomena of the Diaspora. As long as Jews had a country, there was little to distinguish between the kind of hostility they met with and that experienced by any other people who constituted a recogniz-

able group, community, or nation. It is not sensible to describe the Canaanites as antisemites. Only from the third century BCE and *outside* ancient Israel did anti-Jewish hostility take on distinctive features. Thus, there is no need in this encyclopedia for an entry on the Jewish Wars (66–73 and 132–135 CE) waged by the Romans in Palestine: they were no different from Rome's other brutal wars of repression against rebellious peoples. However, the status of Jews *within* the Roman Empire does require treatment because it displayed unique characteristics that applied to no other people the Romans held in their power.

Antisemitism, broadly conceived, has not only a lengthier history, lengthier than any other species of ethnic or cultural enmity, but is also the only prejudice that has scriptural sanction. The English and Irish may despise one another, but neither group can open the Bible and find there that it is right and even divinely ordained to do so. The Balkan peoples' outbursts of genocidal fury, which so stunned the world in the last decade of the twentieth century, apparently required only minimal ideological or cultural justification beyond orally transmitted “folk wisdom” and inflammatory newspaper stories. Hostility toward Jews, by contrast, has produced an enormous body of literature; permeated Christian and, now, Islamic culture; found expression in the arts, high and low; and informed both the theory and the practice of politics all over the globe. Other ethnic groups, religious organizations, and economic collectives have been objects of suspicion and wild accusation, but rarely are they described as being able to exercise satanic evil as omnipotently, ruthlessly, and universally as the Jews.

Given the immense reach of anti-Jewish antagonism across time and space, it seems obvious that no reference work can do the subject total justice. The goal ought to be the highest attainable degree of completeness, breadth, and depth of coverage. But there is a pitfall inherent in the pursuit of this aim. The encyclopedia could become a compendium of people past and present who actually harmed or thought about harming Jews or said harmful things about them—a who's who of Jew-hatred. Alas, a reference work based on this catchall principle would require many, many volumes. But there is no need for such a compilation because something very

much like it has already been done, although with a thoroughly jaundiced set of motives and evaluations. German antisemites at the end of the nineteenth century gleefully produced such tomes, combing the classics of world literature, canvassing celebrities for their views, and mining popular culture for anything even slightly insulting to Jews. There is no need to replicate this intellectually barren endeavor in the twenty-first century. Even when not motivated by malice, a reference work that seeks merely to compile a list of antisemitic offenders would be of little value because it cannot help us understand the rationales, functions, attractions, or effects of this prejudice.

To prevent this encyclopedia from becoming a crude who is/who is not exercise, a criterion of significant antisemitic and anti-Jewish thought or action has to be adhered to, and that standard ought to be set rigorously high. Personal quirkiness or the unthinking resort to inherited prejudice, for example, should not, by itself, qualify one for inclusion. Nor should imagined characters and comments found in deliberated but fictional texts necessarily suffice. Ernest Hemingway produced a notable antisemitic character in *The Sun Also Rises*, and F. Scott Fitzgerald's portrait of Meyer Wolfsheim in *The Great Gatsby* pointedly connected Jewishness and crookedness. Yet neither author often revisited this theme in his body of work, let alone attempted to mobilize anti-Jewish feeling for any detectable personal or political purpose. No doubt, they were prejudiced and influential individuals whose attitudes toward Jews need to be registered in a reference book on antisemitism. But many others involved themselves much more enthusiastically and systematically—and with greater effect—in “combating Jewish evil” than these individuals. It would be uninstructive to lump the two authors together with those others and accord them identical treatment. In the present work, this problem is addressed by means of a general essay on the representation of Jews in twentieth-century English-language literature rather than by separate entries on Hemingway and Fitzgerald.

Of course, individual contributors to this encyclopedia work from differing ideas of what constitutes antisemitism. With few exceptions, however, the terms *antisemite* and *antisemitic*

have been used sparingly and conservatively. Several figures commonly labeled antisemites, among them “the Jew Mark Twain,” have that identification challenged by essays in these volumes. On the subject of antisemitism, perhaps more than most, it is important to bear in mind that intelligent people can disagree profoundly on its general and specific meaning, as well as the highly vexed questions it engenders.

In preparing an encyclopedia on antisemitism, decisions also have to be made on which general subjects to include. Two topics are particularly problematic. The first—the Holocaust—must, of course, be accorded its due importance. However, there are already encyclopedic works devoted to this widely ramified subject; it would be futile to try to duplicate them yet difficult to avoid some overlap. As far as possible—and it is not always possible—coverage in the present work is limited to the relationship between antisemitic ideology and the genocide of the Jews. No attempt is made to discuss the mechanics of the Final Solution, its intricate politics, bureaucratic organization, or public policy character. But in accounting for the decision to destroy the Jews of Europe and the participation of non-Germans in carrying out the Holocaust, it was deemed necessary to include entries on preexisting antisemitism in many countries. For instance, the place of Croatia in the Final Solution is examined in two essays, one dealing with the history of antisemitism in that land and another detailing the motivations, politics, and individuals who committed mass murder there.

The second difficult topic has to do with the hostilities awakened by the existence and policies of the state of Israel, which, in some ways, return us to the pre-Diaspora situation. Much of the hatred aimed at Israel is the product of states and peoples who are moved by “normal” conflicts and long-standing grudges in no way unique among nations. The line between criticism of Israel and antisemitism is not always easy to establish, but clearly, the two should not be conflated. Yet criticism of Israel frequently spills over to include all Jews, not just Israelis, and makes use of the materials, histories, and arguments set forth in this encyclopedia. For the first time in its century-long career, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is more likely to be printed, quoted, and

deployed in the Middle East than in Europe or the United States. For these reasons, several articles deal with antisemitism in the Muslim world, including its origins and special attributes.

### Contributors

More than 200 men and women, spanning three generations and representing twenty-one countries, have written essays for this collection. They include independent scholars, officials in Jewish and non-Jewish secular and religious organizations, and academics from a great many disciplines. A concerted effort has been made to reflect the widest possible variety of viewpoints. Chosen for their expertise, the contributors have been allowed to have their say rather than being limited to the presentation of an imaginary consensus view of the issues at hand. In the process of editing submissions, no attempt has been made to censor their findings or mold them into a uniform scheme of interpretation. All that has been asked of each is a deep knowledge of the sources and a willingness to engage them critically.

This remarkable body of scholars would have been difficult and perhaps even impossible to assemble much before the present day because the study of antisemitism as a distinct research field is a relatively recent phenomenon. Magisterial histories of the Jews, such as those by Heinrich Graetz, Simon Dubnow, and Salo Baron had to deal with the persecution that is so much a part of the Jewish past. But they also dealt with issues in Jewish history that had little to do with hatred and prejudice. When they did turn their attention to these topics, they tended to focus on their effects upon the victims rather than the motivations of the Jews' enemies or the historical contexts, intellectual traditions, or political-religious motivations that shaped their hostility.

Antisemitism as a subject of scholarship has gathered force over time, spurred on by the manifestations of anti-Jewish prejudice and occasionally anticipating them. Bernard Lazare's *L'Antisémitisme: Son histoire et ses causes* (Antisemitism: Its History and Causes, 1894), the first methodical attempt to deal with the subject, was composed just before the Dreyfus Affair broke in France, an episode that not only divided the country but also introduced antisemitism as a potent force in national politics. The gradual recognition of the importance of antisemitism as a

freestanding area of research can be charted in the treatment accorded it in successive encyclopedias and lexicons. In 1894, the *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* had no special heading for antisemitism, but it did include a half page on the antisemites and their writings. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901–1905), in twelve volumes, devoted 8 of its 8,600 double-columned pages to the topic. Lucien Wolf, historian and activist in Anglo-Jewish affairs, contributed a 12-page account to the eleventh edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910–1911). During the Weimar years, the *Jüdisches Lexikon* (1927–1930) found 20 double-columned pages sufficient to cover the topic (although the *Grosse Brockhaus* of the same era needed less than one page). Many who participated in the *Jüdisches Lexikon*, having fled the Nazis, were part of the team reassembled in New York in 1939 to produce the most ambitious and elaborate essay on antisemitism to that point. The 68-page article in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* sought to define the term, explain its origins, and consider its effects in the past, present, and future. A second section of the essay treated the history of antisemitism in the ancient and medieval worlds; the discussion of the modern period was divided by hemisphere, with the Eastern getting the greatest share of attention.

The attempted destruction of European Jewry during World War II rendered obvious the terrible potential of antisemitism and subsequently provided the most sustained stimulus for its separate study. Before the Holocaust, that study was confined almost exclusively to Jews. Now, it is a field of vital interest to scholars and nonscholars, Jews and non-Jews alike, in many countries and cultures, as the contributors to this encyclopedia amply show. The field commands the best efforts of many thoughtful people; for some, the study of antisemitism has become a lifelong commitment. This strong and growing interest is readily seen in an *antisemitism* keyword search of the World Catalogue database, which yields 7,000 book titles published since 1945 and 150 documentary collections. University institutes and independent research organizations conduct historical studies and track current outbreaks of antisemitism all over the world. They host conferences and publish scholarly journals, periodical reports, and

bulletins; they provide data for parliamentarians in many countries and attempt to educate the public about the dangers of this particular form of hatred.

### How to Use This Book

The 612 articles in these two volumes are alphabetically arranged. Each comes with a short bibliography of titles recommended for further reading. In many instances, the cited works not only provide more detailed information about the topic at hand but also include classic interpretations and/or other writings that contest traditional views of matters. The most recent literature on a topic has received preference. In an effort to conserve space, only rarely are the original works of antisemites cited in the bibliographies. These sources are usually not difficult to find.

An extensive and detailed general index will aid the user in finding information about individuals, events, and issues that have not been given their own entry. Thus, a reader seeking data on Generalissimo Francisco Franco's attitude toward the Nazi persecution of Jews will, upon consulting the index, discover that the subject is treated in the entry titled "Spain under Franco." To keep the main text uncluttered, the general index lists the birth and death dates, where ascertainable, of all the individuals mentioned in the entries. Finally, all of the articles appear in the index, indicated in boldface type.

Approximately 120 of the articles are syntheses of 1,000 to 2,000 words. These extended essays treat epochs, national entities, ideological movements, prominent individuals, and institutions. They are intended to complement and contextualize the more focused treatment of subjects that fall within these general categories. For example, the long survey on the Zionist movement provides a frame of reference for the shorter treatments of Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, the concept of anti-Zionism, and a number of other linked themes. The survey on Arabic antisemitic literature will help the reader make sense of entries on the Constantine pogrom of 1934, Hamas, and the Iranian Revolution. At the conclusion of each essay, long or short, the reader will find an alphabetical listing of the most relevant related articles in a "See also" section.

In addition to survey treatments of national literatures and literary figures, this encyclopedia

provides detailed information on the contents, publishing history, and reception of seminal texts—*independent* of the biographies of their authors. The biographical entry on Adolf Hitler, for example, is supplemented by analyses of his *Mein Kampf*, his early speeches, and his *Table Talk*. Fifty-five political pamphlets, theoretical works, novels, plays, magazines, and newspapers receive this close attention because of their significant role in the dissemination of anti-Jewish ideas, imagery, stereotypes, and political ideology.

Finally, despite the highly charged nature of the subject of this work, *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution* is not an exercise in apologetics or special pleading. Scholarly rigor and an emotional subject matter coexist here. Every effort has been made to keep the focus on the search for truth and to base this search on respect for evidence. This has not, of course, been an easy task. Antisemitism has wrought such pain and suffering in the world and its proponents have done so much damage to individuals, communities, and ways of life that it is difficult to control one's feelings about the phenomenon. Furthermore and especially for students of the subject, knowledge of antisemitism's capacity to do harm, in the past and the present, awakens deep misgivings about its potential for causing future evil and prompts many to want to do something to overcome what is often called "the longest hatred." But the scholars gathered here know that ill-intentioned people will not be converted by any sort of moralizing or preaching. Telling readers how to feel about what they are reading is condescending, counterproductive, and ultimately futile. By contrast, it is our belief that if people of reasonably good will are given accurate, thorough, and honestly presented facts about this prejudice, most will arrive at the truth concerning the destructive nature of antisemitism and the injury it can still do to the human community.

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What merit this encyclopedia has owes much to all those I have thanked here. For its defects, errors, and omissions I must take responsibility.

—Richard S. Levy, *Editor*

# ANTISEMITISM



# ANTISEMITISM

## A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION

VOLUME 2: L-Z

Richard S. Levy, Editor

A B C  C L I O

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# CONTENTS

*Contributors and Their Entries, xiii*  
*Introduction, xxix*

## ANTISEMITISM A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION

- A
- Action Française (1899–1945), 1  
Adams, Henry Brooks (1838–1918), 2  
*Adversus Iudeos*, 3  
African American–Jewish Relations, 4  
Agobard (779–840), 6  
Agrarian League, 6  
Ahlwardt, Hermann (1846–1914), 7  
Alexandrian Pogrom, 9  
Algeria, 9  
Alliance Israélite Universelle, 10  
Almohad Persecution, 12  
Alsace, 13  
American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States, 16  
American Nazi Party, 17  
*Angriff, Der*, 18  
Antichrist, 19  
Antisemites’ Petition (1880–1881), 20  
*Antisemitic Correspondence*, 21  
Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914), 22  
Antisemitism, Accusations of, 23  
Antisemitism, Etymology of, 24  
Anti-Zionism, 25  
Anti-Zionism in the USSR, 26  
Antonescu, Ion (1882–1946), 29  
Apion, 29  
Aquarius, Age of, 30  
Arab Antisemitic Literature, 30  
Arab Boycott, 32
- Arafat, Yasir (1929–2004), 33  
Arch of Titus, 34  
Argentina, 35  
Armed Forces of the United States, 37  
Arndt, Ernst Moritz (1769–1860), 39  
Aryan Paragraph, 39  
Aryan Theater, 40  
Aryanization (Germany), 41  
Augustine of Hippo (354–430), 43  
Auschwitz Lie, 45  
Australia, 45  
Austria, 48  
*Auto-da-fé*, 50
- B
- Bailey, Alice A. (1880–1949), 53  
Balzac, Honoré de (1799–1850), 54  
Banker, Jewish, 55  
Bar Kochba Revolt, 56  
Bardèche, Maurice (1909–1998), 57  
Barrès, Maurice (1862–1923), 58  
Barruel, Augustin (1741–1820), 59  
Bartels, Adolf (1862–1945), 59  
Bauer, Bruno (1809–1882), 60  
Bayreuth Circle, 62  
Beilis Case (1911–1913), 63  
Belloc, Hilaire (1870–1953), 64  
Benn, Gottfried (1886–1956), 65  
Berlin Movement, 66  
Best, Werner (1903–1989), 67  
Bettauer, Hugo (1872–1925), 68

- Biarritz* (1868), 69  
 Billroth, Theodor (1829–1894), 70  
 Black Hundreds, 71  
 Black Nationalism, 72  
 Blavatsky, Helena P. (1831–1891), 72  
 Bloch, Joseph Samuel (1850–1923), 73  
 “Blood for Trucks” (Brand-Grosz Mission), 74  
 Böckel, Otto (1859–1923), 75  
 Boer War (1899–1902), 76  
 Boniface Society for Catholic Germany, 77  
 Book Burning (May 10, 1933), 78  
 Boycott of 1912 (Poland), 79  
 Boycott of Jewish Shops (Germany, 1933), 80  
 Brasillach, Robert (1909–1945), 81  
 Brazil, 82  
 Britain (1870–1939), 83  
 British Brothers League, 86  
 British Union of Fascists, 87  
 Bubis, Ignatz (1927–1999), 87  
 Buenos Aires Pogroms (1910, 1919), 88  
 Bulgaria, Holocaust in, 89  
 Burschenschaften, 91
- C
- Camelots du Roi (1908–1936), 93  
 Canada, 94  
 Capistrano, John of (1386–1456), 96  
 Capital: Useful versus Harmful, 97  
 Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early), 98  
 Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern), 102  
 Carto, Willis (1926– ), 107  
*Cause of World Unrest, The*, 108  
 Céline, Louis-Ferdinand (1894–1961), 109  
 Center Party, 110  
 Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith , 111  
 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1855–1927), 113  
 Chesterton, G. K. (1874–1936), 115  
 Chmielnicki Massacres (1648–1649), 116  
 Christian Identity Movement, 117  
 Christian Social Party (Austria), 118  
 Christian Social Party (Germany), 119  
 Christian State, 120  
 Chrysostom, John (349–407), 121  
 Church Councils (Early), 122  
 Church Fathers, 123  
 Churches under Nazism, 125  
 Circumcision, 128  
*Civiltà Cattolica*, 129  
 Class, Heinrich (1868–1953), 130
- Claudius (10 BCE.–54 CE), 130  
 Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea (1899–1938), 131  
 Coin Clipping, 132  
 Colonial America, 133  
 Commissar Order, 135  
*Coningsby* (1844), 136  
 Constantine, Emperor (274–337 CE), 137  
 Constantine Pogrom (1934), 139  
 Coughlin, Charles E. (1891–1979), 140  
 Court Jews, 141  
 Crimes against Humanity (French Trials), 142  
 Croatia, 147  
 Croatia, Holocaust in, 149  
*Cross and the Flag, The*, 150  
 Crusades, 152  
 Cuba, 152  
*Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?* (1919), 156  
 Cuza, A. C. (1857–1946), 157
- D
- Dahn, Felix (1834–1912), 159  
 Damascus Blood Libel (1840), 160  
 Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis (1897–1980), 161  
*Dearborn Independent and The International Jew*, 162  
*Debit and Credit* (1855), 165  
 Degenerate Art, 165  
 Degeneration, 167  
 Deicide, 168  
*Demonstratio Adversus Iudeos*, 170  
 Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919, 170  
 Deutsche Christen, 172  
 Devi, Savitri (1905–1982) , 173  
 Dewey, Melvil (1851–1931), 174  
*Dialogue with Trypho*, 174  
 Diaspora Revolt (115–117 CE), 175  
 Dickens, Charles (1812–1870), 176  
 Diderot, Denis (1713–1784), 177  
 Dietary Laws, 178  
 Dining Society, Christian-German, 179  
 Dinter, Artur (1876–1948), 180  
 Disraeli, Benjamin (1804–1881), 180  
 Dmowski, Roman (1864–1939), 182  
 Doctors’ Plot (1953), 182  
 Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von (1751–1820), 184  
 Dominican Order , 185  
 Doré, Gustave (1832–1883), 186  
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor (1821–1881), 187

- Dracula, 188  
 Dreyfus Affair, 189  
 Drumont, Édouard (1844–1917), 191  
 Dühring, Eugen (1833–1921), 192  
 Duke, David (1950– ), 193
- E  
 Eichmann, Adolf (1906–1962), 195  
 Eichmann Trial, 196  
 1848, 197  
 Einsatzgruppen, 199  
 Eliot, T. S. (1888–1965), 200  
 Emancipation, 201  
 English Literature from Chaucer to Wells, 204  
 English Literature of the Twentieth Century, 206  
*Entdecktes Judenthum* (1700, 1711), 209  
 Erasmus (1466–1536), 210  
 Eugenics, 211  
 Evian Conference, 212  
 Evolutionary Psychology, 213  
 Expulsions, High Middle Ages, 216  
 Expulsions, Late Middle Ages, 218
- F  
 Farhud (1941), 221  
 Farrakhan, Louis (1933– ), 221  
 Fascist Intellectuals (French), 223  
 Faurisson, Robert (1929– ), 225  
 Ferrer, Vincente (1350–1419), 225  
 Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804–1872), 226  
 Fichte, J. G. (1762–1814), 227  
 Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 228  
 Film Propaganda, Nazi, 228  
*Fliegende Blätter*, 230  
 Fontane, Theodor (1819–1898), 232  
 Ford, Henry (1863–1947), 233  
 Förster, Bernhard (1843–1889), 236  
 Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth (1846–1935), 237  
 Fourier, Charles (1772–1837), 237  
 France (1789–1939), 238  
*France juive, La* (1886), 240  
 Franciscan Order, 241  
 Frank, Leo (1884–1915), 242  
 Frantz, Constantin (1817–1891), 244  
 Freemasonry, 244  
 Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939), 246  
 Freytag, Gustav (1816–1895), 247  
 Fries, Jakob Friedrich (1773–1843), 248  
 Fritsch, Theodor (1852–1933), 249  
 Fugu Plan, 250
- G  
*Garbage, the City and Death, The*, 253  
*Gartenlaube, Die*, 254  
 Gemlich Letter, 255  
 General Orders No. 11 (1862), 256  
 George, Stefan (1868–1933), 257  
 German Big Business and Antisemitism (1910–1945), 258  
 German Democratic Republic (East Germany), 259  
 German Eastern Marches Society, 260  
 German National People's Party, 261  
 German National White Collar Employees Association (1893–1934), 262  
 German Peasant League, 263  
 German Racial Freedom Party, 264  
 German Racial League for Defense and Defiance, 266  
 German Students, Association of, 267  
 German-American Bund, 268  
 Germanic Order, 269  
 Germany, Federal Republic of (West Germany), 270  
 Ghetto, 272  
 Ghetto Benches, 275  
 Glagau, Otto (1834–1892), 276  
 Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de (1816–1882), 276  
 Goebbels, Joseph (1897–1945), 277  
 Goga, Octavian (1881–1938), 278  
 Göring, Hermann (1893–1946), 279  
 Gospels, 280  
 Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri (1805–1876), 282  
 Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste (1750–1831), 283  
 Gregory the Great, Pope (590–604), 284  
 Grimm, Brothers, 285  
 Gwynne, H. A. (1865–1950), 286
- H  
 Hahn, Diederich (1859–1918), 287  
 Haman, 288  
 Hamas, 289  
*Handbook of the Jewish Question (Antisemites' Catechism)*, 289  
 Hegel, G. W. F. (1770–1831), 291  
 Heidegger, Martin (1889–1976), 292  
 Heine, Heinrich (1797–1856), 293  
 Heine Monument Controversy, 295  
 Henrici, Ernst (1854–1915), 296  
 Hentschel, Willibald (1858–1947), 296  
 Hep-Hep Riots (1819), 297

- Herder, J. G. (1744–1803), 299  
 Herzl, Theodor (1860–1904), 300  
 Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945), 301  
 Hirschfeld, Magnus (1868–1935), 302  
 Historians' Controversy, 303  
 Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945), 304  
 Hitler's "Prophecy" (January 30, 1939), 306  
 Hitler's Speeches (Early), 307  
 Hitler's *Table Talk*, 308  
 Hlinka Guard, 309  
 Hlond, August (1881–1948), 310  
 Hobson, J. A. (1858–1940), 311  
 Hogarth, William (1697–1764), 312  
 Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in, 315  
 Holocaust, 316  
 Holocaust Denial, Negationism,  
     and Revisionism, 319  
 Homophobia, 322  
 Horthy, Miklós (1868–1957), 323  
 Höss, Rudolf (1901–1947), 324  
 Host Desecration, 325  
 Hugenberg, Alfred (1865–1951), 325  
 Hugh of Lincoln, 326  
 Hungary (1848–1944), 327  
 Hungary, Holocaust in, 331  
 Hungary, Pogroms in (1946), 333  
 Hungary, Post-Soviet, 334  
 Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-  
     (1895–1974), 336
- I  
 Iconography, Christian, 339  
*If I Were the Kaiser* (1912), 342  
 Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.),  
     343  
 Imperial Hammer League, 344  
 Infamous Decree (1808), 345  
 Innocent III (1160/61–1216), 346  
 Inquisition, 347  
 Institute for Historical Review (IHR), 348  
 Institute for the Study and Eradication  
     of Jewish Influence on German  
     Church Life, 349  
 Internet, 350  
 Invocation, The Great, 351  
 Iranian Revolution, 352  
 Iron Guard, 353  
 Irving, David (1938– ), 354  
 Islam and the Jews, 356  
 Islamic Diaspora, 358  
 Islamic Fundamentalism, 360
- J  
 J Stamp, 363  
 Japan, 364  
 Jedwabne, 366  
 Jehovah's Witnesses, 368  
 Jesuit Order, 369  
 Jew Bill (1753), 370  
 Jew Census (1916), 371  
*Jew of Malta, The*, 372  
 Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, 373  
 Jewish Council (Budapest, 1944), 374  
 Jewish Force, 375  
 "Jewish" Press, 375  
 Jewish Question, 377  
*Jewish Question, The* (1843), 380  
*Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and  
     Cultural Problem, The*, 381  
*Jews and the German State, The* (1861), 382  
*Jews' Beech, The* (1842), 383  
 Jud Süß (Joseph ben Issachar Süßkind Op-  
     penheimer), (1692–1738), 384  
*Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon* (1862–1863),  
     385  
*Judaism in Music* (1850, 1869), 386  
*Judensau*, 387  
 Judeo-Bolshevism, 389  
 Jung, Carl Gustav (1875–1961), 391  
 Justinian Code (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*), 393
- K  
 Kallay, Miklós (1887–1967), 395  
 Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804), 396  
 Khomeini, Ayatollah (1902–1989), 397  
 Kielce Pogrom (1946), 398  
 Kishinev Pogrom (1903), 399  
*Kladderadatsch*, 400  
 Kolbe, Maksymilian (1894–1941), 401  
 Konitz Ritual Murder (1900), 402  
 Kosher Slaughtering, 402  
 Kralik, Richard von (1852–1934), 403  
 Kraus, Karl (1874–1936), 404  
 Krushevan, Pavolaki (1860–1909), 405  
 Ku Klux Klan (1915–1941), 406  
*Kulturmampf*, 406
- L  
 Lagarde, Paul de (1827–1891), 409  
 LANC—National Christian Defense League,  
     410  
 Lange, Friedrich (1852–1917), 411  
 Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg (1874–1954), 412

- Lateran Council, Fourth (1215), 413  
 Lavater, Johann Kaspar (1741–1801), 414  
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie (1928– ), 415  
 League against Antisemitism, 416  
 Léon, Abram (1918–1944), 417  
 Leskov, Nikolai Semenovich (1831–1895), 418  
*Leuchter Report*, 419  
 Liberty Lobby, 420  
 LICA—International League against Anti-semitism, 421  
 Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max (1848–1911), 422  
 Lienhard, Friedrich (1865–1929), 422  
 Lindbergh, Charles (1902–1974), 423  
 Linz Program (1882), 424  
 List, Guido von (1848–1919), 425  
 Lithuania, 426  
 Lithuania, Holocaust in, 428  
 Lithuania, Post-Soviet, 429  
 Liutostanskii, Ippolit (1835–1915/1918?), 430  
 Ljotić, Dimitrije (1891–1945), 431  
 Long, Breckinridge (1881–1958), 432  
 Ludendorff, Erich (1865–1937), 433  
 Ludendorff, Mathilde (1877–1966), 434  
 Ludendorff Publishing House, 435  
 Lueger, Karl (1844–1910), 436  
 Luther, Martin (1483–1546), 437
- M**  
 Mahler-Werfel, Alma (1879–1964), 441  
 Manetho, 442  
*Manifesto of the Racial Scientists* (1938), 442  
 Mann, Thomas (1875–1955), 443  
 Marr, Wilhelm (1819–1904), 445  
 Marx, Karl (1818–1883), 446  
 Masculinity, 447  
 Maurras, Charles (1868–1952), 448  
 Maxse, James Leopold (1864–1932), 449  
 May Laws, 450  
 Mehring, Franz (1846–1919), 452  
*Mein Kampf*, 452  
 Melanchthon, Philipp (1497–1560), 453  
 Memminger, Anton (1846–1923), 454  
*Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism* (1797–1803), 455  
 Mexico, 456  
 Michaelis, Johann David (1717–1791), 457  
 Middle Ages, Early (430–1096), 458  
 Middle Ages, High (1096–1343), 460  
 Middle Ages, Late (1343–1453), 463  
 Militia Movement, 465
- Mirror to the Jews, A*, 466  
 Misanthropy, 467  
 Moczar, Mieczysław (1913–1986), 468  
 Mohammed (ca. 570–632), 468  
 Mortara Affair, 470  
 Moseley, George Van Horn (1874–1960), 471  
 Mosley, Oswald (1896–1980), 472  
 Müller-Guttenbrunn, Adam (1852–1923), 474  
 Multiculturalism, 475  
 Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 475  
 Musicology and National Socialism, 477  
 Muslim Brotherhood, 478  
 Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945), 479  
*Myth of the Twentieth Century, The* (1930), 480
- N**  
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel (1918–1970), 483  
 Nation of Islam, 484  
 National Democrats (Poland), 484  
 National Socialist German Workers' Party, 485  
 Nazi Cultural Antisemitism, 489  
 Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939), 491  
 Nazi Party Program, 493  
 Nazi Research on the Jewish Question, 494  
 Nazi Rock, 496  
 Neo-Nazism, German, 497  
 Netherlands in the Twentieth Century, 498  
 Neustettin Pogrom (1881), 500  
 New Age, 501  
 New Left, 503  
 Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900), 504  
 Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom), 506  
 Nilus, Sergei (1862–1929), 508  
 Nordau, Max (1849–1923), 510  
 Norris, Frank (1870–1902), 511  
*Numerus Clausus* (Hungary), 513  
*Numerus Clausus* (United States), 514  
 Nuremberg Laws (1935), 515
- O**  
 Oberammergau Passion Play, 517  
 October Roundup (Rome, 1943), 518  
 Odessa Pogroms, 519  
*On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543), 519  
 Order Police, 520  
 Origen (ca. 185–ca. 251 or 254), 521  
*Ostjuden*, 522  
 Oswego Camp, 524  
*Our Demands on Modern Jewry*, 525

P

Pale of Settlement, 527  
Pan-German League, 528  
Pan-Germans (Austria), 529  
Papacy, Modern, 530  
*Passing of the Great Race* (1916), 533  
Passion Plays, Medieval, 534  
Patton, General George (1885–1945), 536  
Pauker, Ana (1893–1960), 536  
Paul, 538  
Pavelić, Ante (1889–1959), 539  
Pelley, William Dudley (1890–1965), 540  
Peter the Venerable (ca. 1092–1156), 542  
Petliura, Symon (1879–1926), 543  
Pfefferkorn, Johannes (1468/1469–1522), 543  
Philosemitism, 544  
Physics, “German” and “Jewish”, 545  
Pius IX, Pope (1792–1878), 548  
Pius XII, Pope (1876–1958), 549  
The Plan of the Hierarchy, 550  
Pobedonostsev, Konstantin (1827–1907), 551  
Pogroms (Russian, 1881), 552  
Poland (1918–1989), 553  
Poland since 1989, 557  
Polná Ritual Murder (1899), 557  
Populist Movement, 558  
Pork, 559  
Pound, Ezra (1885–1972), 562  
Prague Massacre (1389), 563  
Pranaitis, Justinas (1861–1917), 564  
Preziosi, Giovanni (1881–1945), 565  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 567  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on Trial, 569  
Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1809–1865), 570  
Psychoanalysis, 572  
Pückler, Count Walter von (1860–1924), 574  
Pudor, Heinrich (1865–1943), 575  
*Punch*, 576  
Pure Blood Laws, 577  
Purge of 1968 (Poland), 578  
Purge of the German Civil Service (1933), 579  
Purges, Soviet, 580  
Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich (1879–1920), 581

R

Raabe, Wilhelm (1831–1910), 583  
*Rabbi’s Speech*, The, 584  
Racial Laws (Italy), 584  
Racism, Scientific, 585

Rathenau, Walther (1867–1922), 588

Ratzinger, Georg (1844–1899), 589  
Raymund of Peñafort (1175/1180?–1275), 590  
Rebatet, Lucien (1903–1972), 591  
Reformation (1517–1648), 591  
Régis, Max (1873–1950), 594  
Renan, Ernest (1822–1893), 594  
Restitution (Switzerland), 595  
Restricted Public Accommodations, United States, 597

Restrictive Covenants, 597  
Reuchlin, Johann (1455–1522), 599  
Reventlow, Ernst zu (1869–1943), 600  
Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich (1823–1897), 601  
Rindfleisch Massacre (1298), 602  
Ritual Murder (Medieval), 602  
Ritual Murder (Modern), 605  
Rockwell, George Lincoln (1918–1967), 608  
Rohling, August (1839–1931), 609  
Roman Empire, 610  
Roman Literature, 612  
Romania (1878–1920), 617  
Romania, Holocaust in, 618  
Romania, Post-Soviet, 619  
Rosenberg, Alfred (1893–1946), 621  
Rosenberg Trial, 622  
Roth, Alfred (1879–1940), 623  
Rothschilds, 624  
Rowlandson, Thomas (1756–1827), 626  
Rozanov, Vasilii (1856–1919), 628  
Russia, Imperial, 629  
Russia, Post-Soviet, 632  
Russia, Revolution of 1905, 634  
Russian Civil War, 636  
Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), 637

S

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980), 639  
Schemann, Ludwig (1852–1938), 640  
Scheunenviertel Pogrom (1923), 641  
Schnitzler, Arthur (1862–1931), 642  
Schönerer, Georg von (1842–1921), 642  
Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788–1860), 643  
*Schwarze Korps, Das*, 645  
*Secret Doctrine, The* (1888), 645  
*Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*, 646  
Self-Hatred, Jewish, 647  
Seligman-Hilton Affair (1877), 649  
Settlement *Heimland*, 650  
Shabbetai Zevi, 651

- Shakespeare, William (1564–1616), 652  
 Shylock, 654  
 Simon of Trent, 655  
*Simplicissimus*, 657  
*Sin against the Blood* (1917), 658  
 Slánský Trial, 659  
 Slave Trade and the Jews, 660  
 Slovakia, Holocaust in, 662  
 Smith, Gerald L. K. (1898–1976), 663  
 Social Darwinism, 664  
 Social Democratic Party (Germany, 1875–1933), 665  
 Socialists on Antisemitism, 666  
 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr (1918– ), 669  
 Sombart, Werner (1863–1941), 670  
 Sorcery/Magic, 671  
 South Africa, 672  
 Spain, Riots of 1391, 673  
 Spain under Franco (1938–1975), 674  
 Stahl, Friedrich Julius (1802–1861), 675  
 Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953), 676  
 Stalinization of Eastern Europe, 677  
 State-within-a-State, 680  
 Stauff, Philipp (1876–1923), 681  
 Stavisky Affair (1933–1934), 682  
 Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925), 683  
 Stoecker, Adolf (1835–1909), 684  
 Streicher, Julius (1885–1946), 685  
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 686  
*Stürmer, Der*, 687  
 Stuyvesant, Peter (1592–1672), 688  
 Sudeten Germans, 688  
 Supersessionism, 689  
 Svengali, 691  
 Sweden, 692  
 Switzerland, 694  
 Szalasi, Ferenc (1897–1946), 695
- T**  
 Tacuara, 697  
 Talmud, 698  
*Talmud Jew, The*, 700  
 Talmud Trials, 701  
 Theater, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 702  
 Theodosian Code, 703  
 Theosophy, 704  
 “Three Hundred,” The, 705  
 Thule Society, 706  
 Tiso, Jozef (1887–1947), 707  
 Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder (1882), 707
- Tivoli Program (1892), 708  
 Toland, John (1670–1722), 709  
 Torquemada, Tomás de (1420–1498), 710  
 Toussenel, Alphonse (1803–1885), 710  
 Treitschke, Heinrich von (1834–1896), 711  
 Trollope, Anthony (1815–1882), 712  
 Twain, Mark (1835–1910), 713  
*Twilight of Israel, The* (1932), 715
- U**  
 Ukraine, Post-Soviet, 717  
 Ultramontanism, 718  
 United States, 720  
 USSR, 723  
 Ustasha, 726  
 Usury, 727
- V**  
 Vallat, Xavier (1891–1972), 731  
 Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Levin (1771–1833), 732  
 Vatican Council, First (1869–1870), 733  
 Vatican Council, Second (1962–1965), 734  
*Verjudung*, 735  
 Versailles Treaty, 736  
 Veuillot, Louis (1813–1883), 738  
 Vichy, 738  
*Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The* (1879), 741  
 Visigothic Spain, 742  
*Völkisch* Movement and Ideology, 743  
 Vogelsang, Karl von (1818–1890), 745  
 Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de (1694–1778), 746
- W**  
 Wagener, Hermann (1815–1889), 749  
 Wagner, Cosima (1837–1930), 750  
 Wagner, Richard (1813–1883), 750  
 Waldheim Affair, 752  
 Wandering Jew, 753  
 Wannsee Conference, 755  
 Watson, Tom (1856–1922), 757  
 Webb, Beatrice (1858–1943), 757  
 Webster, Nesta (1876–1960), 759  
 Weimar, 759  
 Weininger, Otto (1880–1903), 762  
 Well Poisoning, 763  
 Wells, H. G. (1866–1946), 764  
 Wharton, Edith (1862–1937), 765  
 White Power Movement, 766

- White Slavery, 768  
White Terror (Hungary), 769  
Wiesenthal-Kreisky Controversy, 770  
William of Norwich (d. 1144), 771  
Winrod, Gerald B. (1900–1957), 772  
Women and British Fascism, 773  
*Word about Our Jews, A* (1880), 774
- X  
Xanten Ritual Murder (1891–1892), 777
- Y  
Yellow Badge, 779  
Yellow Star, 779  
Young Germany, 781  
Young Hegelians, 783  
Youth Movement (German), 784
- Z  
Zionism, 787  
Zola, Émile (1840–1902), 788  
Zündel, Ernst (1939– ), 789

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# A

## Action Française (1899–1945)

The Action Française was the most important organization of the extreme Right in France in the first half of the twentieth century. It brought together the anti-Dreyfusards defeated by the defenders of the French Republic at the beginning of the century, and by World War II, it had become the key ideological progenitor of the National Revolution launched by the Vichy government.

Action Française had its roots in a periodical launched on July 10, 1899, by Maurice Pujo, a young writer, and Henri Vaugeois, a professor of philosophy. Their goal was to research and debate the underlying social and political problems faced by France at the time. This publication evolved into the *Revue de l’Action Française*, a nationalist periodical that appeared every two weeks. Around the *Revue* the Ligue d’Action Française was founded in 1905, which was shortly followed by the cultivation of activist student groups and the creation in 1906 of L’Institut d’Action Française as an alternative establishment of higher learning. The daily newspaper *L’Action Française* was launched in 1908. The same year, the Camelots du Roi were created; they sold the paper and were the street soldiers of the movement. This organizational structure was able to integrate all nationalists and antisemites seeking an alternative to the republic, primarily attracting segments of the middle classes, the provincial nobility, the military, the magistracy, and the clergy. The newspaper appealed strongly to the cultivated classes by the quality of its writing and sold 100,000 copies in peak periods.

Although he was not originally a monarchist, Charles Maurras, a leading voice of the extreme Right, converted the organization to the theorems of his integral nationalism, which synthe-

sized populist xenophobia, exclusionary patriotism, and the reactionary elitism of royalism. Maurras provided a doctrinally coherent alternative to socialists, liberals, and conservatives. His assault on the revolutionary and democratic traditions, his view of nature as hierarchical and unequal, his anticosmopolitanism and cultural (as opposed to biological) racism, his adherence to monarchy as a principle of leadership and an institutional repository of order and authority, his bellicose nationalism, and his regionalism and corporatism made the tenets of the Action Française an amalgam of Joseph de Maistre’s counterrevolution and Maurice Barrès’s mystical nationalism. With this ideology, the organization united the revolutionaries of the Right opposed to the Third Republic.

Before 1914, the Action Française consolidated its monopoly on the royalist cause and was the best-structured, most vital nationalist movement in the country. However, it rallied to the *union sacrée* (sacred union) to defeat the Germans in World War I. By 1917, it had moved from cramped offices on the rue d’Athènes into spacious new accommodations on rue Caumartin, across from the train station at Gare St. Lazare, symbolic of its power but also indicative of the tempering of a movement that had become more integrated into mainstream conservatism, stressing patriotism and Catholicism as opposed to monarchism. Intransigent on the peace terms and resolutely anti-German, Action Française achieved the apogee of its power in the aftermath of the war. The group sent about thirty candidates to parliament, which indicated its influence but also its diminishing radicalism. In 1926, the Vatican condemned the movement’s conflation of Catholicism and politics, initiating a major decline in the organization’s popularity, which sank

yet lower when younger adherents began to emulate Italian Fascism, with Georges Valois forming the Faisceau in 1925 and multiple other fascist parties arising in the 1930s. The period of the Vichy government, hailed as a “divine surprise,” was an idyllic era for the Action Française, but Vichy’s demise led to the end of the movement as a major force on the Right, even if its ideas have retained enduring influence.

—*Jonathan Judaken*

**See also** Barrès, Maurice; Camelots du Roi; Dreyfus Affair; France; Maurras, Charles; Vichy

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## Adams, Henry Brooks (1838–1918)

Descended from a patrician Boston family, the grandson and great-grandson of presidents, Henry Adams was a historian and a capacious intellectual. His manifestations of antisemitism were a part of his complicated and intriguing thought, his animus arising from a convergence of social, intellectual, and psychological factors. As J. C. Levenson (1957, 225) noted, Adams’s intelligence “was as cosmopolitan in its vices as in its virtues.”

Antisemitism began to pervade Adams’s personal (and, subtly, his public) writings in the early 1890s. He had grown increasingly pessimistic about the future of government and society in the United States in the face of the upheaval produced by industrial technology and emergent corporate capitalism. The depression of 1893 seemed to confirm his worries. Railing against the organized financial interests that he thought were responsible for this upheaval, Adams deployed the medieval stereotype of the Jew to reference these villains. National banking policy was “the Jew question”; the “commercial insanity” of contemporary America resulted from its “Hebraisation.”

Adams’s contempt for Jews as symbolic of capitalism and the evils of modernity meshed with the social contempt for them that was ram-

pant in his Boston Brahmin circle, where nativist antisemitism arose from great discomfort with social and cultural changes accompanying the concentration of financial and industrial power. “The Jew [was] a howling horror and inevitable end of civilization” as Adams knew it (quoted in Chalfant 2001, 116). The diverse immigrants crowding U.S. cities represented the multiplicity of the modern world, which threatened to devolve into chaos. Likewise, fears for social stability—avoiding a “Jew War”—led Adams to support the French army against Alfred Dreyfus (guilt or innocence aside).

Adams’s antisemitism was also of a piece with his philosophy of history, which was essentially a lament for the lost unity of the society that he imagined to have existed in the European Middle Ages. In the static, unified medieval world of his Eurocentric fantasy *Mont-St.-Michel and Chartres* (1904), Jews seemed out of place. Adams even attributed Judeophobia to his idealized Virgin Mary—“in spite of her own origin.”

What pulled these strands together was Adams’s acute self-consciousness about his own origins and his sense of failure and alienation. In the opening of his autobiographical masterpiece, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907), he compared himself to the scion of a priestly family, born and raised by the Temple in Jerusalem, as “distinctly branded” by the past and equally “handicapped in the races of the coming [twentieth] century.” On one level, Adams appeared to identify with the historical burden of Jewishness. Of a 1901 visit to Poland, he wrote, “The Jews and I are the only curious antiquities in it. . . . He [“the Jew”] makes me creep” (quoted in Chalfant 2001, 214). But “the Jew” was more than a symbol of Adams’s own sense of cultural obsolescence. A residual Puritan identification with Jewish chosenness and mission helped spawn his resentment of inherited expectations he felt unable to meet. No doubt, that resentment was increased by the evident ability of many contemporary Jews to adapt to a world that, Adams believed, had left the Puritans’ descendants behind.

—*Amy Hill Shevitz*

**See also** Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Dreyfus Affair; Poland; Twain, Mark; United States

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### *Adversus Iudaeos*

The eight sermons of John Chrysostom, one of the most important preachers of the Greek Orthodox Church, have been handed down under the title *Against the Jews (Adversus Iudaeos)*. However, Jews represent only one of the polemical subjects of the work. His major target was “Judaizers,” that is, Christians who, despite belonging to the church, participated in the life of the Jewish community. To separate them from the synagogue and the Jews, Chrysostom fiercely slandered the Jews themselves. The sermons must be understood as the product of their fourth-century context in the cosmopolitan city of Antioch, where a variety of peoples commingled on the social, cultural, and religious planes. Judaizers not only called into question the church’s theological negation of Judaism, they also freely incorporated Judaic elements into their Christianity.

Conclusive theological grounds for sealing off the religions from one another were not immediately obvious—this much is clear from the polemics. The long existence of Judaism was especially problematic in antiquity because the age of an institution could give it great weight. Chrysostom and others therefore insisted that Judaism ought not to be venerated because of its age, but that it had instead become antiquated. Another feature of the sermons against Judaizing was their admonitions against participation in Jewish festivals. Notwithstanding the claims of the church authorities, a sizable number of Christians found it acceptable to take part in Jewish religious life, especially in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, where the Jewish presence was



The eight sermons of Greek Orthodox preacher John Chrysostom (pictured here) have been handed down under the title *Against the Jews (Adversus Iudaeos)*. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

significant. These superficial matters hid a more menacing problem for the church. If Christians consciously found themselves able to participate in Jewish sacred ceremonies and simultaneously take part in church life, then there was an obvious conclusion to be drawn: they simply did not see the differences between Jews and Christians that church preachers insisted were real.

In Antioch, the Jewish community was long established, comprising approximately 15 percent of the population and able to support many synagogues. Chrysostom’s sermons bear witness to the attractiveness of Judaism. He apparently regarded Christianity and Judaism in a competitive situation, both intent on winning over the pagan part of the population. It should be remembered that the Christian churches were split into several groupings, whereas the Jews were unified. Even though the law promulgated by the Emperor Theodosius I in 380 had raised Christianity to a state religion, the religious constellation remained ambiguous. In retrospect, the

fourth century can be seen as the beginning of the Christian era, but that fact was by no means obvious to contemporaries.

The eight sermons of *Adversus Iudeos* belong to a cycle of addresses delivered between late 386 and late 387. Shortly thereafter, they appeared in book form. The sermons admonished Christians to shun Jews and Judaism. Chrysostom added nothing new to the stock arguments of Christian anti-Judaism, harking back instead to the familiar motifs. What was new about the work was the polemical intensity of the confrontation. Biblical imprecations abounded. The author applied the rebukes of the prophets to the Jews of his own times, ignoring their original historical context. He introduced pronouncements from the New Testament into the assault, adapting them with bold analogies to the present. He taxed Jews with their denial of the divinity of Jesus. From that, it followed that the blasphemers had killed God. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Diaspora were just punishments for the Crucifixion. Because it was his firm belief that there could be no knowledge of God without Christian faith, he disputed that Jews could know or worship God. Thus, the synagogue could not be a real house of prayer but only a dwelling place of the devil. He who went there put himself into the devil's hands.

Chrysostom sounded another traditional argument, stating that after the destruction of the Temple, it was no longer possible for Jews to fulfill the commandments of the law. Consequently, any attempt by Jews to lead a divinely ordained life went contrary to the law. In this tactic, he demonstrated how the Torah could be instrumentalized in the service of Christian anti-Judaism. But the attack went beyond the merely religious to castigate the social and ethical behavior of Jews. They were depicted as sexually dissolute, uneducated, and mad; they were enslaved to the tawdry pleasures, such as the theater and horse racing (an accusation Chrysostom also leveled at Christians in another sermon). The synagogue was a dwelling for demons, a bordello, a den of iniquity. He demonized the Jews and likened them to a disease that could infect Christians. Undoubtedly, his tirades were built on traditional theological arguments, but they also pos-

sessed an unmistakable manic, hate-filled character all their own.

An important subtext ran through the sermons. Their author did not represent himself or his cause as triumphant. Instead, he revealed a nagging sense of inferiority in relation to the historical claims and current attractiveness of Judaism, dread feelings he compensated for with a violent and extravagant rhetoric. It is not known whether Chrysostom succeeded in insulating Christians from Jews by means of his sermons; very probably, he did not. Perhaps a kind of peace through exhaustion settled on him later in life. Subsequent sermons contained the same total disapproval of Judaizing, but they lacked the impassioned tone. Over the centuries, *Adversus Iudeos* exerted widespread influence in the Eastern Orthodox Church. The book was "rediscovered" by Christian antisemites of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who were happy to have the authority of a church father to legitimize their hatreds.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Deicide; Roman Empire; Supersessionism

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## African American–Jewish Relations

Even as African Americans and Jews enjoyed periods of impressive political and cultural cooperation, black antisemitism as well as Jewish racism emerged throughout the last three centuries to forge a complex black-Jewish relationship.

Soon after their arrival on American shores, Africans in slavery converted to Christianity and embraced many of the white South's antisemitic assumptions. Africans, and especially their African American children, and grandchildren heard sermons that blamed Jews for the death of Jesus. As Leonard Dinnerstein has reported, one African American writer noted that "all of us black people who lived in the neighborhood

hated Jews, not because they exploited us but because we had been taught at home and in Sunday school that Jews were ‘Christ killers’” (in Dinnerstein 1994, 198).

Antisemitic assumptions continued after African American emancipation. At the turn of the twentieth century, black-owned newspapers featured stories that identified Jews as unscrupulous businesspeople, a charge that stemmed from centuries-old European stereotypes about Jews as exploitative moneylenders. Even as African American leader and Tuskegee Institute founder Booker T. Washington adopted a strong assimilationist stance toward white America, he still confided antisemitic thoughts to his private circle of friends and associates. W. E. B. DuBois, who would join two leading Jewish philanthropists to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, espoused antisemitic beliefs before distancing himself from them later in his life.

The popularization of scientific racism in the United States in the first thirty years of the twentieth century evoked a mixed reaction among African American leaders. Some joined white Christian leaders to argue that Jews possessed inferior genetic stock and should therefore be denied entry to the United States. Others saw in the antisemitic persecution of Jews a threat to their own African American community, rejecting both the xenophobic sentiments of many popular writers as well as the ideas espoused by Adolf Hitler.

Positive relations between Jews and African Americans peaked during the post–World War II era when the communal leaderships of each group joined in an unprecedented movement for racial equality in the United States. Abraham Joshua Heschel joined Martin Luther King Jr. in the famed Selma march to dramatize the common bonds between blacks and Jews. Jews funded and led many national civil rights organizations and could be counted as the majority of white volunteers during the most intense years of the civil rights struggle.

In the years after President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965, relations between African Americans and Jews soured under

the weight of competing charges of black antisemitism and Jewish racism. A growing number of African American civil rights activists resented what they considered the paternalistic approach of Jewish leaders, and northern Jews resisted residential and education integration in their own communities.

In 1966, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) decided in a very tight election to purge whites and therefore Jews from leadership positions in the organization. Other civil rights groups followed suit, with some black leaders accusing Jews of complicity with Western imperialism and the evils of the capitalist system of the United States. After Israel’s victory in the 1967 Six Days’ War, Black Power advocates expressed public support for Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat and called for the destruction of the Jewish state.

King’s accommodationist approach to interracial politics gave way to the flagrant antisemitism of Black Nationalists, the Nation of Islam leaders (especially Malcolm X), and even some black intellectuals. A series of high-profile confrontations between African Americans and Jews ensued.

Conflicts over the nature and limits of affirmative action programs, as well as widely publicized comments made by the then-presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and former United Nations ambassador Andrew Young, extended the era of African American–Jewish distrust into the 1980s. Attempts at interracial dialogue faltered in the last third of the twentieth century as more African Americans identified Jews with the attitudes and political views of the white majority. American Jews, who remained white America’s largest liberal ethnic group, took particular offense at the vitriolic antisemitism of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and Afrocentrist academics such as Leonard Jeffries.

In the early years of the twenty-first century, African Americans and Jews maintain a large measure of social isolation and only limited political cooperation. Expressions of black antisemitism remain rather limited in an era defined more by ethnic separation than by the accommodationist coalition building of an earlier time.

—*Marc Dollinger*

**See also** Black Nationalism; Farrakhan, Louis; Nation of Islam; Racism, Scientific; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; United States

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## Agobard (779–840)

St. Agobard, the early ninth-century bishop of Lyons in south-central France, confronted Jews with anxiety. He feared their effects on Christians serving as domestics in their households and possibly advocated the quasi-forceable conversion of Jewish children. His main preoccupation was purity, which he believed was endangered by contact with Jews. In letters written between about 826 and 828—most of them to clergy and one to Emperor Louis the Pious—Agobard railed about Jewish abuse, especially about Jews dining with Christians. There were also intimations of sexual improprieties, Jewish proselytizing, and blasphemy in Jewish writings.

Agobard quite probably derived his ideas from the early third-century Cyprian, who feared that priests who had served at pagan altars during the Diocletian persecution of Christianity in the early third century had become impure (and therefore unfit to offer the Eucharist), and had also passed on this impurity to others. Agobard applied these ideas to contact with Jews, fearing that those who fraternized with Jews might later break bread with a priest who might then offer the sacrament in impurity. Extending this logic, he spoke against accepting gifts from Jews at holiday time, especially the Passover matzah—that surrogate for Christ's sacrifice, the true matzah, as Paul said in I Corinthians 5. Agobard saw virtually all social intercourse with Jews as *idolatriae autem iugo libertatem animi inclinarent* (leading to the yoking of the free to the harness of idolatry). He warned

Christians to beware lest Jews seduce them “into their errors.” In support of his contentions, he cited edicts of councils held at Agde, Clermont, and Laodicea in the fifth century, edicts reiterated at the 845–846 council at Meaux.

It is important to note that Agobard believed Jewish impurity threatened his ideal Christian *societas fidei* (society of the faithful), a society with no differences between peoples—by which he meant a wholly Christian society under church dominion. The Carolingian emperor, who, according to Agobard, should have set ecclesiastical policy seconded by important priests, disregarded him on the subject of the Jews. Incensed, Agobard openly rebelled.

Some Christians took his teachings to mean that Jews should be repressed at all costs and by any means. But Agobard himself did not preach violence. He sought to place limits on Jews through canon law, and for this reason, it appears he instructed his deacon Florus (a judicial official at that time) to gather the canons and texts he cited into a collection of restrictive laws. This collection has survived. Its contents reinforce our knowledge that nearly all the canons restricting Jews were on the books by about the year 900 or 1000; with but one or two exceptions, later councils did not innovate.

—Kenneth Stow

**See also** Church Councils (Early); Lateran Council, Fourth; Middle Ages, Early

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## Agrarian League

Imperial Germany's most powerful interest group was a bundle of contradictions. Launched in 1893 mainly by large estate owners of the Prussian east, the Agrarian League (Bund der Landwirte) cultivated its largest constituencies among smaller-scale farmers in Germany's central and western regions. In founding the league, Conservatives were, in part, responding to the challenge posed by Germany's antisemitic parties, whose recent electoral gains in rural areas threatened traditional strongholds. Yet the league's remarkable success was not a straightforward Conservative triumph,

as the new venture, advancing an intransigently agrarian program of protective tariffs, bimetallism, and other palliatives, soon outstripped its Conservative Party sponsors in popular support and political resources. As the league grew into a genuinely mass organization, with its membership numbering over 200,000 by 1900, it generated its own nucleus of leaders—men such as Diederich Hahn and Gustav Roesicke, beholden largely to their own rising ambitions. With its burgeoning agitational apparatus, including several mass-circulation newspapers, more than 100 traveling agitators, and an annual budget of more than 1 million marks, the league came to dominate rural politics in many German regions. By 1907, its electoral clout was such that more than one-third of all Reichstag deputies had publicly signed on to its agrarian program. Yet this very success, which helped resuscitate Conservative Party fortunes in the short run, also pushed that party's appeal onto increasingly narrow agrarian tracks, as the league's stridency drove many middle-class and urban constituencies toward other parties instead.

In convening its first general assembly, the league pointedly declared its membership was open only to Christians, and over the organization's life span, antisemitism played an increasingly important role in its agitation. Yet many "true" antisemites, such as Hermann Ahlwardt and Otto Böckel, viewed the league with distrust, disparaging its anti-Jewish demagoguery as fundamentally insincere. The league, they argued, was using antisemitism chiefly as a rhetoric of convenience, not as an urgent priority unto itself. They condemned the league as a stalking horse for the landed elites, in a bid to undermine the authentic rebellion of the peasantry through spurious appeals to an imaginary community of agrarian interest. In this, they were largely correct; the Conservative notables who had long dominated Germany's rural politics made little effort to disguise the revulsion they felt for rabble-rousers such as Böckel and Ahlwardt, whose slogans had targeted "Junkers" as well as Jews. Antisemitism, Conservative agrarians argued, needed to be placed back inside "legitimate bounds," with its more radical exponents brought to heel.

And in this aim, the league was largely successful, though the disintegration and decline of

Germany's antisemitic parties rested on other factors as well. Yet if the Agrarian League contributed to the gradual marginalization of the antisemitic parties, it simultaneously absorbed and preserved much of their venomous rhetoric and beliefs. Whatever their degree of "sincerity," league leaders and their press promoted an increasingly violent imagery of Jews, while gravitating toward a *völkisch* (racially grounded) nationalism. This ideological trend only hardened after the elections of 1912, when the league suffered sharp reversals in its political fortunes, losing fully 60 of the 138 mandates its electoral machinery had helped secure in 1907. As league agitation continued to absolve German agrarians of any responsibility for their problems, anti-Jewish scapegoating filled an inevitable and necessary role; this flight from reality continued through World War I, as the league press blamed "world Jewry" for everything from food shortages to the war itself. In January 1920, the league was reorganized into the Reichslandbund, which carried forth the former group's program and antisemitism into Germany's Weimar years. Sections of the Reichslandbund went over to the Nazi Party in the early 1930s.

—John Abbott

**See also** Ahlwardt, Hermann; Antisemitic Political Parties; Böckel, Otto; Christian Social Party (Germany); German Peasant League; Hahn, Diederich; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Memminger, Anton; Ratzinger, Georg; Tivoli Program

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### Ahlwardt, Hermann (1846–1914)

Easily dismissed as a rowdy and a buffoon and often disavowed by mainline antisemites in the German Empire, Hermann Ahlwardt proved

adept at holding the limelight in antisemitic politics, filling meeting halls, and scandalizing the respectable press with his flamboyant demagoguery. His early life gave no indication of such a career. Born in rural Pomerania, he received an excellent education, became a teacher in 1866, and was a school principal in Berlin by 1881. He was on friendly terms with Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker, who confirmed one of his daughters, and with several Jewish and liberal notables. But then he fell into debt, resorted to short-term loans at high interest rates—he later admitted that the usurers were not Jews—and began embezzling school funds. Dismissed from his post and obviously foundering, he seized on antisemitic agitation as a way of saving himself.

Ahlwardt began leveling sensational and libelous charges against prominent public figures, including Chancellor Leo von Caprivi and Otto von Bismarck's personal banker, Gerson von Bleichröder, who was Jewish. Even as he sat in jail, having been convicted for slander, Ahlwardt prepared his next sensation. He claimed that the Jewish-owned Löwe munitions firm, in collusion with highly placed government officials, had knowingly supplied defective weapons to the German army. He laid out these charges in a pamphlet, *Neue Enthüllungen: Judenflinten* (New Revelations: Jew Rifles [1892]), which went through twenty editions and engendered a huge public outcry before being confiscated by the government. Ahlwardt was arrested, tried, and convicted, but before he could be imprisoned, he won, without organization or funding, a seat in the Reichstag; his parliamentary immunity allowed him to escape serving his sentence.

From 1892 to 1903, Ahlwardt represented a backwater Prussian district, rarely attending sessions of the parliament and making no significant contribution to the well-being of his constituents. Nonetheless, he remained unceasingly popular with his voters because he was able to understand and exploit their long list of grievances against a government they were certain favored Jews, city dwellers, and industry over hardworking small farmers. Ahlwardt also recognized their resentment toward the traditional leaders in the countryside; the Junker noblemen of Prussia with their large landholdings. His campaign slogan, adopted

by the antisemites in rural election districts elsewhere, effectively combined these two targets: “*Gegen Junker und Juden!*” (Against Junkers and Jews!) Ahlwardt's successes in populist politics greatly alarmed liberals and conservatives alike. Liberal doubts about the wisdom of letting simple folk vote were confirmed. His election victory was decried as a crime against reason and all upstanding German values of law, order, and honesty. When other antisemitic candidates also began to threaten their traditionally safe Reichstag seats, the Conservative Party leadership found it expedient to incorporate antisemitism into its own program in late 1892. More conventional antisemites also felt threatened by Ahlwardt's style and flaunting of the law. They pushed him to the fringes of the movement but never managed to undermine his popularity with the rank and file. Hailed as the “second Luther,” he apparently was able to finance himself by charging admission to his meetings during never-ending national speaking tours.

Fortunately for all his enemies, Ahlwardt obliged them by self-destructing. Solving the Jewish Question never appeared to be his first priority. When his sensational antisemitic disclosures began to pall, he turned his attention to the Jesuits and Freemasons. In the late 1890s, while still technically a member of the Reichstag, he traveled to the United States, campaigned on behalf of William Jennings Bryan, and tried to establish an American antisemitic association based in Brooklyn, then a borough with a large German population. He returned to Germany to open a chain of *Judenflinten* cigar stores, which swiftly failed. In 1903, he successfully bequeathed his election district to Wilhelm Bruhn, another disreputable antisemite, and busied himself with the selling of fraudulent mining shares. In 1914, no longer of interest to German antisemites or interested in them, he was run over and killed by one of the first motorized meat trucks in Leipzig.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Freemasonry; Jesuit Order; Pückler, Count Walter von; Stoecker, Adolf; Tivoli Program

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## Alexandrian Pogrom

By Alexandrian “pogrom,” modern scholars refer to the persecution that Jews suffered in 38 CE in Alexandria, Egypt. The sole source of information for this episode is Philo of Alexandria, himself a Jew, who witnessed the riots and who afterward led the Jewish delegation to the Emperor Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus (Caligula) that requested the reestablishment of legal Jewish residence in Alexandria.

At the beginning of August 38 CE, King Agrippa I, whom Gaius had recently appointed king of a good part of Palestine, gave the Alexandrian citizens gathered in the gymnasium the occasion for mocking him qua Jewish king. Immediately thereafter, the same people went into a theater and called for the installing of images of Gaius in the synagogues. The Jews strongly and actively opposed this attempt. A few days later, the Roman prefect of Egypt, Flaccus, issued an edict declaring the Jews foreigners and immigrants, abolishing their rights to live in Alexandria. The Alexandrian population then pushed the Jews into a small district of the city, torturing and killing whoever attempted to leave it and destroying Jewish property anywhere else. Flaccus also arrested and punished some members of the Jewish council of elders.

The Jews had enjoyed legal residence in Alexandria since the city had, according to tradition, been founded in 331 BCE by Alexander the Great. Alexandria was later developed by Ptolemy I and his successors, who had allowed Jews to live according to their traditions and laws, or *politèia*, in a semi-independent enclave, or *politeuma*. The Jews had their own civic institutions, which included magistrates and a court for the administration of justice. The Roman emperors later recognized and confirmed the legality of the Jewish presence in the city. Thus, the edict of Flaccus in 38 CE represented a breach in Roman policy.

Scholarly interpretation, with few exceptions, follows Philo’s account. Flaccus, entangled in political troubles with the Roman court after the recent accession of Gaius, sought to enhance his position in Alexandria by making an alliance with the anti-Jewish factions and endorsing their persecution. Scholars who doubt that the Alexandrian citizens had enough weight to be a factor

in the imperial policy of Rome have challenged this position. Until recently, there was also a general consensus on the Greek identity of the opponents of the Jews. However, a more careful reading of Philo’s account has led some scholars to point instead to the Egyptians as the major perpetrators. The notion that Jews had a part in provoking the riots by demanding full Alexandrian rights is no longer widely believed.

In the winter of 38 or 39 CE, the Jews sent an embassy to Gaius to plead for the reestablishment of their rights; it is not clear what the emperor’s response was, but it seems that nothing changed until Claudius’s accession to the throne at the beginning of 41 CE.

—Sandra Gambetti

**See also** Claudius; Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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## Algeria

Jews first arrived in North Africa 2,000 years ago after migrating west from Palestine. Later waves came from Spain during the Reconquista between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. For many centuries, Jews lived in relative harmony with Muslims and Christians in North Africa. They worked primarily as merchants and craftsmen; most resided in the larger coastal cities, such as Fez, Tunis, and Cairo. In terms of dress, language, and lifestyle, Jews in North Africa, unlike the Jews of Europe, often resembled their neighbors.

Beginning in the tenth century, however, Jews became a more distinctive community in North Africa. Islamic leaders formally separated the Jews (and Christians) as “protected persons” (*dhimmis*) and instituted special taxes and restrictions on them. During periods of hardship and war, urban masses sometimes directed their hostilities against the Jews because of their visible role in the economy. In response, Jews bonded together more tightly, withdrawing into their religious communities. Under Ottoman rule, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, some Jews gained more

economic power by extending their commercial networks into Europe and across the Ottoman Empire and by financing the privateering trade of Ottoman rulers. As the Ottoman government weakened in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Jews became the target of attacks by local residents and military forces. Thus, Jews welcomed the French occupation of Algeria in 1830, and they became interpreters, suppliers, and conscripts. In 1870, the French government naturalized the Jews in Algeria through the Crémieux Decree. As a result, the Jewish minority, though small in relation to other European settlers and the Muslim majority, became a political factor in Algerian and French politics.

Although it was informed by European cultural prejudices and intellectual theories, antisemitism in French Algeria is best described as a popular political tradition. Supporters of *antijuïdisme*—a special term used in Algeria to distinguish between Jews and Semitic Arabs—were drawn primarily from the European settler population in and around the large towns and cities in the north, such as Oran, Algiers, and Constantine. After 1870, anti-Jewish organizations, newspapers, and agitators appeared during election campaigns, in part the product of competition among settler political parties for Jewish votes (more than 10 percent of the total vote in some cities and towns). Anti-Jewish violence broke out in Algeria between 1881 and 1884 and again in 1889. After the Dreyfus Affair started in 1894, anti-Jewish political mobilization increased in Algeria. Led by the young and charismatic Max Régis, the Anti-Jewish League of Algiers sponsored petitions, boycotts, street demonstrations, and attacks on Jewish shops and neighborhoods; in 1898, it elected four anti-Jewish deputies, including Édouard Drumont, to the French National Assembly and swept the Algiers city council and mayoral elections. Moderate *antijuifs* (anti-Jews) hoped to limit Jewish influence, whereas the radicals demanded the abolition of Jews' citizenship rights or their expulsion from Algeria. Mixed in with these demands were calls for greater autonomy from France and regular verbal assaults on Parisian government officials. The end of the Dreyfus Affair, along with local scandals in Algeria in the

early 1900s, brought an end to this phase of antisemitism in Algeria.

Publicly disavowed by the Center and the Left in France, antisemitism in the twentieth century shifted squarely to the domain of the political Right in both France and Algeria. In Algeria, however, it retained its popular appeal. In the 1920s and 1930s, local politicians in Oran, Algiers, and Constantine branded the Jews as Bolsheviks and internationalists; electoral platforms called for the exclusion of Jews from public service, regulation of Jewish property, and abrogation of the Crémieux Decree. Spurred on by this atmosphere and by acute economic crisis, Muslim rioters killed several Jews in Constantine in 1934. Two years later, settler campaigns against the French Popular Front were marked by anti-Jewish violence and protests. The endorsement of Algerian *antijuifs* by right-wing organizations in metropolitan France culminated in the Vichy government's abrogation of the Crémieux Decree in 1940 (it was reinstated in 1943). Many Jews and Muslims in Algeria condemned these displays of prejudice and discrimination. In fact, ill treatment by Europeans fostered a solidarity between the Jews and Muslims that extended into the years of the Algerian War (1954–1962).

After independence in 1962, the majority of Jews in Algeria left for France, Israel, and North America. Today, with few Jews left in a Muslim-dominated country, the most common expressions of antisemitism appear in conjunction with condemnations of Israel's policies in the Middle East.

—Lizabeth Zack

**See also** Constantine Pogrom; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; France; Islam and the Jews; Régis, Max; Vichy

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## Alliance Israélite Universelle

In 1860, a group of acculturated French Jews established the Alliance Israélite Universelle as the

first international organization dedicated to Jewish self-defense. The immediate impetus was the church's kidnapping of the six-year-old Jewish child Edgardo Mortara in Bologna and the inspiration was Adolphe Crémieux, the parliamentary deputy and minister of justice in the French governments of 1848 and 1870.

Intervention in the Damascus Affair of 1840 by Crémieux and Moses Montefiore, his English counterpart, had encouraged Jewish communities in the East to seek the continuing intercession of Western leaders. The French alliance with the Ottoman Empire in the Crimean War, along with an 1856 Turkish promise for Jewish emancipation, further stimulated interest among French Jews in the defense and modernization of their Eastern coreligionists and prepared the ground for the institutional innovation of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

Alliance activities included diplomatic intervention, relief for the victims of pogroms and other disasters, aid to emigrants, and the establishment of an influential school system. Membership peaked at over 30,000 in 1885, and though 60 percent of the members were not French, authority always remained in Paris. Diplomatic influence was reduced by the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and in the following year, British Jews broke away to form their own Anglo-Jewish Association. The Alliance Israélite Universelle was sometimes an uneasy ally among the Jewish self-defense organizations that ultimately appeared in Berlin, Vienna, and New York as well.

From its inception, the new organization attempted to enlist the prominent Italian statesman Count Camillo Cavour to protect the young Mortara, and it protested the massacre of 11,000 Maronite Christians in Syria. Later attempts to intervene with the Turkish authorities over the proliferation of ritual murder allegations by Christians in the Ottoman Empire were partially successful, as were efforts undertaken with the Moroccan sultan in regard to the brutalities and depredations of his local officials.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle naturally became an advocate for the Jews of the Christian states that emerged from the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. From 1861, the Serbian

government dealt with the group as the virtual representative for its unemancipated Jewish community. Crémieux began his efforts for Romania's persecuted Jews in 1867 by obtaining the support of Napoleon III of France and Otto von Bismarck of Prussia. Alliance efforts contributed to the agreement reached by Bulgaria, Serbia, and Romania at the 1878 Congress of Berlin to extend equal rights to the Jews, an undertaking that Romania notoriously repudiated. The antisemitic movement of the 1870s and 1880s rendered this sort of high diplomacy even less effective.

By 1914, the educational system established by the alliance extended to 183 primary schools in fifteen countries, along with vocational, agricultural, nursing, and rabbinical schools and a Parisian teacher-training college. Controversy arose over the use of French as the language of instruction, the reduced role of religious studies, and the poor teaching of Hebrew by local rabbis. Yet by 1982, with a few of the schools still surviving in some Arab countries, approximately 650,000 students had been educated under the system. The effort enhanced social mobility for Ottoman, North African, and Middle Eastern Jews, enlarged the Jewish middle class, and emancipated young women.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle had its critics among both antisemites and Jews. Antisemites sometimes connected Crémieux to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. During the Dreyfus Affair, the organization found it advisable to keep a low profile. Theodor Herzl, leader of the Zionist movement, feared that the existence of this far-flung (anti-Zionist) organization, with access to people in high places, nourished the myth that Jews maintained a secret organization plotting world domination. In all likelihood, however, the Alliance Israélite Universelle's anti-Zionist stance—ironically—nourished the Zionist movement by encouraging eastern European Jews to anticipate help in this enterprise from their brethren in the West.

—Edward Bristow

**See also** Damascus Blood Libel; Dreyfus Affair; Emancipation; Herzl, Theodor; Mortara Affair; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Modern); Romania; Zionism

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### **Almohad Persecution**

The Berber movement of the Almohads was founded by Ibn Tumart (d. 1130) in the High Atlas Mountains of North Africa. Claiming to be the *Mahdi* (divinely guided one), he followed a puritanical Islam insisting on the absolute unity of God, hence the name of the movement: *al-muwahhidun* (the Unitarians). Because he feared for the moral and religious decline of Islam and sought the foundations of Muslim law in the Koran and Hadith alone, Ibn Tumart can be considered one of the first fundamentalists in Islamic history. Under the leadership of his successor, ‘Abd al-Mu’min (d. 1163), the Almohads conquered the whole Maghrib from Morocco to Tunisia and al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). In many ways, the rule of the intolerant and fanatical Almohads (just like that of their predecessors, the Almoravids, in the first half of the twelfth century) put an end to the more or less peaceful *convivencia* (living together) of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Spain.

Non-Muslims were subject to persecution and inquisition, but Muslims were also targets of Almohad intolerance. Christians and Jews were given the choice of conversion, exile, or death. This situation led to the disappearance of the few Christian communities in North Africa and of the last Mozarabs (Spanish Christians living under the rule of Muslims) of al-Andalus who fled to the Christian north. As far as the persecution of the numerous indigenous Jewish populations of North Africa and al-Andalus is concerned, two periods can be distinguished. The first extended from the time of the conquest up to 1184, during which massacres of Jews took

place at Marrakesh and Fez, forcing a large number of Jews to leave their country for Christian Spain, southern France, Sicily, Italy, Egypt, and Palestine. Among those fleeing to the Middle East was the future philosopher and physician Maimonides (Moshe ben Maymun), who left Fez in 1165 with his family. This flight of the educated at the end of the twelfth century initiated the intellectual decline of the indigenous Jewish population, by then already converted to Islam. It also deprived Muslim Spain and North Africa of some of its major intellectual and cultural resources.

The second period of persecutions began with the reign of Abu Jusuf Ya’kub al-Mansur (d. 1199). Under the influence of austere scholars, he suspected the Jews who had converted during the reign of his predecessor of only feigning belief in Islam. Therefore, he decreed that Jews could only marry among themselves and could not engage in large-scale business. In addition, “the Jews of the Maghrib had to wear clothing that would distinguish them from all others, that is dark blue garments with sleeves of an exaggerated length, reaching almost to their feet, and instead of turbans, caps of a very hideous appearance, [looking] like packsaddles, that fell below their ears” (Dozy 1881, 223; translated by the author). They also had to wear a distinguishing sign called the *shikla*. Al-Mansur’s successor, Muhammad al-Nasir (d. 1214), allowed Jews to wear their normal style of clothes but only in yellow and once again permitted them to engage in trade. After suffering defeat at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), the Almohads lost their power in Spain, and the Jews were once more able to practice their religion openly. The situation in North Africa also improved. Under al-Ma’mun’s reign (1228–1232), Jews started resettling in the cities.

—Hans-Jörg Döhla

*See also* Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism; Yellow Badge

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## Alsace

From the end of the eighteenth century until 1871, when most of the territory comprising the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine was annexed by Germany, debates over the Jewish Question in France, as well as physical violence against Jews, centered on the region of Alsace.

As part of the Holy Roman Empire, Alsace had remained open to Jewish settlement even after Jews had been expelled from medieval France. France acquired the region and its large Ashkenazi (Yiddish-speaking) population in the mid-seventeenth century. On the eve of the French Revolution of 1789, the Jewish population of Alsace numbered approximately 22,500, over half of the 40,000 Jews who lived in France at the time. Another 7,500 Jews lived in neighboring Lorraine, so together, these northeastern provinces constituted the heartland of French Jewry.

The distinctive cultural and economic profile of Jews in Alsace elicited debate even before the French Revolution. Although the Sephardi Jews, who had gone to southwestern France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as New Christians, were highly acculturated and well integrated, the Jews of Alsace lived in a state of segregation, subject to a welter of medieval anti-Jewish regulations. Culturally, they retained distinctive customs and traditions within their own semiautonomous communities, which were governed by rabbis and Jewish lay leaders and adhered to Talmudic law. Barred from residing in major urban centers, Alsatian Jews lived scattered among hundreds of small rural hamlets and villages, where they sometimes constituted the majority of the population. Jews were banned from a wide range of occupations; they could not own land, join artisan guilds, or manage retail businesses. The vast majority of the Jewish population was therefore involved in petty trade, serving primarily as commercial intermediaries between the countryside and urban areas. Most significantly for the history of antisemitism, they functioned as the principal moneylenders in this

region until the end of the nineteenth century. On the eve of the Revolution in 1789, Jews owned approximately one-third of all mortgages in Alsace, although they constituted only 3 to 4 percent of the region's total population. To the extent that they interacted with gentiles, it was to carry on business.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, several Enlightenment philosophes, most notably Denis Diderot and François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, condemned Jews in general as misanthropic, rapacious, and culturally retrograde, thus raising the question of whether they could be integrated. It was, however, the Affair of False Receipts of 1777 that brought the question of Alsatian Jewry to the center stage of public attention. In that year, a local judge, François Joseph Antoine de Hell, orchestrated the forgery of hundreds of receipts, which were then distributed to the Alsatian peasantry to prove that they had repaid their debts to Jews. Two years later, Hell published a pamphlet justifying the forgery as a legitimate means of protecting the peasants against their Jewish oppressors, whom he excoriated as comprising an unassimilable "state within a state." In response to this campaign, which threatened Alsatian Jews with economic ruin, an appeal was made to Moses Mendelssohn to intervene on their behalf. Mendelssohn turned to his colleague Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, a Prussian civil servant and exponent of enlightened views. In this way, the Affair of False Receipts led to the publication of Dohm's *On the Civic Improvement of the Jews* (1781), an important milestone in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in both Germany and France.

In the 1780s, the administration of Louis XVI began to ease some anti-Jewish restrictions. In 1785, the royal society of Metz sponsored an essay contest on the question, "Are there means of making the Jews happier and more useful in France?" In 1787, three prizewinners, including Abbé Henri-Baptiste Grégoire, were announced. All three echoed Dohm in arguing that the Jews, despite their cultural and economic particularities, could be transformed into loyal citizens. In 1788, the king commissioned Chrétien Guillaume de Malesherbes, who had already prepared two memoranda on the status of Protestants, to

compile a similar study of Jews. Malesherbes concluded that tensions between Jews and the Christian populace in Alsace would cease only when Jews no longer constituted a “nation within a nation.” To achieve this end, he recommended that they be granted civil rights analogous to those being contemplated for Protestants.

Although Malesherbes’s recommendations were never implemented, they set the stage for the debate over Jewish emancipation during the French Revolution. Jews, as well as other non-Catholic minorities, should have been granted citizenship automatically by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of August 26, 1789. Nevertheless, full emancipation was delayed another two years: Protestants were granted citizenship in December 1789; the Sephardi Jews of southwestern France in June 1790; and the Ashkenazi Jews of Alsace and Lorraine only in September 1791. Although several prominent people, most notably Grégoire and Count Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre, ardently defended the right of Jews to become citizens, staunch opposition was voiced, especially in Alsace and Lorraine. The bulk of this opposition came from the conservative Right, represented by the clergy and aristocracy. But opponents could be found on the Left as well. The Jacobin deputy from Colmar, Jean-François Rewbell, emerged as the foremost exponent of antiemancipation views, warning his colleagues in the National Assembly that the Alsatian peasantry would turn against the Revolution if Jews were emancipated.

The debate over Jewish emancipation resurfaced under Napoleon Bonaparte. On his return from the Battle of Austerlitz in 1806, Napoleon passed through Strasbourg and was besieged with complaints about Jewish moneylending, which allegedly had worsened since Jews had purchased a portion of the *biens nationaux*, or nationalized properties, that had formerly belonged to the church and nobility. Although Jews had acquired no more than about 2 percent of all the *biens nationaux* in Alsace between 1789 and 1811 (10 percent if one counts land they acquired on behalf of Christians), the lament that Alsace had been delivered into Jewish hands found a sympathetic hearing among members of Napoleon’s cabinet, as well as some prominent intellectuals,

such as Louis de Bonald, who argued that Alsace had fallen victim to a new form of feudalism—the “feudality” of Jewish money.

Although Napoleon’s Council of State, as well as the Assembly of Jewish Notables convened in 1806, recommended against the imposition of specifically anti-Jewish measures, the emperor rejected this advice, continuing to regard the Jews of Alsace as having been degraded by their trade. In May 1806, he imposed a one-year moratorium on all debts owed to Jews in Alsace and Lorraine, and on March 17, 1808, he proclaimed what quickly became known as the Infamous Decree, which imposed stringent curbs on Jewish moneylending. This edict capped interest rates on loans made by Jews at 5 percent, barred Jewish immigration into Alsace and Lorraine, and stipulated that Jews from these provinces could move to the French interior only if they took up agriculture. Although the Infamous Decree initially applied to all Jews, the Sephardim in the south and the tiny Jewish community in Paris quickly won exemptions.

In 1818, after Napoleon’s fall from power, the Infamous Decree was allowed to lapse. Nevertheless, debate over the role of Jewish moneylending continued to rage. In 1819, it appeared that the antisemitic Hep-Hep riots sweeping southwestern Germany might spill over into Alsace. In 1822, bands of men claiming to speak for the government and intent on undermining the “impious” Jewish community, encouraged the peasantry to renounce their debts to Jews, and the following year, both Alsatian departments considered whether to renew the Infamous Decree. In 1824, the Strasbourg Society of Sciences, Agriculture, and Arts sponsored another essay contest asking by what means the Jews of Alsace could be made to enjoy the benefits of civilization. Although the prizewinning essays did not demand the reinstatement of exceptional anti-Jewish legislation, they did advocate strict government control over usury in general, as well as state-sponsored measures to compel Jews to enter “productive” trades.

The periods of the July Monarchy (1830–1848), the Second Republic (1848–1851), and the Second Empire (1851–1870) were characterized by countervailing tendencies. On the

one hand, urban middle-class Jews made enormous strides toward integration and acculturation, and state-sponsored antisemitism diminished significantly. In 1831, rabbis began to receive salaries from the state, which had been paying the salaries of Christian clergy since the first decade of the century, and in 1846, the *more judaico*, a special oath for Jews, was discontinued, greatly improving the legal status of Jews.

On the other hand, tensions continued to simmer in the countryside. As a result of the persistent problem of peasant indebtedness, compounded by the increasing number of small landholdings, every wave of revolutionary upheaval produced anti-Jewish uprisings. In 1832, in the midst of a severe food crisis following the Revolution of 1830, armed peasants, egged on by the local clergy, pillaged the Jewish communities of Bergheim, Itterswiller, and Ribeauvillé, forcing Jews to take flight. Even more widespread violence erupted during the Revolution of 1848, when at least 20 percent of all Jewish communities in Alsace experienced anti-Jewish violence. Troops ultimately were called in to restore order.

During the period when the territories of Alsace-Lorraine were incorporated into the German Empire (1871–1918), antisemitic violence abated. Popular antisemitism did not disappear, however. In the 1880s, the movement to create credit banks for small farmers, which had strong support from the Catholic clergy, invariably inspired antisemitic agitation, since one of its chief goals was to break the Jewish stranglehold over cattle dealing and moneylending. Catholic antisemitism was further stoked by the Dreyfus Affair (1894–1899), which had special resonance in this region because Dreyfus was an Alsatian Jew. Although Catholics and Jews had cooperated on behalf of the pro-French cause in Alsace-Lorraine since 1871, the Jewish population felt increasingly aggrieved by the fierce antisemitic and anti-Alsatian agitation that accompanied the affair in France. Many Alsatian Catholics insisted on Dreyfus's guilt, notwithstanding the evidence of a massive cover-up by the French army or the incessant anti-Alsatian agitation that French antisemites, such as Édouard Drumont, invoked to suggest that Alsatians, like Jews, were all Prussians at heart and could never be trusted.

Between the two world wars, when Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, new political and economic tensions resulted in heightened antisemitism. The fact that some Jewish deputies supported extending the separation of church and state into the region revived blanket accusations from Catholics that Jews were enemies of the church. An even more contentious issue was the large-scale immigration of Jews into Alsace and Lorraine from eastern Europe and Nazi Germany. During the summer of 1933, local chambers of commerce and artisan associations in the major cities orchestrated street demonstrations calling on the central government to curb refugee settlement, since, they alleged, refugee-owned firms engaged in “dishonest” competition with local businesses. Sensitive to these middle-class protests, the central government closed Alsace and Lorraine to further refugee settlement by the end of 1933. The 1936 victory of the Popular Front government led by Léon Blum, who was a socialist and a Jew, as well as a new surge of Jewish refugees between 1938 and 1939 pushed tensions to dangerous levels. In 1939, the government even banned antisemitic propaganda on the grounds that it was abetting the Nazi propaganda machine and endangering national security.

After the fall of France in June 1940, Germany again took control of Alsace and Lorraine. Most of the 29,000 Jews who were living in these provinces in 1939 had already been evacuated to the interior when war broke out, but any remaining Jews were expelled. The displaced Jews found refuge throughout the unoccupied zone, and the majority survived the war. After the war, most of the survivors returned to the region and rebuilt their lives. Since then, relations with the non-Jewish population have generally been amicable, marred only by the xenophobia and antisemitism of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front Movement, which won nearly a quarter of the Alsatian vote in the 2002 presidential election and as much as 30 percent in some rural districts. Although Le Pen and his movement target primarily black and Arab immigrants rather than Jews, his talk of “France's Christian civilization” and his trivialization of the Holocaust continue to inspire unease among the region's Jewish population.

—Vicki Caron

**See also** Diderot, Denis; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; 1848; Emancipation; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; France; Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste; Hep-Hep Riots; Infamous Decree; Le Pen, Jean-Marie; State-within-a-State; Usury; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de

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## American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States

The American Jewish Committee (AJC) was organized in 1906 by a group of the most professionally successful and highly assimilated Jews in the United States. Its early mission was not concerned with the status of Jews in America, however, but rather with the fate of Jews in Europe and elsewhere, who were suffering persecution and dislocation. For decades, a persistent reluctance to play visible roles in fighting domestic antisemitism characterized AJC activism and, in the minds of its critics, meant that the fight to win full equality for Jewish Americans would be led by other organizations.

The AJC's longtime president, Louis Marshall (1916–1929), used his unassailable prestige to formulate the organization's cautious, nonconfrontational political style. Marshall believed in philanthropic and political activism on behalf of Jews abroad but in discreet, behind-the-scenes lobbying to redress antisemitic discrimination faced by Jews in the United States. His friends used the term *Marshall Law* in grudging tribute to his autonomy and his penchant for acting

solely on his own judgment in representing the AJC.

When controversies arose in which Jews were publicly defamed or impugned, Marshall unhesitatingly fired off letters to public officials, demanding investigations and apologies. The “No Hebrews” advertisements of resort owners, the blood libel accusation against the Jews of Massena, New York, in 1927, the libelous antisemitism of Henry Ford during the 1920s—the AJC’s response to all of these and other incidents put Marshall’s personal influence and political judgment on display. He preferred leading through the example of his personal behavior, espousing the values of U.S. citizenship he wanted Jews to embrace. He was certain that if they demonstrated their fealty to constitutional ideals and legal traditions, pernicious antisemitism would eventually fade from the public sphere. Only when antisemitism threatened the fundamental civil rights of Jews did he advocate direct political and legal action.

Other religious and secular Jewish leaders, frustrated by what they saw as the AJC’s passivity and elitism, organized the rival American Jewish Congress during World War I. The congress advocated the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, an issue on which the AJC’s top officials exhibited nervousness. The AJC’s reaction to another World War I-era Jewish cause, the sham trial and tainted conviction of Leo Frank on murder charges, remained consistent with Marshall’s philosophy of indirect activism. He cautioned Jews against public protest and against sending money to Jewish organizations in the South, for fear of stirring up more anger. Marshall argued Frank’s appeal before the Supreme Court, but that effort did not prevent Frank’s lynching in August 1915. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B’nai B’rith was formed in response to Frank’s trial, and it took up the court challenges that the AJC declined to pursue in such cases.

After Marshall’s death and under the rising threat of Nazism, the AJC redefined itself. The president now served as the public spokesperson for the organization, and actual policymaking was vested in an executive vice-president. Elected to that job in 1943, John Slawson was “deter-

mined to transform the AJC into a vibrant and socially relevant civil rights organization" (Ivers 1995, 43). Under his leadership, the AJC worked more directly through courts and legislatures to achieve equality for Jews, but it still stopped far short of the more activist programs of the American Jewish Congress and the ADL.

There was, however, still something of the old approach to be seen in one of the more successful episodes of Jewish antidefamation work. Together, the AJC and ADL confronted the antisemitism of Gerald L. K. Smith, a demagogue who was active during the 1930s and 1940s. Smith's inflammatory lectures attracted thousands and sparked widespread protests. Rabbi Solomon Fineberg of the AJC devised a strategy calling for "dynamic silence," arguing that if no one wrote about Smith or protested his lectures, his movement would die for want of publicity. Overcoming initial resistance, Fineberg finally persuaded other Jewish defense organizations to adopt the silent treatment. Smith's audiences declined drastically, and once the newspapers stopped covering the protests he engendered, his political career ended too.

The Holocaust and the more energetic enforcement of civil rights for African Americans after World War II continued to push the AJC toward a more public and proactive role. AJC lawyers became directly involved in the civil rights litigation undertaken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. After 1945, the AJC signed amicus briefs in such cases as the challenge to the use of racially exclusive covenants in residential property sales. This practice broadened over the next sixty years to the point where the AJC now issues annual reports detailing the federal cases in which it has appeared.

In the latter years of the twentieth century, the AJC continued its legal work on civil rights even as the long-standing relationship between Jews and African Americans deteriorated. It continued to produce studies on the nature and scope of antisemitism in the United States, the status of Jews in higher education and the professions, and the perception of Jewish influence in the media and government. Widely regarded as one of the most influential Jewish organizations in the world, it

continues today to build its influence and authority as the premier U.S. Jewish activist organization.

—Victoria Saker Woeste

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; American Nazi Party; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Ford, Henry; Frank, Leo; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants; Ritual Murder (Modern); Smith, Gerald L. K.; Zionism

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## American Nazi Party

The American Nazi Party (ANP) was founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1959 and headquartered in Arlington, Virginia. The ANP was the first political organization in the postwar United States openly to use Nazi symbols, such as the swastika, and to defend the defeated regime of Adolf Hitler. Rockwell modeled his organization on Hitler's, with particular emphasis on the "leader principle." He, of course, was the undisputed "American Fuehrer."

The National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP), as it was renamed shortly before Rockwell was murdered by his protégé John Patler in 1967, was poorly funded and never had more than a few hundred active members. Its attention-grabbing activities and Rockwell's flair for dramatic publicity stunts won greater national attention than its actual strength merited. The party's chief financial patron was Harold Noel Arrowsmith, an amateur anthropologist and obsessive antisemite. Arrowsmith, the son of a prominent Baltimore cleric, originally hired Rockwell to run his own creation, the National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination, which had, as far as extant records can verify, precisely two members; Arrowsmith and Rockwell. The committee's chief function was to distribute flyers with caricatures of Jews (drawn by Rockwell, a gifted cartoonist) and to picket Dwight D. Eisenhower's White House. When enthusiasm for that activity waned, Rockwell proposed to Arrowsmith a party based on Hitler's



American Nazi Party Fuehrer George Lincoln Rockwell is shown here at his party's headquarters in Arlington, Virginia. Note the sign above the mailbox. (Bettmann/Corbis)

own, with Storm troopers, swastika-emblazoned flags, and a plan to mobilize the white masses for a Nazi takeover of the United States by 1972.

The ANP's program was based on anti-semitism, racism, and homophobia, and it seldom strayed from those themes. Its primary tactic was street theater, a calculated attempt to manipulate the media in order to grab the headlines. Outrageous provocations, brawls, planned confrontations with the authorities, and inflammatory rhetoric, Rockwell hoped, would result in wider membership and improved cash flow. For a while, the strategy worked. Every time ANP Storm troopers instigated a confrontation with police or with Jewish groups, the resulting publicity brought in what Rockwell called "Atta' Boy, George!" letters from sympathizers around the country. The letters often contained cash that was desperately needed to keep the fledgling ANP afloat.

Rockwell's primary target, American Jews, at first responded with outrage to every new provocation. Then, the American Jewish Committee, under the leadership of Rabbi Solomon Fineberg, devised a strategy of "dynamic silence," first used so effectively against Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the most vocal antisemites of the 1930s. Fineberg

judged that the ANP could not long survive if it were denied publicity. He worked tirelessly, although not always with complete success, to convince Jewish community groups that the most effective way to neutralize the party was to ignore its provocations. Slowly, his message took hold, and by the mid-1960s, any threat the ANP might have posed seemed much diminished, a decline punctuated by Rockwell's death in 1967. The party struggled on under his successor but was unable to recapture public attention. From time to time, attempts are made by various antisemitic and neo-Nazi fringe groups to exploit the iconic value of the ANP. To this point, none have been successful.

—Frederick J. Simonelli

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Christian Identity Movement; Militia Movement; Neo-Nazism, German; Rockwell, George Lincoln; Smith, Gerald L. K.; United States; White Power Movement

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#### *Angriff, Der*

*Der Angriff* (The Attack) was a savagely antisemitic newspaper founded by Joseph Goebbels in 1927. Under his direction, the paper rose from an obscure weekly to become the second-largest National Socialist newspaper in Germany.

In May 1927, the Nazi Party, because of its incessant rabble-rousing, was banned in Berlin. The party did not dissolve but rather went underground. As the city's *Gauleiter* (district leader), Joseph Goebbels was determined to maintain the party's visibility in the German capital. To this end, he established *Der Angriff*, which published its first issue on July 4, 1927. Goebbels hired Julius Lippert as editor to oversee the newspaper's day-to-day affairs and went about recruiting a highly educated staff, several of whom held doctorates. The most important *Angriff* employee was the talented political caricaturist Hans Schweitzer, who published his car-

toons under the pseudonym Mjoelnir, the name of the pagan god Donner's hammer. Mjoelnir soon became famous for his remorselessly antisemitic cartoons, especially those lampooning the vice-president of the Berlin police force, Bernhard Weiss, whom the paper dubbed Isidor. Schweitzer later became one of the most important poster artists of the Third Reich.

Goebbels wrote much of the paper's antisemitic copy himself, although he usually left his articles unsigned in order to avoid libel suits. This strategy proved futile, however, and *Der Angriff* was sued numerous times, especially by Bernhard Weiss. At first, the paper languished, having a circulation of only 4,500, consisting mostly of Berlin's small number of Nazi loyalists. *Der Angriff* was always in dire financial straits, and its publisher repeatedly had to solicit loans and donations to keep it afloat. But Goebbels sank a great deal of the local party's resources into the project, with ultimately impressive results. The paper began to appear twice weekly starting in October 1929 and became a daily in November of the following year. Its fortunes rose along with those of the Nazi Party. *Der Angriff* circulation increased dramatically following the success of the party in the September 1930 elections, reaching its high-water mark of 110,600 in July 1932.

Recognizing that the majority of Berlin's citizens were from the working classes, Goebbels sought to target his newspaper's message at the proletariat, especially the unemployed. The appalling conditions in which the workers lived were the product, the paper insisted, of the Jewish-controlled "system" dominating the Weimar Republic. Following the Nazi seizure of power and his own elevation to the position of propaganda chief of the Third Reich, Goebbels lost interest in the paper. In 1934, he relinquished control. *Der Angriff* became the official organ of the German Labor Front and soon ceased playing a significant role.

—Russel Lemmons

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Goebbels, Joseph; National Socialist German Workers' Party; *Stürmer, Der*; Weimar

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## Antichrist

Although references to Antichrist in the Christian Bible (1 John; 2 John) do not associate him solely with Jews—the term *antichrist* is defined as anyone who denies Christ (1 John 2:22)—early Christian exegetes did. Interpreting the symbolism of Revelation and other enigmatic New Testament passages, exegetes developed an apocalyptic scenario in which the human Antichrist, inspired by the devil, would appear in the last days shortly before the return of Christ to deceive and persecute the elect (Matt. 24; Mark 13; Luke 21). A vicious persecutor and persuasive false prophet claiming to be Christ (Matt. 24:5), Antichrist was first expected to convert Jews because, as Jerome argued, they still awaited the Messiah, having rejected Jesus for Barabbas (Mark 15:6–15). In medieval eschatology, Jews were to be Antichrist's most loyal disciples, preferring another who would come in his own name (John 5:43) to the true Messiah. Teaching a false doctrine and establishing a false church, called the "tabernacle of Antichrist" by Gregory the Great, Antichrist would reward his followers by rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem (2 Thess. 2:4).

Exegetes wove together apocalyptic interpretations of numerous scriptural passages to create a prophetic biography of Antichrist, arguing, as one commentary on Revelation 11:7 stated, that he would come "from the bottomless impiety of the Jewish people" (from Pseudo-Alcuin's commentary, *In Apocalypsin*, edited in the *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 100, column 1148). Antichrist was expected to be a Jew from the tribe of Dan (Gen. 49:17; Jer. 8:16) who would be born either in Babylon or in Chorozaim, would be reared in Bethsaida, and would rule in Capernaum, an interpretation of Jesus' words in Luke 10:13, 15. Antichrist would be supported by the armies of Gog and Magog (Ezek. 38, 39; Rev. 20), which, identified as the lost tribes of Israel, were impris-

oned by Alexander the Great behind the Caucasus. In the last days, they would break through the mountains to attack Christians, enlisting the Jews, who, according to Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*, would continue to speak Hebrew in order to communicate with Gog and Magog. Near the end of Antichrist's rule, Two Witnesses (Rev. 11:3)—identified as Enoch and Elijah, who had not died but awaited the last days in the earthly paradise—would come to preach against Antichrist, the beast from the abyss (Rev. 11:7). One version of the Antichrist legend expected Enoch and Elijah to convert the Jews to Christianity (Rom. 11:26).

In the mid-tenth century, Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der, organized this disparate scriptural commentary, sibylline literature, and folklore into the *Little Book of Antichrist*, which served as a major source throughout the Middle Ages for inventive sermons, poems, plays, and theological compendiums as well as visual representations of the human Antichrist in sculpture, stained glass, wall paintings, and manuscript illustrations. The mid-fourteenth-century French play *Jour du jugement* (Day of Judgment) exemplified the widely popular understanding of Antichrist during the later Middle Ages. Beginning with a demonic parliament in hell, the play staged the conceiving of the Antichrist by a devil with a Jewish prostitute living in Babylon. Antichrist's followers included many Jews, and a usurer and his family were cursed in the play's concluding doomsday scenes. Medieval art similarly emphasized the close connection between Antichrist and Jews. Deluxe thirteenth-century moralized Bibles repeatedly portrayed Jews as accomplices of Antichrist, and fifteenth-century German block books pictured his circumcision by a Jewish priest and had him rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem and being welcomed by Jewish disciples, who helped him burn books of Christian theology.

Later interpretations of Antichrist, such as the polemical apocalypticism of the Protestant Reformation—which identified Antichrist with the papacy and Catholicism—did not associate the apocalyptic deceiver specifically with Jews. Yet the medieval understanding of the single human Antichrist to come at the end of time and

be supported by Jewish followers remained strong within Catholic tradition after the Reformation, as evident in *The Life of Antichrist* (1682) by Denis of Luxemburg. Since Antichrist was expected to dominate the world at the end of time, such notions also fed antisemitic tracts about Jewish world conspiracies, such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Features of the traditional Antichrist also influenced twentieth-century evangelical millenarianism. Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970), for example, expected a Jewish false prophet to support an Antichrist-power, and Jerry Falwell, in a sermon delivered in January 1999, stated that Antichrist was a male Jew living in Israel, a sign suggesting the imminence of the end of the world.

—Richard K. Emmerson

*See also* Church Fathers; Gospels; Gregory the Great, Pope; Iconography, Christian; Nilus, Sergei; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Reformation

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### Antisemites' Petition (1880–1881)

During the summer and autumn of 1880, activists from the new antisemitic political parties and like-minded university students circulated separate petitions that were intended to serve as a plebiscite of the German people on the Jewish Question. The first and largest of these was the brainchild of Bernhard Förster (d. 1889), who claimed to have received his inspiration while attending Richard Wagner's Bayreuth Festival. The petition ultimately submitted to Prince Otto von Bismarck spoke in the urgent rhetorical voice of the day. An alien tribe was about to establish complete dominion over the Christian population; its exploitation of national labor had driven a wedge between classes of Germans; and revolution beckoned. The nation was in the process of being alienated from its true essence. The agitational literature that accompanied the document was equally shrill, stressing that mass

violence against Jews was inevitable unless the government speedily took the four steps demanded in the petition: the prohibition, or at least the limitation, of Jewish immigration; the exclusion of Jews from positions of authority over Germans; an end to the employment of Jews as teachers in the national elementary schools; and a special census of Jews (later specified as “racially based”). Such a program meant the revocation of Jewish emancipation that had been granted in 1869. Disenfranchisement along these lines became the basic agenda for all of the antisemitic political parties in Germany before 1914. The Nazis eventually achieved this goal with the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

The petition’s eager volunteers gathered the signatures of approximately 265,000 adult German males. Well over half came from the state of Prussia; Berlin/Brandenburg alone contributed 30,000; and Silesia, an eastern border province, provided nearly 50,000 signatures, perhaps because of a (statistically baseless) fear of being inundated by a flood of Jewish immigrants from the East. Beyond Prussia, Württemberg, a state noted for its liberal traditions, nonetheless supplied 7,000 signatures. The Antisemites’ Petition was not a huge success in terms of the numbers of signatures—in fact, antisemitic leaders cautioned against trying this strategy again, lest it fall flat. But it was nevertheless an important moment in the history of political antisemitism.

The petition’s appeal for the educated was dramatically demonstrated by the large number of university students who signed the document; half the student body of the University of Berlin supported the initiative, and the universities of Leipzig and Halle were also well represented. The enthusiasm for the petition in university circles provided the stimulus for the formation of an important carrier of antisemitism among the educated and future leaders of Germany; the Association of German Students (*Verein Deutscher Studenten*).

Between November 20 and 22, 1880—that is, well before it reached Bismarck (in April 1881)—the petition became the subject of a crucial debate in the Prussian parliament. When a Liberal deputy questioned the government about

its intentions with regard to the inflammatory agitation, a minister in Bismarck’s government responded with a lukewarm defense of the status quo. He assured the house that Jewish equality would be maintained but refrained from condemning the petition as an outrageous attack on human rights. This remote “neutrality” on the part of the government robbed those who fought against antisemitism of an important ally in their struggle.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Förster, Bernhard; German Students, Association of; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Nuremberg Laws; Stoecker, Adolf; Wagner, Richard

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### ***Antisemitic Correspondence***

One of the great ironies of antisemitic politics in Germany and elsewhere was the inability of the antisemites to counter what they habitually described as Jewry’s stranglehold on the press. Even Adolf Hitler’s *Völkischer Beobachter* (Racial Observer) could not win a significant following outside Munich; its national circulation did not approach that of the great dailies, until the Nazi Party gained power over all publishing in 1933. From its appearance in the late 1870s, the antisemitic political movement never mastered the helter-skelter of its journalistic practices. Newspapers provided many antisemitic activists and Reichstag deputies with a (perilous) livelihood. Anyone with leadership pretensions had to have a newspaper at his disposal, and cutthroat competition prevailed against the obvious need to pool resources and centralize efforts against the “Jewish press hydra.” Between 1890 and 1897, the period of political antisemitism’s greatest strength, 36 new newspapers appeared; by 1898, only 7 were still in operation. The average life span of individual newspapers attached to the antisemitic political parties was two years. The

enemies of the antisemites delighted in pointing out another irony: these publications sported exactly the characteristics attributed to the “Jew-press”—poor production values; excessive attention to automobile crashes and celebrity sex scandals; superficial, biased, inaccurate reporting; “coarseness of tone”; and an often fatal vulnerability to libel suits.

The *Antisemitic Correspondence* (*Antisemitische Correspondenz*) could be called a success only in comparison to the jumble of short-lived, shabby newspapers produced by the antisemitic parties and associations of the German Empire. It was one of the few to appear throughout the period, surviving into the early years of the Weimar Republic. Even so, it changed ownership, location, frequency of publication, and name unusually often (*Deutschsoziale-Blätter* [1894–1914], *Deutschvölkische-Blätter* [1914–1924], *Reichs-Sturmfahne* [1924]). Founded in October 1885 by the era’s most successful antisemitic publisher, Theodor Fritsch, the paper assumed an authoritative voice in the lull between the first and second waves of antisemitic grassroots organization. Fritsch opened the newspaper to a discussion of methods and goals, hoping to take over leadership of the movement as a whole. When his own antiparliamentary strategy lost out to those who wanted to prosecute the Jewish Question through conventional party politics, Fritsch sold the paper to Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, a major figure in the antisemitic German Social Reform Party. Liebermann immediately began losing the 7,200 paid subscribers—and probably twice as many collateral readers—that he had inherited, thanks to his much more conservative approach to journalism. Gone were Fritsch’s critical pieces on organized Christianity and his attacks on prominent people whose relations to Jews he found offensive.

A typical edition of the *Antisemitic Correspondence* bore on its masthead the epigram of Heinrich von Treitschke: “The Jews are our misfortune.” The front page was given over to a feature article of topical interest, coverage of the doings of antisemitic deputies in the Reichstag and the state parliaments, organizational announcements, speaking tours, and other party matters. Regular columns dealt with “Israel in Conflict with the

Law” and “Mosaic”—the exposure of Jewish misdeeds as yet unpunished. “The Conquest of Germany by the Jews” detailed the enemy’s infiltration of medicine, law, and education. Book reviews, news from abroad, and letters to the editor were single-minded in their pursuit of a solution to the Jewish Question. Well before the war, only a few hundred subscribers could still be lured by these offerings.

—Richard S. Levy

*See also* Antisemitic Political Parties; Fritsch,

Theodor; “Jewish” Press; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Treitschke, Heinrich von

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## Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914)

One of imperial Germany’s most important precedents in the organization of antisemitic sentiment came with the founding of political parties specifically dedicated to combating Jewish power. From the late 1870s, those whose first priority was solving the Jewish Question arranged themselves in small and fractious political parties appealing to Protestant peasants and small-town, lower-middle-class constituencies. Among the most durable was Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker’s Christian Social Party, founded in 1878, which took shape as an avowedly antisemitic party during the Berlin Movement. Stoecker, having squandered the tacit support of the Hohenzollern court, Otto von Bismarck, and the powerful Conservative Party by the mid-1880s, was forced to rely on supporters from rural Westphalia to hold his seat in the parliament. The populist Antisemitische Volkspartei (Antisemitic People’s Party) established in Hessenland in 1889 by Otto Böckel; the Saxon-based Deutsche Reformpartei (German Reform Party [1880]) of Oswald Zimmermann; and the Deutschsoziale Partei (German Social Party [1889]) led by Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg united briefly as the Deutschsoziale Reformpartei (German Social Reform Party, 1894–1900). But personal rivalries, embarrass-

ing scandals, and shifting fortunes at the polls led to frequent schisms, name changes, and a record of unrelieved failure in the Reichstag. Although the staunchly patriotic oratory of Stoecker and Liebermann could command the ear of parliament, the other antisemitic deputies, unable to meet the high standards of that body or contribute anything substantial to the legislative process, were frequently objects of ridicule.

Notwithstanding variations in rhetorical style and the personal respectability of their leaders, the antisemitic parties had much in common. For campaign personnel and as a source of always uncertain finances, they relied at the grassroots level on approximately 140 reform clubs. The German Conservative Party and the Agrarian League doled out support to chosen antisemitic candidates at election time but also kept their distance from rowdier and less politically reliable elements within the movement. Leaders earned their living by writing for or editing numerous, usually short-lived newspapers, twenty-five to forty of which were associated with one of the parties. The programs of the parties sought to solve the Jewish Question, while improving the lot of their constituents, through conventional legislative means. They all advocated the exclusion of Jews from governmental offices and employment in public schools, limitations on immigration, and the taking of a special, racially based census. None of these measures, which collectively would have amounted to a revocation of Jewish emancipation, came close to adoption in the national or state parliaments. Unable to penetrate the Catholic or working-class masses, the antisemites of the imperial era failed to build a strong mass movement. They achieved their high-water mark in the Reichstag elections of 1893 with sixteen deputies (eight from Hessenland and six from Saxony). Perhaps 350,000 votes (4.4 percent) were cast for identifiable antisemites from all parties. From that point, however, their percentage of the vote declined steadily. In the last Reichstag elections before World War I, they mustered only 131,000 votes, and during the course of the war, the six remaining antisemitic deputies disappeared into various right-wing formations, bringing an end to their autonomous existence.

This bankruptcy of conventional, parliamentary antisemitism led to a gradual radicalization of outlook. By the turn of the twentieth century, antisemitic politicians inside and outside the parliament began casting about for more effective methods in a struggle against the Jews that many of them thought they were losing. The institutions of the German Empire and the loyalty of non-Jewish government officials and public figures, as well as the legal, educational, and economic systems all came under attack. Continuing failure in the Reichstag and deaths among the older generation of leaders cleared the way for those who had never accepted the feasibility of solving the Jewish Question through party politics. For such deeply undemocratic men, parliaments and parties were symptoms of the Judaic disease afflicting Germany. According to them, all levels of German society would have to be infused with antisemitism before sweeping measures to cleanse German life of false values could be undertaken. Normal politics were useless in this struggle for survival.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Agrarian League; Antisemites' Petition; Berlin Movement; Böckel, Otto; Christian Social Party (Germany); Emancipation; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Stoecker, Adolf

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#### Antisemitism, Accusations of

Antisemitism remains a real and common problem in the world. Recognizing it, however, is not always easy. Is a film director who creates an obviously noxious Jewish character necessarily antisemitic? Do critics of the state of Israel, even harsh critics, warrant being suspected of antisemitism? Should someone who casually uses *Jew* as a verb be automatically labeled antisemite?

mitic? Answers to those questions will vary, and consequently, an unpleasant problem comes to the fore: in recent decades, the charges of being an “antisemite” or “antisemitic” have often been made too casually, if not irresponsibly.

The same has been true of “racist” and “racism” or “fascist” and “fascism.” The problem with such mistaken charges is that they discredit the legitimacy of valid concepts. So, for example, the widespread employment of the term *fascist* by political groups since the 1960s to describe various governments and police agencies in Europe and the United States all but destroyed any meaning or relevance for the term. The great frequency with which the charge of racism is made has begun to raise concerns about the adequacy and even sometimes the fairness of the term itself. Similar concerns have been voiced about charges of antisemitism.

Complicating this problem has been Israel, a self-described “Jewish State” ardently supported by many Jews in the Diaspora, notably in the United States. As a consequence, criticisms of Israel (not to mention actual assaults on its citizens) have often been called “antisemitic,” which has forestalled the willingness of many Israelis and many of Israel’s supporters to examine the state’s policies. Why, after all, should someone respond to those perceived as inherently hostile to one’s existence?

The readiness of Jews today to label attitudes and behaviors as antisemitic arises from a long history of persecution, climaxing in the Holocaust. Now, with a fundamentally restructured sense of victimhood, it is not surprising that Jews have become keenly sensitive to how people and governments not only treat them but also speak of them. Nor is it surprising that Jewish communities and leaders today should be so outspoken in pointing out and combating what they see as antisemitism. Having the Holocaust in memory and possessing more prestige and political influence than ever before, Jews no longer choose to be silent.

On balance, that is a good thing, but there are dangers in this newfound willingness to know and name one’s enemies. Mistakes can be made, mistakes that are not easily rectified because the accusation alone creates public shame. Beyond

the possibility of unfairness lies perhaps a greater danger—a lack of understanding of and tolerance for the complexities of human actions and their motives. We may know antisemitism when we see it. Then again, what we see is itself often shaped by what we think we know.

—*Jonathan Marwil*

*See also* Antisemitism, Etymology of; Anti-Zionism

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### **Antisemitism, Etymology of**

The word *antisemitism* is not of ancient vintage. The earliest substantiated use of the term *antisemite* in a political sense came in late 1879. Wilhelm Marr, riding the popularity of his pamphlet *The Victory of Jewry over Germandom*, placed an advertisement on the last page of the twelfth edition to announce the first party dedicated exclusively to fighting Jewish power, the Antisemiten-Liga. Marr was not an original thinker, and the word may well have already been in circulation before he appropriated it for his party. There are at least two earlier documented uses of the term. In 1860, the Jewish scholar Moritz Steinschneider employed it in reference to Ernest Renan’s views about Jews, accusing the French thinker of resorting to the euphemistic expression *Semitism* to mask his hostility. This essentially cultural usage can also be found in the influential *Staats-Lexikon* (Encyclopedia [1856–1866]), edited by Karl von Rotteck.

*Semitism*, attributed to the German Enlightenment figure A. L. Schlözer (1735–1809), had been in use since the end of the eighteenth century. Although there are those who claim that the term initially had a fairly neutral connotation, this was no longer the case by midcentury, when it had come to signify a body of uniformly negative traits supposedly clinging to Jews. The word may not have been value-free even at its inception, however. Schlözer clearly had more in mind than the objective linguistic differences between

Shem and Japheth, the sons of Noah. He presented the cultures of their progeny as polarities. A historian at the University of Göttingen, he also printed (but probably did not write) anti-Jewish articles in his influential journals. The transition from *Semitism* to *antisemitism* was effortless. Heinrich von Treitschke, one of the first among the intellectual elite to adopt the term *antisemitism*, had been using the word *Semitentum* pejoratively for at least ten years to contrast the “deeply creative German” with the “flighty and unfruitful” Jews (in Boehlich 1965, 244). If Marr cannot be shown to have minted the word *antisemite*, he can at least share credit for salvaging it as the essentially political concept we use today. Moshe Zimmermann (1986, 90–95) speculated that using the term *antisemite* as opposed to *anti-Jewish* served two purposes, both conditioned by immediate circumstances. First, it distinguished the Antisemiten-Liga from Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker’s organization. Second, Marr and his allies felt they needed to protect themselves from the dreaded wrath of the Jews. Despite the antisemites’ demagoguery and cold calculation, they were convinced that the enemy possessed the strength of will and the iron discipline to retaliate against them. *Semite* was, like the term *Israelite* or *Hebrew*, a little more refined, a little less confrontational than (*anti-*)*Jew*. There was some hope that the litigious Jews might be better fended off with the more obscure and distancing *antisemite*.

Motives, appropriateness—many anti-Jewish activists then and later objected to the term as inaccurate and burdensome—and originality aside, the historical importance of *antisemitism* lies in its nearly universal and swift adoption. The term came into its own in the autumn of 1879 and not just among the followers of Marr or Stoecker. Treitschke, who scorned both of them, used the word in the first installment of his highly influential “A Word about Our Jews” in November 1879. *Antisemite* or *antisemitism* appeared in the prestigious *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna in January 1880 and in the Catholic *Augsburger Postzeitung* and the Berlin-based *Germania* in November 1880. By 1883, the word had broken out of the German-speaking world, crossing the Rhine to grace the masthead of *L’Antisémitique*,

the first French weekly dedicated to antisemitism. During the next decade, it gained common currency in the titles of books and pamphlets in English (1882), French (1883), Italian (1883), Hungarian (1884), Dutch (1893), and Russian (1894). Eventually, variants of *antisemitism*, *antisemite*, and *antisemitic* made their way into nearly every European language.

A neologism is never an accident. This particular word represented a movement achieving consciousness of itself and convincing others that a new designation was needed to encompass it.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Marr, Wilhelm; Renan, Ernest; Stoecker, Adolf; Treitschke, Heinrich von; *Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The; Word about Our Jews, A*

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## Anti-Zionism

Anti-Zionism is not necessarily antisemitic. In its early years, Zionism was opposed by many Orthodox Jews on theological grounds. They rejected the idea of human intervention in the restoration of Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel. They also rejected the secular politics of Zionist activists in the early days of the movement. In the decades before the Holocaust, moreover, Jews in western Europe and the United States who identified strongly with their home countries were often ambivalent and sometimes hostile to the Zionist project. After World War II, however, and following the creation of the state of Israel, criticism of the Zionist idea by Jews faded.

A very different anti-Zionism began to replace it, shaped by a variety of events and agendas and involving many different peoples, most of them non-Jews. At first, this anti-Zionism was largely

confined to the Arab world, which felt threatened by the creation of the new state. After the 1967 Six Days' War, which not only ensured the continued existence of Israel but extended its borders, new voices were heard. Left-wing political groups in Europe and the United States began siding with the Palestinians and charging that a nefarious "imperialist" partnership existed between Israel and the United States. Such views hardened after the 1973 war and gained international standing in 1975 with the passage of UN Resolution 3329, familiarly known as the "Zionism is racism" resolution. This resolution was supported by the Arab, Islamic, and Soviet blocs, with the tacit acquiescence of many Western countries.

By that point, anti-Zionism was suffused with the familiar arguments, symbols, historical stereotypes, and purposes of antisemitism. This new anti-Zionism rejected the very existence of the state of Israel and attributed its objectionable policies to Judaism, a supposed "Jewish essence," and/or a conspiracy conducted by "world Jewry." Despite the repeal in 1991 of the 1975 UN resolution and the efforts at Oslo and elsewhere to fashion a Middle East peace, such thinking gradually began to permeate all levels of Muslim society, finding expression in every form of media, from school textbooks to the Internet.

Since 2000, when a new intifada began after it was rumored that Israel was planning to destroy the Al-Aqsa Mosque on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, antisemitic anti-Zionism has been increasing—and not just in the Arab world. In 2001, a conference on racism and xenophobia sponsored by the United Nations and held in Durban, South Africa, served as a platform for a resolution labeling Zionism as racism. Two years later, the U.S. decision to invade Iraq was widely seen as further proof of "Zionist power." In a recent poll, Europeans ranked Israel as the country that posed the greatest threat to world peace; greater than Iran, Iraq, or North Korea.

It is not always easy to distinguish between antisemitism and anti-Zionism. For non-Jews, including Arabs, criticism of Israel—even harsh criticism—can seem less like an effort to demonize a people long persecuted and more like an attempt to restore political rights and economic opportunity to people who feel they have legitimate griev-

ances. For Israel, however, which proudly describes itself as a Jewish state and sees itself forced by others into a struggle for its very existence, and for Jews elsewhere who strongly support its right to survive, the notion that anti-Zionism is a new form of antisemitism makes perfect sense.

—Richard S. Levy

*See also* Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Arab Antisemitic Literature; Arab Boycott; Arafat, Yasir; Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-; Islamic Diaspora; Islamic Fundamentalism; New Left; Zionism

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## Anti-Zionism in the USSR

The essentials of Soviet antisemitic anti-Zionism—distinctly different from other forms of anti-Zionism—emerged mainly in the years following World War II and was deeply rooted in Jew-hatred already long present in many Eastern European countries. Before antisemitic ideology could be deployed by the Soviet Union, however, it had to be integrated into the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. It is this adaptation that accounts for the unique characteristics of Soviet antisemitism.

Anti-Zionist persecution, in the strict sense, was a post-World War II phenomenon. In the 1930s under Stalin, the USSR ceased the strenuous combating of antisemitism, and the anti-Zionism embedded in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism began to harden into specifically anti-Jewish policies. Perhaps the most dramatic harbinger of this transformation was the 1935–1938 Great Purge; a series of show trials meant to strengthen Stalin's rule. But lesser trends were also significant in this regard. The anti-Jewish measures of the era were still rationalized on a traditional basis, however, reflecting the residual effects of an inherited antisemitism. Controversies between communist and noncommunist Jewish organizations in the 1930s, which, issued in the persecution of the latter, played an

important role. The Soviet Union's increasingly hostile stance toward all religious communities and cultural autonomy movements was particularly destructive to corporate Jewish life. Most synagogues were closed, along with Jewish cultural institutions, schools, and newspapers, and many rabbis were arrested and murdered. At the same time, however, many Jews qua individuals experienced a dramatic upward social mobility.

The high tide of anti-Zionist persecution came during the purges and trials staged in the USSR and all its satellite states between 1948 and 1953. Although not alone, Jews were proportionally overrepresented among the victims of these purges. In the trials, the accusation of Zionism gained increasing importance until, in the Slánský case in Czechoslovakia (1952), it became central. A further escalation was averted by the death of Stalin in 1953. The already planned show trial of Jewish doctors who supposedly plotted the murder of the Soviet leadership was aborted. Plans to deport Jews from major cities were also dropped. It remains unclear, even to the present day, just what further measures were being seriously considered or planned at the time.

The anti-Zionist campaigns presented a worldwide conspiracy theory in the tradition of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, designed to strengthen the socialist and nationalist cohesion of the USSR and the satellite states. Foreign policy considerations also came into play. The Soviets supported the founding of the state of Israel both politically and militarily (through weapons deliveries via Czechoslovakia) in the hopes of damaging Great Britain and winning friendly support from Israel. The fronts during the Cold War formed differently, however. As it turned out, anti-Zionism was a commodity in great demand in the Arab states, and those states swiftly became the main importers of this propaganda product from the Soviet Union.

Certainly, later anti-Zionist campaigns never achieved the murderous dimensions seen in the years between 1948 and 1953, but the theme remained an essential element of Soviet ideology and practice. For Jews, it became virtually impossible to make careers in the party, military, or bureaucracy. The campaign against economic crimes (1961–1966) once again led to show tri-

als, accompanied by massive propaganda that highlighted the ethnicity of the preponderantly Jewish defendants, of whom perhaps 100 were executed. When Jews attempted to emigrate, many were treated as traitors or criminals and subjected to economic and other forms of ostracism. Anti-Zionism helped the USSR garner support in the Arab world after the Six Days' War and served to scapegoat Jews for the independence movements in Poland and Czechoslovakia (1968). These events, so menacing to the Soviet system, generated intense outbursts of anti-Zionist propaganda. In addition, there were a number of regional episodes and all the while a continuous outpouring of anti-Zionists newspaper articles and books.

Anti-Zionism as an ideology stemmed from the integration of antisemitism into Marxism-Leninism. This development occurred in the late 1920s and 1930s in conjunction with the Stalinization of the Soviet Union and many foreign communist parties. After Lenin and Trotsky's "world revolution" failed to materialize, Stalin developed the theory of "socialism in one country." Marxism-Leninism conferred legitimacy to the Soviet state (and later the satellite states) as the "socialist Fatherland." "People/Nation/State" became a concept with a positive valuation, and proletarian internationalism was accordingly redefined as the friendship between (working) people of various nations. Thus, after World War II, it was ideologically possible to legitimize both the socialist solidarity of newly arisen "people's democracies"—that is, the hegemony of the USSR—and the national autonomy of these states.

One example of the consequences of this ideological shift can be seen in the concept of cosmopolitanism. In the early years of the USSR, as well as in the thinking of Marx and Engels, the term had a positive connotation because it signified a universalist position untainted by bourgeois nationalism. After 1945, cosmopolitanism was rejected because it denied national sovereignty and patriotism. Responsibility for this imperialist cosmopolitanism was attributed especially to "the Zionists." Zionism was now understood to represent not a Jewish form of nationalism but rather a rootless, bourgeois cosmopolitanism closely allied to U.S. imperialism

and bent on world domination. The true homeland of the Zionists was *not* Israel. It was Wall Street. Accordingly, Israel was not a true national state but an imperialist outpost.

Zionists appeared simultaneously as class and national enemies because they were identified with both capitalism and imperialism, as well as a denationalized universalism. In both aspects, therefore, anti-Zionism could appropriate traditional antisemitic postulates. This fact was especially significant for the USSR, as well as for the satellites and Stalinist parties worldwide, because it validated the Marxist-Leninist linkage of socialism and proletarian (inter)nationalism by establishing “the Enemy.” Zionists were the enemies within, servants of foreign powers, and saboteurs of socialist progress. It was not the party or the state that was responsible for setbacks in the “building of socialism”: that was the work of Zionist traitors.

Anti-Zionism indicted “the Zionists,” not “the Jews.” To be sure, the words *Jew* and *Zionist* were used almost interchangeably, but the fiction that Jews and Zionists were entirely different people was a necessity. Marxism-Leninism rejected the notion that an entire people could be excluded on the basis of ethnic, racial, or cultural grounds. Officially, Jews were free and equal citizens of the USSR. Even Stalin found it repeatedly expedient to speak out against antisemitism. Thus, to mask the antisemitic character of anti-Zionism, the “Jew” was replaced by the “Zionist.” Occasionally, it was even conceded that someone was a “good Jew,” by which was meant that he or she was not a Zionist. Anti-Zionism’s masking mechanism also facilitated the integration of the two most important elements in the figure of “the Enemy”—fascism and imperialism. Regularly, the claim was made that Zionists and Nazis had worked together. The Holocaust—the existence of which was never denied—was a plot by which the Zionists attempted to achieve a Jewish state in Palestine. Thus, Israel appears in anti-Zionist rhetoric as closely associated with National Socialism or identical to it. Beyond this, the Zionists exploited the Holocaust to enrich themselves and also to deflect attention from their own conspiring. Properly viewed, “anti-fascist” anti-Zionism was really antiantisemitism. Or so its creators and manipulators wanted the world to believe.

Such assertions appeared in hundreds of books and pamphlets, many with mass distributions. Yet there was not a single serious, detailed Soviet portrayal of the Holocaust. Always ready to acknowledge the fact of the Holocaust, Soviet leaders at the same time prevented the general population from learning about or appropriately commemorating it. Although a small portion of the anti-Zionist literature was translated into Western European languages and had an impact on communist parties and leftist movements in the West, Soviet anti-Zionism as well as anti-Jewish persecution were strongly criticized time and again by Marxist and leftist intellectuals.

Relating anti-Zionism to the ideological needs of the USSR is an interpretation that not everyone accepts. An alternative explanation, based primarily on the work of Edmund Silberner, finds the origin of Soviet anti-Zionism in the putative “antisemitic tradition of modern socialism,” beginning with its founder, Karl Marx. But this theory cannot, for example, explain why prior to the Dreyfus Affair, the French labor movement—so little influenced by Marx—was quite antisemitic, whereas the German Social Democratic Party—much under the influence of Marx—was relatively free of antisemitism and, in fact, consistently opposed it. Silberner’s interpretation also cannot account for the USSR’s pre-1930 combating of antisemitism. Seeking the genesis of Marxist-Leninist anti-Zionism in the writings of Karl Marx produces only the most nebulous results.

—Klaus Holz  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Anti-Zionism; Doctors’ Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Marx, Karl; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Purges, Soviet; Slánský Trial; Social Democratic Party; Socialists on Antisemitism; Stalin, Joseph; Stalinization of Eastern Europe; USSR; Zionism

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## **Antonescu, Ion (1882–1946)**

Ion Antonescu was born in Romania in 1882, the son of an army captain. He attended the military school in Craiova in 1898 and became a lieutenant in the cavalry in 1904. He fought in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. During World War I, he was chief of operations with the northern army, taking charge of the attack on Transylvania, which ended in failure and retreat. He participated in the pacification of communist Hungary in 1919 and 1920. After serving in various posts during the 1920s, he achieved the rank of general in 1931.

At the end of December 1937, King Carol II commissioned Octavian Goga, leader of the Christian National Party, to form a government, in which Antonescu became minister of defense. The new government adopted a series of anti-Jewish laws. When Carol abdicated on September 6, 1940, the National Legionnaire State was proclaimed, and Antonescu declared himself leader; he formed a military government composed of loyal followers, generals, and members of the Iron Guard. From that point on, the state began the systematic persecution of the Jewish population. The “Romanianization” of the economy carried out the expropriation of Jewish businesspeople and manufacturers, and Jewish-owned agricultural and forestland was nationalized. Jewish assets were administered by a specially created office, the National Center for Romanianization.

In June 1941, Romania entered the war on the side of the Third Reich. Under Antonescu's command, Romanian and German units invaded Bessarabia and North Bukovina (which had been ceded in 1940). As a reward for its contribution to the attack on the Soviet Union, Romania received the occupation zone of Transnistria in the southern Ukraine. Between September 1941 and the end of 1942, approximately 150,000 Jews were deported from northern Romania (Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the Dorohoi region) into Transnistria, joining Jews already living there and those from the city of Odessa. Between 250,000 and 400,000 were murdered. Also in 1942, 25,000 Romanian Gypsies as well as 2,000 members of religious sects were deported to Transnistria.

Romanian army units suffered a devastating

defeat at Stalingrad in late 1942. When the Red Army broke through the Romanian northern front in 1944, Antonescu was arrested by generals loyal to King Carol on August 23, 1944. He stood trial for war crimes in 1946, was condemned, and was executed in June 1946.

—Brigitte Mihok

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Aryanization; Goga, Octavian; Iron Guard; Romania; Romania, Holocaust in; Versailles Treaty; White Terror

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## **Apion**

A grammarian and scholar of Homer, Apion lived in Alexandria and taught in Greece and Rome in the first half of the first century BCE. He was Egyptian by origin but later took Alexandrian citizenship, and in this capacity in 38 or 39 CE, he led the embassy opposing the Jews before Caligula, who was to adjudicate the status of the Jews in the aftermath of the Alexandrian riots of the summer of 38. Apion wrote a *History of Egypt* and a treatise, *Against the Jews*; all of his works are lost and known only through excerpts in the writings of later authors. Most of the details of Apion's life and works come from the treatise *Against Apion*, which the Jewish historian Josephus wrote, in part, as a confutation of Apion's calumnious statements regarding the Jews. According to Josephus, Apion defamed the Jews by spreading false versions of the biblical Exodus story. He also wrote against the Jews of Alexandria, derisively questioning the origin of their community and arguing that they had no legal right to dwell in the city. Josephus countered that Apion was ignorant and that he had neglected to consult the documents by which Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, and the Roman emperors had granted the Jews the right of habitation. Such a stark contrast in the posi-

tions of Josephus and Apion can, perhaps, be accounted for by reference to the legal situation that had developed earlier in the first century CE. Josephus reported in his *Antiquities of the Jews* that Jews were experiencing problems with regard to their status because the Persian and Ptolemaic grants—the legal basis for their claims recognized by the Roman authority—may have lacked official public registration.

—Sandra Gambetti

**See also** Alexandrian Pogrom; Manetho; Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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God at the Binding of Isaac, as well as the subsequent Jewish sacrificial system. Judaism was supposed to give way to the Christian age; failing that, it was supposed to die out from the force of spiritual evolution. That Judaism has done neither is attributed by Bailey to the strength of an evil cosmic energy called the “Jewish Force,” which must be eliminated in order for the Age of Aquarius to arrive fully. To reinforce the negative destiny of Judaism, Bailey deliberately changed the astrological sign of the Jewish age from the ram to the scapegoat, which she thought colored all Jewish history.

—Hannah Newman

**See also** Bailey, Alice A.; Jewish Force; New Age

## Aquarius, Age of

*Age of Aquarius* is the astrological term for a coming era of spiritual enlightenment, also known as the New Age. According to this esoteric doctrine, human history has evolved through several epochs of roughly 2,000 years each, corresponding to succeeding astrological signs and dominated by a particular religious orientation. Many scholars credit occultist Alice Bailey with refining the concept. The term itself came into public awareness in 1969 through the hit song “Age of Aquarius,” sung by the pop group Fifth Dimension (whose name refers to the dimension where the “Ascended Masters,” the divine beings revered by Bailey, dwell).

The age now closing is the Age of Pisces, during which Christianity has been the dominant religion—the astrological sign of the fish connecting Pisces with a symbol of early Christianity. It is said that all those who hope to advance in their spiritual evolution must abandon Christian ideas as outdated spiritual hindrances that are destined to wither and die as the religion of the Aquarian Age takes hold. Those who fail to do so will wither and die along with the old age.

In this context, the Jewish religion is doubly outdated and a double hindrance. Judaism belonged to the cosmic age preceding Christianity, the Age of Aries. Here, the sign of the ram represents the pivotal experience of Abraham, father of the Jewish people, with the ram provided by

## Arab Antisemitic Literature

Like nationalism, socialism, fascism, and other modern intellectual and political movements, antisemitism is a European import of fairly recent vintage into the Arab world. There was no lack of negative stereotypes of Jews in premodern Arabic literature, but these were of the traditional Islamic variety. Jews had “baseness and misery stamped upon them” (Sura 2:61). They had been the principal opponents of the Prophet, along with the idolaters, and were a treacherous lot. But they were people who had received a genuine divine revelation, like the Christians and Zoroastrians, and like the latter, they deserved tolerance, as long as they accepted the status of humble tributary *dhimmis* (protected persons). Though the image of Jews was, on the whole, even more negative and condescending than that of Christians, they shared the same legal status within the Islamic social system. Medieval Arab theologians devoted only a very small part of their polemics against other faiths to Judaism. There was nothing comparable in quantity and rarely in sheer vitriol to the *Adversus Iudeos* literature of the church.

Modern antisemitic ideas made their first appearance in the Middle East among the Arabic-speaking Christians of Syria. Like other non-Muslims, they maintained close commercial and, to some extent, cultural relations with the European nations that made ever stronger inroads into the region. The Syrian Christians not only

shared the Muslims' traditional contempt for Jews but also appropriated European antisemitic notions from French traders and missionaries. The European blood libel charge first appeared among Christians in Aleppo during the seventeenth century, but only gained widespread circulation after the notorious Damascus Affair of 1840 and with the active intervention of the French consul Benoit de Ratti-Menton, who brought in the Muslim authorities. However, neither medieval Christian European fantasies, such as ritual murder, nor the modern political and racial post-Enlightenment antisemitic ideas could make much headway among Muslims in the Arab world.

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, antisemitic literature in the European mold but written in Arabic began to appear among the Syro-Lebanese Christians who were under strong French cultural influence. Most of these early antisemitic works were published in Beirut and were translations of European tracts—for example, Najib al-Hajj's *Fi al-zawaya khabaya, aw, Kashf asrar al-Yahud* (Clandestine Things in the Corners, or Secrets of the Jews' Unmasked [Beirut, 1893]), an adaptation of Georges Corneilhan's *Juifs et opportunistes: Le judaïsme en Egypte et Syrie* (1889). Antisemitic literature in Arabic developed slowly during this period and was still confined, for the most part, to Christian writers. Nevertheless, these early works laid the foundation for a much more extensive literature of this sort in the twentieth century, when a radical change took place in the general Arab perception of Jews. Its eventual impact owed much to Syrian Christians, who were the principal figures responsible for the renaissance of Arabic language, literature, and journalism known as the *Nahda* (Revival). They were active not only in Greater Syria but also in Egypt, which constituted the modernizing center of the Arab world at the time. It was in Egypt that one of the two most influential works of European antisemitic literature for Arab readers made its appearance in translation in 1899—August Rohling's *The Talmud Jew*. The Arabic translation, entitled *al-Kanz al-marsud fi-qawa'id al-Talmud* (The Guarded Treasure of the Principles of the Talmud), was made from the French

edition, a translation from the German by the noted antisemite Édouard Drumont. The book became a classic and was reprinted several times throughout the twentieth century, as Arab authors increasingly made the connection between supposed Talmudic teachings and Zionism.

The other influential—indeed, the most important—European antisemitic work in translation was the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Arab nationalists in Palestine and Iraq were already citing the book in the early 1920s, and a complete Arabic translation, entitled *Mu`amarat al-Yahudiyya `ala l-shu`ub* (The Jewish Conspiracy against the Nations), by the Lebanese Maronite priest Antun Yamin, was published in Cairo in 1925. This work was the first of a long line of Arabic editions and translations, and the book has been an enduring best-seller; praised and recommended by political leaders, it is widely available in bookstores from Casablanca to Baghdad.

Original works of Arab antisemitic literature did not appear in any substantial numbers until the second half of the twentieth century, after the establishment of the state of Israel and the defeat of Arab armies in 1948, 1956, and 1967. In addition to the hundreds of books on the conflict with Israel, many of which are replete with antisemitic imagery, dozens of books on Jews and Judaism are partially or thoroughly antisemitic. The authors are frequently rather eclectic, mingling traditional Christian and Islamic themes with those of post-Enlightenment antisemitism. Some works are completely imitative, such as S. Naji's *al-Mufsidun fi al-ard, aw jara'im al-Yahud al-siyasiyyah wa-al-ijtima'iyyah 'abra al-ta'rikh* (Corrupters in the Earth, or the Political and Social Crimes of the Jews throughout History), published in Damascus in 1965. Much of the material in this book seems to have been lifted from German and French antisemitic writings of the 1930s and 1940s.

The most common charge leveled against Jews as a whole in this literature is that they are racists. Racism is depicted as one of the fundamental articles of their faith, based on both the Bible and the Talmud. The latter, following Rohling, is particularly singled out for attack. Muhammad Sabri's *al-Talmud: Shar`iat al-Yahud* (The Tal-

mud: The Religious Law of the Jews), published in Cairo (n.d.), is typical of this genre. The Talmud is described as permitting Jews to lie to gentiles, to cheat them, and to steal from them; it considers non-Jews as animals who have human form only to serve Jews who may violate their women, and it makes the shedding of gentile blood licit.

Some works in this vein have a pseudoacademic flavor—for example, Sabri Jirjis's *al-Turath al-Yahudi al-Sahyuni wa-al-fikr al-Frawidi* (The Jewish Zionist Heritage and Freudian Thought), which purports to be a psychoanalytical study; or Hasan Zaza and Muhammad Ashur's *Al-Yahud laysu tujarran bi-al-nash'ah* (The Jews Are Not Merchants by Origin), which was meant to be read as objective socioeconomic history. Both were published in Cairo in the 1970s.

One of the most noteworthy features of anti-semitic literature in the contemporary Arab world is the ubiquity of the blood libel theme among both Muslim and Christian writers. Ostensibly scholarly treatments of Judaism present the myth matter-of-factly, such as Ali 'Abd al-Wahid Wafi's *al-Yahudiyya wa l-Yahud* (Judaism and the Jews), in the section dealing with the Purim and Passover rituals. Jew-baiting tracts such as Iliya Abu 'l-Rus's *al-Yahudiyya al-'Alamiyya wa-Harbuha l-Mustamarra 'ala l-Masihiyya* (World Jewry and Its Continuing War against Christianity), dwell on the blood libel at length and in morbid detail. Hasan Zaza, in his *al-Fikr al-dini al-Isra'iili: atwaruh wa-madhabibuh* (Israeli Religious Thought: Its Phases and Schools), devotes a learned discussion to the blood libel, observing that such a practice is forbidden by Jewish law, but then he notes that the accusation has followed the Jews throughout history and that people often act contrarily to their religious teachings; he finally cites the confessions of one of the accused murderers in the Damascus Affair as proof of the veracity of the charge. One of the most successful books touting the blood libel, *Fatir Sahyun* (The Matzah of Zion), by Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas, went into eight editions between 1983 and 2002. The last edition alone sold over 20,000 copies.

Antisemitism has become an integral part of Arab cultural discourse. Its imagery can be found

not only in specialized tracts and monographs but also in school textbooks, articles in major newspapers and magazines, and television plays.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Chrysostom, John; Damascus Blood Libel; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Diaspora; Islamic Fundamentalism; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Zionism

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## Arab Boycott

The Arab boycott, which includes various measures of economic warfare taken by the Arab League against Israel, actually predates the creation of the Jewish state. On December 2, 1945, the Council of the League of Arab States called on all member nations and Arabs still under colonial rule to refrain from purchasing "products of Palestinian Jews" and thereby aid in thwarting "Zionist political aims." Like so many other anti-Zionist resolutions, the council's declaration employed the terms *Zionists* and *Jews* interchangeably. The Arab League boycott had its forerunners in resolutions calling for the boycott of Jewish businesses issued by the National Arab Congress held in Bludan, Syria, in 1937 and by the Fifth Palestine Arab Congress held in Nablus in 1922. Earlier still, the idea was proposed in 1908 in the Arabic newspaper *al-Asma'i*, published in Jaffa, and in 1911, the editor of the newspaper *al-Karmil* in Haifa attempted to organize a boycott in that city.

The scope and the mechanism of the Arab boycott developed substantially after Israeli independence. It was administered from the Central Boycott Office (CBO) established in Damascus in 1951, with regional committee offices under government auspices in each of the Arab states. The boycott came to be subdivided into primary,

secondary, and tertiary actions. The primary boycott bars Arab states, corporations, or individuals from any commercial dealings with Israel. The secondary bans dealing with companies anywhere in the world that do business with Israel, and the tertiary blacklists individuals and organizations deemed sympathetic or supportive of Israel. Many individuals in the U.S. entertainment industry were blacklisted. In addition to Jewish actors and musical artists, the recordings and films of such famous personalities as Louis Armstrong, Eartha Kitt, and Marilyn Monroe were also banned. By 1976, 6,300 companies in ninety-six countries were on the CBO blacklist. However, observance of the boycott by firms worldwide and even the enforcement of the boycott within Arab states was always uneven. Some countries, such as Saudi Arabia, took the boycott to its most blatantly antisemitic lengths. In 1952, the Saudi government forbade business relations with any company that was owned or controlled by Jews or that even employed Jews. The following year, regulations were issued banning goods transported by Jewish-owned shipping companies. As Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed Yamani explained, all Jews had to be considered Zionists unless proven otherwise. In the heyday of the Arab boycott during the 1950s and 1960s, many international corporations tacitly acquiesced to it, as did some non-Arab Muslim countries and countries with large Muslim populations, such as India.

By the 1980s, the effectiveness of the Arab boycott had been seriously compromised after corporations such as Coca-Cola, the Hilton hotel chain, and various airlines ceased to knuckle under. By the late 1970s, six Arab League members (Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia, Sudan, and Somalia) observed only the primary bans but not the secondary and tertiary ones. After signing a peace treaty with Israel, Egypt withdrew from the Arab boycott, as did Jordan in 1994. With the easing of tensions following the Madrid Conference and the Oslo Accords, a number of North African and Arabian Gulf states began to engage in tentative and discreet business relations with Israel, although most of these were frozen with the outbreak of the second intifada in 2001.

There are no precise figures as to the aggre-

gate economic damage inflicted by the Arab boycott. In 1992, the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce estimated the loss over the preceding forty years to be approximately \$45 billion, whereas the CBO, wishing to show its own effectiveness, reckoned the figure at more than twice that amount.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Boycott of 1912; Boycott of Jewish Shops

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## Arafat, Yasir (1929–2004)

Yasir Arafat, the founder and leader of Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was born in Cairo to Palestinian parents of the al-Hussaini clan; his original name was Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Rauf Arafat al-Qudwa al-Hussaini. His later nom de guerre, Abu Ammar, together with a nickname of his youth, Yasir, became his common appellation because of the association with a hero of early Islam. He is said to have run guns from Egypt to Palestine during his teens. In the early 1950s, he became active in Palestinian student activities at Fu'ad I University in Cairo and may have had some connection with the Muslim Brotherhood. During the late 1950s in Kuwait, Arafat, together with several close comrades, founded Fatah as a guerrilla organization, and after the Six Days' War, the group gained prominence from its center of operations in Jordan. In 1969, Arafat and his supporters took control of the Palestine National Council. His growing power and increasingly bold terrorist operations led to conflict with the Jordanian government, which drove him and the PLO from the country in 1970. Arafat took refuge in Beirut and reestablished PLO operations from southern Lebanon. After he was forced out by

the Israeli army in 1982, Tunis became the new PLO headquarters. In 1988, the year following the first intifada, Arafat, seeing himself sidelined by the emergence of new, young, activist leadership in the West Bank and Gaza, agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist, to negotiation on the basis of territorial concessions, and to a renunciation of terrorism. Secret negotiations between the PLO and Israel led to the Oslo Accords in 1993, and Arafat became chairman of the interim autonomous entity, the Palestine Authority (PA).

Although Arafat frequently referred to Zionists and Jews interchangeably when speaking in Arabic, he usually made a careful distinction in English, and overall during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, his public rhetoric was less given to the cruder antisemitic invective of many Arab nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists. Indeed, he often spoke in interviews for foreign consumption about Arabs and Jews as cousins who had lived in harmony prior to the advent of Zionism and who could someday live together in a democratic Palestine. But in PLO propaganda and in PA educational materials, radio and television broadcasts, and the print media, all of the stereotypes of essentialist antisemitism have been rife. A twelfth-grade teachers' guide published by the PA Ministry of Education lists as topics for in-depth study these themes: "The Jews' evil behavior causes antisemitic persecution," "Judaism is a racist religion," and "Jews welcome their own persecution because it is profitable." The Islamic education textbooks used in the PA schools dwell on the most negative depictions of Jews in the Koran, the Hadith, and other canonical literature. Given Arafat's penchant for micromanagement first of the PLO and later of the PA, it is unlikely that dissemination of these materials could have occurred without his approval. As with his covert support for terrorism after his public renunciation of it, Arafat's public restraint in employing antisemitic rhetoric was another example of his talent for having things both ways. Arafat died at age seventy-five of undisclosed causes in a Paris hospital on November 11, 2004.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Arab Antisemitic Literature; Hamas; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism; Muslim Brotherhood; Zionism

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## Arch of Titus

The Arch of Titus, a monumental structure standing in the Roman Forum, was dedicated by Emperor Domitian (Titus Flavius Domitianus) sometime after 81 CE to commemorate his deceased brother, Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus. It was part of a major architectonic development undertaken by the Flavian emperors to establish public places in the space reserved by Nero for his private residence. Its relevance for the history of Judaism and antisemitism lies in the two large panels with reliefs representing the joint triumph the Senate granted in 70 CE to Titus and his father, the then emperor Vespasian, celebrating the recent defeat of the Jews in Palestine. The right-to-left panel portrays the Romans carrying off the spoils of the Temple in Jerusalem, which we know were later displayed in Vespasian's Roman *Templum Pacis*. The major recognizable feature of the booty is the seven-branched candelabra, or menorah, that once stood in the Temple. Together with an inscription unearthed in Jerusalem in the 1970s and carved with the same kind of candelabra, this is the earliest known representation of the menorah of the Temple. The right-to-left panel depicts Titus in a chariot proceeding through the triumphal procession. The ideological meaning of the triumph and of its representation on the arch is also stressed by the orientation of both panels toward the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol Hill, the final goal of the procession.

In 67 CE, Titus joined his father, who was the general in charge of the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Palestine. After his acclamation as emperor by the troops in Egypt and then in Palestine in 69, Vespasian left the Levant to return to



The Arch of Titus commemorates the military defeat of the Jews by the Roman Legions. The right-to-left panel portrays the carrying off of the spoils of the Temple in Jerusalem. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

Rome, delivering the command of the region into the hands of Titus. In 70, Titus successfully suppressed the revolt and took Jerusalem, destroying both the walls and the Temple. The following triumph in Rome served as the actual legitimization of the Flavian dynasty in the capital after some years of political incertitude.

—Sandra Gambetti

**See also** Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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## Argentina

Argentina has been characterized as a country where antisemitism has, at various times, permeated all social classes and political ideologies. Latent antisemitic sentiments have become activated through the teachings of the dominant Catholic Church, the diverse nationalist ideolo-

gies (from both the Right and the Left), and the policies of the ruling administrations. During times of crisis, antisemitism has become more visible and, especially under military regimes, more violent.

As early as 1881, when Jewish immigration was encouraged by Argentine political leaders, some groups denounced that immigration as pernicious and dangerous to the young nation. When the first contingents of Jewish colonists arrived in Argentina, a popular novel, *La Bolsa* (The Stock Market), depicted Jews as materialistic and held them responsible for the financial debacle of the times. Sentiments against Jewish immigration, fostered by important Argentinians, became entrenched in broad sectors of society.

At the outset of the twentieth century, the labor movement, under the influence of "foreign" left-wing ideologies, began to alter the traditional passivity of Argentine workers. Some Jewish socialists, syndicalists, and anarchists took

an active part in the organizing of labor unions. As a result, Jews in their totality were branded as undesirables, particularly in the national capital of Buenos Aires. The fear of imported labor ideologies reached its climax at the end of World War I during the Semana Trágica (Week of Tragedy) of January 1919. The Jewish quarters of Buenos Aires were pillaged and largely destroyed. Several Jews died or were seriously wounded by mobs that had been incited to defend Argentina from an imminent Red takeover, supposedly led by Jewish Bolsheviks.

During the 1930s and through World War II, German propaganda and Nazi ideology (Argentina had a large German population), hand in hand with the growing local nationalism, created a suffocating atmosphere for Jews. Catholic education was made mandatory in the schools on December 31, 1943; government policies curtailed the admission of Jewish refugees from war-torn Europe; and public demonstrations against Jews continued. The popular novels of Gustavo Martínez Zuviria—*Oro* (Gold [1935]) and *Kahal* (from the Hebrew word for “Jewish Community” [1935])—played on the widespread suspicions of an international Jewish conspiracy; the novelist became secretary of education under the military government in 1943. By the 1940s, several factors were in place that continued to affect the Jews and, arguably, the country as a whole, negatively for the rest of the century: a military regime with strongly authoritarian, antidemocratic inclinations; a Catholic Church undaunted by the Holocaust and convinced that Jews posed a threat to Christian hierarchy, values, and traditions; and a deep-seated, broadly based xenophobia. Despite the obstacles posed by a hostile church and army, substantial numbers of Jews continued to enter Argentina during these years, hoping to find there the promising future that had traditionally characterized the country as a land of opportunity for immigrants.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Argentine nationalism fostered an even greater animus toward Jews, especially after Israeli agents captured Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in Buenos Aires in 1961. His subsequent trial in Jerusalem and his execution led to renewed anti-Jewish demonstrations. The group Tacuara,

which drew members from the upper classes of Argentinian society, became the pivotal neo-Nazi organization, taking inspiration from several European fascist movements. The antisemitism prompted by Tacuara and by the political group Unión Cívica Nacionalista (Nationalist Civic Union), as well as other smaller groups with similar outlooks, culminated in the kidnapping and swastika tattooing of a female Jewish student in 1962. This and other assaults prompted Jewish community representatives to call for a nationwide protest strike against Nazi-like terrorism. The success of this strike, with large-scale participation from the non-Jewish population, gave Jews a brief moment of dignity both as Argentines and as Jews.

But this show of solidarity did not last long. The military regime of Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía (1966–1970) was characterized by its repression of intellectual and artistic freedom. Following a well-established military tradition, antisemitism became an instrument of policy as well. The 1970s proved tumultuous, as the country threatened to split apart. Numerous revolutionary tendencies began to proliferate, especially among the urban, educated middle classes. A succession of authoritarian governments between 1974 and 1983 dealt savagely with the leftist guerrillas. During Isabel Perón’s administration (1974–1976), the Triple A (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), a rightist terrorist group, waged a brutal campaign of suppression against the Left, focusing especially on Jews. In 1976, the military junta that deposed Perón dealt a death-blow to the Left in what became known as the Dirty War. More than 10,000 people were either killed or “disappeared,” of which an estimated 10 percent were Jews, far exceeding the proportion of Jews in the population at large or even within the groups specifically targeted. Although the Dirty War was launched against subversives, it overflowed with antisemitic rhetoric that applied to the whole Jewish population. Jewish institutions were not attacked per se, but the impact on Jewish lives and on the Jewish community at large was much deeper than in previous episodes of overt antisemitism.

After the violence of the Dirty War, democracy returned to Argentina, and Jews became

prominent in the political life of the country. However, two events during this democratic era adversely affected Jewish life there. In 1993, the Israeli embassy was bombed and destroyed, killing 29 people. In July 1994, another bomb demolished the building of the leading representative bodies of Argentine Jewry, claiming 100 lives, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Although there are strong suspicions regarding the identity of the perpetrators of these acts, some of whom are connected to the highest levels of government, the courts and the successive state prosecutors have yet (as of late 2004) to convict anyone of the crimes.

—Victor A. Mirelman

**See also** Buenos Aires Pogroms; Eichmann, Adolf; Judeo-Bolshevism; Tacuara

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## Armed Forces of the United States

Throughout the nation's history, the armed forces of the United States have usually reflected the traits, tone, and intensity of antisemitism prevalent in American society. Prejudice against Jews has ranged from the traditional negative religious, cultural, and political attitudes of the colonial era to an anti-Jewish engagement based on extremist racial theories in the early twentieth century. In the decades following World War II, such institutional antisemitism gradually devolved to the level of individual bias. The pace of change within the armed forces, however, has generally lagged behind the progressive transformations in attitudes toward Jews occurring within the broader society.

From the colonial era to the present, Jews

have fought in all U.S. wars. They have served in numbers proportionate to their percentage of the general population, often distinguishing themselves with bravery on the battlefield. Despite such contributions, however, Jews have been suspected of disloyalty and cowardice. They have often been perceived and treated as permanent outsiders, as less than "true Americans" when measured against their Christian, predominately Anglo-Saxon compatriots. Uriah P. Levy, perhaps the first Jewish U.S. naval officer, found himself consistently isolated and ostracized by fellow officers, as well as institutionally sanctioned by the navy he served between 1812 and 1862. During the Civil War, when Jews served both the North and the South, antisemitism within the military rose, as it did in all sections of the country in times of fear and uncertainty. In December 1862, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant issued General Orders No. 11, expelling Jews from his military district and thereby making them scapegoats for procurement and other army scandals. Although President Lincoln rescinded the order, its very issuance reinforced images of Jews as traitors profiteering from the suffering of soldiers and impeding the war effort. Similar suspicions existed in the South, where some attributed defeats to the fact that Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate secretary of war, was a Jew. Widespread sentiments that Jews had failed to bear their share on the battlefield lingered for decades thereafter.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Christian and social antisemitism was exacerbated and drastically transformed by the influx of millions of eastern European Jews and the embrace of racial theories by army officers. Applying Darwinian ideas to the new immigrants, army publications now depicted Jews generally as a biologically alien, inferior, and dangerous race. Jews had supposedly evolved into a race of parasites whose immutable inherited characteristics precluded their integration as either soldiers or citizens. Considered psychologically, morally, and physically deficient, weak and cowardly Jews could never become soldiers. Instances of Jewish military service and heroism were unknown, unrecognized, or dismissed as the exceptions. The few Jews who entered the military and naval academies in the early twentieth century

confronted institutionalized antisemitism and harassment. In World War I, army advertisements, manuals, and military lore portrayed Jews as untrustworthy malingeringers who evaded conscription and combat.

After World War I, army antisemitism underwent another significant change when the military began to identify Jews as threats to national security and geopolitical interests. Led by the Military Intelligence Division (MID), the army became actively engaged with the Jewish Question, especially regarding communism and immigration. Through systematic surveillance of Jews at home and abroad, military attachés, secret agents, and other officers concluded that communism was an “international conspiracy of Jews.” Some officers accepted the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as evidence of a Jewish plan for world domination. Others held that in aiding Jews in eastern Europe, American Jews revealed their disloyalty by obstructing the U.S. struggle against communism. During the Red Scare of the 1920s, MID also prepared contingency plans for the suppression of an uprising of Jewish communists in New York City. Fears of Jewish subversion merged with racial antisemitism as the army entered the political contest over immigration. Invoking theories of Nordic supremacy, officers urged the passage of restrictive immigration legislation to halt the influx of the Jewish “scum of Europe,” whose inferior racial traits and intrinsically dangerous behavior imperiled the genetic and political future of the United States. Into the 1930s, officers groomed for upper command at the Army War College received lectures and readings on racial theory and eugenics, which further legitimized and institutionalized racial and political antisemitism.

Army antisemitism had tragic consequences during the refugee crisis of the 1930s and the Holocaust. Some officers warned against allowing Nazi antisemitism to disrupt U.S.-German relations, possibly leading the country into a war that ran contrary to national interests. Invoking the subversive threat and “undesirable” characteristics of Jews, the army also effectively opposed admitting Jewish refugees into the United States. In World War II, the army used wartime security as a rationalization to hold up rescue of Jews

from Nazism and keep Palestine closed to them. Long-standing antisemitism and indifference to the plight of Jews were factors in the army’s refusal to bomb Auschwitz, and similar racial, geopolitical, and strategic considerations affected army policy toward displaced persons (DPs) after the war. Lack of sympathy, racism, and fear of subversion characterized the army’s treatment of Holocaust survivors and resulted in the military’s strong opposition to the admission of Jewish DPs into the United States. Predicting that Jewish immigration into Palestine would mean Soviet domination of the Middle East and the consequent loss of oil, the army likewise resisted the establishment of Israel.

Widespread antisemitism and the prejudiced treatment of Jews, especially among the top officers of the older generation, typified the army of the interwar years. World War II, however, witnessed momentous attitudinal changes in the greatly expanded and more ethnically diverse army that came into being during the 1940s. Abandoning officially condoned racial prejudice, War Department policies now began to promote toleration. Nazi racism and revelations of the Holocaust discredited antisemitism and racial thought in general. Moreover, the interaction of Christian and Jewish troops, especially during combat, created bonds of respect that eliminated or significantly reduced preexisting biases. This trend continued over the next several decades, as racial and institutionalized antisemitism gradually disappeared within the military. Although individual prejudice persisted and suspicions about Jewish loyalty and power occasionally surfaced thereafter, more Jews were able to make military careers, with some even rising to the highest rank. And the U.S. and Israeli armies became strategic allies.

—Joseph W. Bendersky

**See also** Eugenics; Evian Conference; General Orders No. 11; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Jew Census; Jewish Question; Judeo-Bolshevism; Masculinity; Moseley, George Van Horn; Oswego Camp; *Passing of the Great Race*; Patton, Gen. George; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Racism, Scientific; Social Darwinism; United States  
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### **Arndt, Ernst Moritz (1769–1860)**

E. M. Arndt's oeuvre devoted relatively little attention to the religion, history, or emancipation of the Jews, and the author did not make a career as a historian, writer, and politician out of his anti-Jewish views. Along with Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, Arndt was considered one of the German national movement's leading thinkers. It was his bristling hatred of the French, expressed in his propaganda writings during the Napoleonic occupation (1806–1814), that made him famous. Only with the emergence of political antisemitism in the German Empire after 1871 did Arndt become a well-known anti-Jewish ideologue.

Of his many works, two dealt specifically with the Jewish Question. In 1814, he published *Noch etwas über die Juden* (Something More Concerning the Jews). Thirty-three years later, he returned to the subject with *A Remark on the Jewish Question Being Discussed and Contested in the Prussian Parliament*. Both contributions addressed the debate about Jewish emancipation, which Arndt opposed with passionate eloquence. His animus was aimed first and foremost at Judaism, but he also regarded as inimical Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe. He conceived of the democratic movement during the Revolution of 1848 as the product of the Jews' cosmopolitanism and their deficient national feeling.

Arndt's writing on the Jewish Question was not altogether consistent. Deeply respectful of the Old Testament roots of Jewry, he found the Judaism of his own day to be an anachronism. Jews, he thought, were stiff-necked and rigid in their adherence to outmoded religious traditions. In contrast to the liberal-democratic champions of emancipation, Arndt maintained that citizen-

ship in the German state could only be conferred on those of the Christian faith; he therefore expected Jews to convert.

His nationalist thinking, born in his opposition to the French occupation, developed into a culturally oriented racism that also influenced his anti-Jewish views. He was adamant that maintaining the purity of the German language and the vibrancy of the German nation required fending off all alien concepts and moral practices. The Germans, in his opinion, possessed the requisite purity. The Jews, however, were a bastardized people. Having lost their purity, they had also lost the capacity to develop into a virtuous, orderly nation.

Like many others, some of whom were more favorably inclined toward Jewish emancipation, Arndt attributed the supposed negative traits of the Jews to the long history of discrimination that had impeded their social and professional development. He also thought that the lack of their own territorial state had destroyed in them the ability to cherish a fatherland. Aside from these intellectual objections, Arndt voiced commonplace and popular prejudices: most Jews were prone to treachery; they were crooked; they were work-shy; they were interested only in quick profits. He likened them to flies, gnats, and other vermin. Such metaphors from the animal world, implying the biological inferiority of the Jews, became articles of faith for twentieth-century racists. Even though Arndt did not pursue this biological line of argument to its logical conclusion, his notion of bastardization bequeathed to the Nazis one of their most relied on "proofs" of Jewish degeneracy.

—Jens Rybak  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Christian State; Dining Society, Christian-German; 1848; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Jewish Question; *Ostjuden*; Supersessionism; Treitschke, Heinrich von; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Young Hegelians

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### **Aryan Paragraph**

By the 1890s, the growth of racial antisemitism in German-speaking lands had led some middle-

class organizations and parties to adopt a bylaw that excluded Jews on the basis of “race.” The regulation required that members be of “Aryan” or Germanic racial descent and barred those of Jewish ancestry. This exclusion on racial rather than on religious or social grounds was new and controversial, and its acceptance was limited to organizations of the racist, or *völkisch*, Right.

The resurgence of antisemitism in Germany following World War I led to increased use of Aryan paragraphs in the bylaws of racist and nationalist organizations. Perhaps the most influential instance was the hotly disputed adoption of the paragraph by the nationalist student fraternities (Burschenschaften) in 1920. This paragraph required that prospective members prove Aryan descent back to the grandparents’ generation and forbade marriage to Jewish or “colored” women. By the late 1920s, including an Aryan paragraph in bylaws was virtually automatic among German nationalist and rightist organizations.

After 1933, the Aryan paragraph was adopted by the Nazis as a matter of state policy, one of many tools used in the early years of the regime to exclude Jews from public life. The first official use appeared in paragraph 3 of the Civil Service Law of April 7, 1933, stipulating that only those of Aryan descent, without Jewish parents or grandparents, could be considered for civil service employment. This stipulation was quickly extended to education with the Law against Overcrowding in German Schools and Universities of April 25, 1933. Aryan paragraphs were included in the Hereditary Farm Law of September 25, 1933; in the Editor Law of October 4, 1933; and in all laws governing the professions, education, and health until, by the end of 1934, Jews had been driven out of mainstream German society. Nazi “synchronization” of German society extended the practice of including the Aryan paragraph to private organizations, which were forced to accept the paragraph or disband. There was little resistance to its introduction among private groups, a notable exception being the Pfarrernotbund (Pastor’s Emergency League) of Martin Niemöller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, whose main concern, however, was the fate of non-Aryan Christians.

The Aryan paragraph marked an important

step in the disenfranchisement of German Jews, setting legal criteria for full citizenship based on race and thus anticipating the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

—Mark Swartzburg

**See also** Austria; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Nuremberg Laws; Purge of the German Civil Service; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Aryan Theater

From 1898 to 1903, Vienna’s Christian Social municipal government, together with like-minded private individuals, sponsored an explicitly antisemitic theater called the Kaiserjubiläums Stadttheater (the Emperor’s Jubilee Theater). Also known as the Aryan Theater of Vienna and sardonically as the Christian Social Asylum, this first antisemitic theater in history refused its resources to Jewish playwrights and actors—a rule that was occasionally broken—and produced a number of provocative antisemitic plays.

The Aryan Theater was controversial from the outset. Its history was characterized by fiascoes and blunders that demonstrated the cultural and artistic ineptitude of its sponsors and its director, Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn. A number of those who supported the theater were culturally illiterate. One Christian Social politician advertised his limitations in this regard by rejoicing that such “Jewish” authors as Alexandre Dumas, Émile Zola, and Henrik Ibsen could now be refused a stage in the new theater. On another occasion, in one of the party papers, a garbled version of Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* was hailed as the work of Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer. When Müller-Guttenbrunn, sensing imminent financial ruin, attempted a conciliatory production of a legitimately philosemitic work, Karl Lueger, the antisemitic mayor of Vienna, intervened, forbidding its performance.

Party hacks bullied Müller-Guttenbrunn into

producing their lifeless dramas and became incensed when these failed to attract audiences. On one such occasion, only the playwright and his wife attended his production in a theater (today's Volksoper) that could seat 1,800. Though Lueger could boast that the Aryan stage was a welcome haven for Christian families seeking to escape implicitly Jewish-run theaters, Müller-Guttenbrunn was nonetheless called to task on a number of occasions for presenting unsavory or controversial dramatic fare.

The theater's greatest success was an adaptation of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Sign of the Cross*. In an avowedly "Christian Theater," *Sign of the Cross* seemed a logical choice, but this production turned out to be an ideological defeat for the Christian Socials. An American, Wilson Barret, who was "culturally inferior" in the eyes of nationalistic theater sponsors, adapted the play. The staged persecutions, orgies, and flagellations permanently spoiled the taste of the audience, according to Müller-Guttenbrunn. The inherent antisemitism of *Sign of the Cross* and its ideological purpose were obvious. When "two [Jewish] sycophants whisper to each other that the Christians murder little children," one critic wrote, it was as if one "had been transported into the midst of a raucous Christian Social meeting resounding with anti-Jewish agitation" (Geehr 1973, 238).

The Aryan Theater failed for a number of reasons. Rivalries within the Christian Social Party continually underlined a serious confusion of purpose. Some of the project's supporters had invested in the undertaking only because Müller-Guttenbrunn had promised a relatively high rate of return, a promise he could not keep. Many backers were indifferent to the director's idealistic or ideological motives. Lueger himself seemed to be undecided about what the real purpose of the theater should be. Though he had supported an antisemitic theater project as early as 1890, he later seemed inclined to favor lighthearted, escapist fare that suited the tastes of the party rank and file. But the chief reason for the failure of the theater was very practical. Audiences of the era were uninterested in any sustained ideological effort on stage. The Aryan Theater did not meet their expectations either of entertainment or of

edification. Successful antisemitic drama had to await the development of sound films and an audience brutalized by World War I and its aftermath.

—Richard S. Geehr

**See also** Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Kralik, Richard von; Lueger, Karl; Müller-Guttenbrunn, Adam; Ritual Murder (Modern)

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## Aryanization (Germany)

*Aryanization (Arisierung)* was the euphemistic term used by the Nazi regime to describe its drive to strip Jews of their jobs and possessions, especially in Germany from 1933 to 1939. Originally presented as a self-defense measure against the supposedly destructive effects of Jewish "overrepresentation" in certain walks of German life, the program developed into a means of resegregating Jews from the rest of the citizenry, then cashing in on their ultimate "removal" from German society. In the process, Aryanization benefited the Nazi state in two ways: it made numerous posts and goods available to covetous non-Jews, thus increasing popular support for Adolf Hitler's government, and it turned most Jewish-owned assets into money, which the regime confiscated via taxes, exit fees, and outright seizures, thus raising revenue for the Third Reich.

In the first years of Nazi rule, the party attacked the positions and property held by Jews intensely but in piecemeal fashion. Government edicts in the period between 1933 and 1935 excluded most Jews from posts in the civil service, state-controlled enterprises (including most of the country's largest banks), teaching, and the greater part of the nation's medical and judicial systems. Even more stringent laws barred all Jews from farming; public office; the military; and the national associations of journalists, musicians, and theater personnel that were prerequisites for employment in those fields. With regard to most of the private sector, however, the new regime generally preferred to proceed less overtly and

precipitously, in part to avert damage to the German economy or the country's foreign relations. Only in a few dramatic instances, notably concerning prominent department store chains, publishing houses, and some armaments firms, did the government apply direct pressure at an early date to make corporations change hands at knockdown prices. Instead, intimidation at lower levels seemed adequate to the party's initial purpose, which was to persuade Jews to retire or sell out "voluntarily." Nazi decision makers, for example, routinely withheld contracts from firms owned or managed by Jews, and party activists among the enterprises' employees or stockholders loudly agitated for the dismissal of Jewish officers or directors. Fairly promptly, therefore, many of these individuals or their colleagues decided to acquiesce "for the good of the firm." Meanwhile, customers or clients were discouraged from patronizing Jewish-owned shops and professional practices, not only by the Storm troopers who stood ominously outside many stores during the infamous nationwide boycott of April 1, 1933, but also in the following period by local party organizations that publicly condemned anyone who did business with Jews. Behind all of this bullying stood the ever present menace of illicit violence, against which the courts provided no dependable protection. This mix of formal prohibitions and semiofficial harassment made deep inroads between 1933 and 1937 on the economic conditions of German Jews, although many still could obtain more or less standard severance and pension terms from former employers and something approaching legitimate prices for their companies. By the end of the period, perhaps one-quarter of the population remaining in Germany was dependent on Jewish welfare agencies for some form of sustenance; almost all the Jews still able to earn a living worked either for themselves or for each other. About 60 percent of the 100,000 Jewish-owned businesses in Germany as of 1933 (including about 30 percent of the major ones) had been sold or closed. The number of large German firms in which Jews held several leading positions had dropped by 83 percent, and the number in which they held any ranking post fell by over half; the total wealth of the Jewish populace,

estimated at 10 billion reichsmarks when Hitler achieved power, had fallen by 40 to 50 percent, whereas the Jewish population had declined by less than one-third. Moreover, the Nazi regime proved increasingly adept at skimming off the wealth of those who emigrated, primarily through the Reich Flight Tax that antedated Hitler's regime and consumed 25 percent of an emigrant's assets; discriminatory currency conversion rates for Jews that fell from 50 percent of the normal exchange rates in 1935 to 4 percent by 1939 aided the expropriation.

In early 1938, the Nazi regime began to close the gap between its overt and clandestine efforts to dispossess Jews and launched a full-fledged assault on their remaining livelihoods. No longer constrained by fear of unemployment but increasingly preoccupied with the likelihood of war, Hitler appears to have signaled Hermann Göring, the man principally responsible for the nation's economy, that the time had come to move forcefully against the Jews. By the spring, the Reich had defined what constituted a Jewish firm and threatened to cut off government contracts, raw materials, and foreign exchange from all enterprises that qualified, with the result that all remaining Jews in managerial positions and on corporate boards were forced out and most major Jewish stockholders had to begin divesting. Prohibitions on Jewish traveling salespeople, brokers, doctors, and lawyers followed, along with a requirement that sales of Jewish-owned companies had to be approved by the party's Regional Economic Advisors, who set narrow and larcenous parameters for the permissible prices.

In the aftermath of the so-called Night of Broken Glass pogrom of November 1938, the regime first imposed an "atonement levy" on the German Jewish population of 1 billion reichsmarks, most of it to be raised by a tax of 25 percent on all individuals' assets as of the preceding April; then, it began conducting forced sales or liquidations of the remaining Jewish-owned enterprises, requiring Jews to monetize virtually all their wealth. The proceeds of the forced sales, along with those from compulsory conversions of insurance policies, stockholdings, precious metals, and the like into cash, had to be deposited in blocked accounts under the control of Nazi trustees. As long as they

remained in Germany, the owners could extract only minuscule monthly living allowances from these accounts. On a person's departure from the country, most of the balance went to the German state. By way of these procedures, at least half of the total wealth that remained to German Jews in April 1938 flowed into the Reich's coffers by September 1939 (a sum of nearly 3 billion reichsmarks). But the real total was probably even higher, and the proceeds may have come to as much as 5 percent of the Reich's expenditures in the year leading up to World War II. In the course of this ruthless plundering of the remnant of German Jewry, relatively modest portions of the loot were scattered among individual profiteers, including not only the recipients of the property taken, many of whom were prominent Nazis or well connected to the party, but also the numerous persons and firms that mediated the transfers, notably, real estate agencies, banks, pawnshops, and auction houses.

By mid-1939, about 200,000 Jews remained in Germany, out of a population of approximately 500,000 six years earlier. Only 16 percent were employed; the others who could work were increasingly dragooned into forced labor at low wages for municipalities or industries, and nearly all were being moved out of their homes and concentrated in "Jew houses" (*Judenhäuser*) in larger German cities. In the period prior to their virtually complete deportation by 1943, their property either was signed over to the National Representation of German Jews (Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden) and then collected by the Nazi regime or confiscated by the Reich outright under the terms of the 11th Citizenship Decree of November 1941. The latter fate also befell most remaining possessions in Germany of those who had succeeded in emigrating earlier.

—Peter Hayes

**See also** Boycott of Jewish Shops; German Big Business and Antisemitism; Göring, Hermann; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Night of Broken Glass; Purge of the German Civil Service; Restitution

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## **Augustine of Hippo (354–430)**

One of the four great "doctors" of the Latin church, Augustine is perhaps the most influential thinker in the history of Western Christianity. His influence on many aspects of Christian thought and practice, including Christian attitudes toward Jews and Judaism, has been immense. Indeed, his doctrine of "Jewish witness" might easily be regarded as the authoritative Western view from the time of his death in the fifth century until the Second Vatican Council in the twentieth.

Early in his writing career, Augustine, following a well-established Christian tradition, identified the biblical characters from the book of Genesis, Cain and Abel, as symbols of the Jews and Jesus Christ, respectively. For their guilt in the murder of Christ, the Jews (like Cain, who killed his brother Abel) were exiled from their land, and in exile, they would continue to live, in sorrow, anxiety, and servitude, until the end of time. Bearing "the mark of Cain," they were to be permitted to live (though, again, only in subjugation) by gentile emperors and kings in whose lands they were dispersed.

In Augustine's view, it was thus God's will that Judaism should endure and Jews not be slain. Biblically, the survival of the Jews and their dispersion were, Augustine argued, mandated by Psalms 59:12: "Slay them not, lest at any time they forget your law; scatter them in your might." The survival of the Jews and their continued practice of Judaism were intended, in several respects, to witness to the truth of Chris-



Augustine of Hippo was the most influential thinker in the history of Western Christianity on the subject of the Jews. In his view, it was God's will that Jews not be slain, so that they might bear witness to the triumph and truth of Christianity. (Library of Congress)

tianity. First of all, their condition of dispersion and subjugation served to authenticate the triumph and truth of Christianity and the displacement of the synagogue by the church. Second, by preserving their Scriptures, the Jews unintentionally would preserve the prophecies concerning Christ contained within them. In this way, they would prove to pagan critics of, or recent converts to, Christianity that the church had not forged those prophecies. Thus, Jews served unintentionally as custodians of the books that prove the messiahship of Christ and that contain prophecies of their own blindness and rejection. In short, if Jews had a continuing place in the drama of divine salvation, it was solely as

a witness people, to vindicate the truth of the new religion.

This "doctrine of Jewish witness" was charged with ambivalent meanings for Jews, especially since it helped to shape the ways that Jews were treated by Christian leaders and peoples for millennia. On the one hand, no potentate could coerce Jews into ceasing the practice of Judaism, although this proviso was not always observed, even by Christian clerics. (Comparatively, Augustine did not extend the same tolerance to nonorthodox Christians, such as the Donatists, against whom he condoned imperial punishment.) On the other hand, they were to be permitted to practice Judaism only as a service of witness to the church. According to historian Jeremy Cohen, the invocation of Psalm 59, with its mandate not to slay "them," served as a "prophetic policy-statement" that not only prevented their liquidation but also guaranteed them religious freedom (Cohen 1999, 36). Yet the second half of the Psalm—"scatter them in your might"—made their dispersion a matter of divine will and human obligation. Less ambiguously, it was simply assumed, according to the eschatological scenario laid out by Augustine, that the Jews would convert to Christianity at the end of time. Moreover, the doctrine underscored the sole responsibility of the Jews for the death of Christ, emphasized their supposed stubbornness and blindness in refusing to acknowledge Christ as Messiah, and viewed Jewish religion and the synagogue as essentially moribund.

The danger in this view of Jews and Judaism when put into practice, aside from the obvious psychological, social, political, and economic disabilities it could inflict, is that the religious and cultural presuppositions favoring and even demanding survival could change, wither away, or disappear altogether in different historical circumstances. A second, although less serious, danger (yet not unknown in the Middle Ages or in the modern period) is that the principle could be ignored even among those for whom it remained theoretically authoritative. Thus, the Augustinian doctrine was unable to prevent, in "Christian societies," instances of forced conversion, expulsion, and, in the Crusades and during the years of the Black Death, mass murder. Ultimately, in

the Middle Ages, the tension between the two halves of Augustine's teaching proved difficult to maintain; in the modern period, that task proved tragically impossible.

—Kevin Madigan

**See also** Church Fathers; Deicide; Paul; Supersessionism; Vatican Council, Second

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ish fabrication that exterminations took place in Auschwitz—was embraced first by German deniers and neo-Nazis and later by their associates around the world. The claim that the facilities in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not capable of mass annihilation became obligatory in most of their publications. The “so-called gas chambers,” they maintained, were used as delousing facilities and not for mass murder. The deniers’ campaign to undermine the truth about Auschwitz culminated in 1988 during the trial of German Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel in Canada. Christophersen was one of the defense witnesses, and he repeated his Auschwitz Lie thesis. The main defense witness, however, was the American charlatan engineer Fred Leuchter, who claimed that the samples he had collected in Auschwitz and Birkenau demonstrated that people could not have been gassed there. Although his credentials as an expert witness were fraudulent and rejected by the court, the *Leuchter Report* had a huge impact on antisemites and Holocaust deniers. In early 1992, another Holocaust denier, the German chemist Germar Rudolf, claimed to have corroborated the Auschwitz Lie theory scientifically.

Christophersen was sentenced to prison in Germany in 1978 for disseminating Nazi propaganda. In 1986, he fled to Denmark in order to avoid further court proceedings. However, in 1995, he was forced to leave Denmark as a result of almost daily demonstrations against his presence, and two years later, he died in Belgium.

—Roni Stauber

**See also** Germany, Federal Republic of; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Leuchter Report; Neo-Nazism, German; Zündel, Ernst

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## Auschwitz Lie

The term *Auschwitz Lie* (*Auschwitz-Lüge*) was coined by the German Holocaust denier Thies Christophersen in the early 1970s. A former Waffen-SS man, Christophersen had been stationed in one of the Auschwitz subcamps in 1944. After the war, he became a leading neo-Nazi activist in Germany. By the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s, he had founded the journals *Bauernschaft* (Peasantry) and *Kritik* (Critique), which became significant venues for Nazi apologists and Holocaust deniers. At the same time, he also established the neo-Nazi group Bauern- und Bürgerinitiative (freely translated as Town and Country Initiative).

*The Auschwitz Lie* was the title of his book, presented as an eyewitness report about Auschwitz. Christophersen claimed that he had neither seen nor heard of any gassing activity when he had served near Auschwitz and visited Birkenau. The book, published in Germany in 1973, was the first radical German Holocaust denial publication and had a powerful influence on extreme rightists in the country.

In the 1970s and 1980s, when Auschwitz came to be perceived worldwide as the embodiment of the unprecedented evils of Nazi Germany, it also became the main target for Holocaust deniers. As a result, the term *Auschwitz Lie*—the alleged Jew-

## Australia

The Jewish community in Australia has unique historical legitimacy: Jewish convicts arrived on

the first day of European settlement in 1788 and then as Free Settlers beginning in the 1830s. During this period, most of them came from Britain or other parts of the English-speaking world. Jews were elected to serve in the Australian parliaments two decades before they were permitted to contest seats in Britain. At least forty Jews served in Australian legislatures throughout the nineteenth century, a number of whom were vocal in support of Jewish rights and equal treatment for Judaism at the hands of Australian governments.

For much of the first century of the Jewish presence in Australia, there were indications of a low level of antisemitism, in the context of a more dominant philosemitism. Intermarriage rates were high, indicating a rare acceptance of Jewish people as members of society. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Australians debated the suitability of east European Jewish immigrants—a debate generally framed in terms of the overall undesirability or desirability of non-English-speaking aliens, rather than specifically referring to Jews. In the 1920s, antisemitic ideas of European provenance gained some currency in Australia, centering on the identification of Jews as Bolsheviks and/or as archetypical capitalists. Between the world wars, during a period in which a number of Jews from central and eastern Europe began to arrive in Australia and many more sought sanctuary there, antisemitism reached the political mainstream: it was a product of the political tensions precipitated by the Great Depression and the emergence of Australian populism, which often adopted antisemitic rhetoric to bolster its arguments. Antisemitic propaganda came from a number of extreme right-wing political groups and from left-wing circles as well. However, there is little to indicate that antisemitism excited the Australian population or disturbed public life to the same degree that it did elsewhere in the world.

The outbreak of World War II effectively halted any prospect of an expanding antisemitic movement in Australia. With the country at war with Nazi Germany, extreme right-wing groups, those most likely to espouse Jew-hatred in politics, were clearly identified as enemies of Australia. But in the immediate postwar period, with

many displaced persons, including many Jews, seeking refuge, antisemitism overtly and covertly entered once again into the discussion of immigration policy.

There was prominent opposition to the arrival in Australia of people who had been through the ravages of war, who did not speak English as their first language, and who were seen as likely to compete for Australian jobs. Jewish refugees who had just experienced the physical and emotional degradation of the war seemed to many to be less desirable than individuals who appeared fit, strong, and Christian. However, efforts by a number of active and prominent Jewish Australians made possible a limited Jewish immigration. Subsequently, antisemitism all but disappeared from the debate.

In the last half of the twentieth century, there were fundamental changes to Australian society, which had developed from a basically Christian, Anglo-Saxon community into a multicultural, ethnically and religiously pluralist society. Along with these changes came alterations in the nature of the antisemitism that arose from a variety of sources. Far-right-wing antisemitism operated on the political margins, advocated by racist groups that peddled views of Jews as un-British and un-Australian; neo-Nazi and like-minded groups, numerically weak, were nevertheless present in Australia, especially among segments of the immigrant communities of East and Central Europe. These groups rarely, if ever, worked in concert, but their propaganda, originating in a common fund of anti-Jewish stereotypes, was mutually complementary and reinforcing.

Growing antisemitism was also evident on the extreme Left, which included groups that saw the Jews as part of the capitalist establishment. Among these, a small but disproportionately significant element supported the Soviet Union and, in a number of cases, was supported by it. By this agency, Soviet antisemitic and “anti-Zionist” propaganda entered into the broader Australian political Left.

Since the 1970s, there have been a number of occasions when antisemitism, of a type otherwise unknown outside the political fringes in Australia, has impinged on Australian political life; its proponents are, by and large, Australians of

Arab and Islamic background. Arabic-language newspapers in the country have published Holocaust denial articles, repeated the blood libel, and excerpted the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* for their readers, rarely making an effort to distinguish between Jews and Israelis.

The debate over whether individuals who committed crimes against humanity during the Nazi era should be prosecuted under Australian law also included a small but notable antisemitic element. Allegations raised by mainstream figures insinuated that those who sought to pursue justice in this matter were, in fact, motivated by “Jewish vengeance,” which they contrasted with Christian compassion.

The Nazi war criminal issue reemerged somewhat later and in a different form. In 1995, Helen Darville, using the pseudonym Demidenko, published *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, a novel that she claimed drew on her own family’s tragic history. In the book, brought out by the reputable publisher Allen & Unwin, a person charged with involvement in Nazi crimes against humanity was depicted as having done no more than what the Jews deserved because of their own behavior in the brutal Stalinist oppression of the Ukraine. Although praised by many at the time as “another voice” with ethnic authenticity, the novel was condemned by experts in the period of history it sought to evoke for its misrepresentation of that history and of Ukrainian society in general. Nevertheless, it gave a platform to Demidenko and enabled her to find some sympathetic audiences for her overtly antisemitic comments. When Darville was exposed as having no Ukrainian heritage whatsoever—she is the daughter of English immigrant parents—the ensuing debate raised disturbing questions. What, aside from its obvious antisemitism, could account for the literary fame of this invention? Why did it receive so much attention and praise from literary critics and other public figures, some of it continuing well after the fraud had been exposed?

One of the significant features in any study of Australian antisemitism is its minimal presence in the Australian church. There has been an active and strong engagement between Jews and Christians in Australia for decades, and problems that

have arisen have generally been dealt with in a manner indicating a high degree of cooperation and mutual respect.

In the closing decade of the twentieth century, developing awareness of violence directed against all religious and racial minorities in Australia led to a reevaluation of the way the Jewish community’s leading representative body, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), analyzed and reported attacks on Jews. Since 1989, the ECAJ has maintained a comprehensive national database of antisemitic incidents directed at Jews and Jewish institutions: arson; vandalism; assaults on individuals; street harassment, particularly of Jews going to or from synagogues; threats and abuse through the mail and on the telephone; distribution of leaflets, posters, stickers, and electronic mail; and displays of insulting graffiti. The number of such attacks appears to be large, although none of them can be described as the product of any mainstream political, social, or cultural tendency. The physical manifestations of antisemitism have generally been condemned by the Australian public.

In both federal law and in the states of New South Wales and Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory, where laws have been put to the test, it has been determined that anti-Jewish propaganda is covered by measures drafted in terms of racism. In an important case that reached its final determination in the federal court of Australia in 2003, literature advocating Holocaust denial placed on the Internet was found to satisfy the illegality criteria for published material in a public space. The publisher of the material, who was living in Australia, was also found subject to Australian law. In an earlier decision, the federal court upheld a Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission finding that blaming Jews for bolshevism, as well as many other slurs, was also covered by federal antiracism legislation.

—Jeremy Jones

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Britain; Crimes against Humanity, Trials; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Islamic Diaspora; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Ostjuden*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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## Austria

As the legatee of the Holy Roman Empire, the “Austrian,” or Cisleithanian, part of the Habsburg monarchy was also heir to the prejudices, acts of discrimination, and periodic violence directed against Jews that were characteristic of Christian Europe. During its final decades as part of the Habsburg monarchy and into the First Republic founded in 1918, Austria served as an incubator of various strains of antisemitic ideology and corresponding political movements, as well as a testing ground for antisemitic agitation. Although actual anti-Jewish laws were implemented in Austria only after the *Anschluss* (annexation) by Nazi Germany in 1938, the accumulated reservoir of traditional and modern anti-Jewish prejudice in the country made resistance to these measures unlikely. Indeed, any number of anti-Jewish motifs (religious, economic, cultural, and racial) offered sufficient grounds to justify the antisemitic political practice of the Nazis in terms consistent with the Austrian past.

Many “modern” antisemitic stereotypes in Austria can be traced to antiquity. Such beliefs inaugurated an exclusionary language that, once divorced from its ancient origins, became a set piece of anti-Jewish prejudice for centuries to come. In the Middle Ages, hostility toward Jews was expressed both in discriminatory acts and in physical attacks. Catholic Church councils discouraged or prevented contacts between Christians and Jews, required Jews to wear a distinguishing badge or mark, imposed restrictions on the exercise of occupations, and accepted pro-toracist notions such as the “purity of the blood.” In the wake of the plague or in times of general dearth, accusations of well poisoning, host desecration, or ritual murder of Christian children were raised against Jews, sometimes leading to

their massacre. Yet, as elsewhere in Europe, Jews lived peacefully enough with their neighbors for long stretches of time. A few, in position to offer their financial services to penurious secular princes, could purchase privileges and protection for themselves and others.

The word *antisemitism*, a neologism of the late nineteenth century, was introduced into political discourse in Austria in the late 1870s. Employed by movements and individuals that had adopted a new approach to the Jewish Question as it had been reframed following the legal emancipation of Jews (in 1867), the term also became a linguistic shorthand for the entire array of old and many new anti-Jewish prejudices.

The historical development of the German-speaking Habsburg lands gave antisemitism in Austria its distinctive character. The development of capitalism, the predominance of the Catholic Church, the short-lived ascendancy and disastrous fall of Austro-Liberalism, the specificities of the nationalities question in the empire, the migration of large numbers of Jews to Vienna, the growth of a powerful Social Democratic movement, and the emergence of mass political parties—all these elements determined the context and, to some extent, the nature of, antisemitism in Austria. Jews achieved leading and visible positions in the economy, especially in banking and on the stock exchange, in intellectual and cultural life (particularly the press), and in the legal and medical professions. They led the Social Democratic Party. Poor Jews were also seen as problematic; their marginal economic activities, it was said, undermined honest artisans and small shopkeepers. Some Jews wished to assimilate fully and, as bearers of German culture, came to believe that they had done so; others, the *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) from Galicia and elsewhere, stood out because they retained their traditional customs and dress. This spectrum of Jewish existence and identity, however, offered no antidote to the conventional wisdom about the uniform “essence” of the Jew; on the contrary, it formed the basis of the protean mixture of anti-Jewish religious, economic, cultural, and racial prejudice that ostensibly explained nearly every intractable social and cultural problem.

The three most significant political currents from the late Habsburg years up to the Anschluss of 1938 were embodied in the movements of the Christian Socials, the Pan-Germans, and the Social Democrats.

The Christian Social Movement was formed in 1887 as a coalition of constituent groups (artisans, lower clergy, and disaffected democrats, among others) and was molded into a potent electoral force principally by Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910. The program of Lueger's movement wove together several antiliberal elements, such as populism, social reform, antisemitism, and dynastic loyalty. Lueger's antisemitism was pragmatic rather than ideological, but its political legacy nevertheless legitimized antisemitic demagogic in Austrian public life.

Pan-Germanism in fin de siècle Austria came to be broadly identified with the politics of Georg von Schönerer. Schönerer was originally elected to the Reichsrat (parliament) as a progressive liberal, but he soon became a bitter critic of the liberal establishment. In 1882, along with Viktor Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer (both later leaders of the Social Democratic movement) and Heinrich Friedjung (a liberal historian), Schönerer drafted the Linz Program, which called for a closer union with Wilhelmine Germany. Schönerer became increasingly radical, both in his hostility to the multinational Austrian Empire and in his antisemitism: in 1885, he introduced a twelfth article into the Linz Program, excluding Jews. Although Schönerer himself never achieved any real political power, he shifted the focus of German nationalism in Austria away from mere cultural supremacy in the multinational state, linking its fortunes to those of the German Empire and pairing this integral nationalism with racial antisemitism.

Although Schönerer and his followers prided themselves on the “purism” of their antisemitism (much more so than did their competitors, in fact), the boundaries between the national racial form of antisemitism and the less systematic Christian Social variety remained fluid. Individuals who once were allied in the same groups fell out over a variety of political issues; they changed allegiances easily and often but rarely felt called

on to jettison or even revise their antisemitism. Many Christian Socials who explicitly renounced racial antisemitism (in its Schönererian form) nonetheless expressed opinions with racist implications. One example was Karl von Vogelsang. From 1875, Vogelsang edited the conservative Catholic paper *Vaterland* (Fatherland), and he became a behind-the-scenes adviser for several Christian Social politicians and for some of the Catholic lower clergy. As a devout Catholic, he rejected racial antisemitism. Yet his writings contained recognizably racist elements. This “syncretic” antisemitism in nineteenth-century Austria also owed something to the efforts of priests such as Josef Deckert. In his later writings, Deckert argued that Christian teachings were compatible with racial antisemitism.

The shifting and overlapping boundaries between religious and racist currents within the antisemitic movement illustrated by Deckert’s personal ideological migration continued into the Austrian First Republic, in which neither the (German) national camp nor the Christian Social camp strictly observed ideological differences over antisemitism. Christian Social politician Richard Schmitz, for example, fulminated against the “extraordinarily dangerous and spiritually unjustified phenomenon . . . that the members of another people, even another race, appear as pseudo-Germans,” whereas Leopold Kunschak of the Christian Social Laborers in Linz wanted to prohibit Jews from “denying their ethnic group membership merely by leaving their religious community” (quotations from Staudinger 1979, 29, 41). It is true that the sometimes extreme antisemitic propaganda of Christian Social politicians did not result in anti-Jewish legal measures. However, the ambiguous vocabulary of Christian Social antisemitism and its “language of hardness” offered arguments to justify the systematic exclusion of Jews from Austrian society.

Officially against all forms of discrimination, the Social Democratic Party in the Habsburg monarchy and the Austrian First Republic nevertheless exhibited an ambivalent attitude toward the antisemitic movement and sometimes had trouble distancing itself from antisemitic agitation. The Social Democrats’ historical material-

ism convinced them that antisemitism was an ideological phenomenon corresponding to a particular stage of capitalist development. Instead of a struggle against Jewish capital, as the antisemites advocated, the Social Democrats proposed a proletarian fight against Jewish and non-Jewish capitalism. Tactically, however, they tried to exploit the confused anticapitalism of the antisemitic movement. This strategy, however, often minimized the significance of antisemitism, so that the party—many of whose leaders were Jewish—would not be seen to be defending specifically Jewish interests. At the same time, in their attempts to expose the Christian Socials' hypocrisy, the Social Democrats sometimes employed a language indistinguishable from that of their antisemitic opponents. As a consequence, they lent a new kind of respectability to the antisemitic stereotypes that equated “capitalist” and “Jew.”

Writers and cultural critics were also part of the linguistic context of antisemitism in Austria, especially in Vienna, prior to 1938. The works of Otto Weininger, which contained passages contemptuous of Jews; the biting wit of Karl Kraus, who reserved his most derisory concinnity for Jews in leading positions in the Viennese press; and the curious writings of Arthur Trebitsch, who became a case study of “Jewish self-hatred,” are merely the best-known examples of a much broader phenomenon. Whatever the origins or immediate causes of this type of writing, it also provided a kind of cover for the antisemitic prejudices of others.

These diffuse ideological currents helped create an everyday texture of antisemitic prejudice in Austria that ranged from generalizations about Jews in the professions to allegations of actual ritual murder to calls for the reimposition of legal disabilities against racially defined Jews. Moreover, antisemitism in Austria retained its syncretic character under the Nazi regime, even though racial elements—Hitler’s “antisemitism of reason”—assumed a hitherto unheard-of prominence in official propaganda. In practice, however, the Nazis were not particularly doctrinaire in terms of their grounds for the intellectual and psychological stigmatization of the Jews that prepared the way for their political exclusion

from the Third Reich and their physical elimination from Europe.

In Austria under the Nazis, the isolation and murder of the Jews entailed a series of steps in a process that met with little or no resistance. After the Anschluss, the zealousness of some Austrian antisemites surprised even the Germans when it came to the persecution of Jews. At no stage, however, would the concrete achievement of the Nazis’ stated political objectives have required a purely racial justification or arguments that could not have been found among their Christian Social opponents. The Final Solution of the Jewish Question found a well-prepared soil in Austria.

—Richard Mitten

**See also** Antisemitism, Etymology of; Billroth, Theodor; Christian Social Party (Austria); Court Jews; Emancipation; Gemlich Letter; Host Desecration; Jewish Question; Kraus, Karl; Linz Program; Lueger, Karl; *Ostjuden*; Pan-Germans; Polná Ritual Murder; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Schönerer, Georg von; Self-Hatred, Jewish; Socialists on Antisemitism; Vogelsang, Karl von; Weininger, Otto; Well Poisoning; Yellow Badge

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#### *Auto-da-fé*

The term *auto-da-fé* (in Spanish, *auto de fe*) signified the pronouncement of the sentence of the

local Inquisition tribunal against a Christian suspected of heresy. The sentence could be pronounced in closed or public session. Until the mid-sixteenth century, there were no dispositions about the venue for the passing of the sentence. From that period on, it became common to choose the central place of a town—at least for death sentences—and to accompany the auto-da-fé with great pomp. All persons condemned had to wear a penitential robe (*sambenito*). The public reading and execution of the sentence was aimed at deterring potential heretics. Persons who refused to assist an auto-da-fé thereby opened themselves to suspicion of also adhering to heresy. Typical penalties included confiscation of property, public whippings, imprisonment, being sent to the galleys, or burning at the stake—the form of punishment that historical memory most closely associates with the Inquisition. The actual execution of death sentences was handed over to the secular authorities. Those who repented were strangled with the garrote; all others were burned alive. If the condemned was a fugitive at large, a puppet representing the individual was burned.

The procedures by which to prove innocence or guilt were strictly limited. Until the trial, defendants were held in secret jails. The witnesses remained anonymous, and sometimes even the content of the accusation was withheld. Rumors were acceptable as evidence, and confessions were extracted by torture. In the first decades of the Spanish Inquisition, acquittals were rare. Although severe by any standard, the proceedings

of the Inquisition were not far different from those of ordinary secular tribunals of the period.

The most common accusation was not Judaizing—that is, practicing Jewish rituals—but blasphemy and the relapse of Moriscos to Islam. Following Lutheran ideas or superstitions, charges that occurred nearly as frequently as Judaizing (comprising 8 percent as opposed to 10 percent of the cases between 1540 and 1700), could also lead to punishment by the Inquisition. The numbers of those who fell victim to the auto-da-fé are difficult to determine. Most recent and reliable estimates say that 10,000 people were actually killed after the proclamation of the death sentence in an auto-da-fé. The vast majority of these deaths occurred in the first years of the Inquisition; thereafter, more indulgent sentences became the rule.

In the eighteenth century, the practice of the auto-da-fé declined, and only rarely did the process occur with great assistance from the public. The growing distance between the Spanish monarchy and the Inquisition was one of the factors that weakened the institution. Nevertheless, the last recorded instance occurred in 1826, and the auto-da-fé ceased formally only in 1834.

—Bernd Rother

**See also** Dominican Order; Inquisition;  
Torquemada, Tomás de

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# B

## Bailey, Alice A. (1880–1949)

Alice A. Bailey, a British occultist and prolific writer, lived for decades in the United States. She is generally credited with building the framework for contemporary New Age philosophy. It was Bailey who popularized the term *New Age* and its globalist goals, now supported by many world-class institutions. Less publicized is the antisemitism that consistently ran through her vision for the new world. In her doctrine of “right human relations,” she defined the Jews as one of “four world problems” to be resolved before the New Age could commence. In the political arena, she declared the United Nations a divinely appointed tool for uniting humanity, and she believed Zionism was a major obstacle to world peace.

A lapsed Christian, Bailey claimed a visitation from an “Ascended Master” at age fifteen (in 1895), the first of many psychic experiences that led her to embrace the occult divinity Maitreya as “the Christ.” Sometime after discovering the Theosophical Society (in 1917), she experimented with channeling (taking dictation from spirit guides), resulting in her first book, *Initiation, Human and Solar* (1922). This debut was followed by no fewer than twenty-five other books, twenty of which she attributed to channeling (usually from “Djwahl Kuhl”). Her best-known work is “The Great Invocation” (1945), publicly presented as a universal prayer for peace but viewed by Bailey disciples as an occultic formula that empowers the “Masters” whenever recited. Bailey’s more influential works, all attributed to divine dictation, include *A Treatise on White Magic* (1934), *Discipleship in the New Age* (1944, 1955), *The Problems of Humanity* (1947), *The Reappearance of the Christ* (1948), *Education in the New Age* (1954), *Externalisation of the*

*Hierarchy* (1957), and *The Rays and the Initiations* (1960).

Although few have read these huge volumes in their entirety, they reveal unequivocal and pervasive antisemitism, as Bailey (in the name of the “Hierarchy”) analyzed the destructive “Jewish Force,” described the “Jewish Problem” and its solution, and presented the “Divine Plan” for human spirituality, which required the elimination of “separatist” Jewish identity. Like Helena Blavatsky before her, Bailey attributed Jewish suffering to racial karma, citing the Holocaust as proof and predicting future “purification” as well. Bailey, however, denied being antisemitic, claiming that her views were not born of hatred toward the Jews but of realism and a desire to free them of their spiritual handicaps.

Organizations and projects dedicated to carrying out Bailey’s vision and directives are too many to list. The most prominent include Lucis Trust (originally Lucifer Trust, custodian of Bailey’s writings and UN nongovernmental organization consultant), World Goodwill (distributor of “The Great Invocation”), Share International, New Group of World Servers, Arcane School, World Core Curriculum (UN-sponsored global education), and Robert Muller Schools. Alice’s second husband, Foster Bailey, a Theosophist and published author in his own right, was an active partner in her work and continued to promote her teachings after her death.

—Hannah Newman

**See also** Blavatsky, Helena P.; Invocation, The Great; Jewish Force; New Age; The Plan of the Hierarchy

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### Balzac, Honoré de (1799–1850)

One of the greatest of nineteenth-century French authors, Honoré de Balzac devoted his career to the completion of a vast literary project, including ninety-two novels designed to represent his society in its entirety and known since 1842 as *La comédie humaine* (The Human Comedy). In it, he aimed to observe every social actor or station, profession, institution, or condition of life and to analyze the forces underlying the enormous economic and social changes that he and his contemporaries experienced. Balzac's representation of French society covers the period from 1789 to 1848, when, despite retractions under Napoleon, Jews began to feel the beneficial effects of the proclamation of Jewish emancipation by the National Constituent Assembly in 1791. After 1830, all careers were open to Jews, and Jewish migration to Paris increased, with their numbers in the capital reaching 20,000 in 1853. Jews, therefore, had come to constitute an important new element in the society that Balzac set out to describe. About thirty Jewish characters make an appearance in *La comédie humaine*, with a few reappearing in several novels.

Although Balzac's fiction is less egregiously antisemitic than his personal writings, the novels reflect important negative preconceptions about Jews and Judaism. Despite the Jews' more active presence, especially in the Parisian society of his time, Balzac represents them as marginal to the French social body. They do not identify themselves as Jewish, but their origins are immediately apparent to non-Jews through physiognomy or accent or aura. Though they may attempt to become a part of French society, they inevitably retain their Jewishness despite conversion or assimilation; significantly, none of Balzac's Jewish characters has a French name. To be a Jew in Balzac's world, then, is a matter of foreign nationality or race rather than religion, an ineffaceable hereditary taint that marks one as an outsider. We therefore do not see Jews practicing their religion or interacting with their coreligionists, though they constitute a significant presence in the domains of the arts and sciences, the demimonde of the theater, and especially the world of finance.

Given these generalizations, however, it is important to differentiate between the representations of male and female Jews in *La comédie humaine*. In composing his work, Balzac set out to analyze an emerging industrial and capitalist society that he considered to be driven by money, at the expense of all traditions and values. In keeping with time-honored stereotypes that proved appropriate to his literary project, those Jewish men connected to the financial world and able to manipulate the markets to their own advantage—such as the Keller brothers, the moneylender Gobseck, and the financier Nucingen, who appears in more of the novels than any other character—epitomize the power of money and the social corruption attendant on the misuse of that power. Paradoxically, then, the male Jew is simultaneously placed both at the margins of French society and at the center of the negative forces generating social change. Moreover, these characters possess an energy and dynamism also evident in the Jewish men whose careers lead them to the arts and sciences. These traits are an obvious focus of Balzacian anxiety.

Balzac's Jewish women are the product of a different set of preconceptions that reflect an orientalist fantasy also characteristic of the romantic literature of the time. More marginalized than Jewish men, they are largely confined to the roles of actresses and prostitutes; they exude mystery, charm, and exoticism and possess a beauty beyond the conventional that evokes the biblical atmosphere of *The Song of Songs*. Unlike Jewish men, they are capable of great fidelity and generosity. At the same time, however, the power of their sexuality produces in their non-Jewish lovers a paralyzing fascination that constitutes an obvious analogue to the dominance enjoyed by Jewish men in the world of finance. Taken together, Balzac's male and female Jews embody a paradox that was central to nineteenth-century antisemitic attitudes.

—Susan Rosa

**See also** Belloc, Hilaire; Doré, Gustave; Drumont, Édouard; Fourier, Charles; France; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph; Renan, Ernest; Toussenel, Alphonse; Zola, Émile

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## **Banker, Jewish**

Until the nineteenth century, many of the functions associated with modern banking were undertaken, *inter alia*, by merchants, money changers, moneylenders, pawnbrokers, stockjobbers, tax farmers, and minters. Historically, Jews were active in all of these areas.

In an agrarian culture rooted in classical and Christian values, basic mercantile functions such as currency exchange or long-distance trade created unease; this was even more true of money-lending. Although canon law sanctioned Jewish lending at interest to Christians, “usury” both aggravated existing religious tensions and implicated Jews in the host society’s internal socioeconomic conflicts.

As a rule, Jewish moneylenders were perceived as functioning to extract revenue from peasants and artisans on behalf of the crown and nobility while engaging in unfair competition with burghers and guilds. In fifteenth-century Germany, Jews became pawns in the power struggles between emperors, the noble estates, and the urban communes—struggles frequently punctuated by blood libel accusations and expulsions. Similarly, in Renaissance Italy, Jewish pawnbrokers who supplied consumption loans to peasants and artisans (while powerful Christian banking houses concentrated on international mercantile loans and local manufacturing) provoked the ire of Franciscan preachers. Attacking Jews as “bloodsuckers” and “leeches,” the friars instigated local expulsions and sought to replace the pawnbrokers with low-interest, consumer-loan banks (*monti de pieta*). Still, it should be noted that throughout the premodern era, the repeated public clamor to efface the scourge of Jewish moneylenders was countered by a fainter but equally persistent demand by segments of the European population to maintain or restore the Jews, whose financial services it deemed essential, or at least preferable, to those provided by their Christian counterparts.

Although Jewish involvement in protobanking activities such as pawnbroking, jobbing, and peddling persisted well into the twentieth century, modern Jewish high finance grew out of two distinct historical strands. The first was the tradition of Sephardic Jewish banker courtiers

who, dispersed by the Iberian expulsions and the Inquisitions, pursued banking—as Jews or as nominal New Christians—in the Mediterranean basin and the Atlantic ports of Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London. Their efforts centered on currency and credit exchange, allied with long-distance trade and, later on, stock trading. The second was the small number of Ashkenazic Jews who provided banking services—state loans, minting, and military finance and supply—to the German absolutist states in the wake of the Thirty Years’ War. These “court Jews” helped to revivify Jewish life in central and western Europe, though as agents of absolutist centralization, their actions intensified anti-Jewish hatred.

Nineteenth-century Jewish banking emerged from these “port Jew” and “court Jew” experiences. On the one hand, firms such as the Rothschilds helped to create a new type of international bond market that became a pillar of nineteenth-century European finance and politics. On the other, houses such as the Rothschilds, the Pereire brothers, and the Warburgs invested heavily in European railways and mines and played a significant role in industrialization—though how significant has been a matter of controversy. The extraordinary wealth and prominence of the Rothschilds contributed at least as much to antisemitic fantasies of a global Jewish conspiracy as to the evolution of modern capitalism. The Rothschilds were demonized by Alphonse Toussenel and Édouard Drumont as cosmopolitan “kings of the age” of money and mammon. Prominent bankers such as Gerson von Bleichröder in Otto von Bismarck’s Germany or the houses of Goldman, Sachs & Company and J. W. Seligman in the postbellum United States became lightning rods for new antisemitic agitation in the late nineteenth century.

Despite local variations, what defined modern economic antisemitism was the scapegoating of Jews for capitalism’s ills. In France, the predominance of nineteenth-century commercial development over industrial development inflated public perceptions of Jewish financial power, and in Germany and Austria, petit bourgeois class resentment targeted Jewish creditors and entrepreneurs as much or more than gentile industrialists. In the United States, Populists who bemoaned

the disintegration of the self-sufficient farmer divined the cause in a bankers' plot to "crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." Yet as this last remark suggests, underlying many of the critiques of Jews and capitalism was a strong residue of traditional Christian animosity against the archetypal medieval Jewish banker—the usurious moneylender.

—*Jonathan Karp*

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Court Jews; Drumont, Édouard; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Franciscan Order; Jud Süss; Populist Movement; Rothschilds; Seligman-Hilton Affair; Toussenel, Alphonse; Usury

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## Bar Kochba Revolt

Under the Principate of Emperor Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus), a Jewish revolt took place in Palestine led by Simon ben Kosiba, who is identified by the Christian tradition as Bar Kochba. Not much is known about him. On coins, he styled himself as *nasi* (prince), a title reserved at that time for the head of the Jewish community in Palestine—a fact that leads scholars to doubt Bar Kochba's claim.

The causes of the revolt are also obscure. Ancient sources mention Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision and his intention to build a Roman colony on the site of the destroyed Jerusalem. Some authorities hold these to be the consequences, rather than the causes, of the revolt; however, according to others, the presence of pro-Roman inhabitants in the area, supporting Hadrian's building plans, may have pushed the



Escape tunnels used by Jewish rebels in the revolt of Bar Kochba in 132–135, Israel. (Richard T. Nowitz/Corbis)

tense relationship between the Roman power and the Jews to the breaking point. On the basis of other documentary evidence, another school of thought gives weight to the difficult economic situation for the Jews, who had to lease land from Roman landowners under onerous circumstances.

The chronology of events between the years 132 and 135 is confirmed both by written sources and by coins minted by Bar Kochba. The exact extent of the revolt, however, remains uncertain. It may not have occurred throughout all Palestine but only in Judea or, perhaps, just in Jerusalem and its environs. The revolt started with the occupation of numerous Roman fortresses but then seems to have been limited to guerrilla warfare tactics. Caves in the mountains near Jerusalem and in the area of the Dead Sea,

where the rebels hid, have yielded valuable archaeological evidence that helps to reconstruct the revolt.

The final phase of the revolt concentrated around Eingedi on the Dead Sea and the fortress of Bethar, in the vicinity of Jerusalem. In these two places, the Roman army commanded by Iulius Severus crushed the rebels, having hunted down many of them or besieged their hiding places. Bar Kochba very likely died at Bethar. Resistance continued a little longer but was ultimately quelled by the Romans. Jews paid dearly for the revolt. Many were sold into slavery. They were forbidden entrance into Jerusalem, which was officially renamed the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina. Some ancient sources report that an altar of Jupiter was set up on the site of the former Temple, but modern scholars find this evidence rather dubious.

—Sandra Gambetti

**See also** Circumcision; Diaspora Revolt; Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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## Bardèche, Maurice (1909–1998)

Though less notorious than fellow authors Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, Robert Brasillach, and Lucien Rebatet, Maurice Bardèche was one of the few unrepentant French collaborators with the Nazis still publishing in the wake of his country's post-Occupation purge. Shielded partially by a cloak of respectability because of his widely read literary studies, he promoted neofascist ideology in a writing career that spanned seven decades.

Born to a family of modest means in Dun-sur-Auron (near Bourges), Bardèche was an excellent student who gained entry into France's most prestigious Latin Quarter schools (the Lycée Louis-le-Grand, the École Normale Supérieure, and the Sorbonne). His ties to the right wing surfaced early through high school friendships with his future brother-in-law Brasillach and Action Française stalwart Thierry Maulnier (1909–1988). Bardèche backed Francisco Franco during the Spanish civil

war (1936–1939), and under Marshal Philippe Pétain's regime (1940–1944), he became a literature professor and contributed to the virulently antisemitic paper *Je suis partout* (I Am Everywhere). Imprisoned at the Liberation, he was eventually cleared of charges but stripped of his university post.

The next fifty years of his life were split between political and literary activities. On the ideological front, Brasillach's execution by the Liberation government hardened Bardèche's resentment toward the victors. He became the first Frenchman to adopt an openly negationist stance, with *Nuremberg ou la Terre Promise* (Nuremberg or the Promised Land [1948]). Seized and destroyed, the book asserted that the Final Solution sought solely to relocate Jews to ghettos in Eastern Europe and that the concentration camps were in most instances a *post facto* construction of Jewish technicians. He also published negationist pamphlets by Paul Rassinier, such as *Drame des juifs européens* (Tragedy of European Jewry [1964]), and Robert Faurisson's *The Problem of the "Gas Chambers"* (1978, translation in 1980). Bardèche helped form the neofascist European Social Movement in 1951, founded an extreme right-wing monthly, *Défense de l'Occident* (Defense of the West [1952–1982]), and wrote *Qu'est-ce que le fascisme?* (What Is Fascism? [1961]), which deemed racial commingling the century's true genocide. In spite of his ostracism from university ranks, he continued to produce works of valuable literary scholarship that are cited in bibliographies throughout France.

It would be misleading, however, to infer a divorce between Bardèche's right-wing propaganda and his literary criticism. His critical approach was arguably consistent with his ideological convictions. He favored a totalizing vision that organized the entirety of a writer's production into a sort of organic system working in the service of a specific overriding design. Critics have seen this aesthetic view of literary art as analogous to visions of a fascistic utopia, with the author posited as an absolute authority arranging elements hierarchically and moving toward complete unity at the expense of diversity and ambiguity.

—Ralph W. Schoolcraft III

**See also** Action Française; Brasillach, Robert; Céline, Louis-Ferdinand; Fascist Intellectuals; Faurisson, Robert; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Rebatet, Lucien; Vichy

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### Barrès, Maurice (1862–1923)

Barrès was born in Charmes-sur-Moselle (Vosges) in the Lorraine region of France, soon thereafter to be annexed by Germany (1870). His native province became the model for the collective subject that is the foundation of much of Barrès's oeuvre: the Self occupied by foreigners must be born again through resistance and revenge. He attended the preparatory school in Nancy and completed his studies in Paris, where he went to pursue a career as a writer, launching his own journal *Les Taches d'encre* (Blots of Ink) in 1884, for which he wrote all the articles.

Barrès sought nothing less than to become the modern interpreter of the French spirit, revealing to the French people their indigenous genius. An iconoclast, he earned early fame with the publication of his *Culte du Moi* (Cult of Self) trilogy, in which his mouthpiece in the novel discovers the decadence of contemporary values, the vacuity of overcoming them through study, and the requirement of politics and action to energize the Self. This quest led him into involvement in the extremely diverse movement—with antisemitism sometimes serving as its only common bond—that united leftist and rightist antiparliamentarianism around the popular Gen. Georges Boulanger, who, it was hoped, would heroically save France from its perceived decline. Even after Boulanger fled France in 1889 and the threat of

a coup d'état receded, the crusade continued, resulting in Barrès's election to the Chamber of Deputies from Nancy as a "revisionist socialist."

His failure in three successive campaigns led him gradually from socialism to nationalism, a development that crystallized during the Dreyfus Affair. Barrès emerged from the anti-Dreyfusard movement as a major theorist of exclusionary nationalism, weaving together the diagnosis of degeneration, the politics of revanche, a demand for a strong central authority, disdain for parliament, and the appeal of a populist socialism that he saw as a defense against the "Uprooted." These he defined as people who were individualistic, cosmopolitan, urbane, abstract, universalist—in a word, Judaicized. He infused nationalism with a mystical dimension incarnated in French traditions and *la terre et les morts* (the earth and the dead). The martyrs for France (the dead) served as progenitors for a resurrection promised when France returned to its roots (the earth). French culture thus served as a homologue for race in his integral nationalism. These themes were developed in essays and also fictionalized in his second trilogy, *Le Roman de l'énergie nationale* (The Romance of National Energy [1897–1902]). He advocated these themes in the League of Patriots, the League of the French Fatherland, and the League of the Action Française as well.

By the time of his parliamentary victory from the First Arrondissement in Paris in 1906, the same year he was elected to the Académie Française (he would occupy both seats for the remainder of his life), his stance had softened to a conservative nationalism. He spent his remaining days calling for the return of Alsace-Lorraine, supporting the church and Catholicism, propagandizing for the home front during the war, and shedding his antiparliamentarianism to embrace the Bloc National in its aftermath. Along with Charles Maurras and Édouard Drumont, Barrès is best remembered, however, as one of the fathers of extreme nationalism and a progenitor of French fascism.

—Jonathan Judaken

**See also** Action Française; Alsace; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; France; Maurras, Charles; Verjudung

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### **Barruel, Augustin (1741–1820)**

Jesuit priest and anti-Enlightenment polemicist, Abbé Augustin Barruel was the first influential conspiracy theorist of the modern era. Born and raised in the small town of Villeneuve-de-Berg in southeastern France, where his father was a government official, he was educated at a Jesuit institution and committed himself to joining the order as a young man. When the Society of Jesus was expelled from France in 1764, Barruel went to Germany, where he pursued his Jesuit training and took holy orders. Following the general suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, he returned to France, where he earned a living as a private tutor and established a reputation as a leading satirist and critic of the philosophes. Barruel's first major work, *Lettres provinciales philosophiques* (Provincial Philosophical Letters [1784]), attempted to turn the philosophes' rhetorical wit against them by exposing the supposed fallacies of Enlightenment rationalism in a piquant, ironic style. In 1788, he assumed the editorship of the *Journal ecclésiastique*, a widely circulated periodical, which, after 1789, polemized vigorously against the antireligious oppression and violence of the revolutionary forces. In September 1792, having refused to take the secular oath of the clergy, Barruel fled to England, where he spent the next ten years.

During this period, Barruel wrote by far his most significant and successful work, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme* (Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism [1797–1803]). This elaborate, five-volume opus purported to show that the French Revolution was the culmination of a long-standing secret

conspiracy, spearheaded by an alliance between the philosophes, the Freemasons, and the Bavarian Illuminati. Although widely refuted, the text rapidly became an international best-seller, and it established the fame and also the prosperity of its author. Barruel's central concern, however, remained the state of the Catholic Church in his native France, to which, following the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, he returned in 1802. His emphasis on obedience to the pope brought him enemies even within Catholic circles, and he was imprisoned for three weeks in 1810. In 1815, following the restoration of the monarchy and the reestablishment of the Jesuits in France, Barruel rejoined the order in Paris, where he died, disappointed by the moderation of the Restoration, in 1820.

—Adam Sutcliffe

*See also Biarritz; Drumont, Édouard; Freemasonry; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Infamous Decree; Jesuit Order; Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism; Protocols of the Elders of Zion; Ultramontanism*

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### **Bartels, Adolf (1862–1945)**

A prolific, ultraconservative writer and obsessive antisemite, Adolf Bartels became the main literary arbiter for the German-speaking radical Right between 1900 and 1933. In 1906, he led the successful campaign to prevent the public display of a monument to Heinrich Heine on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the famous German Jewish poet's death. He actively supported the Nazis' rise to power and was rewarded with numerous honors in the Third Reich.

Bartels was a descendant of an ironworking artisan family in Dithmarschen, an isolated rural area of Schleswig-Holstein bordering on the North Sea. In 1882, his father lost his livelihood and had to sell the family home. This wrenching personal experience of industrialization and lost childhood was formative in Bartels's rejection of modernity and found later expression in the yearning quality of the *Heimatkunstbewegung*

(rural art movement), which he helped found in 1899. The traditional way of life he remembered and idealized also served as the model for the *völkische Gemeinschaft* (national community) that he advocated throughout his life. In his historical novel *Die Dithmarscher* (The Dithmarschians [1898]), Bartels celebrated the patriotism, morality, and martial vigor of his rural ancestors, which he juxtaposed to the decadence, commercialism, and self-interest symbolized by the urban Jew.

Bartels failed, however, to achieve success as a creative writer and turned to literary criticism instead. Between 1895 and 1906, he published more than 300 articles and reviews in the respected conservative journal *Der Kunstwart* (The Guardian of Art) before his ever-increasing antisemitism and racism led to a parting of the ways with its publisher. By that time, Bartels had achieved financial independence from the sale of his popular books on the history of German literature, in which he championed nationalism, moral uplift, and *Heimatkunst*, defined broadly to include all literature that affirmed a powerful, ethnically homogeneous Germany, national pride, and love of the native soil. Firmly committed to racial doctrine, he excluded Jewish writers from his literary canon, even if their works endorsed conservative and nationalist values.

In 1910, Bartels founded his own monthly journal, *Deutsches Schrifttum* (German Literature), which survived, with interruptions, until 1933. His literary activities were always directed to the political goal of forging a unified *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movement dedicated to the eradication of Jewish influence on German culture. He took a leading role in founding the Deutschvölkische Partei in March 1914, which called for putting all Jews under an aliens law. After the war, he was more active and popular than ever. His followers founded the Bartelsbund (Bartels Society) in 1920, which was later absorbed into Erich Ludendorff's Tannenbergbund (named after the victorious German battle against the Russians in September 1914). Hitler paid his respects to Bartels in Weimar in 1925.

Bartels's texts attained quasi-official status under the Nazis, but his fanatical antisemitism became something of an embarrassment when a number of writers complained that he had

wrongly labeled them as Jews. He, of course, had come to believe that he could "instinctively" determine who was a Jew based on such evidence as physical appearance, an immoral lifestyle, or unwarranted literary success. The Reich Chamber of Literature ordered his publishers to make the necessary corrections and curtailed the distribution of the offending books. Nonetheless, Hitler personally conferred the highest civilian honor, the Adlerschild (Shield of the Eagle), on Bartels on his seventy-fifth birthday in 1937.

—Roderick Stackelberg

*See also* Antisemitic Political Parties; Class, Heinrich; Heine Monument Controversy; Ludendorff, Erich; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Pan-German League; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Bauer, Bruno (1809–1882)

A prominent Hegelian philosopher and theologian in Prussia before the Revolution of 1848, Bruno Bauer became an advocate of political and racial antisemitism in the postrevolutionary period. His earlier work criticized Judaism for historical stagnation and national particularism, but it represented a theological approach more than a racialist doctrine. After 1848, Bauer asserted racial incompatibility between Europeans and Jews. Like G. W. F. Hegel, he stressed the derivation of Christianity from Hellenistic rather than Judaic sources, but unlike Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* (270), he did not condone the emancipation of Prussian Jews; that is, their admission to the civil service and universities.

In *Herr Dr. Hengstenberg* (1838), Bauer attacked conventional depictions of Christianity's indebtedness to Judaic sources. He distinguished the anxious, irrational prescriptions of the Mosaic law from the new, inclusive spirit of the Gospels and denied any historical continuity between Judaism and Christianity. In *Religion of the Old Testament* (1838), Bauer viewed religion as the unfolding of human self-consciousness, and he depicted Judaism as an arrested developmental stage, based on national egoism and, there-

fore, a dead end in historical evolution. Theologically, Judaism represented a lower level of consciousness, the external relation of humanity and God, mediated through law or arbitrary will; Bauer's model adapted Hegel's general view of Oriental society. The Jewish principle contained a limited inner mobility, shifting from legalistic to prophetic attitudes, but could not advance to higher forms of awareness. His three-volume *Critique of the Synoptic Gospels* (1841–1842) continued this line of inquiry and questioned the existence of messianic expectations among the Jews prior to the formation of the Christian community. Bauer's attitude toward Christianity became increasingly negative in these texts, as he identified it with the existing political order and saw in it a form of self-abasement and renunciation of freedom. In further studies published in the 1850s, he traced the evolution of Christian doctrine from Stoicism and late Hellenism. Insulating Christianity from non-Hellenized Jewish influences, he located the origin of the earliest Gospel under Hadrian (117–138 CE).

Two previous texts, *The Jewish Question* (first appearing as a journal article in November 1842 and then as a separate book in 1843), and "The Capacity of Present-Day Jews and Christians to Become Free" (in early 1843), expressed Bauer's critique of both religion and political reformism. The question was whether Prussia's explicitly Christian state could remove long-standing restrictions on Jewish participation in civil institutions. Conservative opponents contended that Jewish emancipation would entail the state's renouncing its confessional basis and becoming secular, thus undermining the hierarchical social order sanctioned by religion. Liberals and republicans almost unanimously advocated emancipation for the Prussian Jews. Bauer was an exception. As a result of his publications, which seemed to side with the conservatives, he forfeited his leading position in the reform movement. Criticizing all parties in the dispute, he insisted that his was the correct progressive stance. The state defended irrational privileges, using religion as a pretext for maintaining relations of subordination. Liberals viewed freedom as private interest, and they failed to grasp the danger of claiming rights on the basis of particular iden-

tities. Judaism was immutable, opposing historical progress; its practitioners' demand for emancipation was a claim to remain exempt from history and criticism. Bauer argued that genuine freedom required relinquishing all particularistic interests; thus, to win freedom, Jews and Christians both had to renounce their religious allegiances. Christians could do so more readily, however, because their religion represented a higher and more unendurable degree of alienation and so made a complete break with the past possible. Bauer's position has been described as republican rigorism (Moggach 2003), but his commitment to republicanism has also been challenged on this basis (Leopold 1999). Bauer's texts were attacked by Karl Marx in 1843.

After 1848, Bauer definitively abandoned republican politics as a failure. In his new reading, the political agenda changed as Christianity faded from doctrinal rigor to vapid moral consolation and as national interests were increasingly supplanted in power struggles among transnational elites. Europe would be unified in the wake of bloody wars, and national differences would be effaced. Race emerged as a defining element in a newly emergent era of political struggles. Bauer now reinterpreted religious and cultural differences between Europeans and Jews as an unbridgeable racial chasm. In an English-language publication, "The Present Position of the Jews" (*New York Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1852), he noted the prominence of Jews in both conservative and revolutionary camps, and he described their success in exploiting all political movements for their own careerist ends. He concluded that the ubiquity of the Jews in public positions would eventually incite Europeans to recognize the absolute incompatibility of the racial principles at stake.

In the 1860s, Bauer collaborated with Hermann Wagener on the conservative *Political and Social Lexicon*, extracts from which, elaborating the thesis of racial antagonism, were published as *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon* (1863). Bauer's final editorial work was on a political-literary review, *Schmeitzner's International Monthly* (1882), which contained antisemitic articles by Eugen Dühring and possibly Bauer himself. These texts described Jews as idle usurers exploiting produc-

tive labor. The history of western Europe was characterized not as progress but as a tendential decline. Efforts to reverse this trend regularly failed, and the resulting dispiritedness and debility provided the atmosphere in which the Jews could flourish. These texts contributed markedly to antisemitic rhetoric in Germany, although Bauer's perspective was not that of German nationalism but of pan-European racial struggle.

—*Douglas Moggach*

**See also** Christian State; Dühring, Eugen; Emancipation; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Gospels; Hegel, G. W. F.; *Jewish Question, The* (1843); *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon*; Marx, Karl; *Mirror to the Jews, A*; Wagener, Hermann; Young Hegelians

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## Bayreuth Circle

The Bayreuth Circle coalesced in the mid-1870s around three key events that continued to shape its history and development. The first of these was the opening of the festival theater in Bayreuth and the premier performance of Richard Wagner's Ring cycle, which brought together a far-flung community of Wagner enthusiasts. Efforts that began on the plane of shared artistic values, however, then extended to much broader areas of concern.

The second foundational event, in the autumn of 1877, was the relocation to Bayreuth, at Wagner's behest, of Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen, the figure who played the most influential role in the history of the circle and the development of its ideas. A dramatist and a music critic rather than a musician—he is said to have coined the term *leitmotif*—Wolzogen helped found and then edit the *Bayreuther Blätter* (Bayreuth Pages). For nearly sixty years, he functioned as the organizer, promoter, steward, and major interpreter of the cultural and intellectual body of thought

entrusted to him, preserving the master's legacy and pursuing its logic even further. He was, for example, one of the first to proclaim the "Aryan Jesus," even though Wagner had not dared to go that far when he questioned Jesus' Jewish descent in the *Bayreuther Blätter*. His antisemitism, too, went beyond what Wagner was willing to espouse publicly. He called for a ban on Jews in the professions and their compulsory emigration to the colonies; unlike Wagner, he signed the Anti-semites' Petition (1880–1881). As early as 1924, he opened the *Bayreuther Blätter* to the Nazis.

After Wagner and his wife, Cosima, Wolzogen stood clearly at the top of the circle's hierarchy. Below him came many of the charismatic leader's "apostles of the Inner Circle," among them Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Ludwig Schemann, and Bernhard Förster, men whose antisemitism ranged from the radical to the paranoid. Wolzogen's eminence did not go unchallenged, however. There were enough controversies and crises, especially with Chamberlain, to keep the circle from developing into a disciplined league.

The third formative event in the history of the circle was the establishment of the *Bayreuther Blätter* in early 1878. Dedicated to the art and worldview of Richard Wagner, it was intended to serve as the literary vehicle for the cultural movement that would radiate out from Bayreuth into the world beyond, a mission the journal fulfilled until it ceased appearing at Wolzogen's death in 1938. Wagner's works established the themes and the tone, foregrounding the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) and antisemitic nature of his views. Other "prophetic" Germans—Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Friedrich von Schiller, Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Ernst Moritz Arndt, and Paul de Lagarde—appeared frequently. Thanks to the efforts of Cosima Wagner, the race theories of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau were taken with utmost seriousness. It was Cosima who commissioned Wolzogen to give thorough exposure to Gobineau's *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*.

Antisemitism; racially defined nationalism; rejection of socialism and liberalism; and the reform of culture and "life," art, and religion were the constantly reiterated themes that produced a

unique ideological amalgam in the *Bayreuther Blätter*. In its pages, Aryan Germandom was glorified and Jews denigrated, relegated to the role of the inimical counterrace. But it is, perhaps, inaccurate to speak of a single Bayreuth ideology, even in the matter of antisemitism; its proponents sometimes used racial arguments, sometimes religious, economic, or ethical ones. In their antisemitism, Wagner and his followers in the Bayreuth Circle doubtlessly belonged on the German Right, probably somewhere between the aesthetically inclined and those given over to Germanic religion.

After its first year, in which the *Bayreuther Blätter* was brought out by the antisemitic publisher and grassroots organizer Ernst Schmeitzner, the journal appeared from its own press until 1913, when it was farmed out to an external firm. It remained home to members of the circle but also opened its pages to many other prominent antisemites, such as Constantin Frantz, Ottomar Beta, Adolph Wahr mund, Friedrich Lienhard, Heinrich Pudor, and many others. These individuals can be considered extended members of the circle. Together, they stood for the segregation of Jews from the German national body politic. They normally kept their distance from “rowdy” antisemitism, but nonetheless, the ideological affinities to the antisemitic political parties of the German Empire and, later, to the Nazis were unmistakable. From the beginning, antisemitism was omnipresent in Bayreuth’s milieu.

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemites’ Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Förster, Bernhard; Frantz, Constantin; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Lienhard, Friedrich; Pudor, Heinrich; Schemann, Ludwig; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Wagner, Cosima; Wagner, Richard

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### Beilis Case (1911–1913)

The blood libel trial in Kiev of Menachem Mendel Beilis (1874–1934) has widely been considered a Russian Dreyfus Affair. There were obvious similarities between the two cases, in that Beilis’s arrest in July 1911 and his trial two years later on sensational charges gained the rapt attention of a large part of Russia’s population and were front-page news in the press of Europe and the United States. His arrest and trial were widely seen, too, as an example of right-wing forces attempting to exploit antisemitism as a device to unite and mobilize diverse elements of the population against an emerging pro-Jewish Left.

By the late twentieth century, memory of the Beilis case came to be inextricably fused (and confused) with Bernard Malamud’s celebrated 1966 novel *The Fixer* (made into a movie in 1969). In fact, however, Malamud’s work had only a superficial resemblance to the Beilis case. The novel’s main character, Jacob Bok, was an isolated drifter who stumbled into a frame-up, whereas Mendel Beilis was a more ordinary person with a large family, who was well liked and respected by Jews and non-Jews alike. The testimony of those who knew him was crucial to his eventual deliverance—not, however, before he spent an uncertain and often nightmarish two years in prison, awaiting trial and charged with the murder of twelve-year-old Andrei Yushchinsky.

Andrei’s body, riddled with stab wounds and allegedly drained of blood, had been found on the outskirts of Kiev, not far from the brick factory where Beilis worked as manager. There was little credible material evidence to implicate Beilis, but in a sequence of complex and bizarre machinations by the authorities, lasting over four months, he was finally charged with the murder. In the Dreyfus Affair, the case for a widespread conspiracy to frame Dreyfus turned out to be weak, but Beilis was unquestionably the victim of appalling intrigues by certain tsarist officials, among them careerists who hoped somehow to win favor with the antisemitic tsar, Nicholas II, and others who were responding to pressure from antisemitic agitators and the right-wing press. Nonetheless, historians have found, even in this case, little evidence of a widespread or concerted conspiracy of tsarist officials; as in France, there

was much blundering, with individuals and agencies often working at cross-purposes. The clearest culprit in high office was the reactionary minister of justice, I. G. Shcheglovitov. The chief minister at the time, Peter Stolypin, though no friend of the Jews, was almost certainly not involved, and others in the government actively opposed Beilis's arrest, helping to reveal how shoddy the evidence was.

Beilis's arrest and trial were met with immediate protests inside Russia and abroad. International agitation was sparked by Jewish activists in Germany and Austria, who, aside from their concern for the life of an innocent man, perceived a politically useful scandal; one that might serve further to discredit the tsarist government internationally and divide Russia from its French ally, thus alleviating the "encirclement" of Germany.

At the trial, from September 25 through October 28, 1913, the prosecution called an array of dubious witnesses, some obviously intimidated, others of unsound mind, and others transparently toadying. The defense had little difficulty in demonstrating Beilis's innocence, as well as making clear the guilt of a criminal band in Kiev. The evidence offered by the prosecution that Beilis had contacts with unidentified religious Jews who needed blood for Jewish rituals was particularly paltry and obviously less designed to convict Beilis than to attempt to disgrace Judaism and Russia's Jews before a credulous public.

As the trial progressed, the prosecution's case disintegrated, at times to the amusement of the large crowd in attendance. Indeed, even leading antisemites in Russia finally spoke up against the trial as a farce and a disgrace to Russia's good name. The jury found the ambiguously formulated charges against Beilis to be "not proven"—language peculiar to the Russian legal system that allowed the prosecution to claim a partial victory, in that it had supposedly demonstrated that some Jews, if not Beilis, did collect the blood of Christians for Jewish rituals. But at the time, many in Russia and abroad rejoiced in what they saw as another great victory against antisemitic libel and against the tsarist government in its efforts to exploit the hatred of Jews. Beilis, expressing amazement that so many non-Jews had finally come to his defense, nonetheless

concluded that he and his family were no longer safe in Russia. He soon emigrated to Palestine; unable to make a living there, he moved to the United States in 1920.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Dreyfus Affair; Pale of Settlement; Pranaitis, Justinas; Ritual Murder (Modern); Russia, Imperial; Russian Orthodox Church

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## BELLOC, Hilaire (1870–1953)

From 1906 to 1910, Hilaire Belloc, French-born British poet, journalist, political commentator, and prolific popular writer in many genres, served in the British Parliament as a Liberal, but he grew disillusioned with representation by political parties (as described in *The Party System* [1911], coauthored with Cecil Chesterton). In his 1912 book *The Servile State*, he proposed that society be reorganized into cooperatives as a means of equalizing the distribution of wealth. In 1912, the language of most British socialists derived either from Marx and the Fabians or from the Evangelical movement and the Christian Socialists, but Belloc's immediate inspiration was Pope Leo XIII's anticapitalist encyclical of 1891, *Rerum novarum*. Among all the Edwardian and early Georgian social reformers, Belloc was probably the only one who wrote from the point of view of a continental European—specifically, as a representative Frenchman of the late nineteenth century who was patriotic, authoritarian, deeply Catholic, and aggressively antisemitic. In the course of his long life, Belloc wrote approximately 150 books, and this was his persona in almost all of them.

His 1922 book *The Jews*, for example, argued that the existence of Jews represented a threat in itself to the people he sometimes called "the white race" and sometimes simply "us." He accordingly proposed that all Jews be regarded as members of an alien and permanently hostile

polity. In his 1933 essay “Peace to Israel,” he added:

I said [in *The Jews*] that sooner or later there was bound to be an explosion against the Jews in this or that white, western country yet to be decided. . . . The present trouble [in Germany] is an effect of the Dreyfus case at long range . . . . The new Prussian revolutionaries have access to all the archives; they know what a Jewish agitation may work against a nation and did work against France and the French army; they already ascribed to the Jews the evils Prussia had suffered through her own fault; they feared to suffer as France had suffered, and the result is before us. (155–156)

Unfettered by the facts, Belloc ignored the south German origins of Nazism and its many nominally Catholic adherents, preferring to define it as exclusively “Prussian” or “Protestant.” That is, by 1933, Belloc’s language was already as obsolete and provincial as his worldview. Today, his vast oeuvre survives only as a few fragments in Nazi websites, Tridentine Catholic nostalgia clubs, and anthologies of light verse. But his influence in his own time remains historically significant for three reasons.

First, Belloc helped to create a precondition for fascism by grafting French anti-Dreyfusard xenophobia onto a British reform tradition. Second, as a literary model whose books were taught in Catholic schools, he probably influenced the attitudes of educated Anglo-American Catholics toward Jews. And during the first half of the twentieth century, as Catholics were assimilated into the American middle class, Belloc’s composite vocabulary of racist and theological Jew-hatred entered the language of secular antisemitism.

—Jonathan Morse

**See also** Dreyfus Affair; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Mosley, Oswald; Socialists on Antisemitism; Ultramontanism

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## Benn, Gottfried (1886–1956)

Among other things, Gottfried Benn is an example of a formidable intellect—with close ties to antifascist thinkers—who embraced the Nazis’ accession to power. In *Die Intellektuellen und der neue Staat* (The Intellectuals and the New State [1933]) and, to a lesser extent, in *Kunst und Macht* (Art and Power [1934]), Benn suggested that National Socialism would be an agent of great progress.

Benn was born into humble circumstances in 1886. His father, Gustav, supported eight children, of whom Gottfried was the second, on a pastor’s salary in Sellin, a town of 700 inhabitants on the Oder River. Although Benn seems to have been fond of his siblings, the relationship with his father was characterized by mutual disdain. Benn pursued two careers: medicine and poetry. Success came early in both. His initial medical research earned him an award, and when his first book of poems, *Morgue und andere Gedichte* (Morgue and Other Poems), appeared in 1912, it elicited considerable critical attention. By the beginning of World War I, he had established himself as a leading Expressionist poet, publishing in highly regarded journals and invited to read his poetry in perhaps the most eminent Berlin salon, that of the prominent Jewish art dealer and publisher Paul Cassirer. He served as a military doctor in the war, while continuing to publish poems and essays, most frequently in the pacifist journal *Die weißen Blätter* (The White Pages).

In the Weimar Republic, he did more of the same from his home base in Berlin, where his social circle included antifascists such as George Grosz and Carl Einstein. Yet Benn displayed tendencies that distinguished him from such friends, and he revealed the intellectual basis for his brief enthusiasm for Nazism. Well before 1933, he began to meditate on the problem of nihilism in Western culture. This in itself was not a fascist activity, of course. Max Weber, Sigmund Freud, and many of the Frankfurt School theorists occupied themselves with the same question. But there is a mystical, eschatological tone in Benn’s reflections and a fascination with a vague, yet still obviously illiberal ideal of “breeding,” or *Züchtung*. Moreover, *Nach dem Nihilismus* (After Nihilism [1932]) seems to call for spiritual rather

than material revolution. So when, in *The Intellectuals and the New State*, Benn contrasted what he perceived to be the regenerative spirit of the victorious Nazis with the misguidedness of Marxist intellectuals, it was not a matter of “spontaneous intoxication,” as his later defenders claimed. Benn was elaborating on ideas he had articulated well before the Nazi triumph of January 30, 1933.

Benn’s support for National Socialism was short lived. Some of what he wrote after 1934 can be read as an outright critique. He never actually joined the party. Nor did he attend political rallies or even read the Nazi Party program, as he often emphasized. He admitted being aware of the intensity of Nazi antisemitism, yet he did not exhibit any significant antisemitism in his own works. And unlike Martin Heidegger and Stefan George, Benn did not hold out any real attraction for the Nazis. Indeed, he fell into disfavor rather quickly. But he stayed in Germany during the Third Reich, eventually serving again as a military doctor in World War II.

After the war, he was briefly an object of suspicion. But he was soon rehabilitated—to such an extent, in fact, that he lectured widely, won the prestigious Georg-Büchner Prize for literature in 1950, and was short-listed for the Nobel Prize four years later.

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Fascist Intellectuals; George, Stefan; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Party Program; Weimar

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## Berlin Movement

A loose alliance between various antisemitic and conservative parties and groups, the Berlin Movement started between 1878 and 1879 with Otto von Bismarck’s antiliberal change of course. Formally established in 1881, its agenda included freeing the capital from the political

domination of left-wing liberalism and laying Berlin “at the feet of the Hohenzollerns.” With the populist Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker as guiding spirit and covert government support, the movement won some initial successes during the early 1880s, but was never able to achieve its ambitious goals. It went into stagnation and decline as early as 1885 and ended in 1889 with Stoecker’s forced, though temporary, withdrawal from party politics.

Despite its failure, the Berlin Movement was significant in the history of political antisemitism in Germany. It represented the first attempt to build a coalition between (moderate) conservative and (radical) right-wing parties based on the common political platform of antisemitism and antiliberalism. It also helped radically modernize the methods of conservative politics: from *Honoratiorenpolitik* (elitist politics) to populist mobilization of the masses.

With Stoecker and his Christian Social Party at the heart of the movement, other members included the German Conservatives, the radical antisemites led by Ernst Henrici and Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, renegades of the Catholic Center Party such as the journalist Joseph Cremer, and middle-class organizations such as the reformed guild system for artisans. Representatives of these parties and groups came together in the Conservative Central Committee, established in April 1881. The committee nominated common candidates against left liberals and socialists in the national, state, and municipal elections. In the Reichstag elections of 1881, the committee candidates were able to triple their share of the poll (from 8.9 percent in 1878 to 27.1 percent), but they were still unable to win a single seat. In the two Berlin constituencies where a runoff ballot took place, the vast majority of socialist voters supported the liberal candidate rather than the movement’s candidate. Stoecker’s attempt to come to an agreement with the leaders of the socialists against the left-wing-liberal Progressive Party proved futile. The same constellation recurred in the following elections in Berlin, most visibly in the runoff between Stoecker and the prominent scientist and liberal luminary Rudolf Virchow in the national election of 1884. With support from socialist voters, Virchow won by a

wide margin. Berlin remained a bastion of left-wing liberalism (and later Social Democracy).

Bismarck, who initially had misgivings about Stoecker's agitation because of its anticapitalist rhetoric, nonetheless used the court chaplain and his allies in the political fight against his political foes, supporting the movement with his secret slush fund (*Repitlienfond*). When the movement failed to live up to his expectations, however, Bismarck again began to distance himself from Stoecker and the antisemites. Other factors contributed to the movement's failure, most notably its ideological divisions and personal rivalries. In August 1881, after the riots in Pomerania, the Conservative Central Committee drew a line between itself and the militant, anticonservative Henrici. The differences between the various camps, especially between conservative reactionaries and Christian social reformists—only partially obscured by the common fight against Jews and liberals—reemerged once the movement lost steam in the mid-1880s, hastening its demise.

—Christhard Hoffmann

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Center Party; Christian Social Party (Germany); Henrici, Ernst; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Neustettin Pogrom; Stoecker, Adolf

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## Best, Werner (1903–1989)

Intellectually and administratively, Werner Best must be counted among the forerunners of the annihilation of the Jews. As early as 1931, he openly declared his belief that the Nazi Party's "struggle against Jewry" ought—as a matter of principle—to proceed "to the annihilation of the enemy." From 1935, working in a variety of military, police, and foreign office capacities, Best participated decisively in the preparations leading

up to the deportation of the Jews. Nevertheless, immediately after the war, he successfully portrayed himself as having "opposed the evacuation of the Jews." In Denmark, where he served as the Third Reich's plenipotentiary from 1942 to 1945, he took credit for having sabotaged the planned deportation of Jews. Notwithstanding his claims, he was condemned to death in Denmark in 1948 because of his part in the persecution of Jews. A year later, however, he was acquitted of all charges. He died on June 23, 1989.

Best was born on July 10, 1903, in Darmstadt, the first of two sons of a senior postal official who died from wounds received on the Western Front soon after World War I began. The brothers grew up in a suburb of Mainz, where they finished prep school. Werner studied law between 1921 and 1925 at the universities of Frankfurt am Main, Freiburg, and Giessen. He received his doctorate from Heidelberg in 1927, became a district court judge, and married a dentist's daughter, who eventually bore him five children.

Politically, Best initially became active in the extreme nationalist and antisemitic German University Ring, an organization he maintained ties with long after his studies ended. From that point on, his political allegiance to the German Right never wavered. On November 1, 1930, he became member 341,338 of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. A year later, he joined the Schutzstaffel (SS) (member number 23,377). After Hitler assumed power in 1933, Best's rise in the ranks of the SS was meteoric. In the spring of 1933, as a police chief in Hesse, he established the first regular concentration camp at Osthofen. This success gained the attention of Heinrich Himmler, who took Best to Munich to work with Reinhard Heydrich in the construction of the Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst). Having performed his tasks in stellar fashion, Best continued his climb up the ranks of the SS within its various police agencies and in close association with Heydrich.

In August 1935, at a high-level meeting in the Economics Ministry called to discuss preparations for the Nuremberg Laws, Best presented his and Heydrich's ideas for solving the Jewish Question. Jews ought to be placed under an aliens law, they proposed, in order to hinder their ability to

compete freely; their freedom of movement and domicile ought to be eliminated; and they should be separated from the German racial community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). At this time, Best instructed the police offices under his jurisdiction to construct registers of all the Jews in their zones.

In October 1938, acting as chief of police in charge of resident foreigners, he directed the (unsuccessful) attempt to expel 17,000 Polish Jews. Immediately following the Night of Broken Glass, which issued from this action, Best began planning the Reich Office for Jewish Emigration, which came into existence in January 1939.

From his position in the administration of the Military Command for Occupied France, he undertook measures that quickly developed into the first mass deportation of Jews. On March 24, 1942, the first train, carrying 1,112 Jews of various nationalities, left the internment camp at Compiègne for Auschwitz. The persecution of the Jews in France was supported by the Vichy government, but such was not the case in Denmark. Best went there in late 1942 as Reich plenipotentiary, with the rank of major general in the SS. He well knew that cooperation from the Copenhagen government in the matter of its Jews would not be forthcoming. Not until the German military commander declared a national state of emergency (on August 29, 1943) and removed the government from power could Best initiate his solution for the Jewish Question for Denmark. But because the preparations for the roundup of the Jews, scheduled for the night of October 2, could not be kept secret, over 7,000 were able to escape to Sweden. Only 481 Jews were deported from Denmark, primarily to Theresienstadt, and most of these survived. Best nonetheless claimed victory since Denmark was now "free of Jews." His superiors apparently shared this view. On April 20, 1944, he was promoted to lieutenant general of the SS.

—Fritz Petrick

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Night of Broken Glass; Nuremberg Laws; *Ostjuden*; Vichy

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### Bettauer, Hugo (1872–1925)

Hugo Bettauer wrote roughly two dozen novels, many of them set in post–World War I Vienna, fictionalizing contemporary social and political life. He was a newspaper journalist, magazine publisher, and editor in the early years of the First Austrian Republic. Born of Jewish parents in Baden, south of Vienna, he left the Jewish faith at the age of eighteen and converted to Protestantism. He was murdered in Vienna in 1925.

Although already successful as a novelist, Bettauer was motivated by the dire social and economic conditions of the early 1920s to found the first of two magazines in February 1924. *Er & Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik* (He & She: Weekly for the Culture of Life and Eroticism) addressed contemporary issues such as unemployment, homelessness, alcoholism, abortion legislation reform, gender equality, sex education, and drug abuse. The weekly also included a "lonely hearts" feature, a column by a gynecologist, and an installment of the latest Bettauer novel. *Er & Sie* evoked a strong conservative and, in part, antisemitic backlash. The weekly was confiscated, and Bettauer was charged with spreading pornography and promoting prostitution, charges of which he was later acquitted. The often only thinly veiled antisemitic attacks on his publishing ventures became part of the "Bettauer scandal," which was accompanied by a political confrontation between the Christian Socials in the federal government under the chancellor, Prelate Ignaz Seipel, and the Social Democrats in the "red bastion" of Vienna. Following his acquittal in the fall of 1924, public threats were made against Bettauer's life. In March 1925, he was gunned down in his office by a twenty-one-year-old Nazi sympathizer named Otto Rothstock, who gave as his motive the wish to guard his generation from the likes of the "pornographer" Bettauer. The writer died ten days later.

The most noteworthy among Bettauer's novels is *Die Stadt ohne Juden* (The City without

*Jews*), a social and political satire that appeared in 1922. Intended as “an amusing little novel” with a “harmless plot,” the book grasped the “topic of the day,” as critics noted, satirizing rampant antisemitic sentiment. The story depicts the consequences of an “Anti-Jew Law” passed by the parliament. The economic situation deteriorates to such an extent that a popular movement soon arises, demanding the return of the Jews from “exile.” With a jubilant crowd looking on, the Jews are welcomed back by the mayor, with the words: “My dear Jew, Vienna is once again Vienna” (Bettauer 1991, 189). A fanciful slap at antisemitism, the novel, it could be argued, inadvertently reinforced anti-Jewish stereotypes, seeming to confirm what antisemites had been saying for years—Jews with their power over money and control of culture had seen to it that Christians could no longer get along without them.

Bettauer is often regarded as a prophet of the Holocaust. After all, Vienna did become the “city without Jews” of his book title. Like eight of his other novels, *Stadt ohne Juden* was made into a movie. Panned by the critics, it nonetheless provoked demonstrations by Austrian Nazis. His ability to unleash antisemitic hatred, rather than predict the future, constitutes Bettauer’s real historical importance. He should be seen as one of the first political victims of National Socialism in Austria. The scandal surrounding the writer and his works accentuated the charged antisemitic atmosphere in Vienna, one that had become so commonplace that it took a murder to illuminate it.

—Murray G. Hall

**See also** Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Freud, Sigmund; Pan-Germans

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## ***Biarritz (1868)***

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a Prussian postal official with connections to the Berlin court, Herrmann Goedsche (1815–1878), initiated under the pen name of Sir John Ret-

cliffe a successful new genre: the sensationalist novel of current events. He aspired to write fiction as exactly concurrent with events as possible, appealing to the readership with sex and violence. His resources included thugs, assassins, gangsters, atrocities in cloisters and catacombs, private detectives, hunts and chases, duels, sexual sadism and pornography disguised as folklore, varieties of torture, and the occult.

Few would remember him today if it were not for a scene of forty pages in the first volume of his cycle *Biarritz* (1868). In the Jewish Cemetery of Prague in 1860, as happened every 100 years, the representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel came together, joined by the Wandering Jew from New York, to plot the domination of the world by obtaining all the gold; drawing the aristocracy into debt; ruining the artisans by making them factory workers; transferring the people’s savings to the capitalists via the stock exchange; arranging for easy bankruptcy and abolishing usury laws; taking religion out of the schools; destroying churches and armies; supporting revolutionary disaffection; dominating the arts, medicine, and philosophy; achieving influence through intermarriage; corrupting the virtue of gentile females; and controlling the press. All these purposes are achieved in the course of the novel cycle in alliance with English capitalists.

“Retcliffe’s” fiction, devised in support of a policy of the Prussian monarchy to ally the guild artisans and craftspeople with the landed aristocracy against middle-class liberals and free labor, accounted for public affairs as the consequence of the machinations of secret societies and conspiracies in malignant alliances with one another. Jews were just one interest group, dispersed and deracinated and thus especially subversive and dangerous but not categorically different from the other competing nations and conspiratorial combinations, all dominated by the universal ambition for power and wealth. But the scene has had a long history as an allegedly genuine eyewitness report. Beginning with a Russian pamphlet in 1870, a series of publications in various languages conflated the points of Retcliffe’s various speakers into a single discourse, commonly known as “the Rabbi’s Speech” and offered as evidence of the international Jewish conspiracy. In

this form, it became a base text of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, as was promptly discovered in the 1920s and thus is significant proof of the origin of the *Protocols* in fiction.

—Jeffrey L. Sammons

**See also** *Protocols of the Elders of Zion; Rabbi's Speech, The; Wandering Jew*

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### **Billroth, Theodor (1829–1894)**

Theodor Billroth was born in Rügen, Germany, and became one of the most eminent professors of medicine in late nineteenth-century Vienna. He is credited with inventing an effective anesthesia consisting of ether and chloroform and also with bringing about advances in surgery, several medical procedures, and postoperative care. Billroth also helped found the Rudolfinerhaus, an interdenominational institute dedicated to modernizing the training of nurses. In the forefront of innovation, Billroth found certain changes in Viennese medicine unsettling. On hearing that the famous sexologist Richard Krafft-Ebing had performed hypnosis, Billroth denounced him as a swindler.

In 1876, with antisemitism on the rise in Austria, Billroth made a series of incendiary claims about the role of Jews in Austrian medicine. First published in that year, his book *On Teaching and Studying the Medical Sciences at German Universities* bemoaned the disproportionate percentage of Jewish students matriculating at the University of Vienna's medical school. He was especially concerned with the "problem" of eastern European Jews (*Ostjuden*), whose preparation he found inadequate and whose poverty and social aspirations he clearly despised. Beyond that, he argued that Jews were a separate ethnic entity and predicted that their efforts toward assimilation would be unsuccessful.

Billroth's status as a prominent scientist con-



Austrian surgeon Albrecht Christian Theodor Billroth (1829–1894). In 1876, Billroth made a series of incendiary claims about the role of Jews in Austrian medicine. (Getty Images)

ferred on such remarks a special credibility. And unsurprisingly, his book was widely cited and applauded in antisemitic circles, as, for example, in the nationalist German Students Reading Club. Yet Billroth's relation to antisemitism extended further and eventually took a sharp turn in a different direction. Not only did he later try to clarify his argument and sharpen it into a polemic aimed almost exclusively at Hungarian Jews, he also, in 1892, joined the Austrian League against Antisemitism (Abwehr-Verein). In all likelihood, the increase in Austrian antisemitism during the 1880s had alarmed him. Given that Billroth had Jewish friends and intimates, the move is understandable. But because he did not explain his new response to the Jewish Question, we can only speculate as to why he distanced himself from his earlier association with antisemitism.

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Austria; Freud, Sigmund; Hungary; *Ostjuden*; Pan-Germans

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## Black Hundreds

The Black Hundreds, a generic name given to gangs that—under the slogan “Beat the Yids and save Russia!”—perpetrated violence against liberals, radicals, and Jews during and after the Russian Revolution of 1905. The movement was organized after October 1905, with the formation of loyalist right-wing groups; the most important of these was the Union of the Russian People (Soiuz Russkogo Naroda [SRN]), founded on November 8, 1905, and headed by Aleksandr Ivanovich Dubrovin. The SRN represented the first successful attempt to create a movement loyal to the idea of the autocratic state whose membership cut across the barriers of class and social estate. It successfully organized local branches throughout the empire and absorbed or cooperated with similar bodies in the provinces. The organizational activism of the SRN enabled it to elect a number of deputies to the State Duma (the Russian parliament) but it was plagued by infighting, and by 1910, it had split into three factions: the main SRN, headed by N. E. Markov; V. M. Purishkevich’s Union of the Archangel Michael; and Dubrovin’s splinter group, the True Union of the Russian People.

The SRN program was based on the demagogic appeals “For Tsar, Faith, and Fatherland” and “Russia for the Russians.” It called for Tsar Nicholas II to reassert the autocratic powers that bound him in a patriarchal union with his people. The SRN opposed parliamentary democracy, and the actions of its Duma deputies, most notably Purishkevich, sought to discredit the system and make it unworkable. Hostile to “disloyal” nationalities such as the Poles, the SRN reserved special animus for the Jews. Drawing on

existing currents of Russian antisemitism, it blamed the Jews for virtually all of Russia’s social and political ills. It waged war against the Jews and their allies in the Duma who sought to enslave Russia by conspiring to create a democratic republic.

The Black Hundreds are often described as the organizers of the anti-Jewish and antirevolutionary pogroms that accompanied the Revolution of 1905 and its aftermath. The worst pogroms of 1905, however, predated the formal creation of the organization and appear to have been spontaneous clashes between loyalist “patriots” and demonstrators who hailed the October Manifesto of 1905 and called for the revolution to go further. After 1905 and often with the help of local officials, the SRN organized “fighting squads” (*druzhiny*), designed to intimidate enemies and battle against revolutionary activity. If these fighting squads did not actually organize pogroms on a wide scale, they did create an environment that encouraged their outbreak, and druzhiny members were frequent participants in such disorders. Most officials of the central government viewed the activities of the SRN with skepticism or distrust. The chief exception was the tsar himself: Nicholas II’s willingness to accept an honorary membership in the organization and to maintain symbolic contacts with it helped to discredit him personally.

Members of the SRN, with the approval of Dubrovin, organized a small number of political assassinations, most notably of the Duma deputies M. Ia. Herzenstein and G. B. Iollos. Although both men were of Jewish origin, their political activities were apparently the main motive for their murders.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Krushevyan, Pavolaki; Odessa Pogroms; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Revolution of 1905

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## Black Nationalism

The rise of Black Nationalism in the mid-1960s sparked a dramatic rise in African American antisemitic rhetoric. Frustrated by the reluctance of white liberals to press the movement for racial equality beyond the legal guarantees provided by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, a small group of African American activists called for exclusively black civil rights leadership. In their speeches and publications, Black Nationalists invoked age-old antisemitic canards as they blamed Jews for the continued suffering of African Americans. Some black militants charged Jews with hypocrisy, arguing that they were the worst kind of white Americans because they boasted of their liberal activism even as they refused to acknowledge their complicity in the dominant power structure. In the June 1967 issue of the Black Panther Party's publication, *Black Power*, for example, editors warned: "We're gonna burn their towns and that ain't all, We're gonna piss upon the Wailing Wall. And then we'll get Kosygin and de Gaulle, That will be ecstasy, killing every Jew we see in Jewland."

Even as most national Jewish organizations condemned the antisemitic rhetoric of the Black Nationalist movements, many Jewish leaders advised against overreaction. Some empathized with African American frustration, and others believed it a temporary phase in the longer struggle for interracial cooperation. The American Jewish Committee went so far as to praise the new black movement for its commitment to ethnic identity as it paralleled developments in the African American community to Jewish historical experiences. "Black power," it held, "stresses black initiative, black self-worth, black identity, black pride" (in Dollinger 2000, 198). The Reform movement's Central Conference of American Rabbis proved especially understanding of the painful withdrawal into separatism and nationalism and the American Jewish Congress felt that black men had every right to seek to shape their own destiny. Representatives from other

major national Jewish organizations echoed these sentiments.

The complex and seemingly contradictory relationship between Jews and the Black Nationalist movement was best described by Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, who observed that "perhaps the saddest element in this whole frightening picture is in the fact that Jews are the people who are best able to understand the rhetoric of Black Power, even though they are most directly on the firing line of its attack" (Katz 1967, 72).

—Marc Dollinger

*See also* African American–Jewish Relations; American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

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## Blavatsky, Helena P. (1831–1891)

A Russian-born occultist, Helena P. Blavatsky is best known as a founder of the Theosophical Society in 1875, along with H. S. Olcott and William Q. Judge. After traveling through Tibet and other locales investigating esoteric lore, Blavatsky settled in the United States. She later moved to India with Olcott and established the world Theosophical Society headquarters at Adyar (in 1879) and the Theosophical Publishing House, allegedly under the direct inspiration of her spirit guides, the "Ascended Masters Morya and Koot Hoomi." The goal of the society, which eventually spread to fifty other countries, was to prepare human minds, organizations, and communication channels to receive a great religious world teacher, "the new torch-bearer of Truth."

Blavatsky's first work was *Isis Unveiled* (1877), a promotion of "Ancient Wisdom" religion that reportedly sold all 1,000 first-edition copies



Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–891), Russian traveler, mystic, and theosophist. (Bettmann/Corbis)

within two days. But Theosophists consider her greatest work to be *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), an occult treatise that glorifies Eastern and Luciferian religions as true enlightenment and denigrates the Jewish faith as harmful to human spirituality.

Much of Blavatsky's Theosophy ("god knowledge") is preserved in contemporary Theosophical literature and is borrowed from Hinduism, Tibetan Buddhism, Gnosticism, and Luciferian occultism. The first source contributed Theosophy's "racial cycle" theory, which calls for the periodic death and rebirth (*yugas*) of the human race, ridding humanity of weak and old "egos" and enabling spiritual advancement. At the top of humanity's current cycle are the Aryans; at the opposite end are the "Lemurians," an ancient race that embodies the "least evolved egos," which nevertheless defied the law of racial cycles by surviving several *yugas* up to modern times. In occultic tradition (as outlined, for example, by Blavatsky's spiritual successor Alice Bailey), the

Lemurians gave rise to the Jews. Each race carries its own peculiar karma as well, with the Jews' suffering presumed to be justly caused by their racial karma.

Blavatsky's influence ranged well beyond Theosophical circles and later contributed to Nazi ideology. One link was Baron Rudolf von Sebottendorf, a devoted Blavatsky fan and founder of the Thule Society (in 1918). The Munich-based organization borrowed heavily from *The Secret Doctrine* and counted several future Nazi leaders among its members or hangers-on. As early as 1920, Sebottendorf named the Jews as cosmic enemies to be "cleaned out" as a "final goal." Another link was Blavatsky disciple Karl Haushofer, whose "geopolitical" doctrines served the Nazis before and after 1933, and who some speculate may have introduced Hitler to *The Secret Doctrine* after their meeting in Landsberg Prison in 1924. However, yet another Blavatsky disciple, Dietrich Eckart, boasted that he had initiated Hitler into *The Secret Doctrine*. Hitler later dedicated *Mein Kampf* to Eckart.

—Hannah Newman

**See also** Bailey, Alice A.; Germanic Order; New Age; *Secret Doctrine, The*; Thule Society; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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### Bloch, Joseph Samuel (1850–1923)

Bloch was born in Dukla, in East Galicia. In 1883, he was an unknown Orthodox rabbi near Vienna when he publicly denounced August Rohling, an antisemitic professor of the Old and New Testament at Charles University in Prague. Rohling had testified at the recent Tiszaeszlar blood libel proceedings about supposed Talmudic passages that commanded Jews to commit ritual murder. Bloch labeled Rohling a fraud, declaring that he would pay him 3,000 florins if the professor could accurately translate a randomly chosen page of the Talmud. Rohling sued Bloch for libel, but then, two weeks before the scheduled trial date, he dropped the suit in disgrace, having never accepted Bloch's challenge.

The affair brought Bloch much praise as a fighter against antisemitism; the following year, he won a seat in the Austrian parliament from a Galician district that he represented for the next eleven years. Also in 1884, he began publishing the *Österreichische Wochenschrift* (Austrian Weekly), considered one of the most important Jewish periodicals in the country until it ceased appearing in 1920. In 1886, he cofounded the Österreichisch-Israelitische Union (Austrian-Israelite Union), an organization dedicated to combating antisemitism and defending Austrian Jews' legal rights. He authored a number of books, including *Der nationale Zwist und die Juden* (The Nationalities' Strife and the Jews [1886]). This collection of articles from his newspaper summarized Bloch's views on the Austrian political scene, his ideas about Jewish assimilation and ethnic identity, and his conception of a civic Austrian consciousness.

Prior to the mid-1880s, Austrian Jewish leaders had advocated a passive approach to antisemitic statements such as those of Rohling. Bloch demanded that Jews publicly refute antisemitic rhetoric, helping to usher in a new era of more assertive Jewish politics in central Europe. He also criticized Jewish assimilation, which entailed the denial of Jewish ethnicity. Bloch encouraged Jews to identify themselves not as Germans (or Czechs or Poles) of the Jewish faith but instead as members of the Jewish people, a separate nationality or ethnic group bound together by religious and historic traditions.

In addition, he urged his fellow Jews, as well as members of all the Habsburg nationalities, to see themselves as part of a multiethnic Austrian civic nation defined by citizenship and thus neutral regarding religion, language, or ethnicity. He sought to cultivate a civic Austrian identity that was fully inclusive. Building ties across ethnic lines and reducing tensions among all the peoples in Austria represented a key part of Bloch's strategy of fighting antisemitism and improving the lives of Austrian Jews.

—*Ian Reifowitz*

**See also** Austria; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; League against Antisemitism; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder; Zionism

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## “Blood for Trucks” (Brand-Grosz Mission)

On April 25, 1944, Lt. Col. Adolf Eichmann, the Schutzstaffel (SS) officer responsible for deporting Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, summoned a local Zionist leader, Joel Brand, to the first of several meetings in Budapest. According to Brand, Eichmann stated that Germany would release Hungary's Jews in exchange for a list of commodities; namely, 800 tons of coffee, 2 million bars of soap, unspecified minerals, and, in particular, 10,000 army trucks for exclusive use on the eastern front. Two days after the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz began (on May 17, 1944), Brand, accompanied by a shadowy multiple intelligence agent, Andor “Bandi” Grosz, left Budapest under German auspices and arrived shortly thereafter in neutral Turkey.

After revealing Eichmann's “blood for trucks” offer to Zionist representatives in Istanbul, Brand left Turkey for Palestine in early June and—like Grosz shortly before—was arrested in Syria by the British and sent to Cairo for intensive interrogation. After several weeks of secret deliberations, during which both Britain and the United States exhibited confusion and uncertainty regarding an appropriate response, Joseph Stalin let it be known that he thought it was neither expedient nor permissible to negotiate with Germany.

Under British questioning, Grosz revealed that Brand's task of ransoming Hungary's Jews was a facade for Grosz's own, far more important mission, which was to arrange a meeting with representatives of the Allies in order to allow Heinrich Himmler to negotiate an anti-Soviet pact with the West. In mid-July, despite Winston Churchill's sympathy for European Jews and Franklin Roosevelt's concerns about the Jewish

vote in the upcoming presidential election, the “blood for trucks” offer was rejected as a Machiavellian scheme to blackmail the Allies, disrupt the war effort in Europe, and smuggle spies and saboteurs into Allied territory.

A fervent antisemite, Himmler fully believed that an immensely powerful “international Jewry” controlled both Britain and the United States; that the West was fighting World War II on behalf of the Jews; and that, consequently, the Jews’ plight was highly significant in all Allied considerations. From these absurd yet ingrained antisemitic articles of faith, Himmler concluded that negotiations with the West (the Grosz mission) depended on the release of Hungary’s captive Jews, the only large, intact national Jewry still under German control. Himmler also knew that his proposed deal needed Adolf Hitler’s approval and that, before letting Jews go, the Führer would require substantial deliveries of desperately needed war matériel—hence, his “blood for trucks” offer. For neither man did this signify a change of heart about the ultimate fate of Jews. Nazi “pragmatism” was to be only a temporary postponement of genocide.

Meaningful consideration of Himmler’s overture was aborted by the West’s unyielding focus on narrow self-interest, best summarized by Lord Moyne’s questions to Brand: “What shall we do with a million [impoverished, alien] Jews? Where shall we put them?” (State of Israel Ministry of Justice 1993, 1067) However, some were saved through the offer. These included 1,700 Hungarian Jews who left Budapest by train, bound for neutral territory, on June 30, 1944 (the so-called Kasztner Transport), and 1,200 Jews from the Theresienstadt concentration camp who arrived in Switzerland in February 1945. Both groups were released by Himmler in a forlorn attempt to prove his sincerity and rehabilitate his reputation in the West.

The tragic paradox of this affair thus remains: for Britain and the United States, it was the prospect of a successful outcome of negotiations to save Jews that probably doomed the enterprise. Europe’s Jewish remnant remained trapped between the relentless Germans and the impulsive Allies.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Eichmann, Adolf; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; Stalin, Joseph; Zionism

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## Böckel, Otto (1859–1923)

After the waning of the Berlin Movement, Otto Böckel, the “peasant king” of Hessenland in west-central Germany, brought antisemitic electoral politics back to life, introducing a new style of populist agitation featuring torchlight parades, raucous open-air meetings, party badges, and incessant campaigning.

Born into a middle-class family in Frankfurt am Main, Böckel received his doctorate in modern languages from Marburg University (in 1882). While employed as a librarian there, the romantic nationalist wandered from village to village in the Hessian hinterland, collecting and preserving folklore. In pursuing his hobby, he got to know the troubles of a rural population in the throes of transformation from manorial to capitalistic agriculture. Like many of his contemporaries, Böckel blamed Jewish jobbers, money-lenders, and grain speculators for falling crop prices, peasant indebtedness, and the resulting foreclosures. But he went further than most when he claimed that Jews everywhere and throughout history were racially driven to exploit the honest labor of non-Jews. A spellbinding orator, he moved up within the organizational network of antisemitic clubs and newspapers that had sprung up in the early 1880s, and at the same

time, he placed himself at the head of a peasant protest movement. In his own newspaper, the *Reichsherold* (1887–1894), he doled out homespun wisdom on the evil of Jewry, downplaying his own theoretical racism in favor of his constituency's more traditional, religiously based Jew-hatred. Supported by antisemitic reform clubs in Giessen, Kassel, and Marburg and by university student volunteers from the Verein Deutscher Studenten (Association of German Students), he ran for the Reichstag in 1887 on the slogan "Against Junkers and Jews" and won a stunning victory in the first balloting, displacing a Conservative Party notable and entering the parliament as the first avowed antisemite. When antisemitic competitors thwarted his ambition to form a unified national antisemitic party to solve the Jewish Question and rescue the peasantry, he settled instead for the Hessian-based Antisemittische Volkspartei (Antisemitic Peoples' Party, founded in 1889)—a power in regional politics, under a variety of names, until 1919. Böckel's agitation was at times boisterous, but his antisemitic ideology fell within the conventions of the period. His inflammatory pamphlet *Die Juden—die Könige unserer Zeit* (Jews—Kings of Our Times [1886]) promised the legal disenfranchisement of Germany's Jews. The Jewish Question would be solved when the German Constitution recognized that "two different Nations dwelt in Germany, Germans and Jews. The first [were] masters, the second guests, entitled to the rights of hospitality, but not to the rights of the masters" (in Levy 1975, 40–41). What made him an influential player in antisemitic politics was his creation of a fully developed agrarian movement. His Mitteldeutscher Bauernverein (Central German Peasant Association, with 15,000 members and 400 chapters in 1892) supported a youth group, consumer and producer cooperatives, "Jew-free" livestock markets, cheap insurance, and membership in savings and loan banks. None of these efforts was an unqualified success, and several involved questionable business practices, but they did achieve Böckel's main objective—the binding of the small farmer to his party.

Having alerted more powerful and better-financed political forces to antisemitic politics as

a tool for mobilizing rural voters, Böckel was copied by Catholic grassroots organizations, especially in Bavaria. Given his limited resources and hounded by scandal, he proved unable to hold on to the leadership of his movement, watching helplessly as it was co-opted by the Junker-dominated Agrarian League. Poverty, poor health, and political obscurity marked the last twenty years of his life.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Agrarian League; Antisemitic Political Parties; Berlin Movement; German Peasant League; German Students, Association of; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich

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## Boer War (1899–1902)

The Boer War, also known as the South African War, lasted between 1899 and 1902 and involved Britain in its first major conflict since the Crimean hostilities of the 1850s. The British expected the South African fight to end quickly, but it dragged on. It required almost half a million British troops to secure victory.

The transformation of South Africa arose with the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, an area inhabited by the Boer descendants from earlier Dutch settlers and under the presidency of Paul Kruger. It has been claimed that the gold mine owners and managers, such as Cecil Rhodes, manipulated Britain into the war, fomenting a conflict to increase their power. However, no convincing evidence has been found to support the idea that the British government acted at the behest of the mine magnates or capitalists. Another claim, associated particularly with the radical journalist J. A. Hobson, is that the conflict amounted to a "Jews' war" fought at the behest of Jewish interests in the South African mining industry. During the war, that charge enjoyed strong support in socialist circles and appeared later in the poetry of Hilaire Belloc. However,

this Jewish conspiratorial theory has been disputed by later scholarship.

Recent research suggests the war reflected the determination of the British government to assert its control over the Transvaal and its supremacy over South Africa in general. This emphasis switches the focus from South Africa to influences in London, although the British government received encouragement in its actions from the growing power of the *Uitlander* (non-Boer foreigners) in the Transvaal. The conflict can be viewed as part of the so-called scramble for Africa and a logical culmination of Britain's growing involvement in southern Africa, which, by 1902 and the Treaty of Vereeniging that ended the hostilities, had resulted in effective British control over the area.

The war gave rise to the first use of concentration camps, which Gen. Horatio H. Kitchener constructed for containing the Boers, a feature of the war that Nazi propaganda later exploited. The conflict also led to an orgy of jingoism, deplored at the time by Hobson. In addition, the war revealed the effectiveness of guerrilla tactics, at which the Boers proved adept, in the face of numerically superior armed forces. After the conflict, the British concentrated on reconstruction, and Lord Milner laid the groundwork for a political process that resulted in the Union of South Africa, effectively under Afrikaner control. Defeated militarily, the Afrikaners secured through this political settlement their language, culture, and own form of government, a development that carried enormous implications—particularly for black Africans, who would live until recently under Afrikaner rule.

—Colin Holmes

**See also** Bunker, Jewish; Belloc, Hilaire; Britain; Hobson, J. A.; South Africa

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## Boniface Society for Catholic Germany

The Bonifatiusverein für das katholische Deutschland (Society of St. Boniface for

Catholic Germany), named for the apostle to the Germans (ca. 672–754), was founded on October 4, 1849, at the suggestion of Ignaz Döllinger, a Munich theologian, who had been a spokesman of the Catholic Right during the Revolution of 1848. The Boniface Society was organized by Count Joseph Stolberg-Stolberg, approved by Pope Pius IX in 1852, and repeatedly vested with privileges and indulgences by the Holy See. In 1918, the German Conference of Catholic Bishops resolved to establish the society in all parishes of the country; since 1967, it has been called the St. Boniface Mission of German Catholics.

During the nineteenth century, it was the declared aim of the society to help the “mission of the Church in Germany.” Its main purpose was to support Catholics in the German diaspora by means of prayer and charity. The clerical and lay members of the association made it possible to build Catholic churches, chapels, schools, and parishes in foreign lands.

The Boniface Society was under the patronage of the bishop (or archbishop from 1930 forward) of Paderborn and managed by a general committee of this provincial diocesan town, one of the most important centers of Ultramontanism in Germany. As one of the church’s most important institutional responses to the challenges of the modern era, the society helped mobilize Catholics against the new and threatening secular religions, such as liberalism, socialism, communism, and, later, even National Socialism. The association grew powerful as a medium of Catholic identity politics at all levels of society and as a tool for disciplining rank-and-file Catholics. Over the years, several subsidiary associations extended the organizational reach of the society to all segments of the Catholic milieu. Among these were the St. Boniface Academic Consensus (1867), an association for higher schools (1921), and the Guardian Angel’s Association (1894) for children and elementary school students.

The Boniface Society made maximum use of an extensive and modern institutional network to pursue antimodern goals. Running its own bookstores, publishing houses, and magazines, such as the *Boniface Paper* (published since 1852, with a



The burning of “un-German” books on the Opera Square, Berlin, May 1933. (Bettmann/Corbis)

peak run of 640,000), the association defined and then confirmed “good” Catholics in their devotion to the church and pope. In the struggle against liberalism, socialism, and the Protestant domination of the German Empire, the society was able to make its voice heard. It was primarily in the antiliberal rhetoric of the organization that antisemitism came into play. The Boniface Publishing House issued several works that presented Jews as the purest example of the evils of liberalism. In 1876, it reprinted Konrad Martin’s hostile critique of 1848, *A Look into Talmudic Judaism* (*Blicke ins Thalmud’sche Judenthum*). In the 1880s, it published no fewer than five editions and 20,000 copies of *Judenspiegel* (A Mirror to the Jews) by the Romanian Jewish apostate Ahron Briman (or Brimanus or Dr. Justus, as he was also known). Also part of the press’s offerings were the widely distributed antisemitic works of Jakob Ecker and August Rohling.

Even though the Boniface Society refrained from and even condemned racist antisemitism,

its dissemination of an essentially theologically based Jew-hatred in defense of Catholicism helped legitimize hostility toward living Jews.

—Carsten Kretschmann

*See also* Center Party; 1848; *Kulturkampf*; Pius IX, Pope; Rohling, August; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First

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#### Book Burning (May 10, 1933)

When Adolf Hitler “seized” power in Germany, the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (National Socialist German Students

Association), which had been in existence since the mid-1920s, almost immediately began to expand its organizational apparatus and to express its ideological commitments in bolder and more conspicuous ways. For example, just before the April 1, 1933, boycott of Jewish businesses, Oskar Stabel, the group's national leader, announced a boycott of lectures and seminars by Jewish instructors, apparently on the students' own initiative.

So, too, the infamous book burnings of May 10, 1933, grew out of student activism. In early April, the students association founded a press and propaganda section. Soon afterward, it settled on its first action. University students would publicly burn "destructive Jewish writings," thereby combating the Jews' "shameless" anti-German "incitement." A publicity drive was launched on April 12. On the next day, twelve "theses" spelled out the intended points of attack. The students mainly targeted books representing "the Jewish spirit." But they listed other subversive genres as well: Marxist books, pacifist books, and, somewhat cryptically, writings that "overemphasized instinctual life" (Friedländer 1997, 57). Members and collaborators posted the theses on university campuses throughout Germany.

On May 10, at 6 p.m., the burnings began, just as planned. In most German university towns and cities, bonfires were lit, and students cast large numbers of books into them. One historian of Nazism recently suggested that in most major cities, demonstrators burned between 2,000 and 3,000 books. The epicenter of the burnings was Berlin. In front of the Kroll Opera House, after a series of speakers—including Joseph Goebbels—inveighed against the pernicious influence of Jewish authors, a crowd of volunteers consigned to the flames over 20,000 volumes. Chanting antisemitic slogans, students and other participants threw into the fire works by Sigmund Freud, Maximilian Harden, Karl Marx, Kurt Tucholsky, and Heinrich Heine, who had said almost a century earlier, "Where books are burned, people will be burned too." In its coverage of the event, a prominent Jewish newspaper echoed that sentiment. Though noting that works by both Jews and non-Jews had been de-

stroyed, it concluded emphatically, "The Jew will be burned!" (Friedländer 1997, 58)

—Paul Reitter

**See also** *Auto-da-fé*; Boycott of Jewish Shops; Goebbels, Joseph; Heine, Heinrich; Marx, Karl; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism

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## Boycott of 1912 (Poland)

The Russian Duma (parliament), created in response to the Revolution of 1905, was dissolved and reconstituted four times; each time, the electoral rules were changed to try to ensure a parliament that Tsar Nicholas II could work with. By the time of the fourth Duma elections in 1912, the rules were such as to limit severely the representation of national minorities and the urban working class, which tended to support radical parties. Elections were indirect: in each curia (electoral district), voters chose an electoral college, which in turn elected a single delegate to the Duma. The whole of Russian Poland was divided into only three curiae, one of which was Warsaw.

Because the franchise was subject to property qualifications, only a small proportion of citizens could vote; as a result, the Jews, with 39 percent of the city's population but a large middle class, controlled forty-six of the eighty-three electoral seats. The Jewish electors decided against choosing a Jew as the sole representative of the Polish capital, but they could not bring themselves to support the candidate agreed on by the Polish delegation—the antisemitic nationalist Roman Dmowski, who had represented Warsaw in the first three Dumas. Instead, they chose a hitherto unknown socialist named Eugeniusz Jagiełło. This action caused outrage among Poles, especially Dmowski's supporters, who retaliated by calling for a boycott of Jewish businesses. Dmowski had used the boycott weapon before, with limited success, but now, virtually the whole

of the Polish press supported it, accompanied by intensely antisemitic rhetoric. Although the boycott did little economic damage, this sudden eruption of prejudice after a period of good relations shocked the Jewish community. Emigration to the United States and Palestine increased. The Warsaw Jews had been mainly divided between traditionalists (*Hassidim* and *Mitnagdim*) and the *Haskalah* assimilationists, but since the turn of the century, the socialist Jewish Workers' Bund and Zionist parties had made rapid gains. The boycott accelerated this trend, while assimilationism rapidly faded. As elsewhere in eastern Europe, a disillusioned *Haskalah* had become the mainspring of Jewish nationalism, which quickly attracted the support of the Jewish masses as well.

—Steven Paulson

**See also** Dmowski, Roman; Poland; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Revolution of 1905; Zionism

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## Boycott of Jewish Shops (Germany, 1933)

On March 26, 1933, Adolf Hitler ordered a nationwide boycott of Jewish-owned shops and businesses, to begin the following Saturday, April 1, a major German shopping day. Hitler ostensibly called the boycott to counter what he decried as the “malicious hate propaganda” being directed against Germany from abroad. He was convinced that German Jews themselves were responsible for spreading lies about their supposed mistreatment at Nazi hands. His immediate focus was on New York, where a massive anti-German demonstration was scheduled for March 27.

Since Hitler's “seizure” of power on January

30, 1933, Nazi Storm troopers and undisciplined party thugs had been celebrating by terrorizing their supposed racial enemies. Their preferred targets were Jewish professionals and businesspeople. Foreign journalists brought reports of Nazi terrorist campaigns to the attention of the world abroad. The result was the prospect of a wave of protests stretching from New York to Warsaw.

Nazi leaders grew increasingly concerned about the specter of an international boycott of German goods. Efforts to call off the radicals perpetrating the anti-Jewish terror went largely unheeded. Calls for discipline were halfhearted; such spontaneous actions, moreover, were considered welcome evidence of healthy racial instincts. Nonetheless, the bad publicity needed to be countered. As a first step, Hermann Göring dispatched delegations of German Jewish leaders to London and Prague with instructions to deny reports of German mistreatment of Jews. He ordered others to call their counterparts abroad to refute rumors of Jews being brutalized.

The boycott of Germany's Jews, Hitler told his cabinet, was aimed at convincing them that the “atrocity propaganda” they were spreading abroad was about to backfire. It would also, he explained, steer the party radicals into a disciplined activity. For that reason, he appointed radicals to the boycott's steering committee. He named Julius Streicher, the publisher of a Jew-baiting scandal sheet, *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer), to be its chairman and an assortment of racist extremists to work with him.

On boycott Saturday, Storm troopers stood guard at Jewish-owned businesses to warn prospective customers they were about to enter a Jewish establishment. Jewish owners had been ordered to stay open so that the boycott's effect would not be avoided. In Berlin at least, the day went by quietly. Many shoppers refused to go along with the boycott. Reports from the provinces spoke of scattered violence, and in Kiel, there was at least one death.

Nazi leaders canceled the boycott before the day was out. The reason they gave was that its success obviated the need for its continuation. In reality, the boycott highlighted the recognition that prolonging it could only exacerbate Germany's



Nazi pickets outside a Jewish shop in Berlin during anti-Jewish campaign. (Hulton- Deutsch Collection/Corbis )

economic difficulties. Clearly, interference with business activity would add people, most of them Aryans, to the long lists of the unemployed. The boycott also demonstrated how difficult it was to define a "Jewish business." Did its owners have to be Jewish? What if some were Aryans? What if its employees were Aryans? These difficulties delayed for the time being the wholesale assault on the position of the Jews in the German economy.

—Karl A. Schleunes

**See also** Göring, Hermann; Streicher, Julius;  
*Stürmer, Der*

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### **Brasillach, Robert (1909–1945)**

The most prominent French writer and critic to be executed by France's Liberation government, Robert Brasillach was an unabashed collaborator who used his position as editor in chief (1937–1943) of the fascist newspaper *Je suis partout* (I Am Everywhere) to revile democracy, communism, Jews, and the French Resistance. Seen as a martyred poet by the extreme Right and a failed writer seduced by the Nazi cult of virility by most others, Brasillach stands as a stark emblem of the significant role played by writers in the ideological divisions that nearly destroyed France in the 1930s and 1940s.

Brasillach was born in the south of France in Perpignan and lived briefly in Morocco, where his father, a lieutenant in the French army, was killed early in World War I. He began his journalistic career at the age of sixteen before graduating from the prestigious École Normale

Supérieure in Paris. He cast his allegiances with extreme elements from the very start, and his role as literary critic was soon overshadowed by his political diatribes. Inspired by Gen. Francisco Franco and Adolf Hitler, Brasillach called for a French brand of fascism to rid the nation of its “decadent” and “disloyal” elements. He attacked the Popular Front government (1936–1938) and its Jewish prime minister, Léon Blum, using racial antisemitism and “conspiracy theory” themes. Brasillach’s gift for invective made him a name but also produced some of his most damning columns. When legislation prohibiting virulent racism in print was debated in the parliament, he wrote a piece on “the Monkey Question,” recommending “antisimiatism” to the French people. Another article in 1941 urged that Jewish deportations should include small children. Although his writings were not as obsessively antisemitic as those of Lucien Rebatet and Louis-Ferdinand Céline, his approval of German and French efforts to expel Jews from western Europe was explicit. After the war, a jury found him guilty of collusion with the enemy, and he was sentenced to death. After French President Charles de Gaulle refused requests for a pardon, a firing squad executed Brasillach on February 6, 1945.

Attempts to rehabilitate Brasillach’s reputation have followed a two-pronged approach. Since most of the evidence in his trial was culled from articles long out of circulation, his supporters have downplayed the contents of his polemical pieces. His brother-in-law, Maurice Bardèche, has been his principal champion, for his edition of Brasillach’s “complete” works excises or distorts the most damaging texts. Thus, readers are left with the impression that he was a literary critic who dabbled in bad politics. The second approach has sought to characterize Brasillach as an ill-fated genius whose fiction nevertheless deserves admiration. His novels, for the most part hastily written, reveal occasional technical inspiration but overall have failed to establish his literary reputation. Given the public fascination with the history of the Vichy years in France and abroad, autobiographical fictions such as *Les sept couleurs* (The Seven Colors [1939]) and his memoirs, *Notre avant-guerre* (Our Prewar Years [1941]) are his best-known works.

—Ralph W. Schoolcraft III

**See also** Bardèche, Maurice; Céline, Louis-Ferdinand; Vichy

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## Brazil

Antisemitism has never been a widely prevalent societal problem in independent (post-1822) Brazil. Indeed, most Brazilians historically have had little contact with “real” Jews or images of them. During the twentieth century, Jewish communal organizations were careful to keep internal Jewish issues (as opposed to ones related to Israel) out of the spotlight. Today, Brazil’s strong rhetorical commitment to ethnic, cultural, and racial tolerance is backed up by law, making public antisemitism a potential crime. Furthermore, the active involvement of some Jewish community leaders in popular movements to combat hunger, poverty, and discrimination tends to present Brazil’s Jews in a favorable, socially conscious light.

Understanding Brazilian antisemitism, which is most clearly found in the policy (rather than the popular) sphere, entails a realization that such attitudes tend to emerge from among Brazil’s tiny elite and are then supported by a relatively small urban middle and upper class. While Brazil remained a colony of Portugal into the early nineteenth century, its anti-Jewish attitudes and actions were part of the Inquisition or the tradition it left behind. The history of modern antisemitism in Brazil, inspired more by central European rather than Iberian models, stems from 1930, when, during the Great Depression, a new nationalist regime led by President (and later the dictator) Getúlio Vargas rose to power. At that time, nativism, which included antisemitism as one of its components, became common among intellectuals and the elite press. A few organized groups that regularly attacked Jews and Jewish immigration also had access to the corridors of power.

From the mid-1930s, the government tolerated antisemitic acts and, during the early years of Vargas's rule, the Green Shirts of the Ação Integralista Brasileira (Integralist Party), which claimed 1 million members, began a virulently antisemitic campaign. When Vargas created the protofascist Estado Novo (New State) in late 1937, groups such as the Integralists were banned, but secret anti-Jewish immigration policies were regularized and formalized, a pattern that continued until Vargas was overthrown in 1945.

State-sponsored antisemitism in Brazil ended with the fall of the Vargas regime. As if to underline this change, when Vargas was elected president again in 1950, he chose an important member of the Jewish community, Horacio Lafer, as his finance minister. Since 1945, Jews have served in all areas of Brazilian political, economic, and military life.

In contemporary Brazil, much discussion has taken place over the publication of a series of books denying the Holocaust, written by Siegfried Ellwanger Castan, a wealthy industrialist living in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Castan's publishing company, Editôra Revisão (Revision Publishing House), has distributed throughout the country books with titles such as *Holocaust: Jewish or German?* and *The Lie of the Century*; they are not available in any major bookstore chain. Editôra Revisão has also reprinted a number of antisemitic books from the 1920s, such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Henry Ford's *The International Jew*. In spite of its restricted circulation, Castan's literature has been widely attacked and has consequently received disproportionate publicity.

Antisemitic publications would appear to be prohibited under Brazil's antiracism laws (Brazilian Constitution of 1988, article 5, paragraph 42). But attempts to enforce the laws have not been supported by politicians or judges. Indeed, when cases are prosecuted, the courts often find for the racists on the basis of Brazil's guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press. Thus, when Editôra Revisão was removed as a member of a publisher's consortium in Rio Grande do Sul, a local judge reinstated it. In April 2002, after a trial lasting several years, Castan received a two-year conditional sentence (carried out as

community service) from a federal high court judge for "inciting racism." In December of that same year, however, the Supreme Court threw out the conviction, agreeing with a defense argument that since Jews were not a "race," there could be no racism against Jews in the juridical sense of the term as used in the constitution.

Flagrantly antisemitic movements in Brazil attract only a tiny number of participants. A formal neo-Nazi political party, the Brazilian National Revolutionary Party (PNRB), has about 200 sympathizers. A number of other groups are also popularly associated with neo-Nazism. Although their discourse is at times antisemitic, there is no evidence of violence specifically targeting Jews. Instead, their victims tend to be migrants from Brazil's impoverished northeastern states, those of African descent, and homosexuals.

—Jeffrey Lesser

**See also** Dearborn Independent and *The International Jew*; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Homophobia; Inquisition; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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## Britain (1870–1939)

Between 1870 and 1939, Jews in England did not suffer disabilities as members of the Jewish minority but as non-Anglicans, a status they shared with Nonconformists and Catholics. Jewish emancipation only became a separate issue after 1829, when Catholic emancipation was enacted, leaving Jews the only religious minority still subject to a handful of legal restrictions. The debate on Jewish political rights, specifically, admittance into both houses of Parliament, focused on the notion of "Christian England" and how far its very basis would be destroyed by allowing non-Christians to represent the nation. By 1871, however, Jewish emanci-

pation was complete. It is crucial for the understanding of modern (racial) antisemitism in Britain that it did not come about in response to Jewish emancipation, as was the case, for example, in Germany.

Modern antisemitism circumscribes racial constructions of the “Jew” that subsume but go beyond Judaism. It also instrumentalizes these images and arguments, rendering them political. This variant of antisemitism surfaced in Britain during the Bulgarian crisis of the second half of the 1870s, voiced by the Liberal opponents of Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. London continued to support Turkey, even after massacres perpetrated by Turkish militias on Bulgarian Christians. Critics of Disraeli’s policy seized on his Jewish background and the supposed Oriental blood ties between the Turk and the Jew to impugn his motives as anti-Christian and un-Christian. Antisemitic agitators claimed to speak for the (Christian) nation and for true patriotism. Disraeli’s injection of the “Hebrew element,” they said, threatened the English nation and English values.

Antisemitism reemerged in the course of the South African War (1899–1902). Once again, it became a tool of opposition to government policy from within the Liberal and Labour camps. The pro-Boers, as the antiwar party was derisively called, employed antisemitic imagery to buttress its opposition. Jewish financiers, crudely seeking capitalistic profit, were set against disinterested and true patriots, motivated by moral considerations and—pointedly—Christian values. English blood was spilled and English taxpayers’ treasure was spent for a “Jew’s war.” In this political agenda, Jews served as the negative foil of the Boers, who were said to represent manliness, courage, honor, the simple life of the countryside, and love of homeland and nation. During the conflict over the war, another element entered into the rhetoric of the antisemites; an implicit and sometimes explicit questioning of current rules of citizenship, the *Jus Soli*, and naturalization. The Jewish financiers, attacked as greedy and treacherous, were also singled out as British subjects with a comparatively recent immigrant background. It became more common from that moment to subject English Jews to a

kind of denationalization, referring them back to their country of origin, no matter how distant in time. Jews whose families had once emigrated from Germany now became, in popular usage, “German Jews,” with the distinct implication that they did not truly belong to the nation. The antisemitic interpretation of the driving forces behind the war was circulated in pamphlets, newspapers, and books. Member of Parliament John Burns carried it into the House of Commons, where his antisemitic utterances apparently moved none of his colleagues enough to contest him. Yet although voiced widely, antisemitism did not assume an organized form.

The Boer War controversy was part of a larger and intense public discussion of immigration and the need to control it, provoked by the arrival of approximately 140,000 Jews from eastern Europe starting in the 1880s. The “aliens debate” left its mark on antisemitic campaigns in the following years. Britons increasingly questioned the qualifications of citizenship in the face of immigration. Worry about the consequences for England and the nation’s internal and external security assumed central importance for antisemitic discourse.

From the Boer War until the end of World War I, British antisemitism frequently combined with Germanophobia. The favored stereotypes included vague allegations of pro-German sympathies among Jews in England, the specific portrayal of “German Jews” as quintessentially “bad Jews,” and the effortlessly arrived at equation of Jews with Germans. The embodiment of these sentiments in numerous images could be found in novels, newspapers, pamphlets, and treatises, reaching their peak after the outbreak of World War I. The journalist Leo Maxse and many less prolific and less well-known authors accused the Liberal government of subverting the nation to serve the schemes of “German” or, alternatively, “international” Jews. Antisemitic motifs went along with anxieties about degeneration, lack of patriotism, and youthful hedonism. Still, these expressions of antisemitism remained largely confined to national politics. Antisemites sought to criticize or influence government policy or the behavior of leading Jewish and non-Jewish politicians. Repeatedly, authors inquired via anti-

semitism into the nature of government decision making, insinuating or condemning what they took to be undue, unelected, outsider influence. It was the alleged power of the so-called Jewish element to manipulate government and thus endanger the country that bedeviled them.

This characteristic of British antisemitism continued on display after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. In the debate over the revolution, the terms *Jews* and *Bolsheviks* became synonymous to many. The evidence cited for the generalization was the presence of many Jews in the Bolshevik leadership. Again, however, what most preoccupied British antisemites was the potential influence this Jewish element might exercise over Russian government decisions and how these decisions might adversely impact England and its allies.

British antisemitism was a latecomer in the concert of organized antisemitisms and retained several peculiar characteristics. When it finally did become organized, it was relatively unsuccessful, never producing an antisemitic movement comparable to those on the Continent. Further, even though the vast majority of Jews in Britain had an east European background, the “aliens debate” never developed an exclusively or even a predominantly anti-Jewish emphasis, despite the best efforts of British antisemites. Antisemitism in Britain never fetishized the *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) to the same extent as that in France, Germany, and many other European countries. Perhaps most important, British antisemites never dared openly question the fact of Jewish emancipation.

During the interwar period, however, Britain saw the establishment of a handful of antisemitic organizations: the Britons, the Imperial Fascist League, and Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists (BUF). The Britons numbered 60 members in 1923; the Imperial Fascist League attracted some 140 in 1934. The Britons’ prime importance lay in its circulation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* immediately following World War I. But the *Protocols*, building on an atmosphere of conspiracy theory in vogue since the Boer War, enjoyed only a brief flurry of public attention before being so thoroughly discredited as to become useless for further antisemitic exploitation. Even the BUF found the forgery

too compromised to employ for purposes of political mobilization. (This powerlessness of the *Protocols* highlights another profound difference between British antisemitism and that in the rest of the world, including the United States.) The failure of the BUF—the only overtly antisemitic political party—to garner many votes has been explained in various ways. One view suggests that it was the extremism of Mosley’s group and its spurning of homegrown antisemitic themes in favor of the Nazi and Fascist models that severely limited its appeal to the British public.

Antisemitism’s more general failure to achieve political strength in Britain may be a reflection of the well-established pluralist values and attitudes already in place in the Victorian era. Especially in the matter of religion, a reference point for many British antisemites, popular tolerance militated against antisemitic success. The organization of Jews into categories of “good”—national and English—and “bad”—international and German—was intended as a means of perpetuating antisemitic stereotypes. But the crucial point in the British discourse, as opposed to the German, was that the “good” Jew was identified as religiously observant, as well as patriotic and nationally minded. Since most east European Jews were also religiously observant, antisemites found it difficult to portray them to the public as completely inimical to Britain’s well-being.

Finally, the reluctance of British antisemites to make an issue out of Jewish emancipation also needs to be explained. A close reading of antisemitic texts, from their appearance during Disraeli’s premiership, reveals a racial conception of the “Jewish danger” that relegated the citizenship of Jews to a place of little importance. Antisemites feared the influence, mostly from behind the scenes, that Jews brought to bear on British political and governmental leaders and their policy decisions. Jews did not need the right to sit in Parliament or the cabinet in order to work their evil. Following this logic, revoking emancipation would not have rendered the Jews less effective in their efforts to conspire.

—Susanne Terwey

*See also* Boer War; British Union of Fascists; Disraeli, Benjamin; Emancipation; Gwynne, H. A.; Hobson, J. A.; Judeo-Bolshevism; Masculinity;

Maxse, James Leopold; Mosley, Oswald; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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### British Brothers League

The history of the British Brothers League (BBL) and the immigration of Russian-Polish Jews into East London are inextricably entwined. The BBL's origins can be traced to February 25, 1901, although its official formation, together with a manifesto of its aims, came amid attendant publicity at Stepney Meeting House on May 9, 1901. Jewish immigration, increasing since the 1880s, had begun to have a discernible influence on parts of East London, especially in the housing market and among unskilled labor. The BBL emerged in response to these conditions.

In such circumstances, the organization attracted local support, but its membership did not consist of East Enders alone. According to one contemporary newspaper report, various Conservative members of Parliament (MPs), acutely aware of the possible dangers to their parliamentary majorities unless they adopted a firm stance on what was called alien immigration, took a leading role in the formation of the league. These members included Spencer Charlington, Murray Guthrie, Thomas Dewar, and Maj. William Eden Evans-Gordon. The first president, drawn from outside these parliamentary ranks, was a city clerk, William Stanley

Shaw, who had inspired the foundation of the league. In short, the BBL amounted to an alliance between East End workers and sections of the Tory Party, a union not without its tensions.

By June 1901, the league had established an administrative structure, and a revised statement of its aims had appeared. Moreover, underlining its links with Westminster, in its second full manifesto, issued in August 1901, the BBL declared its intention to work with the Parliamentary Alien Immigration Committee, formed in the same month and consisting of all the East End's MPs with the exception of Stuart M. Samuel, the Liberal MP for Whitechapel. This parliamentary pressure group urged immediate legislation to control immigration. Further evidence of the ties between East London and Westminster came when Sir Howard Vincent, the Tory MP for Sheffield Central and a leading campaigner against alien immigration, offered his support to the BBL.

By the autumn of 1901, the BBL's meetings became larger and more enthusiastic, all of which provided the background to the monster meeting on January 14, 1902, at the People's Palace in Stepney. A flavor of this occasion can be gleaned from the patriotic songs that opened the proceedings. Apart from East Enders, the meeting attracted not only the local Tory MPs who had earlier offered their support but also other well-known anti-alienists from among the Liberal camp.

Such bustle, however, proved short lived. Key activists died. Others lost interest or chose to concentrate on their own political advancement. And significantly, the Tory Party reined in its MPs who had earlier offered support. These politicians subsequently carried on with their campaign under the aegis of the more respectable Immigration Reform Association. Even so, representatives from the BBL gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, which reported in 1903. However, the 1905 Aliens Act that followed this inquiry proved to be more muted than the complete cessation of alien immigration the league had sought. Overall, the BBL's brief history underlined and continued the tradition of nativism in East London, expressed in opposition to immigration and a willingness to employ antisemitism for this purpose.

—Colin Holmes

**See also** Britain; Maxse, James Leopold; *Ostjuden*; Webb, Beatrice

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## British Union of Fascists

The British Union of Fascists (BUF) was founded in October 1932 by Sir Oswald Mosley after the failure of his New Party and was timed to accompany the publication of his fascist manifesto, *The Greater Britain* (1932). In the eight years of its existence, the BUF and the movement it engendered went through several phases, reflecting shifts in ideological emphasis and electoral strategy, decline of its public appeal, failures in organization, changes of personnel, legal censure under public order legislation, and opposition from a broad range of antifascist organizations and campaigns.

From its foundation to the violent Olympia Rally (on June 7, 1934), the BUF benefited from the publicity of Lord Rothermere's newspapers. It took its inspiration principally from Italian Fascism, establishing its national headquarters in the so-called Black House in Chelsea, London, as well as a women's section and regional headquarters and branches across England. Its membership stood between 40,000 and 50,000. British antifascists identified antisemitic themes in BUF propaganda from the start, and the movement alarmed British Jewry early on. But it was not until late 1934, with his speeches in Manchester on September 29 and at the Albert Hall in London on October 28, that Mosley openly embraced antisemitism. The conventional view is that he resorted to extreme antisemitism because the BUF was in need of an issue to revive its flagging fortunes and that this decision reflected opportunism as much as deep conviction. The Imperial Fascist League's Arnold Leese, for example, branded Mosley a "kosher fascist" because he did not share Leese's paranoid and genocidal vision of Nordic supremacy. But Mosley had never spurned the support of rabid antisemites such as William Joyce, founder of the National Socialist League (1937) and known

later for his broadcasts from Nazi Germany as "Lord Haw Haw."

In 1936, the name of the movement was changed to the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists, abbreviated to the British Union (BU). The name change reflected a decided shift in influence and ideology from the Italian Fascist to the Nazi German model, underlined by the adoption of a new "Action Press" uniform modeled on that of the Schutzstaffel (SS). It was at this time, too, that the movement focused its efforts on London's East End—the locality with the highest concentration of Jews in Britain. The BU's canvassing, marches, and propaganda displays targeting the East End culminated in the battle of Cable Street (on October 4, 1936). The BU's planned march in commemoration of its founding four years earlier was met by a crowd of approximately 100,000 antifascist demonstrators and the construction of barricades. The "battle" turned out to be a struggle between the antifascists and the police. The BU's decline continued thereafter, especially following the promulgation of the 1936 Public Order Act that banned the wearing of political uniforms. Financial crises and a schism within the leadership over political strategy further hobbled the movement. However, the BU experienced a modest revival on the eve of World War II when it launched its peace campaign against the "Jews' War" and organized the large Earl's Court rally in July 1939. After the war began, the BU was officially outlawed, its publications were banned, and 747 of its members interned under Defence Regulation 18 B 1(a) in May 1940.

—Julie V. Gottlieb

**See also** Britain; Mosley, Oswald; Mussolini, Benito; National Socialist German Workers' Party

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## Bubis, Ignatz (1927–1999)

As the chairman of the Jewish community in postreunification Germany, Ignatz Bubis spearheaded ongoing efforts for German Jewish rec-

conciliation and led the public campaign against antisemitism, real and perceived, in Germany in the 1990s. He also became embroiled in several public controversies.

Bubis, born in 1927 in the German city of Breslau (today's Wrocław, Poland), moved with his family to Dęblin, Poland, in 1935. There, he experienced the ghetto and labor camp before deportation to a labor camp in Czestochowa in 1944. After liberation, Bubis moved to Dresden and later to western Germany as the political situation in the East deteriorated. He established himself in the precious metal industry and in 1956 moved permanently to Frankfurt am Main, where he invested heavily in real estate. Bubis also became active in Jewish communal politics and helped with the establishment of communal schools and a nursing home. In 1965, he joined the executive board of the Frankfurt Jewish community, and he served as its chairman from 1978 to 1981 and again from 1983 to 1999. In the late 1970s, he joined the executive board of the national Central Council of Jews in Germany, becoming deputy chairman in 1989 and chairman in 1992, a position he held until his death.

As a real estate speculator in the late 1960s and 1970s, he drew the ire of many on the political Left, including those in the squatters' movement. In the play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* (The Garbage, the City and Death [1975]), German playwright and film director Rainer Werner Fassbinder satirized a "rich Jew" who took advantage of his Jewishness for business and political purposes. Many considered this characterization to be an oblique attack on Bubis, and he and other Frankfurt Jews staged a sit-in to prevent the play's Frankfurt debut in 1985.

As the outspoken leader of the Jewish community in Germany after 1992, Bubis gradually became a presence in German public life and discourse over the Nazi past. In 1993, some Center-Right politicians and journalists suggested that he run for German president on behalf of the classical liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP), which he had joined in 1969. Although he declined to do so, he remained politically active, serving on the board of the Hessian FDP and in the Frankfurt city council for the liberals after 1997.

Controversy marked the last year of Bubis's

life. In February 1998, he demanded an end to the delay of the construction of the planned Holocaust memorial in Berlin, characterizing the issue as a matter of concern for all Germans, not just Jews. In October of that same year, German author Martin Walser, winner of the Peace Prize of the German Bookdealers' Association, criticized the instrumentalization of the Holocaust in German society. Enraged, Bubis accused Walser of *geistige Brandstiftung* (intellectual arson). After a series of well-publicized comments, Walser and Bubis met, and Bubis retracted most of his statements. A few weeks before his death, Bubis, who was then ill, proclaimed that he had failed as leader of the Central Council and that Jews and non-Jews in Germany had not overcome their differences. Fearing desecration of his grave if he was buried in Germany, Bubis requested burial in Israel.

—Jay Howard Geller

**See also** Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919; *Garbage, the City and Death, The*; Germany, Federal Republic of; Historians' Controversy

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## Buenos Aires Pogroms (1910, 1919)

Among the great waves of immigrants that settled in Buenos Aires, Argentina, beginning in the latter decades of the nineteenth century were numerous socialist and anarchist sympathizers and ideologues, both Jewish and non-Jewish. The paternalistic aristocracy that ruled the country reacted with antiforeigner legislation in 1902 and in 1910. Workers' strikes, increasing in number, size, and forcefulness, were repeatedly dispersed by force. Violence peaked when a young Russian Jewish anarchist, Simon Radowitzky, assassinated Chief of Police Ramon L. Falcon on November 14, 1909, in revenge for the slaying of workers during the fierce repression of the strikes. On the eve of the centenary celebration of the May 10, 1810, revolution, which for-

eign dignitaries were invited to attend, heightened nationalist sentiment added to the menacing atmosphere in Buenos Aires. To forestall labor unrest, members of the upper classes assaulted key workers' institutions and, under the permissive eye of the police, attacked some Jewish quarters in the city. Many foreigners were deported at this juncture, among them several prominent Jewish labor leaders. These events proved to be a prelude to more serious anti-Jewish excesses.

A decade later, the fear of foreign leftists reached its climax during the Semana Trágica (Week of Tragedy) of January 1919. In response to a general strike that paralyzed the country's industries, commerce, and transportation system, the police and army were called on to restore order. President Hipólito Yrigoyen, who had risen to power in 1916 as the candidate of the middle classes, was pressured by the traditional elite and the threatening circumstances to use extreme force to break the strike. Civilians belonging to the elite social classes, in organizations such as the Guardia Blanca (White Guard) and the Liga Patriótica Argentina (Argentine Patriotic League), launched additional attacks against radical workers, with particular vehemence against the Jews, most of whom were recent immigrants from Russia. The week of pogroms and plunder left the Jewish workers' neighborhoods with many dead and wounded. Union premises and workers' social halls and libraries were totally destroyed.

The upper classes remained convinced that the strikes had been planned abroad by Russian anarchists and "maximalists" (socialists and communists), and they accused some Jews of conspiring to introduce soviets in Argentina. Though there was no evidence of a Bolshevik plot and those arrested were finally liberated, this Red Scare was fueled by the events in Europe and by growing nationalism and xenophobia in Argentina. In addition, prominent Catholic clerics and representatives of lay organizations harangued the public on the Jewish danger, attacking Jews as traitors and importers of leftist ideologies that ran counter to the values of Argentine society and Christian belief. They branded socialism as a Jewish malady and demanded that Jews be expelled from the country.

In the absence of a communal structure, Argentine Jews offered no unified response to this attack on their existence. The more established Jewish institutions, representing middle-class businesspeople, denounced the strikers, justified the strikebreakers, and distanced themselves from the Jewish "hotheads," who did not typify the peace-loving Jewish community of Argentina. The local Zionist leadership was more resolute in organizing relief for the victims of the pogroms, defending their legal rights, aiding the imprisoned, and even framing a vision of Jewish unity for the future. However, even the Semana Trágica did not constitute a strong enough incentive for the centralization of Jewish institutional life in Argentina.

—Victor A. Mirelman

*See also* Argentina; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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### Bulgaria, Holocaust in

Up to the 1930s, Bulgaria had been an inhospitable environment for antisemitic tendencies. *Bulgaria without Jews?* (1894) and other such journalistic forays into inflammatory politics remained fringe phenomena, unable to create a wider antisemitic climate of opinion.

Only after Bulgaria moved closer to the Third Reich in the late 1930s and began following its lead did nationalistic and ideologically based antisemitic organizations begin to appear, among them Defense of the Homeland, Union of the Bulgarian Legions, and Fighters for Progress and the Bulgarian Way. In imitation of Germany's major pogrom, the Night of Broken Glass, Sofia witnessed only minor and unpopular acts of vandalism against Jewish businesses in 1939. Historically, the coexistence of many national groups—Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Gypsies—militated toward ethnic toleration. Tolerance of Jews, the German ambassador reported in 1943, could be traced back to a modus vivendi a ma-

jority of them had reached with the broadest sectors of the Bulgarian working and artisan classes.

The Law for the Protection of the Nation, adopted on December 24, 1940, was based on racist principles that diminished the civil rights of Jews. Although several deputies argued against the necessity of such laws and warned against their unforeseen consequences, they were unable to prevent their promulgation. There followed a broad wave of protest in which many organizations took part, including the professional associations of merchant clerks, artists, war invalids, and lawyers. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church, twenty-one writers, and functionaries of the worker's party also joined the protest.

On March 1, 1941, Bulgaria joined with Germany, Italy, and Japan in the Three-Power Pact. In the following January, the Wannsee Conference determined that Bulgaria would surrender its 48,000 Jews to the Third Reich. German pressure led to the issuance of more anti-Jewish regulations and preparations for deportation. A Commissariat for the Jewish Question was established in August 1942; its task was to implement Berlin's decisions regarding the Final Solution, and its leader, Alexander Belev, underwent training in Germany before assuming his office.

On February 22, 1943, Belev signed an agreement with Adolf Eichmann's deputy, Theodor Dannecker, calling for the delivery of an initial 20,000 Jews, 12,000 from Thrace and Macedonia—the "new territories" given to Bulgaria to administer but controlled by the Nazis—and another 8,000 from "Old Bulgaria." The first 11,343 Jews, without Bulgarian citizenship and therefore regarded as under German territorial sovereignty, were deported to Treblinka and Auschwitz. Only 12 of them survived. A remarkable counterstroke was undertaken by the Bulgarian chief medical officer in Skopje, who managed to retrieve 57 Macedonian Jews from the transports, declaring them to be skilled medical workers.

On March 9 and 10, 1943, a total of 8,555 Jews living in several Old Bulgarian cities were arrested and put into improvised holding depots. But the trains to the death camps never departed. On the initiative of several influential Bulgarians—including the president of the parliament,

Dimităr Pešev, parliamentary deputies from many parties, and several church dignitaries, such as the Metropolitan Stefan of Sofia—and with the approval of the monarch, Boris III, the deportation order was rescinded. Remarkable in this context was the open letter of protest from Pešev to Prime Minister Bogdan Filov (on March 17, 1943), which was signed by forty-two deputies, primarily from the progovernment faction, and even by Alexandăr Zankov, the man who had championed the alliance with Nazi Germany.

On May 21, 1943, the government, once again being pressured by the Germans, decided to surrender the approximately 25,000 Jews of Sofia. When the plans to do so became public, another intensive protest was raised by prominent political, cultural, and clerical figures, including the Jewish religious leaders Daniel Zion and Ascher Hananel. On Education and Culture Day (May 24), Bulgaria's national holiday, a mass demonstration took place that even communist activists helped carry out. There followed a resettlement of Jews in the interior. Thus, the third attempted deportation had been foiled. This multifaceted mobilization of Bulgarian public opinion ought to be understood as an act of solidarity with fellow citizens under threat of death, men and women who over the centuries had shared equally in the unhappy fate of the Balkans. Until 1944, Jewish males capable of labor were held in preventive labor camps, where they were employed on public works. Arguing the pressing need for workers, Tsar Boris rejected Hitler's further efforts to deport these Jews.

Given the relentlessness of the Nazi persecution and then annihilation of the Jews of Europe, Bulgaria could not wholly escape a connection to the Holocaust. Yet it was not a willing participant in the Final Solution, and despite enormous pressure, it was largely successful in shielding its Jews from death. Even during the high tide of Bulgarian national feeling following World War II, anti-semitism did not rise to the surface of public life. In the late 1940s, many Jews emigrated. Those who remained behind made their accommodation with the new leadership of the state and experienced no disadvantages because of their ethnicity.

—Tzvetan Tzvetanov

*Richard S. Levy, translation*

**See also** Croatia, Holocaust in; Eichmann, Adolf; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; Night of Broken Glass; Slovakia, Holocaust in; Vichy; Wannsee Conference

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## Burschenschaften

Originally, Burschenschaften (fraternities) were organizations of university students in Germany that recruited volunteers to participate in the War of Liberation against Napoleon (1813–1815). This generation of students learned its politics on the battlefield, embracing the achievement of German nationhood as its special and heartfelt political mission. Following the foundation of the student association Teutonia in Halle in 1814, the first fraternity of the new sort, decidedly different from its traditional scholarly contemporaries, was formed in Jena in June 1815. Hostility toward France initially stood in the foreground, but another potential "enemy" soon became the center of controversy.

Under the influence of the romantic movement and its Christian German ethos, the question of Jewish membership was raised. Could Jews be accepted, or should they be excluded as foes of the Christian German fraternities? Those in favor of rejection drew considerable inspiration from the later icons of the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movement, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and Ernst Moritz Arndt, as well as the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte and the historian Friedrich Christian Rühs in Berlin. Within the German fraternities, it was paradoxically the democratic Giessen group under Karl Follen that fought the hardest against the acceptance of Jewish students. In contrast, at the University of Heidelberg, after a vigorous debate led by Friedrich Wilhelm Carové, a philosophy student and close associate of G. W. F. Hegel, the advocates of acceptance gained the upper hand. Jew-

ish students also were granted admission to the fraternity at the newly founded University of Bonn, one of whose most active members was Heinrich Heine. However, the Wartburgfest, which the fraternities staged in October 1817 to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig and the tercentenary of the Reformation, culminated in a dramatic anti-Jewish demonstration, during which cheering Christian German students burned the symbols of political repression and the book of a Jewish author (along with those of several non-Jews).

Disappointment with the lack of progress toward national unity drove segments of the fraternities into direct political action in order to gain public attention for their cause. When the theology student Karl Ludwig Sand murdered the allegedly "un-German" (non-Jewish) author and Russian spy August von Kotzebue, a political assassination celebrated by many fraternity members as a heroic act, the result was not the anticipated national uprising but rather the political isolation and prohibition of the fraternities in 1819. In the now officially illegal student groups, Jews were not only considered insufficiently German, they were also suspected of being spies for the forces of reaction. At the secret Fraternal Day (*Burschentag*) of 1820 in Dresden, Jews, it was argued, had no fatherland of their own and thus could not engage in the struggle for the German fatherland. But by the middle of the 1820s, the political persecution of the fraternities eased, and at the Fraternal Day of 1827 in Bamberg, those students who advocated the acceptance of Jewish students won increasing influence.

Students belonging to the fraternities participated in a revolutionary episode in Frankfurt in 1830, after which the organizations were again banned; they reemerged during the Revolution of 1848. When national unity was finally achieved through Prussian diplomacy and military action (between 1864–1871), the fraternities turned into enthusiastic supporters of the German Reich. Whatever liberal tendencies they might have exhibited previously now fell away. They revived their martial initiation rites as well as archaic battle and drinking rituals. Simultaneously, they also developed into strong and effective ag-

itators on behalf of the new antisemitic political movement. They represented a potent force in the construction of the German völkisch mentality during the imperial era and in the Weimar Republic, rallying German students to the National Socialist movement.

—*Ulrich Wyrwa*  
*Matthew Lange, translation*

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Arndt, Ernst Mortiz; Christian State; Dining Society, Christian-German; 1848; Fichte, J.

G.; Fries, Jakob Friedrich; German Students, Association of; Grimm, Brothers; Hegel, G. W. F.; Heine, Heinrich; Hep-Hep Riots; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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# C

## **Camelots du Roi (1908–1936)**

Members of the paramilitary group known as the Camelots du Roi served as the street fighters for the royalist Ligue d’Action Française. The group’s name literally means “street vendors of the king” and was sometimes spelled anachronistically as *Camelots du Roy*, indicating adherence to a mythic image of old France. The organization coalesced in November 1908, formed out of the student groups studying at the Institut d’Action Française, from workers with royalist sympathies and wealthy boys from the Seventeenth Arrondissement who sold royalist newspapers on Sundays. The titular president of the group was Maxime Réal del Sarte and later Marius Plateau, but the real chief was Maurice Pujo, who orchestrated the relations with the central organization and managed the corps.

The membership oath encapsulated the ideology of the Camelots:

French by birth, heart, reason and will, I shall fulfil the duties of a conscious patriot. I pledge myself to fight against every republican regime. The republican spirit disorganizes national defense and favors religious influences directly hostile to traditional Catholicism. A regime that is French must be restored to France. Our only future lies, therefore, in the Monarch, as it is personified in the heir of the forty kings who, for a thousand years, made France. Only the Monarchy ensures public safety and, in its responsibility for order, prevents the public evils that antisemitism and nationalism denounce. The necessary organ of all general interests, the Monarchy, revives authority, liberty, prosperity and honor. I associate myself with the work for

the restoration of the Monarchy. I pledge myself to serve it by the means in my power. (Davies 2002, 83)

Within a year, there were sixty-five Camelot sections throughout France and about 600 members in Paris alone. In 1910, the Commissaires, an elite of the elite, was formed to keep order at meetings, march on either side of the Action Française at parades, guard the leaders and offices, and provide a task force for other activities.

The Camelots du Roi activists hawked the daily newspaper *L’Action Française*, guarded royalist meetings, and provided shock troops for conflicts with opponents. They armed themselves with canes, clubs, smoke and stink bombs and bolstered their courage with jeering songs. They attacked politicians, defaced icons, disrupted university lectures, rioted in national theaters against films and plays they considered unpatriotic, and demonstrated in the Latin Quarter against political enemies. They were dissolved by government order along with the Ligue d’Action Française after Léon Blum was attacked by the group’s sympathizers in 1936. In its ideas and practices and certain of its personnel, the Camelots du Roi formed the bridge between the revolutionary royalism of the Action Française and the fascist groups of the 1930s.

—Jonathan Judaken

**See also** Action Française; Barrès, Maurice; France; Maurras, Charles

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## Canada

The history of antisemitism in Canada is characterized by a broad range of discriminatory acts, attitudes, and behaviors by individuals, businesses, and academic institutions, with a nearly total absence of civil disabilities. Restrictions imposed by the state on Jews, once they passed immigration authorities, largely disappeared in 1832 with the election of the first Jew to a legislative body. It was, however, a considerable time before another was elected to a Canadian legislature. There were no Jews in the federal cabinet and very few in provincial cabinets, and none was appointed to the high courts until after World War II.

Without discounting the hatreds and violence that run through its history, it can be said that Canada has distinguished itself from most countries where Jews live by an absence of pogroms or lynchings. Antisemitism was more pronounced in Quebec, where the Catholic Church associated Jews with modernism, liberalism, and a host of other “dangerous” doctrines. From 1880 through the 1940s, several Catholic journals denounced “the Jew.” Abbé Lionel Groulx’s condemnations of Jews influenced clerics, politicians, journalists, and teachers. The popular press fell into line with the Catholic press. The most notorious anti-Jewish violence occurred in Quebec City in 1910 when, following a particularly inflammatory address by a well-known antisemite, Joseph Plamondon, some of the audience attacked Jewish storekeepers and vandalized their businesses. The aggrieved Jews launched a civil action against Plamondon. Four years later, the courts awarded them minimal costs; but the disturbances continued. Jews who grew up in Toronto—one of the largest “Jewish cities” in the world (with a population of 179,000 Jews in 2001)—remember the Christie Pits riot of 1938 between Jewish and non-Jewish local baseball teams and the tardiness of the police in restoring order.

Antisemitism in Canadian history is found primarily in discriminatory attitudes that produce shunning (a lack of neighborly friendliness) and

societally imposed exclusions initiated and cultivated by voluntary associations or religious bodies.

The Canadian Confederation as a compact between French Quebec and English (and Gaelic) Ontario and the Maritime Provinces was also a compact between Catholic and Protestant polities. Confederation was made possible by a series of constitutional protections for the French and Catholic minorities outside Quebec and the English and Protestant minorities inside Quebec. One major point of agreement between Catholic and Protestant clergy was the belief that Canada was a Christian society.

How did a confederation formed on this basis come to accommodate and accept a Jewish community? What was the real meaning of the antisemitism that did occur, and why did antisemitism not gain a greater foothold in Canada? Answering these questions requires a brief history of the Jews in Canada.

The earliest recorded evidence of Jewish settlement dates from 1759. Ezekiel Hart, son of a commissary officer in the British army during the Seven Years’ War, was denied the right to take his seat in the legislature of Lower Canada after the elections of 1807 and 1808. In 1832, the United Canadas passed legislation giving almost full civil rights to Jews when Hart chose to take the oath of office on a Hebrew Scripture. Curiously, recognition of Jewish marriages did not occur until 1857.

From 1881 to 1914, the Jewish population of Canada rose from 2,393 to 6,414; most of the newcomers, refugees from eastern Europe, settled in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. Jewish merchants could also be found in almost every small town and in agricultural settlements on the prairies. The trend continued after the 1914–1918 war, especially after the United States restricted admission of immigrants in the 1920s. Canada also began to restrict immigration with the onset of the Great Depression. With the rise of Nazism, the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) pressed for greater numbers to be accepted. The government, however, maintained a policy that tied immigration to agriculture. From 1930 to 1940, Jewish immigration totaled 1,105, of which 900 were settled on farms.

Organized antisemitism emerged for the first time in both French and English Canada in the 1930s. The incipient fascist movement of Adrien Arcand in Quebec injected antisemitic overtones into its nationalist campaign. In western Canada, an antisemitic movement made major inroads into the Social Credit Party. The Ku Klux Klan offered Canadians a “galaxy of hatreds” in which Jews figured prominently but not exclusively. Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had primarily Jews in mind when he confided to his diary in 1938: “We must . . . seek . . . to keep this part of the Continent free from unrest and from too great an intermixture of foreign strains of blood” (in Abella and Troper 1982, 17).

The darkest hour in the history of antisemitism in Canada came with the onset of World War II. In 1940, Canada received and interned 2,000 individuals, mostly “enemy aliens,” from Germany and Austria, who had previously been interned in Britain. In 1945, a senior Canadian official was asked, off the record, how many Jews would be allowed into Canada after the war. He replied, “None is too many” (in Abella and Troper 1982, v). Only when individuals or families found Canadian sponsors were they released from detention. Immigration continued to be restricted until the clothing industry and unions were allowed to recruit workers from the displaced persons camps. Of the 5,000 workers approved by the recruiting missions, 2,600 of them were admitted into Canada; of this number, 60 percent were Jews.

At the end of World War II, a variety of discriminatory practices persisted. Universities maintained admission restrictions that disadvantaged Jews. Property owners’ associations engaged in restrictive covenants. Discrimination in rental housing and in employment remained commonplace until it was prohibited by law. Ontario, the most populous Canadian province, passed the Racial Discrimination Act in 1944, from which the comprehensive Human Rights Code developed during the 1950s. Other provinces and the federal government followed suit. From 1917 until the end of World War II, there were typically two or three Jews elected to the House of Commons, usually representing liberal or social democratic parties. By the late 1960s, when a Jew was elected from Newfound-

land for the Conservative Party, Jewish identity had ceased to be a critical factor in electoral politics. Jews also began to attain important positions in both federal and provincial civil services in the late 1950s. The first Jewish member of the Supreme Court of Canada, Bora Laskin, became the chief justice in 1970.

In 1969, Canada adopted a criminal code amendment known as the Hate Propaganda Act. The bill sought a balance between free speech and the protection of vulnerable minorities by prohibiting speech acts likely to incite violence but requiring a high standard of proof for a conviction. The 1971 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism report devoted an entire volume to the “Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups.” The federal Multiculturalism Act resulting from this report gave nominal support for cultural programs but has been critically important for the recognition of minority cultural communities.

In 1982, a Charter of Rights and Freedoms was added to the Canadian Constitution, similar in principle to the U.S. Bill of Rights while maintaining the Canadian tradition of balancing individual rights with the recognition of community interests and the authority of government to maintain “peace, order and good government.”

Without trivializing the violent incidents that have occurred, antisemitic attitudes have found no aid or comfort from any political leader or public office holder. When the leader of the Parti Québécois blamed the loss of a referendum on Quebec sovereignty on “the ethnic vote,” his own party forced him to resign. A 1986 poll indicated that 6 percent of Canadians considered themselves antisemitic and 20 to 25 percent harbored some antisemitic feelings. Public expression of such sentiments remains typically unrewarding and is occasionally punished.

The “new antisemitism,” confined largely to intemperate supporters of a Palestinian state, is no less troubling to Jews in Canada than to Jews elsewhere. At the same time, all the rational indicators suggest the balancing of individual and communal rights that has typified the Canadian outlook works against the capacity of antisemitism to disturb public life.

—Michael Posluns

**See also** Armed Forces of the United States; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Ku Klux Klan; Multiculturalism; *Numerus Clausus* (United States); *Ostjuden*; Pogroms; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants; Ultramontanism; Zündel, Ernst

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## Capistrano, John of (1386–1456)

John of Capistrano studied jurisprudence and then entered the service of the king of Naples. After his political career foundered and his wife died, he entered the Franciscan order. In addition to handling important tasks undertaken for the order, he was active as an adviser, legate, and inquisitor for the papacy. He took an uncompromising position in all questions having to do with heretics and followers of contrary religions. On his numerous official visits of inspection, he always sought to safeguard the power of the church, applying the full force of his influence as a papal representative on the spiritual and secular authorities. He inspired the common people with his great oratorical talent and his supposed miracle-working powers. His diverse and large body of writings has not been edited, making it difficult to research his life and work.

For the Jews of Europe, he was the “scourge of the Hebrews,” a title bestowed on him because of his preaching against them. His polemics elaborated on a stereotypical anti-Judaism that contested the right of the Jews to the Torah or to consider themselves still to be the chosen people. Apparently, he compelled Jews to attend sermons designed to effect their conversion. The baptism of a rabbi and fifty-two other non-Christians that is said to have resulted from John’s ministrations in Rome (in

1450) remains unproven. He is thought to have exercised great influence on the papal bull of Nicholas V in 1447, which abolished all earlier privileges of the Jews and ordered the rigorous enforcement of canon law, specifying that they wear distinctive clothing and markings, restricting their social interactions with Christians, and defining their inferior legal status. Charged with the implementation of the bull, John began by challenging the rights of Jewish communities in Italy and Sicily.

After 1451, he extended his activities to Bohemia, Bavaria, and Silesia. While battling against the Hussites there, he attempted, with devastating effect, to undermine the rights of the Jewish population. The dukes of Bavaria expelled Jews in 1452. Bishop Gottfried IV of Würzburg soon joined in this action, even though just a few years before, he was still granting privileges to the Jewish community in his territory. Economic as well as purely religious motives may also have played a role in the expulsions. In Breslau, John intervened energetically against Jews accused of host desecration. Leading members of the community had their property confiscated and were tortured. In the summer of 1453, forty-one of them were burned at the stake. Others committed suicide. Survivors were driven from the city; their infant children were forcefully taken for baptism—a violation of existing canon law.

The anti-Jewish crusade continued in the Kingdom of Poland where Casimir IV had recently granted Jews special rights. In alliance with the Polish clergy, John demanded that the king revoke these measures, interpreting them as an assault on the church’s own rights. After Casimir bowed to this interpretation in 1454, outbursts of violence against Jews took place throughout Poland.

John of Capistrano represented a traditional anti-Judaism based on theological grounds. But he was also a forerunner of modern antisemitism insofar as he sought the social isolation of Jews and held them up to popular contempt. His employment of economic accusations as a tool of mass mobilization, particularly his sermonizing against Jewish usury, also anticipated the techniques of modern antisemites. He was canonized

in 1690 and is still venerated as a saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Franciscan Order; Host Desecration; Inquisition; Usury

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## Capital: Useful versus Harmful

Some antisemites of the fin de siècle period devised a critique of laissez-faire capitalism that skirted the issue of class conflict by identifying Jews rather than the bourgeoisie as the principal exploitative element in contemporary society. In a speech before the German Reichstag in 1893, the antisemite and conservative Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg contrasted a useful capital, one that invigorated industry and agriculture and produced livelihoods for "millions of workers," with the harmful capital that was employed in speculative promotions (*Gründungen*) and sought merely profit instead of productivity. Although he denied that the terms *harmful* and *Jewish* were synonymous, he nevertheless insisted that, at that time, this latter form of capital was "mostly in Jewish hands" (Massing 1949, 277).

Such formulations resonated with peasants, artisans, and salaried commercial employees, as well as intellectuals who perceived their livelihoods and values threatened by a new economic order that, from both ideological and practical considerations, they were loath to identify with conservative landholders and industrialists. The sheer visibility of Jews in banking, stock brokerage, novel forms of commerce, and retail and the long-standing popular identification of Jews with usury made the dichotomy between destructive Jewish and productive Christian capital appear plausible. Moreover, the underlying duality of harmful and useful commerce or finance was reinforced by venerable traditions in Western eco-

nomic mentalities. It recalled Aristotle's distinction between production for use (goods) and for profit and exchange (commodities), as well as the Scholastic differentiation between usurious and legitimate profit on monetary loans and the classical economic one between fixed and circulating capital. It similarly echoed Adam Smith's contrast of "productive" and "unproductive" labor and the anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's division of capital between its authentic fertile component, "attributable only to the creations of human industry," and its bogusly profitable one, which he identified with *tokos*, the Greek term for usury (Proudhon 1888, 306). Although these and similar oppositions emerged separately from the question of Jewish status, they nevertheless supplied a ready conceptual vocabulary for stigmatizing Jews as economic threats; one need only recall Shakespeare's juxtaposition of Shylock, the repellent Jewish usurer, with the "Merchant of Venice," Antonio, who epitomizes virtuous and honorable commerce.

The "socialism of fools," as Liebermann von Sonnenberg's brand of economic antisemitism was often labeled, had its more immediate roots in what Marx and Engels, in their *Communist Manifesto*, described derisively as the Christian, "aristocratic," and "utopian" socialism of the early nineteenth century. In contrast to Marx, who viewed capitalism through the lens of class conflict as a necessary prelude to the proletarian revolution that would bury it, these traditions sought to harness modern industrial productivity to the preservation of some precapitalist social institutions, such as guilds, that they wanted to shield from remorseless market forces. Adherents of these movements rejected Marxist "communism" along with capitalism, since Marx seemed to celebrate as inevitable and desirable what they most feared—the transformation of the peasantry and lower middle class into a propertyless proletariat. Moreover, because they often viewed Jews as emblematic of modern society's excessive embrace of commercial values, socialists of the most diverse outlooks at times manifested harshly antisemitic views.

Nevertheless, in no case was antisemitism the centerpiece of these socialist ideologies or movements. In contrast, the attenuated socialism of

men such as Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Wilhelm Marr, and Adolf Stoecker—though often embracing progressive social welfare legislation—made restrictions on Jews the focal point of their reforms. Romanticizing and nationalizing the hierarchical but harmonious “estate” society of the Middle Ages as the counterweight to commercial capitalism, they wished to return Jews to the status of a tolerated but closely circumscribed alien minority. Along with the racialist economic critiques of the more radical antisemites who emerged in the 1890s, the older approach continued to exert significant influence. Indeed, just such an interpretation of the Janus-faced nature of capital was absorbed by Adolf Hitler from the lectures of his economics mentor Gottfried Feder to become, in his words, “one of the most essential premises for the foundation” of the National Socialist Party (Hitler, 1943, 210).

—Jonathan Karp

**See also** Banker; Jewish; Christian Social Party (Germany); Fichte, J. G.; Fourier, Charles; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Marr, Wilhelm; Marx, Karl; Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph; Rothschilds; Shylock; Socialists on Antisemitism; Stoecker, Adolf; Usury

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### Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early)

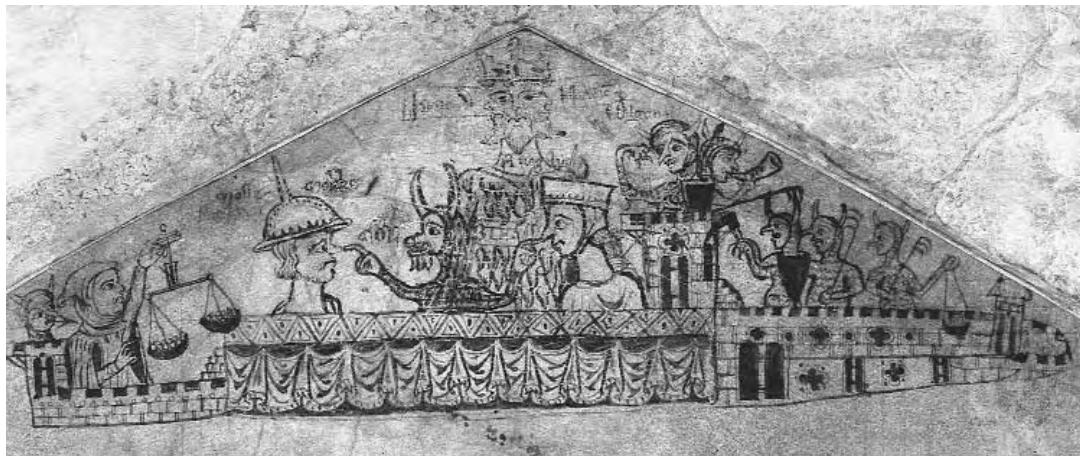
As a graphic form of humor or wit, caricature depends on exaggeration for its effect. The origin of the word *caricature* stems from the Italian *caricare*, meaning “to accentuate or overcharge.” “In the *Caricatura*,” wrote the English novelist Henry Fielding in 1742, “we allow all Licence. Its Aim is to exhibit Monsters, not Men; and All Distortions and Exaggerations are within its Province” (pref-



Figures of the statues of Ecclesia and Synagoga (Strasbourg Cathedral 1230). (Michael Freeman/Corbis)

ace to Joseph Andrews). Though the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are often viewed as the golden age of graphic satire (an art form that is particularly associated with Georgian England), it is possible to trace common motifs in the caricatural depiction of Jews to a much earlier era.

Allegorical representations of Jews occur quite widely on ecclesiastical carvings, stained glass, and friezes and in illuminated manuscripts from many parts of medieval Europe. The most familiar are the paired female statues of Ecclesia (church) and Synagoga (synagogue), in which the triumphant Ecclesia is often a crowned maiden holding a chalice or a cross, whereas the dejected figure of Synagoga appears blindfolded (perhaps as an incarnation of 2 Corinthians 3:13–16) and carrying the broken tablets of the Mosaic law. Good examples may be found on the exterior of the cathedrals at Strasbourg and Bamberg. In a wood carving on a choir bench at Erfurt Cathedral, Ecclesia is depicted riding a prancing horse and attacking Synagoga, shown astride a pig. A



Isaac of Norwich Drawing, 1233. The earliest known caricature of a Jew. Exchequer of Receipt, Jews' Roll, no. 87. (Courtesy of the Public Record Office, London)

more overtly caricatured representation of the putative conflict between Christianity and Judaism stems from the perverse association of Jews with swine, the flesh of which their religion strictly prohibits them from consuming. In medieval and later Christian depictions, Jews are often shown consorting or engaging in sodomitc practices with the pig. An infamous sixteenth-century German print of the so-called *Judensau* (Jew's pig; see *Judensau* entry for illustration) portrays a group of Jews sucking from the teats of a huge sow, while others are engaged in various acts of anal and labial intercourse.

Among the most widely studied delineations of medieval Jews is a thirteenth-century group caricature at the head of a vellum tallage roll in the Public Record Office, London. Here, a rich Jew, portrayed with three faces and identified as Isaac of Norwich, casts his eyes over a busy scene showing the interaction of Jews with devils. The horned demon at its center gestures with an index finger on the pronounced nose tips of both a male and a female Jewish figure. It is a signal both of their Jewishness and of their coalition with the devil, a kind of union sanctioned in hell. The drawing has elicited a variety of different interpretations yet with general consensus that it exemplifies the diabolization of the Jews in the late Middle Ages. Cecil Roth has identified and described several other caricatures of medieval English Jews.

In graphic caricature, an extraordinarily popular form from the eighteenth century, Jews are invariably distinguished by one or more of three main features; namely, their physiognomy, the clothes they wear, and the food they (should not) eat. In addition, they are often portrayed as sexually licentious, and when a caricature contains captions or a title, they are generally shown speaking a guttural lingo that—albeit appallingly—mimics Yiddish. During the same period, in English-speaking countries, the stage Jew also spoke with a similar dialect, which is sometimes referred to as *Jewish gibberish*. A common motif represents Jews as peddlers or street traders who are demonic in their zeal to sell their wares and ever unscrupulous and full of trickery in their dealings. Caricatures of this kind, which were often vended on the street and from the late eighteenth century in print shops, meld actual perceptions of contemporary Jews with traditional antisemitic slurs.

Among the earliest printed caricatures of a Jew, reference should be made to Elias Baeck's portrait of Nathan Hirschel (ca. 1620), president of the Jewish community of Prague (Rubens, no. 1564), one of a series of grotesque dwarflike figures done in the style of the French engraver Jacques Callot (ca. 1592–1635) and published in Augsburg in 1715 as *Il Callotto Resuscitato*. The figure of Hirschel was later copied by an unidentified London engraver to represent Crucible in



Engraving of “A Prospect of the New Jerusalem,” 1753. (*Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830*, Felsenstein, Frank, Johns Hopkins University Press, p.195)

the alchemical print *Mercurius Sublimate a Chymist, and His Man Crucible*, one of nine engravings in the series *Lilliputian Humorists Drawn as Big as Life* (1730), a copy of which is in the New York Public Library. It is interesting that the London engraver merely borrowed Baeck's figure without any apparent significance given to the fact that the original on which it was based was a Jew. It is only from the middle years of the eighteenth century that the visual depiction of Jews in graphic caricature began to take on instantly recognizable features. What greatly enhanced this perception was the popularity of William Hogarth's prints, which provided important prototypes on which so many later representations of Jews were based, and also the string of caricatures of Jews that were spawned by the heated controversy occasioned by the Jew Bill of 1753. Hogarth abhorred caricature, claiming that his prints were manifestations of human

character, whereas he agreed with Fielding that caricature represented men as monsters. Nevertheless, later caricaturists both in Great Britain and across Western Europe, where his works were frequently reprinted, owe an immeasurable debt to Hogarth (see Hogarth, William for additional illustrations).

What is remarkable and frightening about the plethora of pamphlets, squibs, and prints in opposition to the Jew Bill was the facility with which they were able to reactivate stereotypes of the Jews that may be traced back to the medieval era. It is apparent that many such negative images had remained present in the popular consciousness and only needed a political flare-up to ignite them. A typical caricature in 1753 is *A Prospect of the New Jerusalem* (Rubens, no. 821), an anonymous print that shows a throng of Jews gazing with rapture at St. Paul's Cathedral, which it was imputed would become the chief synagogue once Judaism was established as the new official religion. “Christ save us,” implores the caption, “from his Enemies the Jews!” who are depicted in league with the devil in employing their reputed massive wealth to secure political support and to buy up the nation. Another anonymous print, *The Jew Naturilized* (Rubens, no. 827), presents a latter-day version of the Judensau, with the caption “Buy Buy My Pork,” mocking the street cries of Jewish peddlers.

After the repeal of the Jew Bill in 1754 and until the 1830 emergence of the protracted campaign to achieve Jewish emancipation, the majority of English caricatures of Jews were cultural and social and only rarely political. Increasingly, caricaturists showed an awareness of the social distinction between impoverished and moneyed Jews, even though both were ultimately perceived as cut from the same fabric. In general, this was also true of their representation in continental Europe. The most prevalent image was that of the heavily bearded and beaked or hook-nosed Jewish peddler, vending his wares from a sack or traveling box and more often than not linked to an underworld of petty larceny, low dealing, and trickery. Habitually, he was portrayed wearing a stack of hats on his head, simultaneously indicating his trade and also perhaps showing discernment of the need for a religious Jew to cover his

skull. The wealthy Jew was often represented as an extravagant dandy, stylishly dressed but sometimes with more than a hint that his clothes are past the peak of fashion. In *Beau Mordecai Inspir'd* (Rubens, no. 842; B.M. Cat, no. 4525), a mezzotint published by Carrington Bowles in 1773, we see an excessively foppish Jew outside a fashionable brothel, a prostitute leaning on the windowsill and pointing with her index finger at her nose, the gesture both a sexual enticement and a reminder of his tribal Otherness. Sander Gilman's theories linking sexuality and the Jew's nose provide a useful reference here. The name Beau Mordecai was a common one for a stage Jew, employed among others by Charles Macklin in his farce *Love à la Mode* (1759), where he is derided as "a beau Jew, who, in spite of nature and education, sets up for a wit, a gentleman, and a man of taste." Other prints of the period, particularly works by Thomas Rowlandson, were very explicit in their equation of Jews with sexual depravity.

Of the approximately 20,000 separately published caricatures that appeared in England between 1730 and 1830, perhaps about 300 included depictions of Jews, who featured in the works of such artists as Hogarth, Rowlandson, James Gillray, Richard Newton, George Woodward, and Isaac and George Cruikshank. In the middle years of the nineteenth century, graphic illustration took on a new form with the advent of the satirical magazine *Punch* in 1841. In his later years, George Cruikshank switched from producing single-sheet caricatures and developed into a prolific book illustrator, counting among his commissions the illustrations for Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837–1839). His engraving *The Jew & Morris Bolter Begin to Understand Each Other* (see Dickens, Charles for another Cruikshank depiction of Fagin), depicting Fagin striking his nose with his forefinger, reveals an easy familiarity with earlier caricatural portrayals of Jews. Similarly, many traditional antisemitic slurs found graphic reference in *Punch*—for instance, in *The House of Commons According to Mr. Disraeli's Views*; XII, 149, 1847), in which, reflecting the ancient prejudice that, given half an opportunity, the Jews would swamp the nation with their own, John Leech humorously portrayed sellers of old clothes turned Parliamentarians.



This ca. 1620 portrayal of Nathan Hirschel, president of the Jewish community of Prague, strongly influenced later demonizing caricatures of Jews. The emphasis on the figure's prominent beaked nose, shifty eyes, thick lips, and gesticulating hand became standard fare. (Courtesy of The Jewish Museum, London)

The most comprehensive collection of English caricatures is held by the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. This collection may be supplemented by George IV's collection, which was acquired by the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., between 1920 and 1921. Two major collections devoted to the representation of the Jews in caricature are those of Alfred Rubens (1903–1998), which he presented shortly before his death to the Jewish Museum, London, and of Israel Solomons (1860–1923), a substantial part of which was acquired by the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1921.

—Frank Felsenstein

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Dickens, Charles; Disraeli, Benjamin; Emancipation; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Hogarth, William; Iconography, Christian; Jew Bill; *Judensau*; Pork; *Punch*; Rowlandson, Thomas

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## Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern)

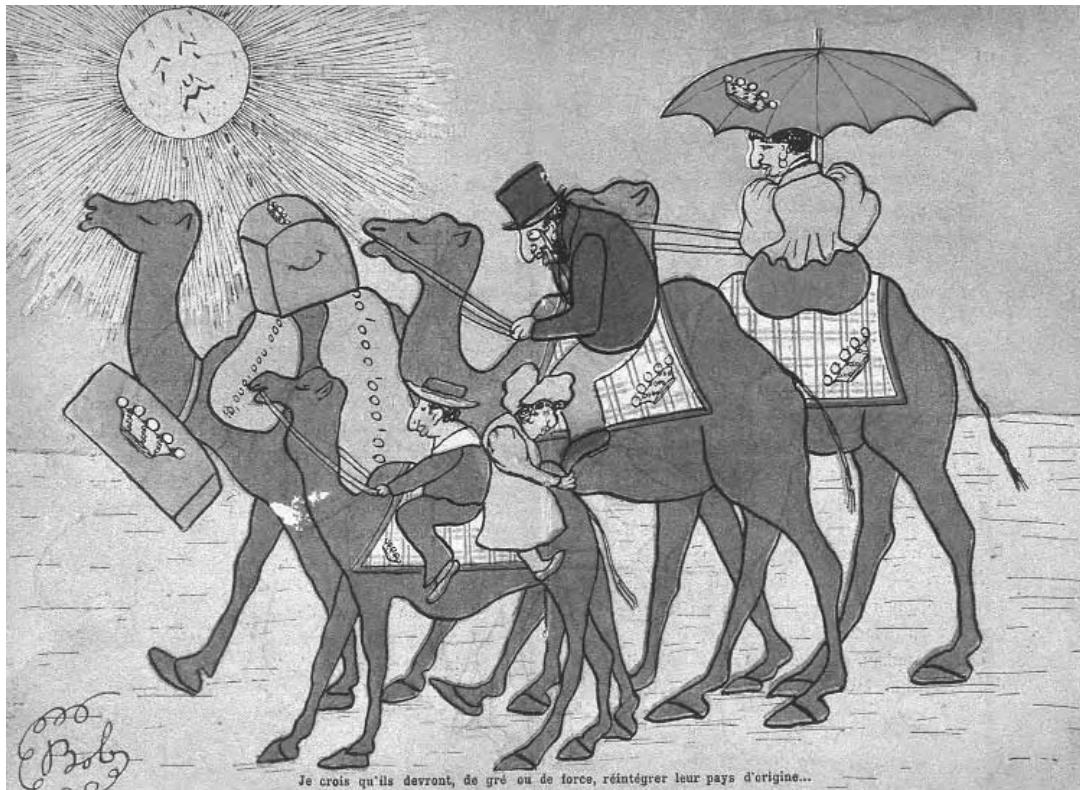
The early modern period in general and the Italian Renaissance in particular marked the threshold of the modern tradition of caricaturizing Jews, one branch of which eventually developed into what shall here be termed the *Stürmer* style of caricaturizing Jews and Judaism, after the abusive stereotypic graphic style that came to be identified with the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer). This later, aggressively hostile, but short-lived tradition was an offshoot of an earlier, more general, and less offensive one, though it is not easy for the uninitiated to differentiate between them today.

Depictions of Jews and Judaism were uncommon phenomena in medieval Christian art, and the manner in which they were identified de-

pended on the use of external signs, such as long beards, the Jewish badge, the Jewish hat, and other symbols. Jews could also be identified by negative roles, such as their participation in the flagellation of Jesus on his way to the Crucifixion. But when they fulfilled theologically positive roles, Jews were, as a rule, represented without external signs and with normal and even benevolent facial features. Thus, the depiction of Jews in medieval Christian art depended on their Christological function. This situational portrayal of Jews holds true for modern cartoons and caricatures as well. They are equally dependent on emotional, ideological, and political variables.

From its early modern and Renaissance beginnings, the art of caricature—in Italian, the word literally means “loaded picture”—had frequent recourse to personal parody and abuse. When coupled with social, regional, and ethnic criticism and satire, the art form lent itself easily to the creation and perpetuation of negative pictorial stereotypes, which became ever more well known thanks to the contemporaneous invention and spread of woodcutting, engraving, and printing. Thus, for instance, the European wars of religion beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century supplied both Catholic and Protestant graphic artists with manifold opportunities for creating easily recognizable depictions of the leading protagonists of the enemy camp in the company of the devil.

An early and well-known instance of such demonizing of a Jewish figure was *Nathan Hirschel, Primate of Prague Jewry*, often attributed to Jacques Callot (1592–1635), official court engraver of Louis XIII. The manner in which this prominent Jewish figure was depicted had an enormous impact on future artistic renderings of Jews, particularly the subject's protruding and beaked nose, shifty eyes, thick lips, and gesticulating hand. Callot's portrayal of Hirschel was part of a widely admired series of fifty grotesque figures from the lower depths of society—beggars, cripples, misfits of all types, court jesters, clowns, hawkers, and peddlers. The depicting of Jews grotesquely emerged as a characteristic of times that relished the grotesque. One memorable exception was the work of Rembrandt van Rijn, who frequently portrayed Amsterdam Jews



Return of Jews to Palestine, an antisemitic caricature signed by "Bob," a pseudonym of right-wing novelist Gyp (Sybille de Riquetti de Mirabeau, Comtesse Martel de Janville), 1849–1932. France, early twentieth century.  
(The Art Archive / Private Collection / Marc Charmet)

in their traditional garb and reveled in depicting both their exotic-Oriental and humane aspects, thereby establishing a minor, competing tradition in the representation of Jewry.

A number of scholars, influenced strongly by the great pioneer collector and publisher of caricatures Eduard Fuchs (1870–1940), have pointed out that the main modern tradition of stereotypical treatment of Jews in Western cartoons and caricatures emerged in German-speaking lands during the decade before and after the Congress of Vienna (1815), a period of upheaval in which both borders and political and social norms changed rapidly. One of these changes was the ease with which some wealthy Jews could now make their entry into the upper ranks of bourgeoisie and aristocratic society, a phenomenon that called forth immediate, invariably negative comment. One expression of the derision awakened by the social climbing of newly wealthy Jews was

*Unser Verkehr* (Our Crowd), by K. B. Sessa (1786–1813), a play that packed theaters in this period and presented delighted audiences with a full roster of nouveau riche Jewish figures.

The popularization of Jewish types at all levels of society gathered momentum beginning with the 1830s, thanks to the success of new mass-communication media, especially journals devoted to current affairs. The best known of these was *La Charivari* (Mock Serenade), in which the works of Honoré Daumier (1807–1879) and his competitors were published. These journals published relatively few caricatures of Jews, the exceptions being some of the Rothschilds, members of the richest family in Europe at the time.

But the French periodicals found avid imitators across the Rhine, the most important and influential of which were illustrated weeklies such as the nonpolitical Munich *Fliegende Blätter* (Flying Pages, 1844–1944), the highly politicized

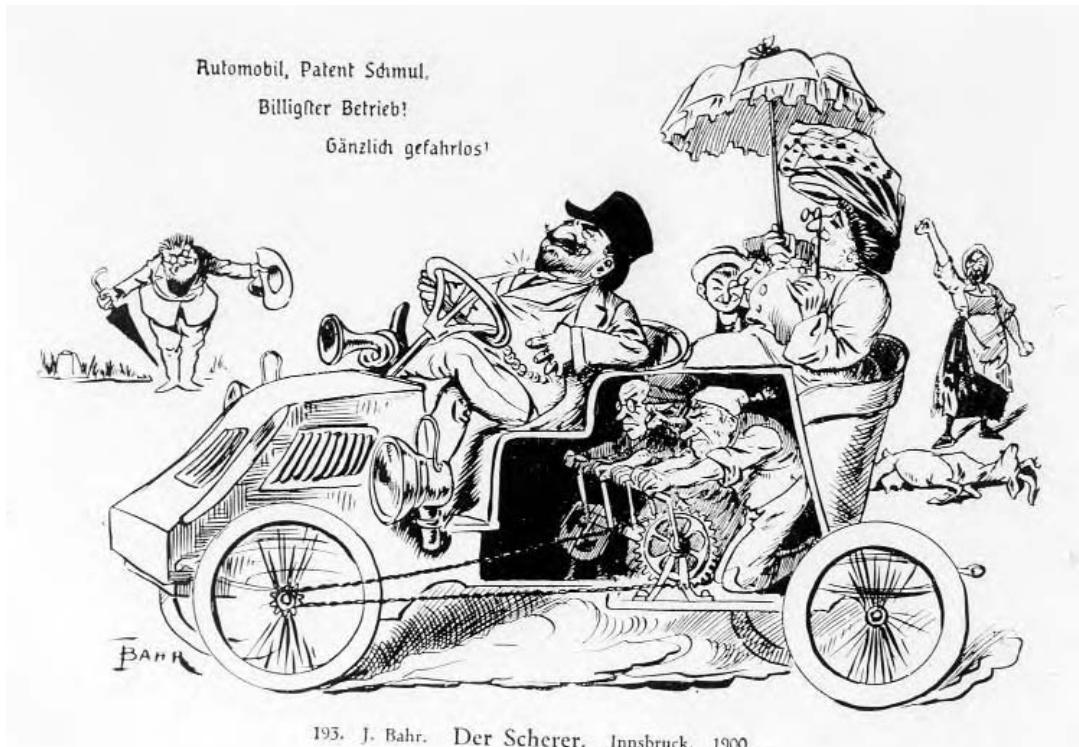


Nazi racial stereotypes of the handsome, blond, healthy young Aryan German worker versus the fat, balding, greedy middle-aged Jewish profiteer. (Mary Evans Picture Library)

Berlin *Kladderadatsch* (loud noise, 1848–1944), and the Viennese *Kikeriki* (Cock-a-doodle-doo), to mention only those blessed by longevity, marked commercial success, and the ability to impress the public with a variety of graphic stereotypes, many of them unmistakably Jewish. These illustrated humor magazines reached audiences of hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions via reading clubs, coffeehouses, pubs, barbershops, and other social facilities. Practically no one could ignore the by now stock Jewish figures that they displayed: impecunious, shabbily dressed *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) displaying their own distinguishing signs and speaking a corrupt, Yiddishlike German; peddlers forever seeking to gull the customer; and rural cattle and horse dealers, equivalents of the modern used car salesmen. The most ubiquitous and popular of all was the *Protz*, a flashily dressed and prefer-

ably obese figure in a checkered suit, grotesquely self-satisfied and showing off his newly acquired wealth for all to see and envy; he visibly proclaimed, time and again and in innumerable variations, that money was the sole measure of all social, cultural, and moral values. Jews, given their historical association with money and their very prominent role in banking and finance, were deemed eminently, constantly, and ubiquitously suitable to convey this central message of laissez-faire capitalism.

The most prominent physiognomic aspect connected to this development was the invention of the “Jewish nose.” A traditional attribute of otherness and ugliness in general and of disagreeability in particular was attributed to all illustrated Jews: “The idea that a Jew can be identified by means of his peculiarly ugly body structure is a modern and not a medieval one. It



193. J. Bahr. *Der Scherer*. Innsbruck, 1900

An example of the Protz, lording it over honest gentile workers and farmers. The caption reads: "Automobile patent Schmul. Cheapest operation! Completely safe!" (*Der Scherer* [Innsbruck, 1900])

does not reach back longer than the seventeenth century. The development of a physiognomic stigmatization occurred, chronologically speaking, together with the gradual abolition of the Jewish Badge and of discriminatory restrictions concerning special Jewish clothing" (Erb 1985, 120, translated by the author).

The satirical representation of Jews in the modern era did not necessarily entail an ideological antagonism. Periodicals such as *Fliegende Blätter*, *Kladderadatsch*, and *Kikeriki* unequivocally supported political equality for Jews as well as their assimilation. This support did not, however, preclude the adoption of critical attitudes toward the ridiculous ways that the newly attained political, social, economic, and cultural equality sometimes manifested itself; no doubt, the increase in sales could also act as an inducement to pillory the social incongruities involved in the complicated processes of Jewish assimilation. But in order to evaluate these practices fairly, it is important to remember that Jews were

certainly not the only figures of fun. Others were absent-minded professors, students more inclined to drinking and fighting than to studying, servants who imitated their betters, and many others. The mid-nineteenth century also witnessed the emergence of caricatures and cartoons of national icons such as John Bull, the prototypic Englishman; the sleepy German Michel; and other "national" and "subnational" stereotypes, such as the Bavarians and Prussians. Few readers and commentators took much offense at the frequent use of such graphic stereotypes, presumably because they were an accepted part of a common subculture and considered devoid of malevolent and aggressive intent.

The appearance of antisemitic political parties in the 1880s and 1890s was accompanied by the dissemination of overtly antisemitic caricatures and malevolent representations of Jews that were the precursors of the *Stürmer* tradition. These graphic productions, produced in the short-lived and rather sleazy, antisemitic press, were more

belligerent and abusive and—from a graphic point of view—much more primitive than the innocuous fare that had been purveyed for decades and with barely a ripple of protest from any quarter. During the decade or so before World War I, however, political antisemitism began to lose its popular appeal, as exemplified by the rehabilitation of Alfred Dreyfus in France, the acquittal of Mendel Beilis in Russia, and the disintegration of the ineffective antisemitic parties throughout Europe. The general decline of antisemitic politics threw into disrepute the gross graphic representations of Jews and Judaism that it had fostered. *Fliegende Blätter* distanced itself from its own tradition of purveying “Jewish” graphic humor and jokes and gradually decreased the quantity as well as the quality of this material. By contrast, however, *Kladderadatsch*, after shedding most of its original Jewish staff in the 1880s, drew ever closer to the nationalistic and antisemitic camp, and a similar development characterized the *Kikeriki*. The tasteful *Simplicissimus* gradually lost the little interest it had had in the Jewish Question altogether. It is often maintained that historian Heinrich von Treitschke’s *A Word about Our Jews* (1880) succeeded in making antisemitism *salonfähig* (eligible for the drawing room) in Germany, but from the perspective of anti-Jewish caricature, his influence did not endure, at least not insofar as the graphic productions of the rabble-rousing antisemitic press were concerned.

Under the auspices of the Third Reich, the *Stürmer* style of antisemitic caricaturing and cartooning enjoyed a brief heyday, although the journal itself—a disreputable, low-circulation weekly throughout the Weimar era—never entirely shook off its reputation for crassness and bad taste. Nevertheless, the Nazi Party and regime simultaneously purveyed it as suitable for the masses. The caricaturing of Jews made its appearance in film as well, notable examples being Veit Harlan’s *Jud Süß* and the pseudodocumentary *Der Ewige Jude*. The Nazis invested considerable resources in spreading antisemitic propaganda and stereotypical representations of Jews, including antisemitic comic books, within countries either under their control or under their influence. Two distinguishing features of the Nazified

*Stürmer* tradition were an emphasis on the threat that sexually predatory Jews posed to virginal Aryan maidens and the threat that “world Jewry” posed to international peace as the result of the Jews’ machinations in Washington and Moscow.

The total defeat of Nazi Germany by the Allies, followed by the postwar trials of its criminal leaders, the wide support for the creation of the state of Israel, and, in particular, the growing interest in the Shoah (the Hebrew designation for the Holocaust) in the early 1960s, in effect militated against the use of caricatures identifiable as belonging to the *Stürmer* tradition. This embargo in the mass media of non-Communist Europe was the result of either direct legislation, as in the Federal Republic of (West) Germany, or the pressure of growing public opinion. Right-wing movements and periodicals, including neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist groups, which attempted to revive hypernationalist slogans and programs, refrained, with a few exceptions, from using these types of caricatures. Even Holocaust deniers felt it politic to keep their distance from the deeply discredited *Stürmer* tradition. Apparently, *Stürmer*-type caricatures could not survive in Europe without their Nazi cultural matrix.

The emergence of a viable Jewish state in 1948, its winning of the admiration and sympathy of the international community, and then its fall from grace in many parts of the world has encouraged the production of numerous but conflicting and fluctuating graphic images of the state of Israel, as well as Jews, in the press of Europe and the United States. Whether historical and current criticism of Israel constitutes a continuation of pre-World War II antisemitism is hotly debated today, although insofar as the use of graphic stereotypes is concerned, the absence of *Stürmer*-type cartoons and caricatures seems to indicate that a new phenomenon is at hand.

In the countries of the Soviet bloc and in Soviet Russia in particular, the anti-Zionist policies of the Communist governments after World War II and during the Cold War often employed graphic symbols and stereotypes that were similar to the ones once employed by the Nazis; this practice became more pronounced after the wars conducted by Israel in 1967, 1973, and 1982, and unequivocally supported by the United

States, the archenemy of the Communist bloc. Nevertheless, the similarities between these caricatures of Israel and Zionism and Nazi caricatures of world Jewry are superficial and should not be overemphasized; the discontinuities are as striking as the continuities. Thus, the sexual predator theme was totally absent, and the depiction of Zionism and Israel in the Communist media was wholly subordinated to political and ideological considerations; that is, the state of Israel as a vanguard of expansionist U.S. imperialism (a reversal of the Nazi formula). Analysis of this phenomenon should not be divorced from the context of the harsh propaganda confrontations of the Cold War, which vanished even before the collapse of the USSR.

The use of *Stürmer*-style caricatures and cartoons in the stereotypical depiction of Jews, Judaism, Zionism, and the state of Israel by the Arabic press—and specifically the Palestine press—was once common and endemic, and it was, in all probability, influenced initially by the strong impact that right-wing French and German nationalism, with its component antisemitism, had on the Arabic national movement in its initial stages. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* played a malicious role here, and the close connections that the early Zionist movement developed with Great Britain and that Israel subsequently developed with the United States did little to discourage conspiracy theories concerning hidden connections between Western and, in particular, U.S. imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism. Thus, for example, *Stürmer*-like figures have populated the nationalistic Arabic and Palestinian press, replete with sexual tropes; also sometimes present are insinuations that Zionist lobbies have “controlled” the United States by means of Jewish money doled out to U.S. legislators.

—Henry Wassermann

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Arab Antisemitic Literature; Auschwitz Lie; Bunker, Jewish; Beilis Case; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Dreyfus Affair; Emancipation; Film Propaganda, Nazi; *Fliegende Blätter*; Iconography, Christian; *Kladderadatsch*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; *Punch*; Rothschilds; *Simplicissimus*; *Stürmer*, Der; *Word about Our Jews*, A

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## Carto, Willis (1926– )

Willis Carto, a seminal figure in the postwar Holocaust denial movement in the United States, was born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1926. He became involved in various right-wing groups and causes throughout the Midwest at an early age. In 1955, he founded *Right* magazine, followed two years later by the creation of the Liberty Lobby, an umbrella organization for his ultra-right-wing publishing and business interests.

During the 1950s, he closely associated with George Lincoln Rockwell, and although Carto never followed Rockwell into an overt embrace of Nazism, the two collaborated on the creation and dissemination of Holocaust denial material as a conscious strategy to discredit American Jews and the state of Israel. In 1964, Carto acrimoniously parted ways with Rockwell, establishing a pattern of behavior he repeated with many other collaborators.

In 1969, Carto’s Noontide Press published *Myth of the Six Million* by David Hoggan, the first major book declaring that the Holocaust was

a fabrication concocted by a Jewish-led conspiracy. The Noontide Press soon became the major publisher of antisemitic, revisionist, and racist texts in the United States.

Following Rockwell's murder in 1967, Carto took Rockwell's protégé, William Pierce, under his wing. The former college physics teacher and the American Nazi Party's house intellectual headed the National Youth Alliance (NYA), a Carto creation, and wrote and edited another Carto periodical, *Attack!* Pierce published his infamous apocalyptic novel, *The Turner Diaries*, in installments in *Attack!* In 1979, Carto created and funded the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) as a worldwide center for Holocaust "revisionism." He recruited antisemites with academic credentials in a failed attempt to give the IHR scholarly credibility. The IHR's slick pseudoacademic *Journal of Historical Review* became the clearinghouse for spurious rhetoric and suspicious research specifically designed to confuse the historical memory of the Holocaust. By the late 1980s, however, the board of directors of the IHR became uncomfortable with their benefactor and began to detach the organization from Carto. The ensuing breach turned public and nasty, resulting in an open repudiation of Carto by the organization, although its mission and motives remain indistinguishable from the founder's.

In 1988, Carto moved on to electoral politics. He funded the presidential campaign of former Nazi and Klansman David Duke, whose dismal showing prompted yet another public rupture of relations. Carto remains actively engaged in devising new tactics, schemes, and allies but always aiming at the same target: the Jews.

—Frederick J. Simonelli

**See also** American Nazi Party; Duke, David; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Liberty Lobby; Militia Movement; Rockwell, George Lincoln

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#### ***Cause of World Unrest, The***

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 unleashed a multitude of fears in conservative circles in Europe. Such anxieties assumed especially acute proportions in countries such as Germany, which lay close to the new Communist state. The ripples created by the events in Russia also reached Britain, fed by the widespread belief that Bolshevism was Jewish-controlled. In such circumstances, it was no accident that an English-language edition of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a forgery manufactured in tsarist Russia detailing an alleged Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, surfaced in Britain in 1920, when it appeared under the title *The Jewish Peril*.

H. A. Gwynne, then editor of the London-based *Morning Post*, took a keen interest in developments unfolding in Russia, and initially, the *Post* had welcomed the "thrilling events" that led to the overthrow of tsardom, believing "the freedom and orderly progress of a great nation" might result. However, as the Bolsheviks seized control, the mood of the paper's editors changed. Its Petrograd correspondent, V. E. Marsden, wrote about "Russian Jews of German extraction" allegedly controlling the country. In Marsden's view, Russia had gone over to "the Government of Tyranny" (in Holmes 1977, 13–21). *The Jewish Peril* appeared against this background in February 1920.

The *Post* treated it as "a very remarkable book" that could not be dismissed as "mere anti-Jewish propaganda" and spent time investigating its claims. That interest became more apparent in a series of articles published between July 12 and July 25, 1920. These essays, which were quickly published by the respectable house of Grant Richards, Ltd., as *The Cause of World Unrest*, were predicated on the belief that, for centuries, there had been "a hidden conspiracy, chiefly Jewish, whose defects had been and are to produce revolution, communism and anarchy, by means of which they hope to arrive at the hegemony of the world by establishing some sort of despotic rule" (*Cause*, vii). Yet the analysis drew back from a full acceptance of the *Protocols*. "It is necessary," Gwynne wrote, "to distinguish . . . between those Jews who have definitely adopted a single nationality and those to

whom the Jewish nationality is the only one that counts" (*Cause*, preface).

*The Cause of World Unrest* gave no clue as to its contributors. But documentary evidence now available reveals that much of the work derived from Ian Colvin, a lead writer on the paper, although he refused to attach his name to it; other journalists on the *Post*, including Gwynne, also contributed, as did the well-known conspiracy theorist Nesta Webster.

On the surface, Gwynne's production suggested a more restrained approach to the existence of a Jewish conspiracy. However, in private, he continued to advance the claims of the *Protocols*, a new translation of which, produced by Marsden, now lay at hand. No matter the public nuances, all such publishing activity reflected the fears awakened by the Russian Revolution, a state of affairs that, in the autumn of 1920, led *The Spectator*, a venerable London periodical, to suggest the need for a royal commission to investigate whether a revolutionary conspiracy involving Jews could be traced.

—Colin Holmes

**See also** Britain; Gwynne, H. A.; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Webster, Nesta

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## Céline, Louis-Ferdinand (1894–1961)

One of the twentieth century's most influential novelists, this "crippled giant" (to borrow Milton Hindus's phrase) compromised his renown with virulently antisemitic books in the late 1930s and early 1940s and compounded his disgrace after World War II with stubborn denials of any misconduct.

Born Louis-Ferdinand Destouches to lower-middle-class parents in a Parisian suburb, he was decorated for injuries sustained in World War I. After numerous travels and the completion of medical studies, he worked as a general practi-

titioner. In 1932, under the pen name Céline, he established himself as a major writer with the publication of *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (Journey to the End of the Night). His second novel, *Mort à crédit* (Death on the Installment Plan [1936]), can be seen as a moving but grim working-class companion to Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* (1913–1927); like Proust's masterpiece, it chronicles the dying world of nineteenth-century France, revitalizes explorations of the world of the imagination, and revolutionizes novelistic techniques.

Championed and attacked across the political spectrum, Céline's critical look at French modernity was initially difficult to classify ideologically. However, in *Bagatelles pour un massacre* (Trifles for a Massacre [1937]), *L'École des cadavres* (The School for Cadavers [1938]), and *Les Beaux draps* (A Fine Mess [1941]), he gave vent to relentless racist tirades. Unavailable in English and long since banned in France (first by the occupying Germans, then by the French, and currently by the Céline estate), these political writings advocated sacrificing the Jews to maintain "peace" with Hitler's Germany. Fueled by exceptional paranoia and hatefulness, this degree of invective is unmatched in the works of any other French author of his stature. Near the end of World War II, Céline joined the Vichy government-in-exile in Sigmaringen, Germany, before fleeing to Copenhagen. In 1951, after protracted legal proceedings and eighteen months in a Danish prison, he returned to France, where he resumed publishing until his death. His postwar production, often loosely autobiographical, sold well but was not up to the standards of his early novels.

The question of how to assess Céline has become almost as controversial as his works. As George Steiner asked, can one be a great novelist while debasing the very values that, in large part, founded the tradition of the novel? No one disputes that the pamphlets are filled with violent, undisguised antisemitic propaganda written at a time when the fate of European Jews was worsening daily. But Céline's highly innovative style, characterized by its breathless slang delirium, ellipses, and misanthropic hyperbole, has muddied the issue. Moreover, attempts to maneuver around Céline's pamphlets have failed. For



Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1894–1961), avant-garde novelist, antisemitic propagandist, and Vichy collaborator.  
(Photographie Pierre Vals Photomania)

André Gide (writing, it should be noted, in 1938), Céline's ludicrous barrage of abuse was part of a pattern of provocation and was not to be taken seriously. Though an admirer of Céline before the war, Jean-Paul Sartre countered in 1945 that the form did not reduce the nefariousness of the content. Céline's apologists attempted to "sanitize" the author's first two novels by arguing that his rabid antisemitism developed only after his physical and mental health deteriorated in the mid-1930s. Philippe Alméras, however, has proved that Céline's antisemitism predicated *Voyage*. The ideological debate about form and content has continued, even as Céline's entry into the hallowed Pléiade collection of great French works has been accomplished. With structuralism's valorization of transgressive discourses in the 1970s, the theorists Philippe Sollers and Julia Kristeva revived Céline's reputation by focusing on textual elements at the expense of sociohistorical context;

however, Philip Watts has undermined this approach by showing the form of Céline's discourse to be consonant with fascist ideology as well.

—Ralph W. Schoolcraft III

**See also** Bardèche, Maurice; Brasillach, Robert; Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis; Fascist Intellectuals; Sartre, Jean-Paul; Vichy

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## Center Party

The degree to which the Catholic Center Party of Germany (Zentrumspartei) espoused anti-

semitism has been a vexing question among historians. The tendency in the new research has been to emphasize the rootedness of antisemitism in Catholic political culture. Even if Catholic Center leaders such as Ludwig Windthorst, Ernst Lieber, and Matthias Erzberger defended the rights of Jews as a religious minority, it is nevertheless true that their electoral base expressed resentment against Jews. The second point of contention among historians is whether the antisemitism of the Catholic Center was religiously based and therefore more properly called anti-Judaism or whether it assumed a secular tint of racial exclusion, with antisemitism thus being its proper name. Here, too, the tendency of recent research has underscored how Catholic antipathy had, by the 1890s, become infused with racial images and arguments.

During the *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilization) of the 1870s, important Center leaders, among them Franz von Ballestrem and Peter Reichensperger, publicly announced their party's opposition to "liberals, Freemasons, and Jews." This constellation of enemies suggests that during the *Kulturkampf*, Catholic antisemitism remained entangled in a defensive political stance. Yet the end of the *Kulturkampf* in 1878 did not end this defensive posture, nor did it still antisemitic sentiments. Instead, leading Catholic newspapers, such as *Germania*, continued to propagate prejudice. So, too, did the nascent Catholic peasant associations and the local branches of the largest organization of the Center Party, the Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland (People's Association for Catholic Germany), established in 1890. As the Center Party increasingly reached out to the working classes and competed with independent trade unions, it was also not above denouncing the competition as "Jewish."

World War I brought about a significant change in the politics of antisemitism. If at first Jewish sacrifice for the fatherland silenced antisemites, they once again became vocal as the war dragged on and casualties mounted. A new antisemitism—shriek, uncompromising, and vitriolic—emerged. The Center Party and its constituents did not participate in this new antisemitism as readily as conservatives and even

liberals did. Under the leadership of Matthias Erzberger, the party came to stand for relative moderation and a negotiated peace. It also maintained distance from the antisemitic measures of the government and the rancorous demands of the Fatherland Party, newly constituted in 1917. Much the same may be said of the Center during the Weimar Republic. By the early 1930s, the constituency of the Catholic Center more readily resisted the incursions of the National Socialists than any other major group. Less clear and more doubtful is whether Nazi antisemitism played a role in bringing forth this resistance. When the Center dissolved itself in July 1933, it was in order to protect Catholic interests. Its opportunistic defense of religious minorities, including Jews, had not developed into an article of faith or of principle. That was the tragedy of the Center, a burden it did not carry alone.

—Helmut Walser Smith

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; German Peasant League; *Kulturkampf*; Papacy, Modern; Ratzinger, Georg; *Talmud Jew, The*; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First; Weimar

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## Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith

The founding of the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens [CV]) on March 26, 1893, took place in response to a new wave of antisemitism in the early 1890s. The antisemitic political parties had launched an aggressive campaign aimed at overthrowing Jewish emancipation; the prestigious Conservative Party had adopted an antisemitic plank in its Tivoli Program in December 1892, and there had been disturbing instances of electoral alliances between fringe antisemites and mainstream National Liberals and German Conserva-

tives, especially in Prussia. In the context of this renewed threat to Jewish civil equality, the journalist Raphael Löwenfeld published a pamphlet entitled *Protected Jews or Citizens?* (*Schutzjuden oder Staatsbürger?*) that admonished Jews not to go begging for protection from the state, as in the past, but to demand their constitutionally guaranteed rights. Löwenfeld's call for self-defense and the already existing League against Anti-semitism (Abwehr-Verein), composed largely of liberal Christians, convinced German Jews to form their own organization.

The founding of the CV was not only an act of self-defense, however. It represented something of a public admission on the part of German Jews that neither social integration nor legal equality had been truly achieved. In spite of formal guarantees, Jewish emancipation was far from a practical reality. Positions in the administrations of the Reich, individual states, and municipalities, as well as in the army, judiciary, diplomatic corps, and universities, were routinely denied to Jews. These exclusionary practices were especially insulting given the contributions of highly acculturated Jewish intellectuals and politicians to the founding of the Reich.

From its beginnings, the CV sought effectively to represent the members of the Jewish religious communities of the German Empire. Its claim to do so, however, could never be fully realized. Lower-class Jews, many of them traditionally observant, were inadequately represented. The younger generation opted for Zionism or socialism. The great majority of CV members consisted of middle- and upper-middle-class, religiously liberal Jews, who identified themselves as unreservedly German. Even though the organization became the largest Jewish voluntary association in Germany, it included only a little more than 10 percent of all those who acknowledged Judaism as their religious denomination.

The CV conducted its activities on many fronts. It fought ideological and political anti-semitism, educated the German public about Judaism and Jewish history, worked to strengthen the self-confidence of German Jews, and sought to enhance their German identity. One of its most important initiatives was to combat antisemitic candidates at election time, with campaign

meetings and lectures and by throwing its weight behind countercandidates who would, it was hoped, defend Jewish rights in the Reichstag and state parliaments. The politics of the CV was essentially left-liberal, although from 1903, it also began, reluctantly, to consider Social Democratic candidates as worthy alternatives to antisemites. The CV also produced an impressive array of apologetic literature: a newspaper, large-circulation pamphlets, brochures, placards, and stickers. All these and the independent research financed by the organization were designed to counter the propaganda of the antisemites and committed to upholding the values of rational discourse in German political life.

The CV commitment to rational politics somewhat limited its understanding of anti-semitism; official pronouncements continued to privilege socioeconomic analyses of the phenomenon while underestimating the strength of its irrational emotional and psychological appeal. Despite the abundant evidence that antisemites did not often respond to reasoned argument, the CV remained dedicated to the belief in a cure for antisemitism, one that could only be achieved through enlightenment and patient education. Another shortcoming of the organization was its insistence on demonstrating the exemplary patriotism of German Jews. Although the CV opposed German imperialist policies before World War I, it welcomed the chance to demonstrate its loyalties to the nation once the war began. The excesses of this stance, sincere though it was for most members, alienated some Jews of the younger generation who saw such "superpatriotism" as too craven and undignified. This generational and ideological conflict, one of many inner tensions in the Jewish community, resulted in a hostile relationship between German Zionists and the CV, preventing German Jewry from forming a united front against its enemies.

The democratic Weimar Republic that was born out of the upheavals of war and revolution brought de jure and de facto equality into line for Jews, but the rise of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) was met with much the same response from the CV as before the war. The dire threat posed by the Nazis, however, did, in 1929, produce a more concentrated

response; a CV propaganda campaign of great scope that targeted the Hitler movement exclusively. This new departure necessitated a close alliance with the democratic representatives of German socialism. Only the dangers posed by Nazism could bring about such a reorientation of the CV, an organization that had remained essentially bourgeois in politics and outlook. Notwithstanding this opening to the Left, the CV remained largely isolated. Its partial legal successes in the prosecution of Nazi leaders and other antisemites and its continuing public enlightenment efforts did not significantly alter German politics in the desired direction.

After Hitler was named chancellor in January 1933, the organization adapted to the new regime as best it could, hoping, like many other Germans, that Nazi antisemitism would moderate now that the party had attained power. By September 1933, the situation of the Jews had deteriorated rapidly; the various Jewish organizations were forced to band together in the Reich Representation of German Jews (*Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden*), under the leadership of Leo Baeck, and with the CV as its strongest constituent member. Even as it came under Gestapo surveillance, the CV continued to preach the virtues of assimilation and the need to maintain a Jewish presence in Germany. The leadership finally abandoned this position in November 1936 and began recommending emigration. In November 1938, the CV was dissolved.

—*Gregor Hufenreuter*  
*Richard S. Levy, translation*

**See also** Alliance Israélite Universelle; American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Antisemitic Political Parties; Court Jews; Emancipation; League against Antisemitism; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Tivoli Program; Zionism

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### **Chamberlain, Houston Stewart (1855–1927)**

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the son of a British admiral, became the most influential publicist of Germanic supremacy and racial antisemitism in Germany in the two decades preceding World War I. His major work, the two-volume *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899–1900) (translated as *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* in 1912), sold 100,000 copies by 1914 and was reissued in twenty-eight editions by 1938. A confidant of Kaiser Wilhelm II, with whom he corresponded for over twenty years, and an early supporter of Hitler, Chamberlain personified the ideological link between the radical nationalism of the late Wilhelmian empire and the revolutionary extremism of the Nazis.

After the early death of his mother, Chamberlain was raised in France in the home of his aunt. A secure inheritance relieved him of the necessity of working for a living. His doctoral studies in botany at the University of Geneva ended abruptly, however, when he suffered a nervous breakdown in 1884. Enamored of Wagnerian music dramas and of German culture in general, he moved to Dresden in 1885, where he made the acquaintance of Richard Wagner's widow, Cosima. From 1889 to 1908, Chamberlain lived in Vienna, where he wrote the works that would make him famous: a Wagner biography published in 1896 and the 1,014-page *Foundations*. After divorcing his wife in 1906, Chamberlain married Wagner's daughter, Eva Bülow, and settled in Bayreuth in a home adjacent to Wagner's Villa Wahnfried. There, he completed his other major works, including a biography of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in 1912. In 1916, at the height of the war, in which he supported the German cause in numerous militant pamphlets, he became a German citizen. Chamberlain lent his approval to the Hitler-Ludendorff putsch in 1923. After 1933, he was celebrated as the "seer of the Third Reich."

Chamberlain's extraordinarily successful *Foundations* appealed to German nationalist atti-

tudes and prejudices that were already pervasive at the turn of the century. Written in a suave style that flattered an educated readership, the *Foundations* captured the buoyant, expansionist mood of Wilhelmian imperialism at the turn of the century. Not only did the book attribute all the great cultural achievements of the past 2,000 years to members of the Germanic race (broadly defined to include such non-Germans as Marco Polo, Shakespeare, Dante, Giotto, Leonardo da Vinci, and Lavoisier), it also exhorted Germans to pursue their divinely appointed mission of regenerating (and dominating) the world through their superior culture and spirituality.

Chamberlain interpreted all history since the death of Christ as a continuing conflict between the “Aryan-Christian worldview” and “Jewish materialism,” to which he attributed the alleged degeneration of modern times. Like Richard Wagner and the French racial theorist Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, whose ideas on race he appropriated, Chamberlain viewed such aspects of modernization as industrialization, rationalization, secularization, and the growth of democracy and egalitarianism as symptoms of decline. His message, however, was optimistic. By adhering to laws of racial purity, avoiding western European influences, developing a specifically German national religion, and suppressing the subversive influence of Jews, Germans could reverse the supposedly regressive course of the nineteenth century and assume the role of leading world power in the twentieth. Despite its scholarly trappings and erudite references, the *Foundations* was intended not as a work of scholarship but as a call to action. Chamberlain claimed the artistic prerogative of shaping historical material to produce an inspirational work, thus disarming in advance those critics who insisted that his speculations on race failed to meet the rational standards of science.

In this version of history, the Germanic peoples and the Jews were the principal heirs of the brilliant civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome, whose decline resulted from racial mixing. Germans and Jews were locked in a struggle to determine the future course of the world. Typically exaggerating Jewish power and homogeneity, Chamberlain regarded Jews with a mixture of grudging admiration, anger, and fearful disdain.

The success of the Jews, despite their small numbers, lay in racial cohesion maintained through stringent marriage laws that Germans would have to emulate if they hoped to win the life-and-death struggle for global domination.

Chamberlain’s description of Jews as mercenary, calculating, and self-seeking rehearsed familiar nineteenth-century stereotypes. In contrast to the Aryans’ inward search for a meaning in life, Jews idolized the will that enabled them to seize external possessions and power. Jews supposedly pursued only material advantage—unlike Germans, who adhered to ideal goals at the cost of material comforts.

Chamberlain’s celebrity status and consequent baleful influence can hardly be overstated. More than any other book, the *Foundations* helped to make antisemitism respectable among educated people. Nationalists esteemed its exaltation of Germanic superiority, conservatives appreciated its defense of tradition, and religious believers valued its affirmation of spiritual values. (Chamberlain helped to popularize the notion that Jesus had not been a Jew.) Among its most enthusiastic admirers was Wilhelm II, who distributed copies to members of his court and to officers in the army. Even critics who recognized the speciousness of his racial doctrine were captivated by the grand sweep of his historical imagination. The prominent American historian Carl Becker labeled it a book of great value. The Austrian writer Karl Kraus, who shared a hostility toward liberalism, invited Chamberlain to contribute to his iconoclastic journal *Die Fackel* (The Torch).

Aware of the lack of scientific evidence for his racial doctrine, Chamberlain denied that the concept of race required precise definition. He claimed race was an easily observable fact, like the colors blue or red, that could only be described but not explained. In the absence of objective criteria, he resorted to the subjective *consciousness* of race as the ultimate test of racial purity. For Chamberlain and his many followers and imitators, racialism served the ideological function of mobilizing Germans for the nationalist and imperialist cause. By insisting that right thinking was racially determined, Chamberlain could harness the prestige of Darwinian biology to conser-

vative, monarchist goals. A generation later, one of his fervent admirers, the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, attempted to develop a German religion of race in *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (1929). Although it is hard to believe that Chamberlain would have approved of the Nazi genocide of the Jews, there is no denying that his works played a crucial role in creating the mental climate in which such barbarism could occur.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Bayreuth Circle; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Kraus, Karl; Lagarde, Paul de; Lienhard, Friedrich; *Myth of the Twentieth Century, The*; Racism, Scientific; Rosenberg, Alfred; Wagner, Richard

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## Chesterton, G. K. (1874–1936)

A British man of letters and an anticapitalist conservative, the Anglican Chesterton converted to Catholicism in 1922, under the influence of his longtime collaborator Hilaire Belloc. As early as 1908, however, his book *Orthodoxy* had made the case for a fixed body of doctrine like that of the Roman Catholic Church. In the twentieth century, Ronald Knox, Dorothy Sayers, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, C. S. Lewis, Hugh Kenner, and Marshall McLuhan were among many Christian writers and scholars influenced by Chesterton, and one contemporary Catholic intellectual who gratefully acknowledges a debt to Chesterton's theology is Garry Wills. In his own time, however, Chesterton was also known as a polemical journalist, and it was primarily in his journalism that he articulated his antisemitic ideas.



G. K. Chesterton never changed his mind about the Jews. Until the end of his career, he regarded them as a theological evil, endlessly reenacting their primal sin. (George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress)

About the Jews, Chesterton's position was fixed from the beginning of his career to the end. He regarded them as a theological evil, endlessly reenacting their primal sin. So, for instance, he reacted to news of the suicide of one of the protagonists in the Dreyfus Affair with a poem, "To a Certain Nation," that interpreted the event as a second and worse coming of crime into the world.

Though cowed by crashing thunders from  
all heaven,  
Cain never said, "My brother slew himself."

Likewise, some of Chesterton's articles about England's 1912–1913 Marconi scandal (in which four high-ranking government officials, two of them Jewish, were accused of using privileged information to make money in the stock market) amounted to religious pleas for Jewish blood. Out of any proportion to the gravity of the crime, the rhetoric of Chesterton's Jew pho-

bia extended backward in history from the immediate situation to medieval denunciations of usury and from there backward to the prophetic cadences of the Bible itself. But it also partook of modern racist antisemitism. Addressing an open letter to one of the Jewish officials a full six years after the affair, Chesterton dropped dark hints about the workings of what he called the Jewish International and warned: “My fancy . . . is but one of many attempts I have made to imagine and allow for an alien psychology in this matter; and if you, and Jews far worthier than you, are wise they will not dismiss as Anti-Semitism what may well prove the last serious attempt to sympathise with Semitism” (Coren 1989, 198).

This passage was a representative item from the Chesterton bibliography. More important, however, it was a representative (if extreme) item from the bibliography of the Jew in English literature. As George Orwell observed in his 1945 essay “Anti-Semitism in Britain,” literary Jew-hatred was simply the norm down the centuries from Chaucer to Hitler:

And however little the average intellectual may have agreed with the opinions of Belloc and Chesterton, he did not acutely disapprove of them. Chesterton’s endless tirades against Jews, which he thrust into stories and essays upon the flimsiest pretenses, never got him into trouble—indeed Chesterton was one of the most generally respected figures in English literary life. Anyone who wrote in that strain *now* would bring down a storm of abuse upon himself, or more probably would find it impossible to get his writings published. (*The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, 1971, 3: 385)

Sixty years later, Orwell’s argument still holds. In terms of the etiquette governing the word *Jew*, Chesterton was a man of his time, and it took the catastrophe of the Holocaust to make that etiquette change. In the aftermath of the change, Chesterton’s continuing influence guarantees that his work will continue to be a primary resource for the history of antisemitism in Christian literature.

—Jonathan Morse

**See also** Belloc, Hilaire; Dreyfus Affair; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; English Literature of the Twentieth Century; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Usury

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### Chmielnicki Massacres (1648–1649)

Bogdan Chmielnicki (or, as transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet, Khmelnitsky [1595–1657] led the Cossack and Ukrainian peasant uprising between 1648 and 1649 against Polish rule in the Ukraine, wreaking havoc on hundreds of Jewish communities in the process. Traditional Jewish commentary placed “Chmiel the Wicked” in the ranks of Amalek and Haman—symbols of absolute evil and boundless, irrational hatred for Jews. Chmielnicki and his followers committed acts of appalling cruelty against Jews, although the Catholic Poles were the main enemy for him and his followers. Jews were attacked as allies of the Poles, since they often served as administrators of the estates of the Polish nobles.

To term these massacres antisemitic is problematic, not only in the obvious sense that Jews were not attacked because of their “Semitic race” (a concept that would have had no meaning at the time) but also even in the looser, more all-encompassing use of the term *antisemitic*. The hatred expressed by Cossacks and Ukrainian peasants seems to have emerged primarily from “real” or “normal” resentments over economic exploitation and from nationalistic fervor, as distinguished from a Christian hatred deriving from fantasies about Jews and an irrational demonization of them that had little relation to Jewish activity in the real world. That Jews were known to consider the Ukrainian peasants to be a lower form of humanity, little better than beasts of the field, no doubt stoked hatred for them, but such attitudes were hardly restricted to the Jews; they were the norm among the Polish, as well as the Russian, upper classes. Resentment found expression in religious terms, in that Jews were

threatened with death if they would not convert to Christianity and synagogues were desecrated, but Christians acted with comparable cruelty and brutality to other Christians; Catholic priests were a special target of Chmielnicki and his Orthodox Christian followers. Still, the Jews, since they were the immediate agents of the Polish ruling classes in the exploitation of the Ukrainian peasants and were more numerous than either the nobility or the clergy, were often first in line, as it were, for violent retribution. It was a brutal age, one in which religious identities were closely linked to social and economic position, and in the end, it is impossible to untangle religion from other factors.

Contemporary Jewish accounts of the massacres placed the numbers of Jewish dead at around 100,000, a figure that mounted in subsequent accounts to hundreds of thousands. But most recent historians have scaled back considerably the probable number of deaths, in part simply because the population of Jews in the eighteenth century could not possibly have risen to the levels it did in Ukrainian and Polish lands if there had indeed been a mid-seventeenth-century massacre in which a major part of the Jewish population (which totaled approximately 350,000) was killed. Nonetheless, contemporary Jews considered the Chmielnicki massacres to be the third great destruction of the Jewish people, the greatest since ancient times, and a devastating blow to Jewish life in the area. Refugees clogged adjoining lands, and migration out of the Ukraine became more the norm than migration into it, as had been the case since the late Middle Ages (although, clearly, large numbers of refugees returned once the uprising had subsided). The messianic movement of Shabbetai Zevi that swept the area in the years after the massacres was no doubt influenced by them, although modern scholars differ in how powerful the impact was; some see the massacres as a gruesome but brief and not terribly significant interruption in the remarkably steady growth and expansion of Polish Jewry in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.

It is revealing that Jewish deaths in the Chmielnicki massacres, whatever their actual numbers, were little noted in the histories subse-

quently written by Ukrainians, Poles, or Russians. For Ukrainians in the twentieth century, Chmielnicki became a national hero. He may, then, be counted as an example of how one people's villain is another's hero, one people's tragedy another's triumph.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Haman; Poland; Russian Orthodox Church; Shabbetai Zevi

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## Christian Identity Movement

Christian Identity, a twentieth-century variation of British Israelism, was adapted to the antisemitic beliefs of those in the United States who sought a theological justification for their hatred of Jews.

Philosemitic and benign, British Israelism held that Anglo-Saxons were one of the ten lost tribes of Israel. The sect had a small following, some of whom migrated to Brooklyn, New York, in the late nineteenth century. In the 1920s, William Cameron, a protégé and employee of Henry Ford, seized on the core belief of British Israelism and from it reasoned that members of the Anglo-Saxon race were the true chosen people of God. Using that justification, he concluded that people who called themselves Jews and claimed to be God's chosen people were imposters and frauds. Another prominent American antisemite, Gerald B. Winrod, the "Jayhawk Nazi," followed suit. Christian Identity theology proved a potent recruitment tool for politically motivated antisemites, for antisemitism could now be theologically justified and clothed in religious values. (Christian Identity is not, however, recognized by any other denomination as a valid expression of Christianity.)

Wesley Swift, a former California Ku Klux Klan organizer and son of a Methodist minister,

was the dominant figure in elaborating and organizing the Christian Identity movement in the United States in the 1940s. Swift integrated racial purity into Christian Identity doctrine. In the 1950s, he recruited Richard Girnt Butler, a former member of William Dudley Pelley's pro-Nazi Silver Shirt Legion, who quickly became his chief aide and most devoted adherent. As Swift aged, Butler took greater control of the Christian Identity movement, which, by the early 1960s, consisted of dozens of affiliated congregations across the country, with concentrations in the West and Southeast. Adding to Swift's introduction of racial purity to Christian Identity theology, Butler further refined the idea by designating Jews as the literal spawn of Satan.

In collaboration with George Lincoln Rockwell, Butler worked to merge neo-Nazi politics with Christian Identity religion, believing, as did Rockwell, that Americans' affinity for Christianity and Christian symbolism would be useful in the popularization of Nazi political beliefs and lay the groundwork for eventual electoral success.

—Frederick J. Simonelli

**See also** American Nazi Party; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Ku Klux Klan; Militia Movement; Pelley, William Dudley; Philosemitism; Rockwell, George Lincoln; Winrod, Gerald B.

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### Christian Social Party (Austria)

The Christian Social Movement in Austria began organizing in the 1880s, mainly in reaction against the politically dominant liberals. Catholicism and loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty provided the basis for the movement; its general objective was to adapt modern economic and technological innovations to the premodern corporate society that most members believed to be the ideal. In 1891, the movement created the Christian Social Party to represent its values and

pursue its goals on the political stage. In the urban sphere, it was predominantly the lower middle class that was attracted by the idea of a traditional corporate order, seeing in it a guarantee of protection from the market economy, industrialization, and the resultant influence of the proletariat. In the countryside, a majority of the peasantry came to regard the movement as a bulwark against secularization and the decline of agriculture. In both rural and urban areas, the lower clergy played the major leadership role. The party was less successful in attracting workers, the vast majority of whom supported the Social Democrats.

Antisemitism was central to the party's ideology. Jews were regarded as representatives of capitalism and cultural liberalism and, as such, antagonistic to Christianity. Christian Social rhetoric stigmatized liberal economics as the work of the "Jewish-liberal Manchester party." It portrayed the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties as the creatures of Jewish patronage and the "Jewish" press. The Hungarian elites, supposedly much too beholden to Jewish influence, provided another opportunity for the Christian Socials to vent their antisemitism. The so-called Judeo-Magyar clique was corrupt, disloyal (secessionist), and oppressive to the non-Magyar peoples in Hungary, according to the electoral manifesto of 1907.

The Christian Social Party rose to dominance in Vienna in the 1890s. Its charismatic leader, Karl Lueger, ruled the capital between 1897 and his death in 1910, borne aloft by his adoring Christian Social following. Mayor Lueger's masterful exploitation of antisemitic emotions later won him rare praise from Adolf Hitler, who witnessed his methods firsthand while living in the capital and later wrote about the "greatest German mayor" in *Mein Kampf*.

After 1918, in response to the influx of Jews from the former eastern territories of the defunct Habsburg Empire, the Christian Social Party strengthened its identity as a German Catholic party by opposing immigration and naturalization in order to preserve what it saw as the German character of Vienna. Jews, the Viennese Christian Social Party program of 1919 said, were a separate nationality. Jewish children



"German Christians, Vote Christian-Social, Save Austria!" says this election poster. The two-headed eagle symbolizing the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is here replaced by a serpent and a vulture with stereotypical Jewish features. (Courtesy of Richard S. Levy)

should be sent to separate schools or put in segregated classrooms, to guarantee German youth a proper Christian education. In Linz in 1923, the Christian Workers of Austria called on their compatriots to overcome the corrosive influence of Jewry in the intellectual and economic life of the German people. In 1926, the new party program declared: "The nationally minded Christian Socials demand the cultivation of the German way and fight the predominance of subversive Jewish influence in the fields of the intellect and the economy."

The focus of the Christian Socials' antisemitic discourse was not racist but rather economic and cultural, insinuating a distinct Jewish mind, values, and behavior, incompatible with Christianity or Germanness. In Austria's First Republic (1918–1938), the Christian Social Party was a major force, usually providing the country with

its federal chancellor. It is fair to say that the Christian Social Party was successful in establishing its brand of antisemitism as a central element of Austrian political culture both before and after World War I. The party continued until September 1934, when the launching of the "corporate state" led to its voluntary dissolution. However, its influence on Austrian antisemitism lived on.

—Werner Suppanz

*See also* Austria; Hitler, Adolf; "Jewish" Press; Lueger, Karl; *Mein Kampf*; *Ostjuden*; Vogelsang, Karl von

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### Christian Social Party (Germany)

In 1878, the Christian Social Worker's Party was founded by the court chaplain of the Hohenzollerns, Adolf Stoecker, in order to counteract the materialistic and "unpatriotic" socialist party and win workers back to conservative and Christian values. The Christian Social Party (CSP), as it was renamed in early 1881, only gained electoral support when it added antisemitism to its political platform. A core element of the Berlin Movement (1881–1886) and a political partner of the German Conservatives (1881–1896), the party played a crucial role in mobilizing mass support for antisemitism during the early 1880s. Its followers, however, were not the workers who solidly stood against Stoecker's socially conservative program but the *Mittelstand*—lower-middle-class shopkeepers, artisans, civil servants, traders—social strata that had suffered in the economic downswing of the mid-1870s and who were receptive to the antiliberal and anti-capitalist message of the new antisemitic movement. After Stoecker addressed the Jewish Question for the first time in a public speech on September 19, 1879, he began to win a mass audience. Up to 3,000 men gathered to listen to

the “tribune of the people.” No other conservative politician could attract such crowds.

Antisemitism also paid off at the polls. It is true that the Berlin Movement never came close to unseating the solid majority of liberals and socialists in the German capital, but the numbers of conservative votes increased in Berlin, from 14,000 in 1878 to 46,000 in 1881 and 56,000 in 1884. It was Stoecker’s appeal to the Mittelstand and his ability to obtain votes that convinced skeptics within the conservative camp that the CSP could be a useful ally, despite its “socialist” rhetoric. Influential figures, such as the later Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Prussian minister of the interior, Robert von Puttkamer, were among Stoecker’s patrons. The position of the CSP as an independent political group within the German Conservative Party nevertheless caused friction, as its “democratic” and social orientation was met with suspicion by a party serving the interests of the big landowners. When Otto von Bismarck, between 1887 and 1890, based his domestic policies on an alliance between Conservatives and National Liberals, Stoecker’s populist activities were curbed and the CSP lost political influence. After Stoecker’s dismissal as court chaplain in 1890 and his exclusive focus on party activities thereafter, the CSP was able to shape the politics of the German Conservatives for a short time, most notably with the antisemitic Tivoli Program of 1892.

In the long run, however, the differences between the reactionary conservative establishment, on the one side, and the young and genuinely reformist (and not antisemitic) Christian Socialists, such as Helmuth von Gerlach and Friedrich Naumann, on the other, were irreconcilable. In the end, Stoecker lost the support of both elements: most young members left the CSP in favor of the newly founded Nationalsozialer Verein (National Social League), and the alliance with the German Conservatives broke off in 1896. The reorganized CSP never regained its former significance, although it was still represented in the Reichstag between 1898 and 1912 with one to three seats. In 1907, the party only had 9,000 members. After the Revolution of 1918, the CSP merged into the German National People’s Party.

—Christhard Hoffmann

**See also** Berlin Movement; Christian Social Party (Austria); German National People’s Party; Henrici, Ernst; *Our Demands on Modern Jewry*; Stoecker, Adolf; Tivoli Program

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## Christian State

An important concept among German conservatives during the nineteenth century, the “Christian state” ideal was often deployed to justify the exclusion of German Jews from full civil and political rights, but it also carried broader implications. The idea was, in fact, a central pillar of the emerging conservative political ideology in this period, reflecting the revival of Christian religiosity among conservatives as well as their rejection of the secular liberal vision of politics associated with the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. As part of their defense of monarchical rule and traditional society, conservatives typically opposed any decoupling of church and state and insisted on the religious basis of political institutions. Conservatives also wanted to preclude the participation in politics and government of those deemed agents of secular liberalism, including deists, atheists, certain Protestant and Catholic sects, and—of most significance here—German Jews.

Conservatives’ support for traditional religious values in political life thus also determined their stance on the so-called Jewish Question. Ideally, conservatives hoped to see Jews achieve emancipation by converting to Christianity, but many remained skeptical of this possibility and wanted Jews kept in their present civic status—tolerated but separate and subordinate. Some amelioration of Jewish civil rights might be allowed, but on political rights, the Christian state conservatives would not budge. A negative anti-Jewish stereotype was present among conservatives as in most other sectors of nineteenth-century German society and helped to motivate such anti-Jewish policies, but there were impor-

tant differences from the liberal version. First, conservatives were more fearful of a *Verjudung*, (Judaization) of German society, which could only be combated by maintaining the Christian basis of politics. And second, they showed that they were more opposed to secular trends generally than to Jews in particular in that they often held a more favorable opinion of Orthodox Jews than of assimilated Reform Jews (just the opposite was true among liberals). A protected but separate status for Jewish communities thus seemed to conservatives to guarantee a more religious society for all parties.

The notion of the Christian state can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, but it was in the 1830s and 1840s that it became central to conservative ideology and Jewish policy. Historians have typically highlighted this trend among Prussian Protestant conservatives such as the Gerlach brothers or the converted Jew Friedrich Julius Stahl, but the same ideas were also found among Catholic conservatives, including Joseph Maria von Radowitz (adviser to Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV) and the influential circle around Joseph von Görres in Bavaria. The Christian state concept attained its greatest practical significance for Jewish policy in Prussia during the 1840s, but it also influenced debates on Jewish emancipation in other German states, both in parliaments and in the pamphlet war going on in Germany at the same time. The concept continued to shape conservative opinion on the status of German Jewry during the second half of the nineteenth century, and some evidence suggests that it may have played a role during the Nazi period as well.

—Brian Vick

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Churches under Nazism; Emancipation; Frantz, Constantin; *Jewish Question*, *The* (1843); Marx, Karl; Stahl, Friedrich Julius; State-within-a-State; Stoecker, Adolf; *Verjudung*; Vogelsang, Karl von; Wagener, Hermann

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## Chrysostom, John (349–407)

John Chrysostom is counted among the greatest preachers of the Greek Orthodox Church. His epithet, Golden Mouth, bestowed on him posthumously, speaks to his significance not as an original theologian but rather as one of the most important Christian rhetoricians. He was born in Syrian Antioch in 349. Brought up by his mother, Anthusa, entirely in the Greek tradition, John never mastered a language other than Greek. He studied rhetoric with Libanius, an opponent of Christianity. On the completion of his studies in 367, he was taken into the circle around Bishop Meletius, who baptized him in 368. Thereafter, he continued to pursue theological studies.

From 372 to 378, he lived an ascetic hermit's life in the mountains near Antioch. He returned to the city as a reader of church lessons (lector), and in 382, he became a deacon. He entered the priesthood in 386 and became a preacher in the bishop's church. In this capacity, he earned the reputation of a brilliant rhetorician. His sermons, sometimes lasting two hours, were regarded as not only religious talks but also social events. Apparently, his oratorical gifts won him a huge following. Several of the surviving texts of his sermons come from copies made by his listeners—evidence of his popularity. His homilies treated whole books of the Old and New Testaments, individual biblical verses, and biblical figures. In 387, when the people of Antioch revolted against the Theodosian Code and the emperor's family because of a rise in taxation, John delivered twenty-two sermons from the church portal admonishing the citizenry to peace, obedience, and repentance.

In 386, he began a cycle of eight sermons entitled *Adversus Iudeos*—meaning “against the Jews” or, more accurately, “against the Judaizers,” those Christians who commingled with Jews and sometimes participated in Jewish ceremonies. His polemical ferocity was particularly on display in *Adversus Iudeos*, which remained important in the Eastern Church and enjoyed a revival of popularity among nineteenth- and twentieth-century antisemites.

Named bishop of Constantinople in 397, an office he did not covet, John immediately

showed himself too politically inept for survival in the imperial capital. His reform of the clergy, calling them to a simple lifestyle and the abandonment of luxury, created enemies. He alienated the wealthy and even the Empress Eudoxia when he called on them to live modestly and practice charity. He founded hospitals and hostels for foreigners, winning the support of the common people. But he remained remote from the court. The few times he attempted to exert political influence, he met with failure. He eventually fell victim to the intrigues of the imperial court and his many enemies inside the church. Deposed by a synod rigged by his opponents, John was banned, recalled, and then banned again for good in June 404. Exiled first to Cappadocia, he died on the way to Pityus on the Black Sea on September 14, 407.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* *Adversus Iudeos*; Roman Empire;  
Theodosian Code

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## Church Councils (Early)

The church councils of Elvira, Nicaea, Antioch, and Laodicea were convened in a period during which Christianity was still undergoing a process of self-invention and definition. The kinds and number of decrees or canons issued by them are considerable. They treat all sorts of matters related to ritual, to discipline, and to dogma, as well as relations with non-Christians. None of these councils was convoked to deal specifically with the issue of relations with Jews. In fact, most dealt incidentally with that issue. Nonetheless, the canons issued on this matter were important and influential, sometimes being incorporated in later collections of canon law.

The Council of Elvira was almost certainly the first to occur on Spanish soil. Scholars dispute when exactly it was convoked, but the best guesses place it between the years 305 and 310. The council issued a large number of decrees,

eighty-one in all. Three of these treated the issue of Christian relations with Jews. The sixteenth banned intermarriage. The forty-ninth forbade Christians from having their produce blessed by Jews. The fiftieth prohibited clerics or any Christian from dining with Jews.

All three of these canons should be interpreted carefully. Read out of context, they seem to reflect an early form of Christian antisemitism. Actually, they may reflect something quite the opposite. Legislation such as this is almost always produced not prospectively but reactively. These laws were passed, in all likelihood, because Christians were, in fact, intermarrying and dining with Jews and having otherwise normal, even cordial, social relations with them. Thus, the production of these canons was motivated not so much by Jew-hatred as by the fear that Christians continued to find Judaism attractive and Jews amicable and hospitable. It is important to remember that this council occurred before the “triumph” of Christianity was assured and in an area where Judaism was vital and well represented. Its canons thus reflect fear that the church would lose some of its members to the synagogue. Indeed, evidence suggests that in the fourth century, a number of high-ranking Christians did convert to Judaism in Spain. In short, these canons, though hardly philosemitic, became antisemitic only when they were read out of context and then later incorporated into law books produced in entirely different conditions.

The Council of Nicaea was convoked in 325 by the Roman Emperor Constantine. Again, Christian dogma was still very much in flux in the early fourth century. The emperor called this council in order to encourage the assembled bishops to come to some agreement about the nature of the Deity, particularly on the issue of the ontological status of the Logos and its relation to God the Father. This was an issue that had been brought to the fore by the Alexandrian presbyter Arius and his followers, the Arians. The council was thus mainly concerned with the development of Trinitarian doctrine.

The council also tried to establish uniformity between East and West on the date of the observance of Easter, and it was in this regard that it tangentially touched on relations with Jews and

Judaism. Since the second century, some Eastern Christians (especially in Asia Minor) celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of Nisan (the so-called Quartodecimans). In the West and in many Eastern provinces, it was generally observed on the following Sunday. Nicaea demanded that it be observed on Sunday. Part of the motivation for decreeing this was to differentiate Christian from Jewish observance. A letter from Constantine “preserved” by Eusebius makes this explicit. Again, we see Christianity in the process of religious self-definition. It is the desire for uniformity and the wish to distinguish Christianity from Judaism, rather than contempt, that motivated this decree.

The first canon of the Council of Antioch, which met in 341, proves that the Nicene decree regarding Easter was not being universally observed. For those observing Easter “with the Jews”—that is, when the Jews celebrated Passover—the council reserved harsh judgment. It excommunicated the laity. It also deposed any cleric from his ministry as a “cause of destruction and subversion to many.” In addition, it excommunicated any person who associated with the deposed cleric. Again, this is the council’s only mention of Jews. But by placing it in the first canon to be promulgated, the bishops indicated how urgent it was for them to distinguish Christian from Jewish religious practice.

The precise date of the Council of Laodicea is unknown. It occurred after the Council of Antioch and before the Council of Constantinople (in 381). Again, a large number of canons were issued—sixty in all. Only two treat relations with Jews. The thirty-seventh declared it unlawful to receive portions sent from Jewish feasts (or those of heretics) and forbade Christians to eat with Jews. The thirty-eighth forbade Christians to receive unleavened bread from the Jews, “nor to be partakers of their impiety.”

Both canons are interesting because such legislation would not have been passed if the proscribed practices had not been occurring. Thus, it may be concluded that, in defiance (or ignorance) of earlier conciliar decrees, Christians were, in fact, still dining with Jews. Also, they seem to have participated in Jewish rituals, as the references to unleavened bread and “impiety”

suggest. The problem from the perspective of the bishops was that Christians continued to interact with Jews amicably and even to participate in their religious services. Other evidence from roughly the same time period, including the infamous sermons of John Chrysostom, supports this theory. Behind the surface of such legislation, which seems so antisemitic, lies a much happier picture of Jewish Christian relations in late antiquity. Indeed, it is a picture of cordial relations that the ecclesiastical laws, when decontextualized, serve only to obscure. However, such conciliar canons were often incorporated into later medieval law books. There, they took on an antisemitic meaning their original authors could not have foreseen or intended.

—Kevin Madigan

*See also* Chrysostom, John; Constantine, Emperor

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## Church Fathers

Four ancient church fathers were recognized in the West as “doctors of the church”: Ambrose, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers, and Augustine. The essay that follows briefly explores the attitudes toward Jews and Judaism of the first three of these individuals (Augustine is discussed in a separate entry).

Ambrose (339–397) was made bishop of Milan in 374. At the time, Milan was one of the two most powerful episcopal sees in Europe. Much of Ambrose’s episcopal and writing career was consumed by a confrontation with the Arians; nonorthodox Christians who did not believe in the divinity of Christ. He also had several clashes with the partisans of paganism. Finally, an incident that occurred far from his episcopal see involved him in a controversy surrounding Jews and Judaism. In 388, the bishop of Callicicum, a commercial town on the Euphrates River, was accused of having encouraged Christians of his diocese, supposedly in retaliation for an offense committed by certain Jews of the town

against Christians, to burn the local synagogue. They did, and they looted the synagogue as well. An imperial official reported the incident to Emperor Theodosius, who commanded the bishop to rebuild the synagogue at his own expense. Those who started the fire were to be punished and stolen properties restored.

When Ambrose heard the emperor's decision, he wrote a long letter exhorting Theodosius to change his mind. If the bishop was forced to rebuild the synagogue for "God's enemies," Ambrose argued, he would be committing an act of apostasy. No synagogue, moreover, should be restored at the expense of the church: "Should a building be erected for perfidious Jews out of the spoils of the church?" he asked. How could the emperor give "the unbelievers" a triumph over the Christians? Theodosius backed down on his demand that the bishop rebuild the synagogue, decreeing instead that it be done at state expense. Still, he insisted that the criminals be prosecuted and all properties returned. Ambrose protested again. The deceitful Jews, he argued, had fabricated the robbery charges so that Christians would be condemned to the mines. The emperor would not relent. Further protests followed, and the emperor finally surrendered to the importunate and powerful archbishop of Milan. An ominous precedent had been set.

Jerome (ca. 340–420) was without doubt the greatest Christian scholar of the fourth century. His knowledge of the history, geography, and philology of Palestine was unrivaled. He wrote capacious on the Bible; indeed, he was the most prolific commentator of his day. In 382, Pope Damasus commissioned him to translate the Bible into Latin. The result was the Vulgate, a Latin Bible translated from the original languages. To this day, it remains the edition of the Bible that has perhaps been most widely read in the West, where it exerted enormous influence on language, liturgy, art, architecture, literature, politics, and theology.

Jerome's attitudes toward Jews and Judaism were complex, and they raise scholarly questions even today. It is easy to find statements in Jerome that seem flagrantly antisemitic. He unequivocally blamed the death of Christ on the Jews. He admitted to loathing "men of the circumcision,"

calling their houses of worship "synagogues of Satan." He denounced Israel as a fornicatrix or adulteress and insisted, oddly, that Jews continued to persecute Christians even in his own day. Most strangely, he was convinced that Jews pronounced anathemas on Christians three times each day. By contrast, he sincerely respected Jewish scholarship, commented copiously on the Hebrew Scriptures, and took the time to learn Hebrew from a Jewish teacher in Bethlehem.

In an attempt to explain this contradiction, some scholars have argued that Jerome was defending himself against Christians who criticized him precisely for using Hebrew and for mastering Jewish traditions; they contend that the harshness of his anti-Jewish rhetoric was necessitated by self-defense. Another possible explanation is that Jerome's inconsistent remarks and attitudes reflected Christianity's own ambivalence toward a religious tradition that was, in fact, its progenitor yet remained a dangerous and attractive rival. When wrenched from its context, Jerome's antisemitic rhetoric was among the most vicious in Christian antiquity and was cited as authoritative against Jews in the very different conditions of the Middle Ages.

Hilary of Poitiers (d. 368) became bishop of his hometown in Gaul (France) around 350. Hilary's major episcopal and literary project throughout his life—for which he was exiled—was to oppose and eliminate the heterodox Arians. Jews and Judaism figured less prominently in his writings than those of Jerome, and he never faced a major controversy involving Jews as had Ambrose. His attitude toward Jews and Judaism was also much less complex and sympathetic than Jerome's. In his *Commentary on Matthew*, he wrote, "Before the Law was given, the Jews were possessed of an unclean devil, which the Law for a time drove out, but which returned immediately after their rejection of Christ." We are told by his biographer, Venantius Fortunatus, that Hilary would not dine with a Jew, nor even respond to a greeting on the street. This, however, was written of him more than two centuries after his death and may reflect realities of the sixth century rather than the fourth, when multiple councils decreed, unsuccessfully, that Jews and Christians should not eat together.

There is little that could be described as philosemitic in Hilary's writings on Jews and Judaism. Like Ambrose and Jerome and almost all ancient Christian writers, Hilary rarely referred to a *particular* Jew. Instead, the ancient church fathers referenced "the Jews" in the language of stereotype and generality. There was ample precedent in Greek and Roman ethnography for talking about "foreign" peoples this way. But the Christian fathers' ethnography of demonization was to have a duration and an impact of tragic dimensions that its classical predecessors never had.

—Kevin Madigan

**See also** Church Councils (Early); Roman Empire; Theodosian Code

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## Churches under Nazism

In 1939, over 95 percent of Germans were baptized, tax-paying members of the two official churches—either the the *Evangelisch* (Protestant), in its Lutheran, Reformed, and united Lutheran-Reformed variations or the Roman Catholic. Protestants outnumbered Catholics by about three to two. Smaller Christian groups—Methodists, Baptists, Mennonites, Quakers, Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others—accounted for fewer than 2 percent of the population. As institutions, the churches varied greatly in their responses to National Socialism, from the generally accommodating position of the Protestants and Catholics to the resolute opposition of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Individual church members differed even more widely, from eager perpetrators of Nazi crimes to victims of persecution and rescuers of those targeted for destruction. By 1945, the Christian churches could claim to be the only major institutions in Germany to have survived Nazi rule intact, but the price of survival was often high.

The German churches were implicated in Nazi crimes. Individual church members num-

bered among the perpetrators at every level. Hitler remained a nominal Catholic all his life. The Einsatzgruppen (mobile death squads) that murdered hundreds of thousands of Jews, Gypsies/Roma, and inmates of mental hospitals included in their ranks men with advanced degrees in Protestant theology. Indeed, one might argue that although not all Christians were perpetrators, the vast majority of perpetrators were Christians—in the sense that they were baptized and raised in homes and schools where the Christian Bible, the Lord's Prayer, and hymns were daily fare.

As institutions, the German churches were accomplices and enablers rather than hands-on perpetrators. By propagating notions of Jews as "Christ killers" and teaching contempt for Judaism, the churches helped build receptivity for Nazi antisemitism. Christian anti-Jewishness alone did not cause Nazi genocide, nor did it drive the top decision makers. But it helped justify the targeting of Jews for those who executed and tolerated antisemitic measures. Moreover, connections between Christian anti-Jewish tradition and secular antisemitism contributed to the metaphysical urgency and intensity of the Nazi assault on Jews.

Structural and historical differences shaped specific Protestant and Catholic responses, but the overall effect was similar: both major churches boosted the credibility of Hitler's regime at home and abroad. German Protestant leaders welcomed his accession to power in 1933. Mass spectacles in church buildings, such as the Day of Potsdam in March 1933 and the group weddings of uniformed Nazis with their brides, sent a message to lay Germans and foreign observers that the Protestant leadership blessed Hitler and his cause.

Some enthusiastic Protestants joined the so-called Deutsche Christen (German Christian movement) to seek an explicit synthesis of Christianity and Nazism. They attacked "non-Aryan" Christians and embarked on a campaign to purge all traces of Judaism from Christianity. In the spring of 1933, inspired by the ban on Jews in the civil service, Deutsche Christen tried to force non-Aryan clergy from Protestant pulpits. In protest, Martin Niemöller, a pastor from Berlin-



Countering a threat by Hitler to take action against the Catholic Party, 4,500 Catholics pledge allegiance to the church, the people, and the state at a ceremony in Grunwald, Germany, 1933. Here the priests have just blessed the crowd. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Dahlem, organized the Pastors' Emergency League. Niemöller's organization grew into the Bekennende Kirche (Confessing Church), a movement within established Protestantism (not a separate church) that aimed to protect ecclesiastical integrity.

The contest between the Deutsche Christen and the Confessing Church for control of German Protestantism became known as the "church struggle." The bitterness of that dispute notwithstanding, members of both camps, as well as the numerous Protestant "neutrals," tended to accept old habits of anti-Jewishness. Even Niemöller, who spent years in Nazi prisons, characterized himself as an antisemite. He conceded that converts to Christianity had rights within the church but believed Germany suffered from a "Jewish problem" and described

Jewish suffering as repayment for the "curse" of crucifying Jesus.

Germany's Roman Catholic leaders were initially less enthusiastic about National Socialism than their Protestant counterparts. Until 1933, the Catholic Center Party continued to contest the political arena, and some Catholic priests, worried that Nazi ideology elevated notions of race above loyalty to the universal church, refused to administer the sacraments to men in Storm trooper or SS uniforms. Although there were individual bishops who supported Hitler and endorsed the regime's measures against Communists and Jews, the euphoria typical of the Protestant hierarchy in early 1933 was not widespread in Catholic circles.

By mid-1933, the situation had changed. In July, Hitler's representatives signed a concordat with the Vatican. The papal nuncio in Berlin, Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII), played a key role in the negotiations. This arrangement—Hitler's first major foreign policy success—served both to silence Catholic misgivings at home and to enhance the international prestige of National Socialism. The concordat effectively isolated those priests and bishops who had inveighed against Nazi racism and paganism from their parishioners, many of whom saw no contradiction between being good Catholics and good Nazis; it also isolated them from the Vatican, which embraced Nazi Germany as a bulwark against communism.

The Protestant and Catholic churches also helped isolate the Jewish targets of Nazi aggression. Although Nazi ideology claimed Jewishness was racial, the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 relied on the religion of one's grandparents to determine who counted as an "Aryan," who as a "Jew." It was the major churches that provided the papers, from baptismal and marriage records, that individuals needed to establish their "bloodlines."

A further example of the churches' complicity comes from the euthanasia program (involving the murder of people deemed handicapped), which began in 1939. Many of the estimated 70,000 Germans killed under this scheme lived in hospitals and homes run by the major churches, a great number of which complied with the authorities. There were administrators

who refused to participate; individual doctors, nurses, and attendants who struggled with their consciences; and certain Protestant pastors, like some Catholic clergymen, who protested the killings from the pulpit. As an institution, however, the Protestant church provided neither encouragement nor protection for such resistance. In this regard, the record of the Catholic Church is somewhat stronger, though less than ideal.

Many scholarly and popular analyses depict the German churches as victims of Nazism. Indeed, although the Nazi leadership used Christian vocabulary and symbols for its own purposes, the regime demonstrated hostility toward institutionalized Christianity. Generally, Catholicism, with its international hierarchy, was perceived as more threatening than Protestantism. Nazi authorities harassed church organizations; imposed restrictions on activities such as youth work; and conducted negative propaganda accusing the churches and Christianity in general of being un-German, tainted by Jewishness, and enfeebling. Nevertheless, to use the label *victim* would be to exaggerate. Hitler's government continued to collect and distribute church taxes. Nazi authorities permitted the study of theology in public universities and left church property in ecclesiastical hands. As institutions, the German churches—with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses—cannot be numbered among the victims of Nazism.

Were the churches and church members rescuers of those targeted for destruction? The answer is mixed, but given the magnitude of destruction, the record appears dismal. Pastor Heinrich Grüber worked with elements of the Confessing Church in Berlin to help converts from Judaism and their families leave the country. He went to Dachau for his efforts. Even Grüber, however, considered the Holocaust to be God's punishment of the Jews. The Catholic priest Bernhard Lichtenberg prayed publicly for Jews being deported from Berlin to their deaths. He, too, was arrested, denounced to the Gestapo by members of his congregation. He died in 1943, in transport to Dachau. Bishop August Graf von Galen protested the murder of Germans deemed handicapped, and although the killings did not stop, the public attention he drew to the program forced its organizers to do more

to cover their tracks. Such examples are rare—and noticeably rarer within Germany than in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, and Poland. The German cases are typical, however, in their individual nature. There is little evidence that the churches as institutions supported rescue efforts.

Most discussions describe the German churches as bystanders to Nazi crimes. The usual charges against institutions and individuals cite their silence and failure to act. These criticisms assume that church leaders and members knew what was happening, from the escalating persecutions of the 1930s to the mass killings of the war years. Many sources confirm such knowledge, whether we consider the public nature of the Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom) or the military chaplains who witnessed mass shootings of Jews in Ukraine in 1941.

A second assumption behind the "bystanders" label is that the churches could have done more. It is unlikely that the churches alone could have prevented or halted war and mass killing. But they might have made a difference. Hitler's sensitivity to public opinion, coupled with the prestige of the German churches at home and abroad, gave church authorities some power. Perhaps early, vigorous criticism of the Nazi regime could have weakened Hitler's hold on the population. Certainly, more widespread engagement on behalf of Jews and other victims would have communicated to those in need some assurance that the world had not abandoned them.

—Doris L. Bergen

**See also** Center Party; Deicide; *Deutsche Christen*; Einsatzgruppen; Holocaust; Jehovah's Witnesses; Night of Broken Glass; Nuremberg Laws; Pius XII, Pope

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## Circumcision

Throughout its long history, the Jewish practice of circumcision has been criticized—and sometimes suppressed—for a variety of reasons. Because circumcision is perhaps the oldest Jewish ritual, however, and is intrinsic to Jewish notions of self-identity, Jews have often interpreted opposition to circumcision as antisemitism. But motivations for the maligning or prohibition of circumcision are complex and may arise from antisemitism, general xenophobia, or the simple clash of cultural sensibilities, including changing attitudes toward the human body and sexuality.

Several pagan authors in the ancient world addressed Jewish circumcision with opinions ranging from the naked hostility of Tacitus—who described it, along with other Jewish customs, as a “base and abominable” practice that Jews had deliberately chosen to “distinguish themselves from other peoples” and express their “hate and enmity” toward them (*Histories* 5.5.2)—to Petronius—who poked fun at a practice that he compared with the outlandish customs of other peoples, such as ear piercing or face painting (*Satyricon* 102: 14). Literary, artistic, and legal evidence suggests that Greeks and Romans tended to view circumcision as a primitive act of mutilation unbefitting enlightened and civilized people. In certain periods, this view was shared by some Jews, who neglected to perform the ritual, and it was not unknown for circumcised Jewish men to voluntarily submit to a surgical procedure (epispasm) to eliminate this symbol of separateness.

Despite their general distaste for the ritual, Greek and Roman authorities prior to Emperor Hadrian did nothing to ban it—with the famous exception of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who forbade circumcision, together with many other Jewish rituals, as part of his effort to Hellenize and politically stabilize the Judean region in 165 BCE. Although Antiochus’s outlawing of circumcision was clearly aimed at Jews, Hadrian’s later ban was bound up with legislation against castration, which suggests that he was motivated by moral, cultural, or economic concerns rather than anti-Jewish animus. This fact would have offered little comfort to Jews, however, and it is likely that the ban on circumcision played a role

in fomenting the Bar Kochba Revolt in 132 CE. Hadrian’s successor, Antoninus Pius, selectively repealed Hadrian’s ban, so that Jews would be permitted to circumcise their children (though not their non-Jewish slaves), but for other peoples, it would still be a capital offense.

This arrangement held through the fourth-century rule of Constantine and Justinian’s reign in the sixth century, and it was enshrined in canon law as well. Despite these legal protections, however, new attitudes toward circumcision had arisen in the Christian world by the Middle Ages. After some debate in the inchoate church, Christians rejected bodily circumcision, reinterpreting it as a spiritual doctrine symbolized by baptism; as Christian attitudes toward Jews hardened, the continued Jewish practice of the bloody ancient rite came to symbolize for Christians the backwardness and culpable blindness of “carnal Israel.” Perhaps the nadir of the Christian perception of circumcision was reached by the fifteenth century, when it became linked with the blood libel and took on a demonic aspect; it was alleged that Jews coveted the blood of ritually murdered Christians for its salutary effect when applied to the wound of circumcision.

In modern times, with the relative decline in the importance of religion, opposition to circumcision was expressed from new and diverse perspectives. With the rise of nationalism and racialism, many non-Jews viewed the continued insistence on circumcision as exemplifying Jews’ frustrating refusal to resolve the Jewish Question once and for all through assimilation. Criticism of circumcision also emanated from the newly developing field of psychology, because of the alleged ill effects that the practice inflicted on the psyche of the Jewish male. Many in the medical establishment condemned the ritual as unsanitary and promoting the transmission of syphilis and gonorrhea, which were widely believed to be “Jewish” diseases.

Circumcision has gone in and out of vogue in the general population and seems currently on the wane. Antisemites in the United States and elsewhere occasionally seize on the practice as a means of casting Judaism as an inhumane religion. This view is not widely shared.

—Aryeh Tuchman

**See also** Bar Kochba Revolt; Justinian Code; Masculinity; Misanthropy; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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### Civiltà Cattolica

Founded in 1850 at Pope Pius IX's request as a means of spreading the pope's view of current events to the Catholic faithful, the biweekly journal *Civiltà Cattolica* has long been viewed as the unofficial organ of the papacy. It is run by Jesuits, who write all the articles and approve all drafts collectively. The drafts must then be approved by the Vatican itself prior to publication. The criteria for approval by the Vatican secretary of state's office include "conformity of the articles published in the journal with the official teaching of the Church" (Kertzer 2001, 135).

As modern antisemitism began to take shape in the 1880s, *Civiltà Cattolica* played an active role. From 1880 to 1883, the journal published thirty-six virulently antisemitic articles. A typical passage, from December 22, 1880, warned: "If this foreign Jewish race is left too free, it immediately becomes the persecutor, oppressor, tyrant, thief, and devastator of the countries where it lives." The journal urged that special laws be introduced to keep the Jews in their place. Jews were described as "eternal insolent children, obstinate, dirty, thieves, liars, ignoramuses, pests and the scourge of those near and far. . . . They managed to lay their hands on . . . all public wealth . . . and virtually alone they took control not only of all the money . . . but of the law itself in those countries where they have been allowed to hold public offices." Catholics were repeatedly warned that Jews were not simply members of a religion; they also constituted a hostile nation, dedicated to using every criminal means imaginable to rob and persecute them. An article in 1893 stated that the Jewish nation "does not work, but traffics in the property and the

work of others; it does not produce, but lives and grows fat with the products of the arts and industry of the nations that give it refuge. It is the giant octopus that with its oversized tentacles envelops everything. . . . It represents the kingdom of capital . . . the aristocracy of gold. . . . It reigns unopposed."

*Civiltà Cattolica* was also active in promulgating the ritual murder charge, running many articles on the topic in the late nineteenth century and as late as 1914 (in connection with the Beilis case) charging that Jews were taught to regard the blood of Christian children as "a drink like milk."

A typical 1928 article continued to warn of the Jews' pernicious influence, lamenting that their emancipation had made them "emboldened and powerful, giving them, under the pretext of equality, a position that was increasingly predominant in prestige, especially in the economic sector, in modern society." To respond to this threat, *Civiltà Cattolica* championed racial laws introduced against Jews in the mid- and late 1930s across Europe. Following World War II, the journal's hostility toward the Jews remained, although in more muted form, until the Second Vatican Council.

In a June 2002 article, reflecting on its history, the journal rejected charges that it had ever been antisemitic, arguing that its former hostility toward the Jews was, rather, based on a combination of negative religious views of the Jews (as Christ killers, cursed by God) and a view of the Jews as responsible for the Russian Revolution. Ironically, in resuscitating the charge that the Jews had been behind the Bolshevik Revolution—a theme central to the Nazi campaign against the Jews—*Civiltà Cattolica*'s antisemitic legacy was once again revealed.

—David I. Kertzer

**See also** Beilis Case; Deicide; Emancipation; Jesuit Order; Judeo-Bolshevism; Pius IX, Pope; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Vatican Council, Second

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### Class, Heinrich (1868–1953)

The leader of the most radical of the many patriotic societies in imperial Germany, the Pan-German League, Heinrich Class radicalized the discourse concerning German nationalism and popularized theories of scientific racism and antisemitism.

Born in Mainz to a middle-class Hessian family, the son and grandson of senior judiciary officials, Class studied law in Berlin, where he absorbed the nationalist and antisemitic teachings of Heinrich von Treitschke, and at the University of Giessen, where he was introduced to the antisemitic teachings of Friedrich Lange and joined in the antisemitic campaigns of Otto Böckel. He returned to Mainz for his law practicum and, unable to find employment in the civil service, founded an independent law practice. Soon disillusioned with party politics, Class became active in the radical nationalist organizations that emerged in the mid-1890s. In 1894, he responded to Friedrich Lange's call for the formation of the antisemitic German Union (Deutschbund), helping to found a local "community" in Mainz, which he later converted into a local chapter of the Pan-German League (in 1897).

In just a few short years, Class became one of the leading figures in the league and was made its executive secretary in 1901. At the Pan-German national convention in 1903, he launched a vigorous attack on the government, which was later published as a pamphlet entitled *Die Bilanz des neuen Kurses* (The Balance of the New Course). He openly questioned the sole authority of the government to speak and act in the name of the nation and claimed for the league joint custodianship of national symbols. With the death of Ernst Hasse in January 1908, Class assumed the chairmanship and quickly moved to solidify the league's connections both to wealthy industrialists and agriculturalists and to sympathetic politicians in the right wing of the National Liberal Party and in the Free Conservative Party. The change in leadership also paved the way for the

league to engage in more active political agitation in the sphere of domestic policy. As a self-appointed "national opposition," the Pan-Germans under Class's leadership openly criticized the government and, during the Daily Telegraph Crisis in 1908, even the emperor himself. Class also infused the league with the antisemitic ideas he himself had long promoted, most notably in his *If I Were the Kaiser* (1912), in which he called for stripping Jews of their civil rights.

Class remained active in nationalist politics during World War I and the Weimar era. He was a key player in the founding of the Fatherland Party in September 1917 and was later active in the German National People's Party in the Weimar Republic. Although Hitler and Class met on several occasions in the early 1920s and although the Nazis adopted much of the ideological program of the Pan-German League, Class viewed the Nazis with disdain. In his 1932 memoirs, *Wider den Strom* (Against the Current), he attempted to show that the Pan-German League was still relevant despite the rise of the Nazis, an untenable position after the Nazis attained power one year later.

—Elizabeth A. Drummond

*See also* Böckel, Otto; German National People's Party; *If I Were the Kaiser*; Lange, Friedrich; Pan-German League; Treitschke, Heinrich von; Weimar

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### Claudius (10 BCE–54 CE)

At his enthronement as Roman emperor on January 25, 41 CE, one day after his predecessor Gaius Caligula's assassination, Tiberius Claudius Nero inherited a very tense situation in Alexandria, Egypt, where three years before, the Alexandrian Jews had lost their rights of residence. At the news of Gaius's assassination, the Jews of Alexandria took up arms to try to reverse their situation. It seems that the emperor intervened to restore order in the city, but riots probably broke out again later.

We know of Claudius's provisions from two pieces of evidence; both indicate that he eased the condition of the Jews. In his *Antiquities of the Jews*, the Jewish historian Josephus reported an edict carved on a stela exposed in Alexandria by which Claudius reestablished Jewish rights and customs in the city to what they had been at the time of Augustus (31 BCE–14 CE). Some scholars hold this decree to be authentic and to be Claudius's first intervention after the Jewish rebellion in the spring of 41. A factor arguing in favor of the authenticity of this edict is the decree the prefect Petronius issued in Dora, Phoenicia, when the Greeks there tried to erect statues of Claudius in the local synagogues. Petronius intervened in favor of the Jews recalling Claudius's Alexandrian edict, the principles of which he applied.

However, the unofficial language of the Alexandrian edict as reported by Josephus suggests to other scholars either that Josephus (or his source) embellished the original text in order to provide a more positive image of the relationship between the Jews and Roman power or that the edict never, in fact, existed and that Josephus was referring to a forgery. If so, the historicity of Petronius's actions in Dora also lose their credibility.

The *Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians*, a most important papyrological document dated November 10, 41 CE (published in 1924), is certainly a historical document, a copy of the original deposited in the Alexandrian chancellery. It is the imperial response to the embassies that the Alexandrian citizens and the Jews sent to Claudius in order for him to adjudicate the unresolved conflicts in the city between the two parties. Some scholars deduce from the content of this letter that Claudius had taken measures earlier in the year—an argument for the authenticity of the edict mentioned earlier. The document's ambiguous language, however, leaves the discussion open as to the extent of the emperor's actual intervention. According to the text, Claudius decided to reestablish the Jewish customs in the city as they had been at the time of Augustus, but he also reminded Jews that they lived in a city that was not their own.

A comparative analysis of the vocabulary of

the two pieces of evidence allows some observations. The edict called the Jews "Alexandrians," a descriptive Claudius carefully avoided in the *Letter*; the edict spoke of the reestablishment of Jewish customs *and* rights, whereas the *Letter* mentioned only of their customs—unless *customs* is semantically understood to include Jewish rights as well, as some think. Others hold these differences to be additional good reasons to doubt the authenticity of Josephus's edict.

Ancient historians also briefly reported two occasions on which Claudius is said to have expelled the Jews from Rome, in 41 and 49. But once again, the imprecise and sometimes controversial information contained in the sources make the truth difficult to establish. There is no unanimity among modern historians concerning these events; some scholars tend to minimize the involvement of the Jews.

—Sandra Gambetti

*See also* Alexandrian Pogrom; Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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## Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea (1899–1938)

The Romanian nationalist politician Corneliu Codreanu was the oldest son of Ion Zelinski, who changed his Polish name to Zelea Codreanu and adopted the Orthodox faith. Zelea Codreanu provided his son with a pious and patriotic upbringing, sending him in 1910 to the military school Mănăstirea Dealului. The younger Codreanu went on to study law at Iassy, Jena, and Grenoble and took his doctorate under A. C. Cuza, the economist, writer, and right-wing politician. These formative influences in his life imbued him with a belief in elite leadership, work, discipline, and religiosity.

Codreanu was antisemitic. Like Cuza and many other intellectuals, he held "foreigners," that is, the Jews, responsible for the problems

plaguing Romania after World War I. Even as a student, he had organized antisemitic actions. He also became an anticomunist during an episode of worker unrest in Iassy, and in 1919, he started his own short-lived anticomunist labor party, Bread and Honor, which championed national and Christian socialism. He was more successful organizing students than workers, however. The 1922 strike of his nationalist Association of Christian Students brought university instruction to a standstill. Peasants and students joined together in the LANC—National Christian Defense League, an organization that drew together all those opposed to granting Jews full rights of citizenship. Codreanu and his friends sought to mobilize opposition to the allegedly pro-Jewish policies of the liberals by attempting to assassinate six influential politicians and Jews. The attacks failed, but Codreanu then shot the Iassy chief of police. His subsequent trial and acquittal won him national notoriety for the first time. In 1926, he parted ways with Cuza and LANC and organized his own party.

He now rejected individual acts of terror as valid political means. He began to think beyond petty, everyday politics, proclaiming the need for a “national renewal” of the Romanian people and appointing himself as the instrument of Romania’s salvation. In 1927, he and a few friends in Iassy created the Legion of the Archangel Michael to carry out this grandiose mission. To begin with, Codreanu was intent on saving Romanian youth from the deleterious influence of the ruling political parties, offering them an elaborately organized movement dedicated to hard work, friendship, mutual assistance, self-sacrifice, and discipline. The individual “nests,” or cells, of the legion proved flexible and functional, equally adaptable to political campaigning and underground activities. Although Codreanu himself made an effort to keep the legion’s activities within the bounds of the law, governmental authorities repeatedly banned or harassed the organization. From 1931, the league contested elections under a variety of names, including the Iron Guard. In 1937, it won sixty-six seats and nearly 16 percent of the vote.

After King Carol II imposed a royal dictatorship and because of the steady growth in the le-

gion’s membership, the government moved to put Codreanu on trial for high treason in May 1938 and to find him guilty, despite a lack of substantial evidence. He was sentenced to ten years of hard labor and shortly afterward, by order of the king, murdered. Codreanu’s death launched the formation of his myth.

—Krista Zach

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Cuza, A. C.; Iron Guard; LANC—National Christian Defense League; Romania; Romania, Post-Soviet

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## Coin Clipping

The most significant episode of Jewish coin clipping occurred between 1278 and 1279 under Edward I of England. By medieval standards, England policed and centralized the minting of its coinage to a remarkably effective degree. But in the 1270s, amid the fiscal pressures of Edward’s Welsh war, concern mounted about recent deterioration of the currency. Edward was apparently convinced that royal judges, sheriffs, and mint masters were conniving with alien merchants, Jews, and goldsmiths to enrich themselves through clipping and counterfeiting. In 1278, he appointed special commissions “of oyer and terminer” (meaning, hearing and determination) to root out such practices as “shearing” (filing the edges of coins), “clipping” (cutting off entire slivers with forceps), and “forging” (melting the clippings into plate to overlay a base metal core with silver). That same year, he raised the maximum penalty for these offenses from banishment to execution.

On November 18, 1278, a mass arrest of Anglo-Jewry occurred, with over 600 imprisoned in the Tower of London and many more incarcerated throughout the country. After a

special trial at the London Guildhall, some 269 Jews and 29 Christians (though historians disagree widely over the exact numbers) were hanged for offenses against “our Lord the King’s coin.” This numerical disparity probably resulted from the special status granted to the government’s chief witness, Henry of Winchester, who, as part of the investigation, was engaged to pose as a customer of illegal coin and thereby gather evidence. As a Jewish convert to Christianity, Henry made use of his extensive contacts with Jewish merchants. This, combined with the fact that his testimony was granted the status of unimpeachable *recordum* (established matter of record) when directed against Jewish though not against Christian defendants, probably accounts for the far greater number of Jews who received the ultimate penalty.

It is estimated that the wealth confiscated from English Jews as a result of these arrests amounted to £11,000, a financial blow from which, given the heavy exactions in taxes and fines of the preceding half century, medieval Anglo-Jewry never recovered. By so depleting their remaining assets—and thus rendering them fiscally useless—the coin-clipping prosecution helped pave the way for the Jews’ general expulsion eleven years later. However, the expulsion from England did not solve the problem of coin clipping, which continued to plague the country for centuries.

The expulsion also failed to erase the memory of Jewish criminality in the nation’s cultural consciousness, despite the lack of an overt Jewish presence. Amid renewed concerns about the abuse of the coinage in the 1500s, chronicles and pamphlets such as Raphael Holinshed’s (a major historical source for Shakespeare) devoted significant attention to the monetary crimes of Edwardian Jewry. Seventeenth-century opponents of Jewish readmission, including the lawyer William Prynne, ransacked this literature to support their anti-Jewish claims. This antiquarian effort in turn provided historical source material for those who sought to overturn the 1753 Jew Bill, which would have allowed wealthy foreign-born Jewish merchants to become naturalized British subjects. One revealing bit of doggerel, for instance, likened Jewish coin clipping to the forced circumcision of Christians:

In brave Edward’s days they were caught in  
a gin,  
For clipping our coin, now to add sin to  
sin,  
As they’ve got all our pelf, they’d be  
clipping our skin.  
Those foes to the pork of Old England.  
(Shapiro 1996, 210–211)

Outside Britain, related charges of Jewish counterfeiting and the fencing of stolen goods were leveled frequently against pawnbrokers, whose occupation operated on the edge of the criminal underworld. Additionally, in the absolutist principalities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jewish leasers of state mints (*Münzjuden*) sometimes debased the currency at the behest of their fiscally pressed rulers—a licit act but one that, like medieval coin clipping, fueled anti-Jewish denunciations.

—Jonathan Karp

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Court Jews; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Jew Bill; Pork

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## Colonial America

During the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, antisemitism was on the rise in Europe, and Jews were forced to flee before the Inquisition. A group of Jews, finding sanctuary in Protestant Amsterdam, decided to try their luck in Brazil, but when the Portuguese took control there, they were forced to move on. Twenty-three of them wound up in the Dutch West India Company’s colony of New Amsterdam (soon to be New York) in 1654, where they initially encountered resistance from Director Gen-

eral Petrus (Peter) Stuyvesant. The Puritans of New England refused to tolerate them, with the exception of those infamous for dissent themselves—the residents of Newport, Rhode Island. Despite the lukewarm welcome they received, Jews established a community in Philadelphia in the early 1700s and, by the middle of the eighteenth century, in the southern cities of Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. In 1740, British officials decided that the empire would grow faster if Jews and other dissenters based in the provinces were allowed to become naturalized; their trade would then be easier to regulate, and a stronger front against French competition could be erected. Thus, a new law that applied only to the colonies allowed foreign Protestants and Jews (but not Catholics) to become subjects of the crown after they had lived in the colonies for seven years and provided they were not absent for longer than two months during that span. Still, there were fewer than 2,500 Jewish men, women, and children (perhaps 0.1 percent of the population) when Americans declared their independence from Great Britain. Most were members of the mercantile community.

Old World stereotypes also crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Many of their neighbors viewed Jews as dishonest, immoral money-grubbers who engaged in usurious business practices. But religion still generated most of the bigotry. Protestants discriminated against both Jews and Catholics; Puritans rebuked them from the pulpit. In 1669, Boston minister Increase Mather wrote that “the guilt of the bloud of the Lord of Heaven and Earth lyeth upon that nation,” accusing Jews of “the most prodigious murther” of Jesus Christ (in Marcus 1970, 3:1119). William Shakespeare’s play *The Merchant of Venice*, with its archetypal portrayal of Shylock, opened in Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, in 1752 and in other cities thereafter. During the American Revolution, in 1778, a group of Jewish women and children fled from British soldiers in Georgia. When they arrived in South Carolina, “An American” wrote to the *Charleston Gazette* to warn the city’s residents about “the *Tribe of Israel*” who had taken “every advantage in trade” before seeking “asylum with their ill-got wealth,

dastardly turning their backs upon the country, when in danger, which had given them bread and protection” (in Faber 1992, 96).

In the earliest years of colonization, Jews were occasionally and in some locales barred from owning land, required to live in their own small sections of town, and banned from retailing and practicing some crafts. There were instances of officials imposing heavy fines on Jews—and only Jews—who had committed minor infractions. At first, Jews were only allowed to worship in their own homes and had to petition the authorities before being allowed to have their own cemeteries, one of their first priorities.

Throughout the colonial period, Jews paid taxes to support the established churches in New England, New York, and the South, but they were barred in these places from both voting and holding office for failing to meet religious qualifications. The refusal of Jews to swear Christian oaths was also used against them. Despite such prohibitions, however, the most influential Jewish merchants probably did vote for local offices. By the eighteenth century, Jews could worship publicly, but they were still excluded from exercising political power. British policy forbade both Jews and Catholics from becoming members of the colonial assemblies. On a more personal level, Jews had to endure name-calling and public slander in newspapers, courts, and when business rivalries heated up. Enemies referred to them as “Jew merchants” or “devilish Jews,” and a Christian who declared a Christian rival to be “rich as a Jew” was thought to have said something quite insulting. There were rare acts of violence, such as the beating of Naphtali Hart of Newport in the 1740s. On occasion, Jewish cemeteries were desecrated and vandalized.

Despite such examples of enmity, religious toleration was generally more widespread in North America than in Europe at that time. Jews and Christians engaged in business together and married each other. In terms of race, other colonists considered Jews fellow whites when it came to confronting Native Americans and those of African descent. By the late seventeenth century, Jews were allowed to trade freely, and their activities were recognized as economically beneficial. In the ethnically and religiously diverse

colonies of Great Britain, for the most part, Jews functioned as one more group of Europeans engaged in the colonization of the Western Hemisphere. During the American Revolution, many Jews distinguished themselves as patriots, and they participated in the politics of revolution and constitution writing to claim political equality.

Following on the heels of such victories, however, Jews faced increased prejudice during the early American republic that paralleled the hardening of racial attitudes toward slaves and Indians in an era of growing nationalism. Still, the most virulent forms of antisemitism did not appear in the United States until the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

—Kim M. Gruenwald

**See also** Deicide; Emancipation; Shakespeare, William; Slave Trade and the Jews; Stuyvesant, Peter; United States; Usury

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## Commissar Order

The Commissar Order (Kommissarbefehl) of June 6, 1941, was one of a series of orders given to the German Wehrmacht (armed forces), Schutzstaffel (SS), and police forces prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, to prepare for the conduct of a racial war of annihilation in the East. The Commissar Order served as the charter for the notorious Einsatzgruppen (mobile death squads) as German forces prepared to enter Soviet territory on a mission of conquest, exploitation, and extermination. These units acted as the vanguard of Heinrich Himmler's SS forces, tasked with the elimination of the Third Reich's putative racial enemies in the pursuit of "living space."

To avoid conflicts between the SS and police forces and their Wehrmacht counterparts during

the invasion of Poland, Adolf Hitler and the senior SS leadership drafted detailed military orders in the spring of 1941, outlining the duties and responsibilities of the various forces to be employed in racial war in the East. On March 3, 1941, Hitler clearly stated his intentions to the Wehrmacht leadership: "The impending campaign . . . entails a struggle between two ideologies. . . . The Jewish-Bolshevik intelligentsia, as the oppressor in the past, must be liquidated" (in Boog, Förster, and Hoffman 1998, 482). On March 13, at Hitler's direction, the chief of the German High Command, Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, issued Guidelines in Special Fields Concerning Directive Number 21 to the German armed forces concerning the forthcoming campaign, noting that "on behalf of the Führer, the Reich Leader of the SS (Heinrich Himmler) assumes special tasks in preparation for the political administration within the army's field of operations that arise from the final, decisive battle between two opposing political systems" (in Klein 1997, 365). In a meeting with his senior military commanders at the end of March 1941, Hitler provided explicit guidance on the nature of these "special tasks" assigned to the Wehrmacht and SS. The chief of the German general staff, Gen. Franz Halder, recorded in his war diary (on March 30, 1941), that Hitler repeated his earlier instructions by ordering the "extermination of the Bolshevik Commissars and of the Communist intelligentsia" (Halder 1988).

Hitler further ordered changes in the normal procedures of military jurisdiction, restricting the authority of military courts to examine Soviet citizens charged with criminal offenses. Consequently, such cases were placed in the hands of military and SS field units, eliminating any realistic hope of due process. On May 13, Keitel issued a decree that removed jurisdiction from the courts for criminal offenses committed by "enemy civilians." In essence, this decree created a situation in which Wehrmacht and SS forces literally became judge, jury, and executioner, thereby removing one further obstacle to the conduct of a racial war of extermination.

As Wehrmacht leaders finalized their marching orders, Himmler and the head of the Security Police and Security Service, Reinhard Hey-

drich, further developed the blueprint for the activities of SS and police forces. In a meeting with Reich Marshal Hermann Göring on March 26, Heydrich reported on SS plans for the “solution to the Jewish Question” in conjunction with the coming campaign. Göring expressed his concern that German forces be made aware of the danger posed by Soviet intelligence personnel (GPU—United State Political Administration), political commissars, and Jews so that they might know who was to be executed. In subsequent negotiations with the army leadership, Himmler and Heydrich finalized the role of SS and police personnel and their relationship to Wehrmacht forces. On May 21, Himmler issued a top-secret decree delineating the command relationship between SS forces and their army counterparts under the subject “Special Order from the Führer.” These complex negotiations completed, the groundwork for the murderous activities of SS and police members in the following months was in place.

As German military, SS, and police personnel streamed across the Soviet border in the early hours of June 22, Hitler’s vision of an apocalyptic clash between opposing ideologies removed the basic legal and moral limitations of warfare and created the conditions for mass murder. In the final analysis, the Commissar Order functioned as the keystone for a structure of measures that “legalized” the annihilation of the European Jews and the conduct of a racial war of extermination.

—Edward B. Westermann

*See also* Einsatzgruppen; Göring, Hermann; Himmler, Heinrich; Order Police

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**Coningsby (1844)**

*Coningsby, or, The New Generation* was the first of Benjamin Disraeli’s political trilogy, a series of novels diagnosing the ills of 1840s England. The novels articulate a Conservative response to the new power of the manufacturing class, the grievances of the Chartists, who mounted an unsuccessful struggle for workers’ rights, and the contemporary crisis of faith in the English national church. They formed a manifesto for the radical Young England faction of the Tory Party, asserting a renewed commitment to the ancient institutions of church and monarchy but also demanding that politicians engage directly with the modern problems of a nation irrevocably altered by constitutional change, industrialization, and capitalism.

The hero of the trilogy, Coningsby, is a young aristocrat alienated from a sense of national duty because of the decadence and corruption of his class. It is his good fortune, however, to meet Millbank, a manufacturer, and his daughter Edith, who exemplify the virtues of the middle class, which is misguidedly excluded from power and government. Coningsby visits Millbank’s factory community, a model village that promotes the health and education of its workers and demonstrates a revival of the spirit of ancient feudalism. Millbank believes in a “natural aristocracy,” one constituted by virtue, talents, and property rather than by the arbitrary power of the English ruling elite.

Coningsby is also elevated from his enervation by a chance meeting with the brilliant, cosmopolitan, and emotionally cold Jewish financier Sidonia, the figure in whom Disraeli invests his fantasies about Jewish racial superiority. Sidonia becomes Coningsby’s other political mentor, offering him yet another model for reviving Conservative values. “The Jews,” Sidonia informs him, “are essentially Tories” (*Coningsby*, chap. 10). In a chapter devoted to the genealogy and character of Sidonia, Disraeli expands the idea of a “natural aristocracy” and applies it to the Jews.

Sidonia is sprung from a Sephardic family of

international capitalists whose survival of the Spanish Inquisition through conversion gave them access to substantial political and economic power. Sidonia, who reverted to Judaism on migrating to tolerant England, holds an elaborate conspiracy theory of Jewish power and informs Coningsby that Jews occupy all the highest positions in European governments and universities as well as masterminding its revolutionary movements. The novel explains the survival of the Jews thus: "Sidonia and his brethren could claim a distinction which the Saxon and the Greek, and the rest of the Caucasian nations, have forfeited. The Hebrew is an unmixed race. . . . An unmixed race of a firstrate organisation are the aristocracy of Nature" (chap. 10).

In contrast to the liberal political strategy of contemporary Anglo-Jews, Disraeli echoed the racial thinking of the vehement antisemite Thomas Carlyle, who spoke of the "law of nature" that ordained a hierarchy of races. In his digression on the Jewish Question in *Lord George Bentinck: A Political Biography* (1852, 323), Disraeli reiterated this claim, arguing that the Jews "are a living and the most striking evidence of the falsity of that pernicious doctrine of modern times, the natural equality of man." By the same token, however, Disraeli assured the English of their ascendancy as an imperial nation, since "a Saxon race, protected by an insular position, has stamped its diligent and methodic character on the century. And when a superior race, with a superior idea to Work and Order, advances, its state will be progressive. . . . All is race; there is no other truth" (Disraeli, *Tancred* 1: 303).

—Nadia Valman

**See also** Disraeli, Benjamin; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Rothschilds; "Three Hundred," The

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## Constantine, Emperor (274–337 CE)

In 312, two claimants to the Roman imperial throne, Maxentius (d. 312) and Constantine, met in battle at the Milvian Bridge on the Tiber River in Rome. According to his apologist and biographer (and famous ecclesiastical historian), Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine had a vision before the battle. In the vision, he supposedly saw a blazing cross and the words *In this sign you shall conquer*. The next day, his forces routed those of Maxentius. For reasons that were evidently tied up with politics and expediency, Constantine "converted" to Christianity, although, as was not unusual then, he deferred baptism until death. Among his first acts was to extend toleration to Christianity. After defeating the Eastern emperor Licinius in battle (in 324), Constantine became sole emperor, in which capacity he set out to strengthen Christianity materially and politically and even to unite it theologically; in the latter two enterprises, he achieved, at best, ambiguous success. Although his conversion was fateful for the future of Christianity and for the entirety of the empire, including the numerous Jewish communities spread out from Palestine to Spain, his attitude toward Jews and Judaism is easily misunderstood.

The central interpretive difficulty in describing Constantine's attitudes toward Jews and Judaism is that so much of what he is commonly believed to have thought and said was filtered through the writings of Eusebius. Like other church fathers, Eusebius wrote in a period when Christianity's "triumph" was far from secure. Just twenty years after his death, the crypto-pagan Emperor Julian (r. 361–363) moved vigorously against the newly tolerated religion. Judaism, moreover, was still cultically attractive to many Christians, and Eusebius and other intellectuals, responding to this competition, attempted to define Christianity, in part, by denouncing its parent religion. All of these factors have to be kept in mind when considering words and actions attributed to Constantine regarding Jews and Judaism.

This advice is especially relevant when considering Constantine's infamous letter concerning the correct day to commemorate the Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. Until the early fourth century, many Eastern churches, espe-



Constantine the Great at the Battle at Milvian Bridge (312). Legend states that a cross and the words “in this sign you shall conquer” appeared in the heavens and inspired Constantine to adopt Christianity. (Bettmann/Corbis)

cially in Asia Minor, celebrated it on Nisan 14—that is, on the day of the celebration of Passover; those Christians who so celebrated the feast were thus known as Quartodecimans. Most Western churches celebrated it annually on a Sunday, although others celebrated it on other days. (The whole problem was complicated by the Eastern and Western churches reckoning the vernal equinox differently.) In the letter, “preserved” by Eusebius, Constantine supposedly demanded that the Resurrection be celebrated on Sunday. Repeatedly, he warned his readers that they should “have nothing in common with the Jews”—in other words, they should not celebrate the Resurrection of Jesus on Passover. Indeed, they should “separate themselves from the detestable company of the Jews.” After all, the Jews were guilty of the most fearful crimes, deicide. They

were irrational, delusional, blinded by error, and incorrigible. Therefore, Christian souls should not have been “tarnished with communication” with the Jews. Indeed, it was their duty to have nothing “in common with the murderers of the Lord” (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 3: 18–20).

Although this letter is often presented as proof of Constantine’s hatred of the Jews and the social separation of Jews and Christians, it actually demonstrates nothing of the sort. We learn from this letter much more about Eusebius’s attitude toward the Jews—and especially of those sympathetic to the authority of their ancient ritual practice—than we do of Constantine’s. His rhetoric was, by any measure, antisemitic, but Eusebius’s fury was likely motivated less by Jew-hatred than by fear of the continuing attraction of Judaism for many Christians, the lack of clear cultic and

social distinctions between practitioners of the two rival religions, and the social relations that continued between them. Eusebius's anger, which he made Constantine express in this letter, was the result of frustration with "Judaizing" Christians, not with "the Jews" per se.

More clearly unfavorable to the Jews was Constantine's edict of October 315, in which he forbade Jews from attempting to proselytize Christians and at the same time forbade Christians from attending Jewish religious assemblies or converting to Judaism. An attempt to achieve religious and thus imperial unity, the edict was most certainly not an effort to eradicate Judaism or to discontinue Rome's traditional attitude of tolerance. However, Constantine clearly wanted Judaism to cease its missionizing. Eusebius also credited him with having forbidden Jews from owning Christian slaves, but again, whether this reflected Constantine's actual ambitions is ambiguous. Subsequent Roman legislation, not least of all Justinian's Code, would be considerably harsher toward Jewish "superstition" and Jewish economic and political interests.

—Kevin Madigan

**See also** Church Fathers; Deicide; Justinian Code; Roman Empire; Roman Literature; Theodosian Code

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## Constantine Pogrom (1934)

Between August 3 and 5, 1934, Muslim mobs went on a rampage in the Algerian city of Constantine, attacking Jews and Jewish property. In the attack, 25 Jewish men, women, and children were killed, most from having their throats cut or their skulls crushed, and 26 more were injured, according to official statistics. More than 200 Jewish-owned stores were ransacked. The total property damage to homes, businesses, and

synagogues was estimated at over 150 million Poincaré francs. Some 3,000 people, one-quarter of Constantine's Jewish population, were in need of welfare assistance in the aftermath of the pogrom. During the rampage, anti-Jewish incidents were recorded in the countryside of the Department of Constantine, extending over a 100-kilometer radius. Jews were murdered in Hamma and Mila, and in Aïn Béïda, Jewish homes and businesses were looted. In all, 314 Jews left Aïn Béïda for good, seeking the relative security of larger communities. During much of the rioting, the French police and security forces stood by and did little or nothing to stop the rioters.

Differing analyses of the causes of the Constantine pogrom were offered by the French colonial administration, by Jews, by Algerian Muslims, and by later historians. All agree that the spark igniting the violence was an argument between a Jewish Zouave (infantryman), Eliahou Khalifa, and worshipers in a mosque adjacent to his home. Eyewitness accounts differed over the precise circumstances. The antisemitic French colonial authorities and press reported only the Muslim version that Khalifa was drunk, urinated on the Arabs, and insulted Islam. A report by the Jewish authorities claimed that he was not inebriated, that he had asked the Muslims to close some windows opening onto their ablution hall for the sake of modesty, and that in the ensuing argument, they had cursed him and his faith and that he in turn cursed them and their religion. ("God curse your religion" is a common imprecation in North Africa freely and frequently used by Muslims and Jews, even between members of the same faith.) Jewish public opinion at the time blamed the incident on a conspiracy between European antisemites in the Algerian colonial bureaucracy and on pan-Arab propaganda. In the official government account at the time, the rioting was described as a completely spontaneous event. The antisemitic *pieds noirs* (colonists) and some Muslims blamed the outbreak on the enmity of the native underclass caused by the arrogance of nouveau riche Jews, who supposedly flaunted their superiority as French citizens under the Crémieux Decree of 1870, and by the alleged exploitation of Jewish moneylenders.

French historian Charles-Robert Ageron has argued that though the violence was spontaneous, it resulted from the grave social and economic conditions at the time. André Chouraqui and Michel Ansky believed that the native mob, consisting mainly of poor, displaced migrants from the countryside, had been manipulated with the collusion of antisemitic colonists and self-serving Arab notables. However, in the most detailed and best-documented study of the pogrom, Israeli historian Robert Attal discounted the importance of the dire socioeconomic conditions and extreme antisemitic agitation. These factors may have provided the background to the event, but the scope and intensity of the violence, Attal suggested, may well have been the result of a cynical decision made in the highest ruling echelons of the country. There, it was decided to make the most of the fortuitous rioting (by doing almost nothing to restrain it) in order to discredit the increasingly vocal Muslim leadership and the continually truculent colonists who opposed any reform of the colonial administration. The Jews of Constantine and the surrounding area were the victims of this scheming.

—Norman A. Stillman

*See also* Algeria; Drumont, Édouard; Farhud; France; Pogroms; Régis, Max

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### Coughlin, Charles E. (1891–1979)

Born in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1891 and educated by the Basilian Fathers in Toronto, Charles E. Coughlin was ordained for the Roman Catholic priesthood in 1916 and then taught at Assumption College in Windsor, Ontario. In 1923, he was welcomed into the diocese of Detroit, where the young priest soon founded a parish in nearby Royal Oak, Michigan. Coughlin took up radio preaching in 1926 to raise money. His great popularity led the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) to offer him a contract in 1930. With the impact of the Great Depression spreading, Coughlin's radio

sermons turned political. He denounced communism and delivered harsh criticisms of President Herbert Hoover. Although CBS and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) refused to negotiate a contract with him in 1931, his fame and growing wealth facilitated the creation of his own network, the Radio League of the Little Flower.

Coughlin's calls for social justice in the early years of the Depression flowed naturally from the Catholic social doctrine's emphasis on the common good. He denounced the concentration of wealth and insensitivity to the plight of workers and farmers. At first an eager supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the early New Deal, he peppered his political sermons with slogans such as "The New Deal Is Christ's Deal!" His early economic prescriptions included cheaper and more abundant currency, abandonment of the gold standard, and the remonetization of silver. His proposals became more aggressive in 1934 when he published his *Sixteen Principles of Social Justice*, which urged the elimination of the Federal Reserve banking system dominated by private bankers and the creation of a bank of the United States that could expand the supply of currency. Coughlin lambasted the detrimental role of "international bankers," "financiers," and "plutocrats," who obstructed economic reform.

By 1934, he was receiving more than 10,000 letters a day, and his weekly broadcasts were reaching an estimated 10 million listeners. As his suggestions went unheeded in Washington, Coughlin began to voice ambivalence toward the New Deal. In November 1934, he launched his National Union for Social Justice to flex his political muscle. He urged its members to support only the candidates who backed his *Sixteen Principles*. In March 1936, he established his weekly, *Social Justice*. Uniting forces with followers of Francis E. Townsend and Gerald L. K. Smith, Coughlin backed Union Party candidate William Lemke in the presidential election of 1936. Staggered by Lemke's weak showing, Coughlin retired from the airwaves for six weeks but returned on New Year's Day in 1937 more embittered than before. His definitive break with Roosevelt significantly diminished his popularity, but the

radio priest's core followers remained intensely loyal; they were, by and large, poor Catholics of Irish descent, and most lived in the cities of the East Coast and the Midwest.

Coughlin's violent denunciations of the New Deal for its "communistic" policies developed into an ugly and explicit antisemitism that pervaded *Social Justice* and his radio sermons in 1938. Although the archdiocese of Detroit had assigned Coughlin a censor in 1937, he appeared undeterred. He serialized the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, reprinted Nazi propaganda from Joseph Goebbels, and attacked bankers and New Dealers of Jewish descent—without ecclesiastical interference. Coughlin expressed his admiration for Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, particularly their anticommunism. He held Jews responsible for Freemasonry, the French and Russian Revolutions, world communism, and attacks on Christian civilization. He nudged his followers to organize against the Red Menace, giving birth to the Christian Front that in eastern cities attacked Jewish stores and advocated violence. Meanwhile, his Christian Index worked to identify and boycott Jewish merchants. Notwithstanding this extremism, Coughlin collected \$574,416 from his followers in 1938.

A strict isolationist, he railed against the "British-Jewish-Roosevelt conspiracy" when World War II broke out. By 1940, the National Association of Broadcasters enacted new codes that left him with no airtime. In the spring of 1942, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the government banned *Social Justice* from the mails and warned his superior, Archbishop Edward Mooney of Detroit, that Coughlin faced sedition charges if his rancorous activities continued. Only then did the Catholic Church move to silence him, although he remained the pastor of his parish in Royal Oak until his retirement in 1966. He died in 1979.

—Peter R. D'Agostino

**See also** Goebbels, Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; Mussolini, Benito; Pelley, William Dudley; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Smith, Gerald L. K.; United States

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## Court Jews

At times during the Middle Ages, Jews had played prominent roles at princely, royal, and imperial courts under both Christians and Muslims—for example, during the golden age of Spanish Jewry. In the early modern era, more Jews performed these functions and faced many of the same challenges as their forerunners. They acted in important capacities for the numerous petty and grand ecclesiastical and secular courts of the German states, operating as agents of a growing absolutist and mercantilist economic system, supplying armies, minting coinage, and raising taxes; they served as diplomats; and they developed manufacturing, often in regions troubled by war and political intrigue, as during the Thirty Years' War, the struggle for the Polish Crown, or the defense against the resurgent Turks. In some cases, powerful Jews conducted operations simultaneously in several areas and under many rulers. According to some estimates, there may have been thousands of court Jews, at various levels.

Straddling a fine line between service to their overlords and commitment to their own Jewish communities, court Jews—their personalities, careers, and Jewish identities—have been the object of several scholarly investigations. They were generally shrewd businessmen but far from independent. They were subject to the whims of the ruler and often envied by others at court. Among the general population, they were hated because of their Jewishness and as the visible agents of often rapacious princes. Despite the extensive network of family and business contacts, leading occasionally to the establishment of influential dynasties and the accumulation of great wealth, court Jews often fell victim to one or another of the perils that surrounded them at all times. Although serviceable Jews were tolerated and even

privileged, theories of toleration of Jews or Judaism played no role in the rulers' considerations. Jews were utilized primarily for practical and financial purposes. They could be readily sacrificed if expediency demanded.

Theirs was a dangerous business. The granting of monopolies produced resentment among non-Jewish merchants and craftspeople. Jews involved in provisioning armies could quickly become scapegoats for inferior equipment or poor food and pay. Coin clipping—a way of enhancing the prince's revenues—and devaluing of currency produced widespread popular anger that targeted Jewish mint masters. Acting as tax farmers put Jews in harm's way when the prince's subjects rebelled against his exploitation. Although court Jews enjoyed privileges related to residence, travel, and business prerogatives and benefited from protection that other Jews (and non-Jews) did not possess, they normally experienced great ups and downs in prosperity and sometimes in physical safety. Popular unrest that erupted in violence against powerless Jews did not always exempt powerful court Jews.

Some historians have portrayed the court Jews as secularists and precursors of Reform Judaism. Recent scholarship, however, has stressed the traditional and religiously observant life of most court Jews, as well as their strong ties with, work for, and devotion to the Jewish community.

—Dean Phillip Bell

*See also* Coin Clipping; Islam and the Jews; Jud Süß; Middle Ages, High

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## Crimes against Humanity (French Trials)

Crimes against humanity have had a complicated and controversial history in postwar France. In December 1964, the French parliament voted unanimously to suspend the statute of limitations on crimes against humanity as defined in article 6c of the charter of the International Criminal Tribunal at Nuremberg (ICT). With the statute of limitations running out on war crimes, the aim of the legislators was to bar Nazi war criminals permanently from French soil by holding the threat of prosecution over their heads. The law was not intended to be applied to French citizens and specifically those who had worked for the Vichy government. Therefore, when three Frenchmen—Paul Touvier, René Bousquet, and Maurice Papon—were later charged and in the cases of Touvier and Papon tried under the law, the accusations and trials created considerable controversy.

From the outset, the incorporation of crimes against humanity into French law raised a number of thorny legal and moral issues. First, the question as to which court would have jurisdiction in these matters was left unresolved, which would complicate and delay the prosecution of Paul Touvier for years after initial charges against him were filed in 1973. Second, the language of the ICT statute did not specify whether the law was intended to be applied to others besides citizens of the Reich, which complicated the legal and historical issues at stake when Touvier was finally tried in 1994. Third, the fact that the law could (and would) be applied retroactively and that it was imprescriptible seemed to many to run counter to the spirit of justice in which it was conceived. Finally, especially when Maurice Papon was tried in the 1997–1998 fall and winter in Bordeaux, many questioned the justice of putting a very old man in apparently fragile health on trial for crimes committed fifty years earlier.

The first individual tried for crimes against humanity in France was not, in fact, a Frenchman but the former Gestapo chief in Lyon, Klaus Barbie. Known as “the Butcher of Lyon” primarily for torturing and executing Resistance members—including France’s greatest Resistance hero

and martyr Jean Moulin in 1943—Barbie had fled France at the end of the war and worked for the Americans in Germany as an anti-Soviet agent. Eventually, along with his family, he escaped Europe with the help of elements in the Catholic Church and via the U.S. “rat line,” a clandestine network for the “resettlement” of army counter-intelligence operatives. He turned up in South America in 1951, where, among other activities, he set up a successful export company and helped the right-wing government in Bolivia create a secret terrorist army, the Fiancés of Death, conceived along SS lines. Living under the name Klaus Altmann, Barbie led a very comfortable and secure life and remained completely loyal to Nazism and the memory of Hitler.

In the early 1970s, Barbie’s identity was revealed primarily through the efforts of Nazi hunters Serge Klarsfeld and, especially, Beate Klarsfeld, but efforts to extradite him to Europe failed because he enjoyed the protection of the Bolivian president. In the early 1980s, a regime change in Bolivia resulted in a loss of Barbie’s protection. Secret negotiations between the French and Bolivian governments made it possible to arrest Barbie and to secret him out of the country in February 1983. Once in France, he was imprisoned in Montluc Prison, where Resistance fighters had been jailed, tortured, and executed four decades earlier.

Barbie was immediately charged with crimes against humanity. Although this made it possible for him to be prosecuted for his role in the Final Solution—along these lines, Barbie was most infamous for ordering the arrest and deportation of Jewish children hidden by locals in the village of Izieu—his actions against the Resistance were not covered under the law. For many former Resistance fighters, to indict and try Barbie without reference to these crimes and especially the murder of Jean Moulin was not only ludicrous but a miscarriage of justice. But raising the issue of Barbie’s crimes against the Resistance was a double-edged sword, which Barbie’s lawyer deftly exploited. Moulin had, after all, been betrayed by members of the Resistance. To bring up the issue of Barbie’s crimes against the Resistance and specifically the torture and murder of Moulin risked, therefore, not only exposing the Resis-

tance’s “unheroic side” and tarnishing its memory but also stirring old animosities in the ranks of Resistance veterans.

Despite these difficulties, on December 20, 1985, the Criminal Chamber of the French Court of Appeals modified the definition of crimes against humanity to make it possible to include some crimes against the Resistance in the charges against Barbie. Henceforth, individuals acting on behalf of a “State practicing a policy of ideological hegemony” could be prosecuted under the law not only for persecuting individuals “because of their appurtenance to a racial or religious collectivity” but also for their actions against “adversaries” of this state, “regardless of the form of (the latter’s) opposition.” Although the prosecution’s case now needed to be reconstructed, the trial could, in principle, at last move forward with the full range of Barbie’s crimes taken into account.

The Barbie trial took place in Lyon from May 11 to July 4, 1987. The indictment included his role in the implementation of the Final Solution as well as his actions against the Resistance. No effort was made to distinguish between these two types of crimes, a factor that might have resulted in legal controversies except that the Resistance members mentioned in the indictment and victimized by Barbie were also Jewish. At the conclusion of the trial, he was found guilty and sentenced to life in prison. His conviction, moreover, accelerated the process of indicting and trying French citizens for crimes against humanity, because there was now a logical justification for using the same law against French defendants accused of similar crimes.

The next individual to be tried for crimes against humanity in France was Paul Touvier, an intelligence officer in Vichy’s paramilitary and fascist militia, or *milice*, created in January 1943 to fight “France’s enemies,” especially Resistance fighters and Jews. Although Touvier was ultimately nothing more than a con man, thief, and murderer, his story is a fascinating one (fictionalized in Brian Moore’s excellent 1995 novel, *The Statement*). Born into a fanatically reactionary, petit bourgeois Catholic family in the village of Chambéry, Touvier was one of eleven children. A ne’er-do-well before the war who worked pri-

marily as a railway clerk, he joined Vichy's veteran's organization in 1940, quickly signed up with the milice, and began to climb the hierarchy. He attended the milice's leadership school at Uriage and assumed an important intelligence role in the Lyons, where in all likelihood he knew and perhaps worked with Klaus Barbie.

Although brutally efficient, Touvier was hardly a model policeman or soldier. He fleeced his victims, pimped for a mistress, and lived like a Mafia boss during the German Occupation. But he was also careful to preserve his close ties with the Catholic Church and especially its most reactionary elements. When the Germans fled Lyons, Touvier went underground but preferred "inner exile" to leaving the country. He robbed to survive in Paris, where he escaped once from the police, and when he needed help for himself, his wife, and his two children, he relied on the church, staying in convents throughout France.

From the beginning, Touvier was adept at convincing powerful figures in the church that he was an innocent victim and indeed a Christian martyr, and his tales of woe aroused the sympathy of other visible public figures, as well. In 1971, highly placed members of the clergy convinced President Georges Pompidou that Touvier had suffered enough for his activities during the war and that he should be pardoned. When news of the presidential pardon leaked out to the media, the public outrage was considerable. In September 1972, in an attempt to justify the pardon, Pompidou gave a press conference in which he asked if the time had not come "to draw a veil over the past, to forget a time when Frenchmen didn't like each other." As events would prove, that time had decidedly not come, and Touvier, now hounded by the public, was forced into hiding again. He was finally arrested for good in a monastery in Nice in 1989, where he was hiding under the name Paul Lacroix.

Touvier was not tried until spring 1994, and the numerous delays and legal controversies that took place before his trial confirm the extent to which many, including some in the judicial system itself, were reluctant to try the former milice member. In July 1991, public consternation greeted a decision by the Indictments Division of the Court of Appeals to release Touvier on his

own recognizance because his imprisonment "was no longer necessary to the discovery of the truth." Given Touvier's long history of fleeing the law, speculation abounded that he would do so again.

A bigger bombshell fell in April 1992. The Paris Court of Appeals decided to acquit Touvier of all charges of crimes against humanity on the grounds that the Vichy regime that he served was not a regime that practiced a "politics of ideological hegemony." Under French law, as articulated in the 1985 definition cited earlier, only individuals acting on behalf of a regime that was "ideologically hegemonic" could commit crimes against humanity. In effect, the April 1992 decision not only allowed Touvier to walk, it also whitewashed the regime itself.

On November 27, 1992, the Criminal Chamber of the High Court of Appeals partially overturned the April acquittal of Touvier, retaining only one of several charges: that Touvier had ordered the execution of seven Jews at the cemetery of Rillieux-la-Pape in June 1944. The trial itself finally got under way on March 17, 1994, in Versailles, to intense press coverage. The prosecution successfully argued that Touvier had ordered the murder of the seven Jews and that he had chosen them *because* they were Jewish. (Touvier chose to spare one non-Jewish prisoner also slated for execution.) Moreover, the court rejected the defense's claim that Touvier had actually been ordered by his superiors to execute many more Jews and that, in supposedly sparing these lives, he could legitimately claim the title of the "French Schindler."

For the prosecution, the principal objective was to prove that Touvier had acted as a *German* agent, since the Vichy regime itself still remained out of bounds where crimes against humanity were concerned. Arno Klarsfeld (son of Beate and Serge), one of the lawyers for the civil parties, argued successfully that, since the head of the milice had sworn an oath of loyalty to Hitler, the milice—to which Touvier belonged and in whose name he had acted—could be considered an agency of Nazi Germany, a regime that unquestionably practiced a politics of ideological hegemony. If this was the case, then Touvier's crime could be considered a crime against hu-

manity. As a result of Klarsfeld's successful argument, Touvier was convicted of crimes against humanity for the Rillieux murders and sentenced to life in prison.

To an important degree, the Touvier verdict underscored real difficulties in France's effort to come to terms with its Vichy past through trials for crimes against humanity. As noted, in order to convict Touvier, it was necessary to argue that he acted as a German agent. From a historical perspective, this was a highly dubious claim, as was the assertion made by the Paris Court of Appeals in its April 1992 acquittal of Touvier that Vichy was not a regime practicing a politics of ideological hegemony. Finally, questions remained as to whether the execution of the seven Jews at Rillieux was really a crime against humanity, in that they were murdered not in the context of a genocidal policy to exterminate Jews but as an act of reprisal for the Resistance's assassination the day before of Vichy's propaganda minister, Philippe Henriot. Although the conviction of Touvier was hailed as a victory for the memory of the victims and helped pave the way for the prosecution of "bigger fish" such as Maurice Papon, it left many historians, as well as legal experts, convinced that history and the law itself had suffered in the process. As one legal expert noted, crimes against humanity continued to be modified to suit the needs—and the accused—of the moment to the extent that they were rapidly losing legal specificity.

Unlike Paul Touvier, Maurice Papon had a distinguished postwar career as a Gaullist civil servant and government minister. Having served the Vichy regime in Bordeaux during the Occupation, where he had been responsible for rounding up and deporting Jews between 1942 and 1944, Papon stayed on briefly there in the post-Liberation government. He later served in the prefectoral corps in Corsica and then in France's North African holdings, where he made a name for himself in putting down, often brutally, native unrest.

In March 1958, Papon became prefect of the Paris police, and he was asked to stay on when the Gaullists returned to power a few months later. His tenure was characterized by further brutalities, this time in the deadly suppression of

pro-Algerian demonstrations (in October 1961). Papon retired to the private sector and then returned to political life as a Gaullist functionary and a representative of the Cher region. In 1978, he became minister of the budget under President Valéry Giscard-d'Estaing.

In May 1981, the satirical political newspaper *Le Canard enchaîné* published an article entitled "Papon, aide de camps" in which Papon's role in the deportation of Jews from the Bordeaux region during the Occupation was brought to public attention for the first time. In the months following, Papon lost the support of the Gaullists in his bid for reelection from the Cher, and relatives of the victims of the Bordeaux deportations accused him of crimes against humanity. An honor jury of former Resisters found him innocent of responsibility for the deportations from Bordeaux but acknowledged that he should have left his post rather than perform the heinous duties assigned to him.

For the next sixteen years, Papon's role in the deportations was the subject of media exposés, suits and countersuits, and charges and counter-charges, as well as judicial wranglings. Following the convictions of Barbie and Touvier, as well as the indictment of René Bousquet on charges of crimes against humanity for his role in the deportations of the Jews to the death camps (see the later discussion), it became increasingly difficult for Papon to avoid prosecution. Finally, in December 1995, the prosecutor in Bordeaux, with prompting from the minister of justice, decided to try Papon in the city's Assizes Court, and in October 1997, the trial got under way, with worldwide media attention.

From a legal standpoint, the indictment of Papon avoided some of the obstacles of the earlier indictments of Barbie and Touvier. Papon was not charged with acts against the Resistance (in fact, former Resistance members testified on his behalf at the trial). Moreover, one could not argue, as had been the case with Touvier, that Papon's crime was a "French crime" and therefore not subject to prosecution as a crime against humanity. The deportations of the Jews from Bordeaux was clearly a German initiative. But unlike Touvier, Papon could not be characterized as a direct and willing accomplice, a requirement

that was part of the November 1992 decision in the Touvier case. To circumvent this difficulty, the Court of Appeals ruled in January 1997 that it was no longer necessary for the accomplice of crimes against humanity to “adhere to the politics of ideological hegemony of the principal authors of the crime.”

From the outset, the Papon trial generated fireworks. On October 8, 1997, the opening day of the trial, Papon’s lawyer demanded his client’s liberation from incarceration for the duration of the trial. If the request was denied, Papon would refuse to testify. The judge was thus forced to accede to the defense’s request. Shortly thereafter, the trial was almost derailed by controversy surrounding Papon’s role in the suppression of Algerian protestors in Paris in 1961. Some maintained that these actions should be considered crimes against humanity as well. Under any circumstances, the controversy regarding events in 1961 obscured, at least initially, the extent and nature of Papon’s crimes during the Occupation.

The trial was also marred later on by the flawed memory of many witnesses, which tended, on occasion, to discredit their testimony and damage the prosecution. Similarly, misguided former Gaullist Resisters attacked the trial as a denigration of Gaullism and the memory of the Resistance, as well as an effort by the Germans to blame France for their crimes.

When the verdict was announced six months later, on April 2, 1997, Papon was found guilty of complicity in the “arrest” of thirty-seven individuals and the “arbitrary detention” of fifty-six more in relation to several convoys destined for the death camps between 1942 and 1944. To the consternation of many, he was found not guilty of complicity in the murders of these individuals. Papon was sentenced to ten years in prison for his crimes. In fall 1999, having failed in his appeal, he fled to Switzerland, where, living under an alias, he was quickly arrested and returned to France. In September 2002, a new French law requiring the liberation of infirmed prisoners was passed, and Papon was immediately released.

Although Papon’s was almost certainly the last trial in France for crimes against humanity committed during the German Occupation, the irony is that the most important figure associated

with Vichy’s complicity in the Nazi Final Solution, René Bousquet, never went to trial. Bousquet, a successful young Radical Party politician and civil servant before the war who briefly served in Léon Blum’s Popular Front government, was head of Vichy police between April 1942 and December 1943. In that capacity, he was responsible for the infamous roundup of Jews in July 1942 known as the Vel d’Hiv roundups. Some 4,500 French police rounded up nearly 13,000 Jews in Paris and held them in terrible conditions for several days at the Vel d’Hiv indoor bicycle-racing track before they were taken to Drancy, where most were deported to the death camps. Two weeks later, Bousquet negotiated far-reaching accords with Karl Oberg, SS leader in France, which created strong links between French and German police in the fight against the Resistance and the arrest and deportation of Jews in both the Occupied and Unoccupied Zones. Throughout the summer and fall, French police zealously arrested Jews in both zones, some as young as two years of age. Bousquet’s direct orders enabled these actions.

In 1943, German authorities took increasing control of the deportations, and Bousquet’s star began to wane, although his ties with influential Nazis remained strong. After the Liberation, Bousquet was imprisoned and was finally tried for treason in 1949. His role in the deportations was not a significant factor in the trial. He was sentenced to five years in prison, although the sentence was immediately commuted for acts of “important service” to the Resistance. Following his release, Bousquet became a wealthy and successful businessman and a personal friend of François Mitterrand, eventually the president of France.

In October 1978, Bousquet’s role in the Vel d’Hiv roundups was revealed in a magazine interview with Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, a former Vichy minister of Jewish affairs. Thus exposed, Bousquet began to lose influential positions on corporate boards, but it took more than ten years, until September 1989, before a complaint alleging crimes against humanity was brought against him by Serge Klarsfeld. In 1990, the Indictments Division of the Paris Court of Appeals forwarded its findings to the prosecutor

general, who, after initially ordering the Indictments Division to proceed with the case, reversed himself and stated that the Bousquet's case could only be handled by the High Court of the Liberation, which had tried Bousquet in 1949 and had long since ceased to exist. This was, of course, a subterfuge designed to bury the case. As it turned out, the prosecutor general was acting on indirect orders from President Mitterrand, who, it appeared, was seeking to protect his friend. Following public outcry, the Indictments Division ignored the prosecutor general's order and declared itself competent to proceed with the case.

By the end of 1992, Bousquet was formally charged with crimes against humanity, and his trial was scheduled for fall 1993. However, on June 8, 1993, a deranged publicity seeker, Christian Didier, entered Bousquet's apartment and shot him dead. Didier later told the press that he had the impression of "crushing a snake."

As the Barbie, Touvier, Papon, and Bousquet affairs reveal, crimes against humanity have a long and complicated history in postwar France. For some, the trials of Barbie, Touvier, and Papon fulfilled a sacred "duty to memory" and were entirely justified in that light. However, for many historians and legal experts, the historical distortions and repeated modifications of the law necessary to prosecute and convict these individuals cast a permanent shadow over France's otherwise laudable efforts to come to terms with its past and do justice to the victims of Vichy's complicity with Nazism.

—Richard J. Golsan

**See also** Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis; Holocaust; Vallat, Xavier; Vichy

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## Croatia

In medieval times, Jewish communities in Dubrovnik, Split, and Zagreb were small. The randomly recorded conflicts in these places reflected traditional animosity against Jews, rather than antisemitism of the modern variety. In 1502, Jews in Dubrovnik were accused of the ritual murder of an old woman. When some confessed under torture, seven were sentenced to death. Jews were probably expelled from Zagreb during the 1450s. The first expressions of more modern frictions occurred in Zagreb, where local Catholic merchants, in 1769 and 1780, protested against Jewish competitors, using traditional religious arguments but also claiming that their ancient rights had been infringed on.

When Jews began to move into northern Croatia at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, antisemitism also appeared, nurtured by enmity between Christianity and Judaism, competition posed by Jewish merchants, and a general feeling of xenophobia against Jews as newcomers and aliens. In Croatia, an additional cause of mistrust had to do with language; Jewish immigrants at first usually spoke Hungarian and German. In the very complicated political and cultural circumstances of the late nineteenth century, this factor helped to alienate Croatian (and Serbian and Yugoslav) nationalists, who were sensitive to the claims of linguistic precedence.

The attitude toward the Jews of the great Croatian leader Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905) was ambivalent. Publicly, he expressed his admiration for Jewish ethics, culture, and other values. He had cordial relations with some rabbis. But in private letters, which were published long after he died, he called the Jews the "degenerates of mankind, enemies of Christianity, usurers, Hungary-lovers, national traitors, immoral and stinking individuals" (Vannutelli 1999, 311). Anti-Hungarian demonstrations in 1883 also targeted Jews, who were seen as foreigners and detested as merchants, especially by the peasant population.

The growth of antisemitic sentiment and its development into an ideology can be traced, in part, to Prague, where many Croatian students and intellectuals, who later adopted pro-

nouncedly antisemitic stances, had gone to study at the turn of the twentieth century. During the Dreyfus Affair, some circles in Croatian political life called for the unmasking of Émile Zola “as a Jewish hireling.” Others found the works of Houston Stewart Chamberlain worthy of praise. The most fervent antisemitic statements were made by the distinguished member of the Party of State Rights Grga Tuškan during the First Croatian Catholic Congress in Zagreb (1900). He cast all blame for the poverty of the people on the Jews. However, other members did not support his indictment. The case of Josip Frank, a Jewish convert to Christianity and a leader of the nationalistic, pro-Austrian Pure Party of State Rights, demonstrates the political uses to which antisemitism could be put in the country. Frank proclaimed himself the champion of a “firm” brand of Croatian consciousness. His opponents promptly attacked his Jewish roots, saying he worked on behalf of a modern Jewish liberalism, and they renamed his journal “*Kosher*” and labeled its reporters “kosher journalists.”

Antisemitism was also strong in Serbian political circles of Croatia, especially in the Serbian Independent Party and its paper, *Srbobran*. The antisemitism of the Serbs stemmed largely from competition between Serbian and Jewish economic interests. In other Serbian-language newspapers of this period, the terms *kikes* and *Croats* were regularly paired, along with derisive descriptions of Croatia as the New Palestine.

At the end of World War I, the Habsburg monarchy disintegrated and the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia after 1929) slowly came into being. During this period of uncertainty, the looting and vandalism of Jewish shops became common occurrences in northern Croatia. In some of the bigger towns, such as Bjelovar and Varaždin, Jewish communities were pressured into paying protection money in order to be allowed to stay and to avoid pillage. After 1919, Jews born outside the newly created kingdom, especially those from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, found obstacles put in the way of achieving citizenship; the Yugoslav authorities wanted to banish them altogether. Only intercession by Jewish organizations within Yugoslavia stopped the ex-

pulsions. However, by this time, many Jews had already suffered irreparable economic harm.

Following this turbulent early period of statehood, antisemitic incidents were in abeyance. But the relative peace was shattered with new disturbances starting in the early 1930s, this time under the influence of the Nazis’ propaganda and with their financial help. Nazi racist theory combined with traditional Croatian elements to constitute the basis of a new campaign of antisemitism, organized through marginal sensationalist newspapers, which were sometimes banned by the police. They fabricated a new vocabulary overrun with terms such as *Judeo-liberals*, *Judeo-usurers*, *Judeo-capitalists*, and *Judeo-Marxists*. But the campaign was far from universally welcomed in Croatia. In 1938, Vladko Maček, the leader of the powerful Croatian Peasant Party, condemned antisemitism as a “ridiculous phenomenon . . . there is no Jewish danger anywhere.” He called it a hallucination to be found “in some circles” (in Goldstein 2003, 401).

Under Nazi pressure in September and October 1940, the Yugoslav government issued two decrees limiting the rights of Jews. The first was the Decree on Measures Concerning Jews and the Performance of Activities with Items of Human Nutrition, which, in fact, banned all wholesale enterprises dealing in foodstuffs whose owners or co-owners were Jews. The second was called the Decree on the Enrollment of Persons of Jewish Descent at University, Senior, Secondary, Teacher Training and Other Vocational Schools, which introduced the *numerus clausus* (fixed maximum number) for Jews. Although neither decree, particularly the second one, was rigorously enforced, members of the Jewish community could not escape the recognition that they were no longer equal citizens of the state.

When World War II began for Yugoslavia in April 1941, and the Independent State of Croatia was created, a fervent antisemitic campaign began immediately. Its accusations were either imitations of or direct transferences from Nazi propaganda. The scale of the effort was unprecedented. Hundreds of articles in the press and many booklets were published. The onslaught continued until the end of 1941, when the authorities declared that the Jewish Question had

been solved, a euphemistic way to describe the mass murder of Croatia's Jews.

Antisemitism in post–World War II, Communist Yugoslavia differed markedly from that found in Eastern bloc countries. Having avoided Stalinization, the Yugoslavs also avoided many of the antisemitic consequences of that process, particularly the show trials and purges that targeted Jews. Anti-Zionism, for example, already rife in the USSR and elsewhere in the 1950s, did not affect Yugoslavia, where Jews could maintain contact with Jewish organizations in Israel and the United States. Only after the Six Days' War of 1967, when diplomatic relations with Israel were broken off and close relationships were formed with Arab countries, did a less intense form of anti-Zionism surface in Yugoslavia.

—Ivo Goldstein

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Croatia, Holocaust in; Dreyfus Affair; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Numerus Clausus* (Hungary); *Numerus Clausus* (United States); Purges, Soviet; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ustasha; Zola, Émile

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### Croatia, Holocaust in

In the genocide perpetrated against the Jewish population of the Independent State of Croatia (ISC) from 1941 to 1945, somewhat more than 75 percent of the Jews in the territory of the present-day Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were killed. Before the war, about 38,000 or 39,000 Jews lived on the territory of the ISC,

and only about 9,000 survived to the end of the war. The statistics according to region fall within the parameters of the national mortality rates: out of 14,000 Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina, only 4,000 (or nearly 30 percent) survived, and out of 25,000 Jews in the northern parts of Croatia, only about 5,000 (or about 20 percent) were saved. The situation was a little better in Dalmatia, but there were only about 400 Jews living there before the war, out of whom about 250 survived.

Following the example of the Nazis, from whom they frequently received instructions, the Ustasha, the extremist nationalist movement that ruled the ISC during the war, added to their plans for killing Serbs even more severe measures against the Jews. Premeditation was apparent and again followed the German three-stage model: isolation, concentration, and extermination.

The ISC was established on April 10, 1941, following the German-Italian attack on Yugoslavia. Immediate and fervent antisemitic propaganda started to appear in newspapers. On April 30, the Legal Provision for the Protection of the Aryan Blood and Honor of the Croatian People was promulgated; it banned marriages between Jews and persons of "Aryan" origin. Jews could not get around this provision the way Serbs could, by converting to the Catholic faith, because the status of the Jews was clearly defined by the provision on "racial" grounds. All Jews over six years of age had to wear a yellow badge in public, and their movements were restricted.

In June, under the Legal Provision for the Protection of the National and Aryan Culture of the Croatian People, Jews were banned from "participating in the work, organizations and institutions of the social, youth, sports, and cultural life of the Croatian people in general, and especially in literature, journalism, the arts and music, town planning, the theater, and film."

Almost from the beginning of the Ustasha state, the authorities cast an eye on Jewish (and Serbian) property. Thus, special "legal provisions" were enacted according to which Jewish movables and real estate were declared to be "state-owned." In other words, looting became possible in the name of the state. However, in practice, even more open robbery was carried out

by officials of the regime. A drastic example was the extortion of 1,004 kilograms of gold that the Jews of Zagreb had to turn over in May 1941 to save their lives. In some places, primarily in Slavonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, members of the German minority (Volksdeutscher) took part in anti-Jewish activities.

Arrests of Jews began during the first days of Ustasha rule. At first, prominent and influential individuals of the Jewish community were taken away. In May, arrests were organized on a larger scale, and in June, there were still more. On June 21, for example, all the members of the Zagreb "Maccabi" sports club were arrested. The campaign was then intensified and channeled more purposefully toward the Final Solution. It was conducted under the slogan "In the ISC there is no room for Jews." In late June, Ante Pavelić stated in the Emergency Legal Provision and Order that "the Jews are spreading false information . . . and hindering the distribution of supplies to the population" and that they were "collectively considered responsible and therefore measures will be taken against them and they will be put away, because of their criminal responsibility, into prison camps under the open sky" (*Narodne novine* (Zagreb), June 27, 1941; *Ustaša*, 3 (Zagreb), July 3, 1941). Throughout the ISC, this was the signal for large-scale arrests and deportations to camps on Croatian territory. Women and children were included. Varaždin, a town in northern Croatia, was declared to be the first town "cleansed" of Jews. The Ustasha regime made careful plans for this, the last stage of solving the Jewish Question. It established almost thirty assembly or transit camps, in which Jews who had been arrested were held until being deported to the death camps or concentration camps that were established at the same time. By the summer, a number of death camps were organized around Gospic in the southern province of Lika; in them, mass liquidations took place.

The location of these first camps was unfavorable, so in the autumn of 1941, a new complex of death camps was set up in the Jasenovac–Stara Gradiška area. The camps continued to function almost until the end of the war. Most of the approximately 18,000 Jews from northern Croatia and Bosnia were killed there. Many died

of starvation. Taking and then shooting hostages also accounted for many Jewish deaths.

In early 1942, the Schutzstaffel (SS) in Croatia estimated that the Ustasha authorities, in spite of their cruelty, had not carried out the Final Solution thoroughly enough. Therefore, in August 1942 and again in May 1943, Germans took a direct and active part and together with Ustasha police captured between 5,000 and 6,000 Jews, most of whom were then transported to Auschwitz.

Only a few Jewish inmates of Jasenovac survived, and only rare individuals returned from Auschwitz. A small number of Jews survived on the territory directly ruled by the Ustasha, but this happened only by chance or because of the exceptional agility of the survivors or the people in their immediate environment. These included personal acquaintances and family connections, Catholic clergy who interceded on their behalf, and officials who could be corrupted.

In mid-1942, Ustasha ideologist Danijel Crnjen proclaimed that the Jewish Question had been solved in Croatia, boasting of a thoroughness and persistence that ought to warn off all those who might contest the Ustasha movement.

Nevertheless, about 5,000 Jews saved their lives by fleeing to the Italian zone within the ISC and to the parts of Croatia occupied by Italy in 1941. After the capitulation of Italy in 1943, most of them joined Tito's Partisans or lived until the end of the war on territories controlled by the partisans.

—Ivo Goldstein

*See also* Aryanization; Croatia; Holocaust; Nuremberg Laws; Pavelić, Ante; Ustasha

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#### Cross and the Flag, The

Gerald L. K. Smith founded *The Cross and the Flag* in 1942, claiming that an angel had whispered the title of the journal to him in a vision



Gerald L. K. Smith, editor and publisher of *The Cross and the Flag*, as he looks over the first copy of the publication with his associate editor, Bernard A. Doman (right). (Bettmann/Corbis)

after the U.S. government intervened to censure his inflammatory, isolationist radio talks during World War II. Whatever the inspiration, the title aptly summed up Smith's most important values. The monthly stood squarely "on the principle that Christian character is the basis of all real Americanism" (in Ribuffo 1983, 170). When Smith established the America First Party in Detroit on January 10, 1943, *The Cross and the Flag* became the party's official journal. The Canadian government, however, banned it from the mails, and the U.S. Department of Justice labeled it a source of subversion in the sedition indictment *United States v. Winrod* (1942, 1943).

Until the early 1950s, E. E. Manney of Fort Worth, Texas, served as Smith's printer, and

Bernard Doman and his wife and Smith's wife and son were associate editors. By the late 1940s, Don Lohbeck, another Smith associate, served as editor, and after 1953, Charles F. Robertson took over the editorial position. Smith, however, wrote most of the copy for the magazine during its thirty-five-year run. As he once explained, "For ten years *The Cross and the Flag* has been my favorite ideological child. My soul gave birth to it, my conscience nursed it, and that first little handful of readers protected it from starvation, kidnapping and death" (in Roy 1953, 65).

For most of its life, the periodical spanned eight pages and sold for a quarter. Published on the fifteenth of every month and mailed to subscribers on the twentieth, it operated at a financial loss. Although Smith charged \$2 for a yearly

subscription (\$3 after 1974), he refused paid advertisements. Still, *The Cross and the Flag* had the largest circulation of any periodical on the extreme Right and more subscribers than many mainstream liberal publications. It began with a circulation of 7,000; by 1951, it had 13,500. Soon after, the Antidefamation League estimated its circulation at 25,000.

Each copy included an editorial celebrating Smith's faith in Jesus Christ. Reflecting his political evolution after World War II, the monthly regularly attacked modernism, Jews, Zionists, Communists, the United Nations, and the civil rights movement. It folded in 1977, a year after its founder's death.

—Peter R. D'Agostino

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Judeo-Bolshevism; Smith, Gerald L. K.; Winrod, Gerald B.; Zionism

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## Crusades

The year 1096 is notorious for pogroms of an unprecedentedly large scale in central Europe. They occurred during a time of widespread religious enthusiasm after the proclamation of the First Crusade by Pope Urban II at the reform Council of Clermont in November 1095. At its end, he suddenly propagated the idea of liberating the Oriental churches from Muslim rule or threatening to do so, a project that would—it was commonly understood—place the fate of the Holy Land at its center. Moved by the homilies of crusade preachers such as Peter the Hermit and the prospect of remission of their sins, masses of people were induced to risk the long and perilous journey to the Near East with the vision of reconquering Jerusalem and the Holy

Sepulcher before their eyes. Although the crusaders focused on the Church of the Sepulcher, they remembered the sufferings of Christ, for which Christians of the times held all Jews responsible. The violence against the Jews, however, was neither instigated nor sanctioned by Pope Urban II or by the competing "antipope," Clement III.

The first pogroms took place in France, but surviving detailed reports are all from Germany. At the end of the eleventh century, there were a few prosperous Jewish communities, boasting many famous sages, in the Rhineland, especially in the cathedral towns of Cologne, Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. Because Emperor Henry IV was staying in Italy at the time, responsibility for protecting the Jews fell to the local bishops. The power these prelates were able to exercise varied greatly from locale to locale. During spring 1096, crusaders arrived in Germany, intending ultimately to fight the Muslims, but they unhesitatingly integrated Jews into their conception of "the enemy." What followed is known from Latin and Jewish sources alike. Among historians, the exact dating and proper interpretation of the three extant Hebrew narratives about these events remain controversial, although they rely on the memories of eyewitnesses. Additional evidence in the form of Hebrew dirges lamenting Jewish martyrdom have also survived.

One of the first onslaughts against the Jews within the modern borders of France probably took place at Monieux in Provence. Later episodes occurred in the important cities of Rouen and Metz. But it is highly likely that there were many more places where blood was shed and baptisms forced. Aside from the Jewish centers of the Rhineland, Trier, Prague-Višehrad, and Regensburg were also affected. Although violence and repression were not unknown to German Jewry before this time, most Jews lived peacefully in the midst of a Christian environment—that is, until the situation was suddenly and completely reversed during the period from Holy Week until Pentecost and ending on the week after St. John's Day (June 24) in 1096. Many of the traumatized Jews survived only because they accepted baptism. In their crusade narratives, they sought solace in their history of

martyrdom, drew biblical parallels such as Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, or used sacrificial metaphors from the Temple cult.

The high-ranking princes and noblemen took command of the main crusading armies after the pogroms had occurred and thus cannot be held responsible for them. Jews were attacked by the crowds that formed in the so-called precrusades under the command of lower nobles and clerics. In many places, townsfolk joined with them in their acts of plunder, desecration, homicide, and forced baptism. However, there are historical records of Christian burghers who tried to help their Jewish neighbors. All sources agree that the main argument of the crusaders against the Jews was that it made no sense to undertake a long and arduous pilgrimage to the Orient to fight one enemy of the Christian faith while leaving another equally inimical people at large in Europe. In cities such as Mainz and Worms, probably every sixth or seventh inhabitant was Jewish by the time of the First Crusade, prompting some Christians to worry that they themselves, instead of the Jews, might someday be in the minority.

Many crusaders who entered the German cathedral towns had never encountered major groups of Jews before. The majority of these Christians was poor and had suffered greatly during the periods of economic crisis in the late eleventh century. Now they were daringly on their way to begin a new life by becoming soldiers of the Lord. Their first experience of Jews, many of them grown rich through various sorts of business activities, struck them as contrary to God's will. Christian doctrine taught that the Jews ought to live in visible servitude among the Christians as a divine punishment for their alleged murder of God's son and as witnesses to the superiority of Christianity. The mentality of the crusaders was also influenced by the new piety movement of the later eleventh century, the dismaying investiture struggle between the papacy and the emperor, alarming natural catastrophes of the 1090s, and prospects of a sensational reconquest of the Holy Land with all its chiliastic implications. Ironically, many of these fears and hopes were shared by Jews, especially a conviction that the "final days" before the coming of the Messiah were at hand. Collective martyrdom

of their brethren only strengthened this expectation. In a French manuscript from the year 1100, Rabbi Schemaja calculated the year of the appearance of the Messiah to be 1102. Among his reasons were the crusade pogroms and the symbolic significance of the Christians' triumph in Palestine in 1099.

The known facts about the pogroms of 1096 can be summarized as follows. Peter the Hermit, having arrived with thousands of people in Trier on April 10 (Maundy Thursday), helped poison the relations of Christians and Jews, but no pogrom transpired at that time. On May 3, the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, another band of crusaders, together with townspeople, assaulted the Jewish community of Speyer during the Sabbath. Eleven Jews were killed, but the great majority were effectively protected by the local bishop, who allowed Jews to take refuge in his palace. Afterward, Bishop John punished some of the perpetrators, living up to the great privilege he had granted the Jewish community in 1090. The less powerful bishop of Worms seemingly was not even present in the town and could not prevent the slaughter of up to 800 Jews as a result of two attacks on May 18 and May 25. After this massacre, Jews in Mainz feared the worst, along with many of the Christian inhabitants, when the local strongman, Count Emicho of Flonheim, appeared before the city gates at the head of an army of French and German crusaders. Finally entering the city, the crusaders annihilated a great part of the Jewish community. Archbishop Ruthard witnessed the death of hundreds of Jews and feared for his own life. He hoped in vain that the survivors would accept baptism to save themselves, but they are said to have instead chosen death by their own hands as an act of *kiddush ha-Shem* (sanctification of the name of God). More than a thousand died.

On June 1, 1096, many people went to Trier to celebrate Pentecost and to attend a special market. During these days, there was much agitation against the Jews, even after Archbishop Egilbert had courageously preached in their favor. He tried to protect them by offering asylum in his fortified palace. Jews in this case, acceding to his urgent requests, consented to baptism. There were random instances of bloodshed

and of ritual suicide committed by Jewish women who jumped into the Mosel River. Similarly, the Jewish community of Regensburg survived the encounter with crusaders after being led to a nearby creek (or perhaps the Danube) and collectively baptized. It is also reported that Bohemian Jews, mainly those of Prague, were either killed or baptized by the crusaders and that some successfully defended themselves by force.

Another crusader army appeared in the Cologne region at the beginning of June. They destroyed the Cologne synagogue and plundered many Jewish homes. A number of Jews died in the violence. Archbishop Herman III evacuated the remaining Jews (several hundred persons) to villages in the neighborhood but in vain. Crusaders hunted them down some weeks later and confronted them with the alternative "Baptism or death!" Jews living in places such as Xanten or Eller near Düsseldorf are said to have preferred killing themselves or one another rather than enduring shameful apostasy or death at the hands of the gentiles.

Altogether, at least 2,500 Jewish men, women, and children died in the German lands in the wake of the First Crusade. Christian chroniclers almost unanimously refrained from condemning the fierce anti-Jewish violence or even sympathized with it. Albert of Aachen was an exception; he stressed that greed was one of the crusaders' major motivations. When the "official" crusading armies defeated the Muslims in Palestine in 1099, Jews were among the victims there also. However, it is hard to ascertain precisely how many of them actually died during the capture of Jerusalem and how many were taken prisoner, sold into slavery, or ransomed.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) and its preparations established a clear pattern. Every new crusade would bring with it lethal dangers to the lives of Jews and the practice of their religion. Bernard of Clairvaux, the mighty abbot who made the Second Crusade possible, hoped for a worldwide resolution of the problem of the heathen. But when his fellow Cistercian Radulf went to the Rhineland and preached in an unrestrained manner against the Jews, Bernard hurried there himself to quash Radulf's outburst of vulgar theology, which had openly called for the killing of

the Jews. Severe cases of violence against Jews during the years 1146 and 1147 are reported from Normandy, northern France, and Germany. One of them concerned Rabbi Simeon of Trier who, on returning home from England, became the victim of crusaders in Cologne who wanted to have him baptized. When he did not comply, he was decapitated. Among the fatalities in France was the great Rabbi Rabbenu Tam, on whose head the crusaders allegedly inflicted five wounds in remembrance of the five wounds of Christ.

Christian and Jewish sources concerning this crusade concentrate on a pogrom of 1147 that struck the Jews of Würzburg in Franconia. Crusaders generated an anti-Jewish climate by spreading rumors that the Jews had killed a Christian whose partial remains had been found in the Main River—the first ritual murder allegation on the Continent. Many Jews were robbed, tortured, killed, or baptized until the crusaders finally moved on at the beginning of Holy Week. The newly elected prince-bishop of Würzburg, Siegfried of Querfurt, in an act of sympathy, had the bodies of the slain Jews collected, washed, anointed, and buried in the grounds of his garden. During the crusades of the twelfth century many Jews found refuge with Christians, especially in fortified rural locations.

The fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 led to the Third Crusade. Although some isolated incidents of anti-Jewish violence occurred in Germany, Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his son Henry took effective measures to protect their Jewish subjects. In this crusade, it was the turn of the Jews of England to be terrorized, once King Richard I had left the island for Palestine in December 1189. There had already been a pogrom in London at the time of his coronation on September 3 but with no discernible connection to the crusade. The London violence, however, proved to be only the overture to a whole series of attacks against the Jewries of Lynn, Norwich, Stamford, Lincoln, Bury St Edmunds, and other places during February and March 1190. The Jews of Dunstable underwent collective baptism. Rather than suffer this indignity, the majority of the Jews of York, assembled in Clifford's Tower, committed mass suicide before the mob could storm it on March 16, 1190. Evidence suggests

that many of the crusaders who took part in the English pogroms were motivated by their indebtedness to Jews. As in the earlier crusades, some felt pity for the fate of the victims, but others relished it. Richard of Devizes, a Benedictine, used the word *holocaust* to describe the murder of the Jews.

The fall of Acre in 1291 signaled the end of the “numbered” crusades. But the crusade movement was multifaceted and endured until early modern times. A “crusade” could be directed against various politically and/or religiously defined enemy groups. The popular, unauthorized crusade of the so-called shepherds cost the lives of hundreds of Jews in 1251 and again in 1320 in France and northern Spain. Similar excesses are reported from the Netherlands in 1309. Crusaders on their way to fight the Hussites of Bohemia attacked Jews in the Rhineland in 1421. A much greater catastrophe, however, took place in the duchy of Brittany and the neighboring provinces of Anjou and Poitou in France in 1236 in conjunction with the preaching of a new crusade. More than 2,500 Jews were killed.

The history of the crusade pogroms shows certain patterns of behavior on both sides: Jews became an easy and early target of crusaders who wore the sign of the cross and perceived the Jews as the original and stubborn adversaries of everything the cross stood for. Because of the material well-being of many Jews, who increasingly became creditors of Christians during the High Middle Ages, envy could also easily be aroused and entangled with religious motives when Jewish quarters were attacked and plundered. The Jews stood in the greatest danger when Christian lords and authorities were temporarily unable to protect them. Normally, such forces for order would have attempted to do so, not only because it was their duty under law but also because it was in their own self-interest. During the reign of terror, Jews were often confronted with the alternative of death or baptism. Frequently, they chose death “to hasten the coming of the Messiah” and to avoid disloyalty to God.

—Gerd Mentgen

**See also** Augustine of Hippo; Deicide; Gregory the Great, Pope; Middle Ages, Early; Middle Ages, High; Paul; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Usury

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## Cuba

The first Jews who went to Cuba were fleeing enforcement of the Spanish Inquisition (in 1492). Initially, the clandestine Jews who arrived were sailors; there are reports of Jewish merchants in Cuba from the mid-seventeenth century. The Inquisition was abolished in Cuba in 1834, yet there still was no true freedom of religion in the Spanish colony that tolerated only Roman Catholic worship. Although the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898 ushered in an era of official religious tolerance, the church monopoly continued concerning burial. Only after intervention by the U.S. government in 1912 was a Jewish cemetery opened in Guanabacoa, a Havana suburb.

Overt antisemitism first surfaced in postcolonial Cuba in the early 1930s. In the summer of 1932, the Centro Israelita (the main communal body of Jews established in Havana in 1925) tried to counter the antisemitism emanating from Europe by organizing the Comité de Intervención. In May 1935, this committee was superseded by the Jewish Community for Cuba, an umbrella organization encompassing several groups. After Adolf Hitler rose to power, the German embassy in Havana tailored its propaganda to appeal to and incite Spanish-born resi-

dents in Cuba who already supported Francisco Franco and his anti-Jewish pronouncements.

Several significant incidents in Havana in that period appeared to be antisemically motivated. On October 5, 1933, for example, Havana's police chief, G. Granero, gave an interview to the newspaper *Mañana* in which he called Jews an immoral element. On December 17, 1933, a soldier accompanied by three men in civilian clothing killed two Jews and wounded another in a store on Calle Monte without any apparent provocation.

The most difficult period for the Jews of Cuba came a few years later, when Nazi supporters made continuous efforts to instill antisemitic feelings among Cubans. Particularly vicious was José Ignacio Rivero (1895–1944), who used his control of three newspapers to propagandize in favor of Spanish Falangism (fascism). His attempt to publish a local edition of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was thwarted, thanks largely to the efforts of Adolph Kates, a prominent Jewish leader. A proposed ban on the ritual slaughtering of cattle, passed off as a measure to prevent cruelty to animals, was, in fact, antisemically motivated. It, too, was defeated.

Antisemitism reached new levels of importance when the National Fascist Party of Cuba was legalized (on October 20, 1938) and received the blessing of a former president of Cuba, Grau San Martín. The party demonstrated its drawing power in May 1939 at a conference that an estimated 40,000 people attended. Its national radio hookup featured the well-known and inflammatory antisemite Primitivo Rodríguez, who implored his listeners to fight until the last Jew left Cuba.

International attention focused on Cuba when the government refused to allow Jews fleeing Nazi Germany to disembark from the SS *St. Louis*. The ship had sailed from Hamburg with 937 refugees, most of them Jewish, on May 13, 1939, arriving in Havana harbor on May 27. Political infighting and internal Cuban intrigue led the government of President Loredo Bru to void the visas of those on board the ship. Fewer than 30 travelers (including all of the non-Jews) were allowed to go ashore. The ship sailed past the lights of Florida and onward to Europe, where

four countries eventually accepted the refugees so they would not be taken to virtually certain death in Germany. But Nazi propaganda had achieved something of a victory by being able to show that even countries such as Cuba and the United States did not want Jews.

The affair of the *St. Louis* jolted the Cuban conscience, however. Denial of entry to refugees was not repeated. Bru left office, and under the subsequent presidency of Fulgencio Batista, a thriving refugee community developed.

In the years after World War II, a few antisemitic tracts were printed in Cuba, but government policy clearly discouraged antisemitism in the public sphere. Still, antisemitism persisted on the social plane. According to one source, though it was possible for Jews to be guests at a prominent Havana country club, they were denied the right to be members. After Fidel Castro assumed power on January 1, 1959, the government ceased showing tolerance for antisemitic activities, public or private, and even the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the state of Israel in 1973 did not alter this policy. Since the legalization of religious practices in 1991, the situation of Cuban Jews has further improved.

—Jay Levinson

*See also* Inquisition; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Spain under Franco

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### Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism? (1919)

With the pamphlet entitled *Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?* published on August 8, 1919, the Leipzig antisemite Heinrich Pudor wanted to accomplish three distinct goals. First, he intended a remorseless settling of accounts with the outmoded and, in his view, spineless "cultural" antisemitism of the prewar era. Second, he wanted to launch a new antisemitism whose keynote would be an explicitly condoned violence. Third, he sought to intro-

duce the concept of the pogrom into antisemitic discourse. Viewed from a longer perspective, the pamphlet was an early example of the discussion among antisemites of the two major forms of Jew-hatred: one stressing worldview (*Weltanschauung*) and the other violence (*Gewalt*).

Pudor published the work at his own expense as part of a series between 1919 and 1920, most probably in a small edition of a few hundred copies. He sent the material to radical antisemites as well as to the more sedate conservative nationalist organizations, such as the successor to the Agrarian League (Reichslandbund). Pudor intended to answer the rejection of pogroms by Theodor Fritsch and the Berlin activist Richard Kunze. For this reason and despite its small print run, the pamphlet was vigorously and widely discussed, especially among the more radically inclined antisemites.

The antisemitism of prewar Germany, Pudor argued, was a total failure. No anti-Jewish laws had been passed. Under the new conditions of the Weimar Republic, it made no sense to stick to the old antisemitic party agenda. “Using legislative means against Jewry is no longer an option for us. Nowadays, the Jews make our laws” (all quotations are from *Kultur-Antisemitismus oder Pogrom-Antisemitismus?* [1920]). “Before we can pass antisemitic laws,” he proclaimed, “Jewish hegemony [*Judenherrschaft*] must be broken.” Challenging Fritsch directly, Pudor demanded that he demonstrate “a will to power over the Jews” and urged that “destruction be answered by destruction [*Vernichtung*].” What this meant in practice was that Jews had to be directly, violently attacked. “We openly and freely declare to one and all that every means is the right means if it frees us from the Jews and that we have nothing whatever against the pogrom if it serves this end.”

Pudor’s intervention did not go unnoticed. Adolf Hitler argued against the pogrom in his so-called Gemlich Letter (September 16, 1919). His newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (Racial Observer), entered into debate with Pudor, and throughout the 1920s and 1930s, *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) intellectuals continued to discuss the relative merits of “the antisemitism of reason” versus “rowdy antisemitism” (*Radauantisemitismus*).

Notwithstanding the debates, any attempt to make a sharp distinction between a violent and an allegedly nonviolent antisemitism—that based on duly passed legislation—remains artificial. The reality of the Third Reich demonstrates that both forms of antisemitism coexisted and reinforced each other. For example, the Night of Broken Glass of November 1938, supposedly an outbreak of pogrom violence “from below,” was followed by a package of antisemitic ordinances “from above,” including the incarceration of Jews in concentration camps.

—Dirk Walter  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Agrarian League; Fritsch, Theodor; Hitler, Adolf; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938); Pogrom; Pudor, Heinrich; Weimar

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## Cuza, A. C. (1857–1946)

A Romanian national economist, writer, and politician, Alexandru Constantin Cuza studied in Dresden and Brussels. Like many Romanian intellectuals, he at first inclined toward socialism but only until the Socialist Party merged with the liberals in 1899. Thereafter, he belonged to a series of conservative political groupings. Throughout his life, Cuza remained strongly engaged in Romanian public life, advocating extreme nationalist and antisemitic views in his lectures, speeches, and journalism.

Cuza published poetry, epigrams, and essays on cultural topics in a number of influential Romanian-language journals and literary periodicals. He was also an accomplished polemicist. Western European writers—for example, the French antisemite Édouard Drumont and the proponent of integral nationalism Charles Maurras—influenced his thinking. But Cuza also drew from a native school of ultraconservative political thinkers, among them the “national poet” Mihai Eminescu

and the philologist Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu. Deeply mistrustful of democracy, they preferred an authoritarianism buttressed by strong nationalist and antisemitic sentiments.

As a professor of political economy at Iassy University from 1901 and as an authority on art, history, and politics, Cuza exercised immense influence over generations of Romanian students, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. He had no patience for social and economic problems, most of which he thought could be solved on the basis of an idealized nationalism and intolerant antisemitism. In numerous essays and his book *On the Populace* (1899), he sought to encourage the entrepreneurial spirit among Romanians and to exclude foreigners, first and foremost the Jews, who squeezed out the natives and denied them the fruits of their labor. He believed that the alcoholism afflicting the people could be cured through education and that the establishment of guilds would raise the level of craftsmanship. His *Nationality in Art* sought to demonstrate the existence of a natural law governing nationality, proving that it was an “expression of race and blood” as well as the creative life force of peoples. Every culture had its

own homeland—with the sole exception of the uncultured and homeless Jews.

Cuza began his political career by founding, with Nicolae Iorga, the Nationalist-Democratic Party in 1909. In 1923, along with Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, he helped establish LANC—National Christian Defense League, but the group’s popular appeal waned, and his relationship with Codreanu soured. In 1935, with pressure being applied by Alfred Rosenberg’s office, Cuza’s LANC and Octavian Goga’s National Agrarian Party joined in the Christian National Party (or Bloc) and spoke out in favor of making common cause with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

—Krista Zach

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Drumont, Édouard; Goga, Octavian; Iron Guard; Maurras, Charles; Romania; Rosenberg, Alfred

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# D

## Dahn, Felix (1834–1912)

Born February 9, 1834, in Hamburg, Felix Dahn spent an intellectually stimulating childhood in Munich in the company of his actor-father's cultured circle. He enjoyed reenacting knightly scenes from his historical reading and showed an early gift for lyric poetry. But this idyllic period ended with his parents' divorce in 1850.

At sixteen, he began the study of law and philosophy but also maintained his interest in literary pursuits. He drew inspiration from the German classics as well as Homer, Shakespeare, and Sir Walter Scott, whom he read in the original. An academic career in philosophy in Catholic Bavaria was rendered impossible for Dahn, a Protestant, because of his outspoken anticlericalism. He became a lawyer, a profession in which he succeeded brilliantly, earning his doctorate in 1855. In 1857, he finished a postdoctoral thesis on legal history that qualified him to lecture at the university level. The history and philosophy of law engaged his talents equally, and his interest in the earliest period of the Germanic migrations led him to become a pupil of Jacob Grimm. Years of struggle as an unpaid lecturer (*Privatdozent*) were rewarded finally with a professorship at the University of Würzburg.

Dahn volunteered as a nurse during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). In the crucial Battle of Sedan, however, he picked up a rifle, was wounded, and was then decorated. His “collaboration” in the founding of the German Empire proved a life-changing experience, turning him into a devoted follower of Otto von Bismarck and affirming his national and liberal stance.

Following the war, he took a chair in Königsberg, married for a second time, and enjoyed the most fruitful period of his career, writing signif-

icant juridical and historical works. It was his literary production, however, that served to make him intellectually eminent. From 1888, he taught in Breslau at the Germanic-Slavic border, feeling himself to be at the forefront of the national struggle and lending his talents to the Association for Germandom in Foreign Lands (Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland). He published novels and narrative tales, as well as his four-volume memoirs (1890–1895), a fifth anthology of poetry (1892), and his collected works “of a poetic nature” in twenty-one volumes (1899). Dahn died on January 3, 1912, having outlived the zenith of his popularity.

Although it is true that Dahn’s scholarly work provided the raw material for his literary creations, it is also true that he injected his contemporary political concerns into his romanticized vision of the Germanic Middle Ages. A mythic reverence for Teutonic forebears coexisted with an obvious anti-Catholic and antisocialist patriotism. His fiction glorified the striving for a united national state and didactically portrayed the virtues of unquestioning, dutiful loyalty to it. His greatest publishing success was a ponderous novel in four volumes—*The Struggle for Rome*, which went through 110 editions before 1918. It describes the dramatic decline and fall of the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, fully exploiting the tale’s nationalistic lessons. The story sent a message to Dahn’s contemporaries: the racial, blood-based singularity of virtuous Germans was constantly endangered. The survival of Germandom required warrior virtues and an unflinching willingness to take up arms in its defense.

The antisemitic undertones in Dahn’s basic outlook ought not to be compared to the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) antisemitism of his day. He pointed to his portrayal of “good Jews” alongside

the obviously bad ones as evidence that he was not an antisemite. Further, he participated in various initiatives promoting tolerance. It should also be noted that though Dahn may appear to be an antisemite by the more exacting standards of the present day, he did not seem so to the radical antisemites of the interwar years. They condemned his view of Jews as “too full of compromises” and not sufficiently grounded in racial-biological principles.

—Tzvetan Tzvetanov  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Bartels, Adolf; Fontane, Theodor; Freytag, Gustav; *Jews' Beech, The; Kulturkampf*; Lienhard, Friedrich; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich; Treitschke, Heinrich von; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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the two had been murdered by Jews to use their blood for Passover. Part of the reason that the case attracted such wide attention in Europe was that the initial newspaper accounts of it confidently reported that the Jews were, in fact, guilty. The first Jew arrested, a barber, had confessed and named seven others who then also confessed, providing elaborate, matching details in separate interrogations. Both the French and the English consuls in the area, representing modern, enlightened countries, similarly reported to their governments that the evidence for ritual murder was overwhelming. Only gradually did it emerge that the confessions were the result of torture and that the matching details of the confessions were the result of collaboration on the part of the interrogators.

The charges against the Jews quickly became entangled in great power rivalries in the Middle East. In 1840, Syria was ruled by Muhammad Ali of Egypt, who was in rebellion against the Ottoman Empire. By the late 1830s, he had expanded his rule over much of what was later known as the Sudan as well as Saudi Arabia and Syria. France was, at that point, a supporter of Muhammad Ali, whereas most other European powers, notably Britain, were trying to bolster the Turkish empire and undermine French influence in the region. The French had earlier acquired the right to protect Catholics in Syria, which meant that their consul, the Count de Ratti-Menton, participated in the investigation of the alleged murder, involving himself in the irregularities of the case. The premier of France in 1840, Adolphe Thiers, who was also foreign minister, was a moderate liberal and widely recognized by Jews as friendly. France had been the first country to offer Jews civil equality (in 1791) and was thereafter considered by Jews to be Europe’s most progressive and tolerant nation in their regard. All the greater was their shock, then, at the French consul’s report. In fact, Thiers initially viewed Ratti-Menton’s account with suspicion, but before long, he concluded that the honor of the French nation was in question and therefore its national interests as well; he began to make known his own belief in the guilt of the Jews. In a private conversation with his Jewish friend James de Rothschild, who had approached

## Damascus Blood Libel (1840)

The blood libel trial in Damascus, Syria, may be seen as one of the first in a series of influential episodes in the nineteenth century involving attacks on Jews—in this instance, some forty years before the word *antisemitism* came into popular usage and before hostility to Jews in a racial sense was exploited as a modern political device. The Damascus trial developed into an “affair” in the sense that it engaged a large public, much beyond local or strictly legal issues. It is often considered a milestone in the prehistory of modern European antisemitism, primarily for the way that it brought up a range of issues having to do with Jewish power and powerlessness in Europe. It also marked a stage in the spread to the Islamic world of anti-Jewish themes that had originated in Christian Europe.

In early 1840, authorities in Damascus arrested eight Jews and charged them with ritually murdering a Capuchin monk, Father Tomaso, and his Muslim servant. Both had disappeared without a trace, and the Capuchins claimed that

him to help rescue the Jews of Damascus, Thiers described the Jews of the Middle East as fanatical and at a stage of development comparable to Europe's Jews in the Middle Ages—when, he added, they, too, had undoubtedly committed ritual murders.

It did not take long for the British foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, to perceive an opportunity to strike a high moral stance and to forward British national interests in the area by supporting the Jews and condemning the French. The British consul's report backing the ritual murder charges was an initial impediment to Palmerston's plans, especially since the consul also forwarded strongly worded testimony in support of the honesty and decency of the French consul and the local officials. The British consul also informed Palmerston of his conclusion that, in fact, passages of the Talmud justified ritual murder. Palmerston remained skeptical of the report but nonetheless hesitated to act.

That beliefs of this sort persisted even among the educated elites of Britain and France was one of the more remarkable revelations of these first months. Ironically, it was Prince Metternich of Austria and Tsar Nicholas I of Russia, leaders of Europe's two most reactionary major powers, who publicly expressed disbelief about the ritual murder charges, and both took measures to prevent the newspapers in their countries from spreading what they described as baseless and absurd charges. To be sure, Metternich and Nicholas shared with Palmerston the sense of an opportunity to discredit and weaken the French.

By 1840, many Jews, especially the upper classes in western and central Europe, had embraced values of the Enlightenment and European national identities, distancing themselves from Judaism's traditional emphasis on the Jews as a nation forever separate from the non-Jewish nations. That the charges in Damascus could be given credence seemed to them an almost unbelievable reversion to the climate of the detested Middle Ages. After various largely futile and disorganized efforts were made by Jewish leaders to discredit the charges and rescue the Damascus Jews, much hope was finally placed on a delegation that Muhammed Ali agreed to receive, including two of Europe's most illustrious Jewish

leaders, Moses Montefiore from Britain and Adolphe Crémieux from France.

After complex negotiations, the surviving Jewish prisoners (two had died from the torture) were finally released. But they were not granted a retrial or declared innocent by the authorities. Both Montefiore and Crémieux returned with accounts claiming the importance of their individual efforts—while bitterly condemning each other as being completely ineffectual. But it is now clear that neither of their efforts were of decisive import, at least not in comparison to the pressure exerted by European powers at the time. War was imminent between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, and Muhammed Ali decided that an act of goodwill toward the Jews would be seen as a sign of his willingness to distance himself from France and cultivate more friendly relations with the leaders of Austria and Britain, whose warships were cruising the eastern Mediterranean.

The outcome of the Damascus Affair enhanced the growing belief that the Jews, especially the fabulously wealthy leaders such as the Rothschilds, exercised decisive power behind the scenes in an emerging modern Europe where money ruled. But Jews themselves, to the contrary, saw the Damascus Affair as revealing their vulnerability and powerlessness—as well as the shocking persistence of ugly fantasies about their religion—in a Europe where rationality and toleration were supposedly emerging. Thus, Jewish leaders were ever more persuaded of the need for greater international cooperation and public activity on their part, both to protect Jews and to defend Judaism from ill-informed or malevolent charges.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Alliance Israélite Universelle; France; Islam and the Jews; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Rothschilds

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## Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis (1897–1980)

The story of Louis Darquier is a significant reminder that portions of the French population

did not wait for the German Occupation during World War II to begin seeking state-sponsored persecution of Jews. Darquier's thuggish behavior, journalistic vitriol, zealous execution of Vichy's repressive policies, and negationist claims constituted a lifetime anchored in antisemitism.

Born in Cahors, he adopted the aristocratic name of Louis Darquier de Pellepoix and moved to Paris, where he joined the Catholic royalist group Action Française. In the antigovernment protest march of February 6, 1934, organized by the extreme Right, he was wounded by gunfire, along with fourteen others. Elected municipal councilor in 1935 for the Ternes district of Paris, he initiated an unsuccessful bill to annul all naturalizations granted since 1918, an effort obviously aimed at revoking the citizenship of Jewish immigrants. In 1938, he founded the Rassemblement Antijuif de France (French Anti-Jewish Assembly), which later received clandestine funding from Germany, and the Union Française pour la Défense de la Race (French Union for the Defense of the Race). His opinion paper, *L'Antijuif*, drew on the racist, inflammatory tradition of Édouard Drumont. Contemporary police reports recorded a number of his altercations with Jews in cafés and even at city council meetings; Darquier served a brief prison sentence in 1939 for "inciting racial hatred."

Under the Occupation, he entered the Vichy government to replace Xavier Vallat in 1942 as commissioner of the Commissariat Général des Questions Juives (General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs [CGQJ]). An important figure in Vichy's repressive measures, he directed economic Aryanization and the spoliation of Jewish property and in July 1942 helped organize the infamous Vel d'Hiv roundup of Jews to be deported.

In December 1947, the French purge courts, specially created to deal with collaborators, handed down a death sentence in absentia for Darquier, who had, in the meantime, fled to Spain, where Francisco Franco denied French requests for his extradition. In the 1950s and 1960s, when the Holocaust and Vichy's antisemitic policies were not significant concerns of French justice or the general public, Darquier was largely forgotten. In the 1970s, however,

Holocaust historiography gained new prominence in the media. A journalist from the French weekly *L'Express* located the former collaborator and obtained an interview. Darquier's arrogant, unrepentant remarks provoked two important events. When asked about Vichy's persecution of Jews, he (correctly) identified Chief of Police René Bousquet as the principal architect, which led, a year later, to the indictment of Bousquet's liaison on Jewish affairs, Jean Leguay, for crimes against humanity. Had the accused's death in 1989 not cut short legal proceedings, this would have been the first trial of a French citizen under such statutes. The second matter was equally controversial. Darquier asserted in the interview that "only lice were gassed at Auschwitz." Seizing the opening, the leading French Holocaust denier, Robert Faurisson, followed with negationist claims of his own in a letter published by the French daily *Le Monde* (on December 29, 1978). This triggered a firestorm of debate in France that has yet to subside. After the interview, Darquier soon returned to obscurity, and news of his death on August 29, 1980, was not announced in the French press until 1983.

—Ralph W. Schoolcraft III

*See also* Action Française; Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Drumont, Édouard; Faurisson, Robert; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Spain under Franco; Stavisky Affair; Vallat, Xavier; Vichy

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#### **Dearborn Independent and The International Jew**

The *Dearborn Independent*, a newspaper, and *The International Jew*, a set of pamphlets commonly published as a book, are forever linked in the history of American antisemitism. One gave

birth to the other. Together, they constitute Henry Ford's contribution to the worldwide movement fomenting hatred toward Jews in the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1918, the *Dearborn Independent* was a small weekly in a sleepy town outside Detroit, Michigan. That year, Henry Ford, in search of a medium through which he could efficiently and directly reach thousands of ordinary Americans, purchased the newspaper and proceeded to convert it into his version of a mass-circulation periodical. The paper, accepting no advertisements, was sold by a few street vendors in major cities, but it was primarily distributed through Ford dealerships, which were required to sell subscriptions along with automobiles. Some dealers resented the imposition and groused that the money would be better spent on improving the Model T, whose sales dropped precipitously in the mid-1920s. By 1927, the *Independent* (like the car) was doing badly, losing more than \$2 million. Ford did not care. He intended for the *Independent* to become the common folks' primer on American culture, literature, and political philosophy, all of which were first refracted through the prism of his small-minded dogmatism.

In reconfiguring the *Independent*, Ford created a media voice that he alone controlled, one that both spoke in the vernacular of Ford's limited ken and avoided the filtering effects of his increasingly unflattering national press coverage. The paper was physically retooled—Ford had new presses designed and made to order—and editorially redirected to reflect the America of the late nineteenth century in which he had come of age. Like many social conservatives, he idealized what he believed were the cultural and economic hallmarks of preindustrial society. The family farm, the one-room school, and racial and ethnic homogeneity all supported—and were, in turn, promoted by—a profoundly conservative and Christian fundamentalism. Articles extolled the virtues of Jefferson and Lincoln, superimposing anachronistic aspects of their political ideas onto the postwar culture of the United States in the 1920s. In short, the paper erected an intensely hostile critique of the modernist impulses of its own time, inveighing against new cultural trends that Ford personally abhorred: smoking, drink-

ing, newfangled dancing styles, and what he believed was the disproportionate influence of Jews on politics, culture, entertainment, diplomacy, industrial capitalism, and the state.

As it soon demonstrated, the paper's most important mission was to disseminate Ford's antisemitic beliefs. Beginning in 1920 and continuing for nearly two years, the *Independent* ran a series of ninety-one articles largely based on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an authorless document purporting to lay out the Jewish plan for world domination. Ernest G. Liebold, Ford's executive secretary, procured a copy of the *Protocols* and promptly handed it to the paper's editor, William J. Cameron. Several journalists, including Herman Bernstein, had attacked the authenticity of the *Protocols* before the *Independent* began its series. In 1921, the *Times* (London) hammered the nails in what should have been the literary coffin of the *Protocols* in an article that established the true sources of the literary forgery, as well as its reactionary and antisemitic political motivations. Liebold completely ignored all such evidence of the inauthenticity of the *Protocols*. So the *Independent* series continued, despite widespread public and media criticism, infuriated demands for retraction, and two libel lawsuits, one filed by Bernstein when the *Independent* asserted that he had supplied Ford with information about the nefarious activities of the "International Jew." Neither case ever went to trial.

The *Independent* broke off this initial antisemitic campaign abruptly in January 1922, apparently at the behest of President Warren G. Harding, who sent an emissary to Ford to prevail on the automaker to end the defamatory articles. The cessation proved brief, however. In November 1920, Dearborn Publishing, the paper's holding company, had already begun to issue the *Independent* articles in pamphlet form; after the series ended, the pamphlets were sold in sets of four volumes, affordably priced at 25 cents per set. This collection, titled *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*, essentially put the Ford name—and the stamp of approval of the towering figure of American industrialism—on the *Protocols*.

The *International Jew* was an artless application of the arguments and claims of the *Protocols* to U.S. domestic politics, cultural issues, and so-

cial problems as identified by the Ford publishing machine. Each of the four volumes purported to take up a specific theme, so as to reinforce the perception that Jewish activities and influence were widespread, comprehensive, and sinister, but the volumes' titles pointed to their shared content and purpose: *The International Jew*, *Jewish Activities in the United States*, *Jewish Influences in American Life*, and *Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States*. War, peace, movies, sports, art, literature, music, money, bootlegging, farming, and even Columbus's voyage to America—few subjects escaped the book's single-minded accusation that the Jews were a nation unto themselves. The Jews controlled money, power, and influence in the United States. The Jews appropriated the business and labor of others. Supposedly ordinary Jews who claimed to have no knowledge of the intentions and movements of the "International Jew" nonetheless shared in the fruits of the Jewish conspiracy.

*The International Jew* was marketed with typical Ford ingenuity. It was published uncopiedrighted, giving any other publisher license to reprint the book without paying royalties or becoming subject to any legal restraint. The work was translated and published in Germany by early 1923, and it appeared in at least a dozen other languages before 1930. During that time, the Dearborn Publishing Company sold out several domestic runs of 200,000 copies per printing.

*The International Jew* was poised to live on regardless of the future course of the *Dearborn Independent*, but subsequent antisemitic articles changed the book's fortunes as well as the newspaper's. Their attack on Jewish involvement in agriculture led to another libel lawsuit. This one, filed in federal court, actually went to trial; the case received nationwide press coverage and abundant editorial ridicule for Ford, who could muster in self-defense only the lame excuse that the paper's editor, Cameron, was solely responsible for all attacks on Jews. The litigation ended when Ford apologized to the Jews and agreed to cease all future published attacks. The attorney Louis Marshall, who negotiated the apology, included in the statement promises to withdraw *The International Jew* from circulation and to prevail on publishers everywhere to cease distributing the book.

Ford's apology and the *Independent's* retraction of its anti-Jewish articles had little impact on sales of *The International Jew*. Despite Ford's promise to do everything possible to restrain circulation of the book, it continued to be printed and sold all over the world. When Marshall complained, Ford Motor Company lawyers responded by writing letters of limp protest to antisemitic publishers, but otherwise, little was done to disassociate Ford's name from the book. Adolf Hitler's accession to power in 1933 renewed interest in *The International Jew*, as was pointedly acknowledged by publishers who began adding Ford's name to the frontispiece. The Ford staff denied that Henry Ford was the author of the work—a denial that actually represented the fact of the matter—but did nothing to discourage antisemites and Nazis from seeing Ford as fully sympathetic to their aims. The association between the book and the Ford name only strengthened over time. At the present moment, with the book universally available on numerous antisemitic Internet websites, there is little that the reinvented Ford Motor Company can do to rehabilitate its founder. It can only ignore the dark sides of his life and work.

It has been argued that the *Protocols* lacks a national context or identity, presenting a generic antisemitic theory that is marvelously adaptable to any specific national or political purpose or framework. If that claim holds merit, then it can also be said that Henry Ford's *The International Jew* gave the *Protocols* an American author, an American context, and an American identity. Wrapped in the Ford name, the *International Jew* has achieved an entirely undeserved literary permanence that yokes Ford and the *Protocols* together in infamy.

—Victoria Saker Woeste

**See also** Ford, Henry; Fritsch, Theodor; Internet; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion on Trial*; United States

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### **Debit and Credit (1855)**

Gustav Freytag's 1855 novel *Soll und Haben* (Debit and Credit) describes a world of commerce populated by German merchants adjusting to the new capitalist system. Half novel of business manners and half paean for the German bourgeoisie, *Debit and Credit* was an attempt to educate Germany in the view that the merchant, not the political radical of 1848, would be the creator of a modern, unified, progressive state. To Freytag, capitalism was both a threat to civility as well as a progressive force because the very capitalist system that held the potential to bring prosperity and unification could also reduce social relations to Thomas Carlyle's dreaded "cash nexus." Thus, capitalism had to be tamed by the retention of precapitalist virtues such as honor and character. *Debit and Credit* was therefore intended as a progressive political manifesto, but it is notable today primarily because Freytag portrayed Jewish greed as the essence of unrestrained capitalism. He created, in his memorable villain Veitel Itzig, perhaps the most poisonous stereotype of the greedy, utterly immoral Jewish businessman in nineteenth-century literature.

In *Debit and Credit*, the villain is the Jewish merchant who represents a threat to Germany in the sense that he simply amasses wealth while repudiating all civility and honor. For Freytag, there was something monstrous in Itzig's tireless pursuit of gain, something uncivilized in his joyless self-denial. Itzig embodied the greed and egoism traditionally ascribed to the Jewish merchant. When the novel's dark figures in caftans are not "gliding" through alleyways, they are "cringing" in the light of German bourgeois rectitude. At the other end of the economic scale, partially assimilated Jewish arrivistes ostentatiously display their wealth and lack of culture. The lesson of *Debit and Credit*, in the words of Jacob Katz, is that "Judaism alone is not capable of giving its adherents morality or culture" (Katz 1980, 205).

It is possible to argue that Freytag employed his stereotypes in the service of assimilation. As a noted liberal, he favored Jewish emancipation, criticized Richard Wagner for opposing it, and publicly denounced the antisemitic politics of the 1880s and 1890s as "that ancient evil, Jew-bait-

ing." However, Freytag argued that civil emancipation could never bring about real assimilation; a deeper change in the nature of the individual Jew was required. Bernhard Ehrenthal, the one positive Jewish character in *Debit and Credit*, confesses, "It is only through contact with gentiles that a Jew can acquire an appreciation of any values beyond the coarsest material ones" (in Katz 1980, 205). In Veitel Itzig, Freytag created a more pernicious Jewish stereotype than Charles Dickens did with Fagin.

*Debit and Credit* enjoyed remarkable success and provided generations of German readers—Christian and Jewish alike—a powerful, if stereotyped, impression of Jewish life before assimilation and emancipation. But unlike Dickens, Freytag never expressed any regret for perpetuating Jewish stereotypes. He insisted that the Jewish characters he described in his novel were "realistic" portrayals of Jews he had known.

—Larry L. Ping

**See also** Dickens, Charles; Emancipation; Freytag, Gustav; Marx, Karl; Wagner, Richard

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### **Degenerate Art**

The *Entartete Kunst* ("Degenerate Art") Exhibition, the most widely attended art exhibit of all time, focused on the supposedly Jewish, mentally corrupt, and communist inspiration of many of the most prominent examples of early twentieth-century German visual art. Opening in Munich in 1937 and closing in Halle in 1941, the show marked a crucial turning point in National Socialist antisemitic policy. Combined with other events of 1937, the Degenerate Art show signaled that Jews, already actively excluded from German social and political life, would be subjected to an assault on their essential humanity. The dehumanization of artists in



Hermann Göring and Adolf Hitler examine a painting at what is probably the exhibit “Entartete Kunst” (Degenerate Art) put together by the Nazi Party intending to illustrate that many artists were unworthy of the “higher race.” (Corbis)

violent antisemitic and anti-Marxist propaganda ushered in Nazi policies that moved from textual and visual attacks on specific Jews to the systematic deprivation of European Jewry’s right to exist during the years of genocide in World War II.

The Degenerate Art show followed on numerous regional art shows, beginning in Mannheim in April 1933, that attempted to exhibit the decadence of contemporary German cultural institutions. These exhibitions consistently noted the artist’s identity when he or she was Jewish and indicated the dealer who sold the work, if Jewish. Most often, these regional exhibitions were meant to embarrass the previous cultural administrators of the democratic Weimar Republic and came in the wake of the general purge of the civil service. However, these localized initiatives did not necessarily represent policy at the national level, and many modernist artists who considered themselves apolitical or even staunchly pro-National Socialist still

thought there might be some place for them within the world of art.

The unresolved and inconsistent nature of art exhibition policy changed dramatically after 1936, when Germany entered a new and aggressive phase in cultural, domestic, and international politics. Although many artists (such as George Grosz) had already emigrated because of their politics, many others (including Max Beckmann and Otto Dix) remained in “inner exile” in Germany. The fate of their artistic careers was sealed, however, when, in June 1937, Joseph Goebbels (as head of the Propaganda Ministry and, by extension, the Reich Chamber of Culture, which controlled artistic production) gave the order to begin confiscating examples of “degenerate” art in state collections. Adolf Ziegler, chief of the painting division of the Reich Chamber of Culture, headed a committee of antimodernists who had been charged with putting together a show that would be used as a foil to highlight the first officially sanctioned Great

**German Art Exhibition.** Traveling around Germany for only ten days, the hodgepodge of modern art collected by the committee showed little consistency. The section devoted to nonrepresentative art included the work of the Surrealists and Berlin Dada and focused especially on the German Expressionists. The works themselves were hung in a random fashion with propaganda text along the walls, giving the viewer information about which artists were an insult to German womanhood, which bore the stigma of international Jewry, and so on.

The artwork shown included pieces by known Nazi Party members, such as the Expressionist Emil Nolde; by some with moderate politics, such as Dix; and by Jews, for example, Marc Chagall, although the majority of artists shown were not Jews. Notably, in spite of the propaganda about the Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy, only one artist—Otto Freundlich—was both Jewish and a member of the German Communist Party. Hence, historical accuracy and consistency of message as related to individual biographies was clearly not the agenda for the Degenerate Art show. Rather, the grouping of these individuals, along with mentally handicapped artists, was part of a broader negative campaign to make clear what was culturally and socially objectionable to the German state. Although the destruction of the careers of specific modern artists was certainly a desired effect—Beckmann, for instance, left for Amsterdam when the exhibition opened—a much more significant goal of the exhibition was to use art as a means of convincing an outraged German public of the inherent inferiority of the social and political groups represented: Jews, communists, homosexuals, the deranged, and the morally unfit. The astounding popularity of the exhibition indicates a certain level of success for this mission. Jews and other victims were never killed simply because they were artists, but the denigration and racialization of artistic culture as Jewish and “degenerate” aided in the increasingly aggressive campaign to desensitize a German public that only a few years later became knowing perpetrators and bystanders in the genocide of the European Jews.

—Paul B. Jaskot

**See also** Goebbels, Joseph; Holocaust; Judeo-Bolshevism; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Degeneration

The concept of degeneration was developed in the mid-nineteenth century, most notably by the French psychiatrist Benedict Morel and the Italian (Jewish) criminologist Cesare Lombroso, in the wake of Darwinian evolutionary theory. The concept provided a positivist, medical-biological explanation for the persistence and even increase of retrogressive social elements, such as crime and mental disease, in an era of general progress. Degeneration remained a rather vague notion, and it was never standardized. It began to lose scientific credibility before 1900, and the mass experience of supposedly “degenerate” conditions such as shell shock in World War I made the concept politically and socially unacceptable in western Europe. However, it continued as an unspoken assumption in much social thought and enjoyed renewed prestige in interwar Germany. Ultimately, however, its use by the Nazi regime, especially with regard to anti-Jewish policies, fatally compromised degenerational theory, and since 1945, it has been utterly discredited.

Some adherents emphasized the role of heredity in allowing “primitive” and antisocial elements to survive in the populace, a line of thinking that led easily to eugenics and the “science” of racial hygiene. In the Nazi era, degeneration theory was used to justify euthanasia, sterilization, and the persecution and genocide of the Jews.

Other adherents, most famously Max Nordau in his 1892 *Entartung* (translated as *Degeneration* in 1895), though allowing a role for heredity,

adopted a more Lamarckian approach, stressing the role of environmental deficiencies—poor nutrition and housing, alcohol and drug abuse, and the stress of modern urban living—in passing on so-called degenerate characteristics to the next generation. There was thus the potential for a negative synergy between heredity and environment that could be used to explain the social and moral problems of modern life, especially in the burgeoning cities. Most theorists of degeneration, however, including Nordau, thought that an improved environment would eventually, over the course of some generations, ameliorate the problem of degeneration for society as a whole.

Nordau's book has gained particular notoriety because he was among the first to indict "modernist" artists, composers, and writers as degenerate, a trend that led eventually to the Nazi concept of degenerate art and degenerate music. Nordau's role in fostering an idea so central to Nazi ideology is seen as deeply ironic because he was Jewish and was to become, a short time later, the deputy leader of Zionism. There is, though, a double irony, for in *Degeneration*, Nordau treated antisemitism itself as a hysterical symptom of degeneration, which he associated most closely with Germans and Richard Wagner. Jews are not treated as degenerate in Nordau's book, and in his later career as a Zionist, he attributed any physical degeneracy among Jews to poor living conditions and therefore saw it as corrigible. In contrast, for Nordau, it was those who would overturn rationalism and the concept of human solidarity, including notably the "ego-maniac" Friedrich Nietzsche, who were degenerate, hence reactionary and a danger to civilization.

Nordau was roundly condemned by contemporaries, including George Bernard Shaw, for trying to write off all the prominent artists of the age—among them Émile Zola, Leo Tolstoy, and Fyodor Dostoevsky—as insane, which was seen as a ludicrous undertaking. In retrospect and stripped of its pseudoscientific language, the book can be seen as a warning against the antiprogressive trends in modernism, which were indeed present in the work of writers such as Nietzsche and Dostoevsky. The final irony was that it was Nordau's prime target, Nietzsche—with his antirationalist, vitalist concept of degenera-

tion, diametrically opposed to Nordau's concept—that was to be a much greater inspiration for the later Nazi approach to degeneration and the Jews.

—Steven Beller

**See also** Degenerate Art; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Eugenics; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Nordau, Max; Social Darwinism; Wagner, Richard; Zola, Émile

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## Deicide

Deicide interprets the death of Jesus, for which the Jews have been blamed, as the murder of God. The two presuppositions for this charge are the claims that Jesus was crucified by the Jews and that he was a divine being. Passages imputing Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus are to be found throughout the books of the New Testament.

Given the political realities of the Roman Empire, it is clear that Jewish officials did not possess the power to condemn anyone to be crucified. Yet the literary accounts of the Crucifixion have presented Jewish officials in Jerusalem as the instigators. The book of Nehemiah (9:26), in the period of the Babylonian Exile, spoke of a prophet of God who would be rejected and even slain by his people. Rejection and death—attributes emphasized in the Passion (Luke 13:33)—were thus to be taken as signs of the true prophet. Because the first followers of Jesus interpreted his death as the murder of a prophet by his people, execution at the hands of the Romans presented significant difficulties, which were suppressed in various narrative accounts. Another historical-theological interpretation aided this endeavor. In harmony with the prevalent view in antiquity, divine retribution for the Crucifixion had been visited on the Jews in the

destruction of the Temple and the city of Jerusalem. The very act of punishment was seen as having revealed the guilty.

This historical proof held sway in the theology of the antique period, gradually making it axiomatic for Christian anti-Judaism that the Jews had crucified Jesus Christ. Matthew 27:25 was crucial to this belief because it was understood as a juridical act of collective self-incrimination: “His blood be on us and our children.” In medieval Christian iconography, this motif commonly appeared in depictions of the Crucifixion in which Jews, not Roman soldiers, crucified Jesus. Only with the Christological deification of Jesus could the conception of the Jews as murderers of Christ become equivalent to their being murderers of God. The charge was made explicitly for the first time by Melito of Sardis (ca. 180). Apparently, the motif became so widespread that it required its own word, the Greek *theoktoniā*. However, this term created theological problems that led to the coining of another word: *kyrioktonoi* (the murderers of the Lord). This term was used so frequently in polemical literature that it became synonymous with *Jews*. The Latin word *deicidae* was a translation from the Greek and first appeared in Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 65:1. But Augustine rejected the notion because it would only have been valid if the Jews had known Jesus was the Son of God.

Even though lacking explicit theological grounding, the opinion was nevertheless constantly expressed in anti-Jewish polemics. Zeno of Verona made emphatic use of it to prove the moral depravity of Judaism. John Chrysostom warned Judaizing Christians to cease their consorting with the murderers of the Lord. Ambrose called on the temporal power to carry out God’s judgment on the Jews. Especially consequential was the idea that Jewish guilt for the Crucifixion was heritable. All Jews who remained Jews thereby acknowledged their guilt in the murder of God, which was equal to that of their forebears. By this logic, every contemporary Jew could be accused and found guilty, according to Jerome.

The accusation continued to flourish in the altered situation of the Middle Ages. Deicide served as a legitimization for the crimes committed against Jews during the First Crusade as well

as for localized pogroms. The debate over the real presence of Christ in the sacramental host fostered the legend of Jewish host desecration, which claimed that Jews, by torturing the wafer and causing it to bleed, were, in fact, reenacting the Crucifixion. Once again, Jews were negative witnesses proving a Christian truth, and a prejudice was enlisted to demonstrate a theological point: the Jews knew that Christ was present in the host. The medieval ritual murder legend also tied into the accusation of deicide. Building on the notion that Jews thirsted for blood, well established in late antiquity, the idea underwent further elaboration in the Middle Ages. As one variant had it, a punishment for the Crucifixion was that Jews suffered from anemia, which they needed to relieve by drinking Christian blood.

The consequences of deicide have been dire from the origin of the concept into the modern era. Those who murdered the Lord were incapable of morality. Any crime could be ascribed to them. One who laid hands on the Jew thereby made himself or herself an instrument of God’s punishment. In Christian society, the inferior position of Jews had been justified since the fourth century by their guilt in the ultimate crime. Modern racism, without a religious foundation, was nonetheless influenced in its basic outlook by the religious motif of deicide. Secular racists did not charge Jews with the murder of the Son of God but were nonetheless certain that Jews wanted to kill “Aryan man.” During the Third Reich, the so-called Deutsche Christen (German Christians), in the throes of racial delusion, conflated the myths, making Jesus into an Aryan.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Augustine of Hippo; Chrysostom, John; Church Fathers; Crusades; Deutsche Christen; Gospels; Host Desecration; Iconography, Christian; Ritual Murder (Medieval)

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### **Demonstratio Adversus Iudeos**

*Demonstratio Adversus Iudeos*—or, by its Greek title, *Apodeiktiē pros Joudaious*—exists only in fragments (Patrologia Graeca 10, 787–794). The work is attributed to Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170–235 CE). A presbyter of the church in Rome, he became involved in a long and drawn-out Christological controversy, which ended with his being exiled to Sardinia (in 235) by the Emperor Maximus Thrax.

Hippolytus wrote the *Demonstratio* in Greek, which drastically limited its reception in the western Empire. The short work took the form of a sermon. It explicated in historical-theological terms the situation of the Jews in the Roman Empire following the destruction of Jerusalem. A second purpose was to demonstrate from Scripture that Jesus was the Messiah. In this endeavor, Hippolytus aligned himself with the canon of the Septuagint, making use not only of the Prophets and the Psalms but also the Proverbs of Solomon. Reliance on the Septuagint makes clear the audience he was really addressing. Even though he spoke to a Jew at the beginning of the sermon, this was to be understood as a rhetorical device, not an attempt to reach actual Jews.

The argumentation of the sermon presupposed agreement with the Christian faith and addressed a Christian audience. Its scriptural evidence characteristically assumed what it claimed to be proving, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ. Compared to the other anti-Jewish sermons of Christian antiquity, Hippolytus indulged in relatively little verbal abuse of Jews. His main purpose was to present a Christological proof to his Christian readers. Resorting to a historical argument, he wanted to show that the disenfranchised situation of the Jews in the Roman Empire was divine punishment for the killing of Jesus. To make his point more emphatically, he exaggerated the deterioration of the Jews' status beyond what was really the case. The Diaspora was distinguished from earlier periods of exile because it was to be eternal—God would not grant forgiveness to the Jews. Killing the Son of God was so grievous a crime that there could be no salvation from its consequences (*Demonstratio*, 6–7). Thus, Hippolytus exploited the historical

fact of the Diaspora to demonstrate a Christological dogma. The proof of the divinity of Jesus lay in the punishment meted out to those responsible for his death. This particular case carried no weight outside Christian circles, but within them, Hippolytus delivered what he considered an empirical “proof” that Jesus was the Son of God.

The *Demonstratio* was, in both argument and rhetorical style, thoroughly traditional. It is probable that Hippolytus was familiar with the work of Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*. His sermon, though not widely read, is an important example of the “against the Jew” genre because it exemplifies the process by which theological argumentation developed into an anti-Jewish literary construct and iconographic symbol.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Deicide; *Dialogue with Trypho*; Roman Empire; Wandering Jew

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### **Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919**

The normal pattern of cemetery desecration entails the overturning or breaking of grave markers; in the case of synagogues, the defilement includes the smearing of the building's exterior walls and, more rarely, the vandalizing of the interior. Because such deeds were regarded as heinous offenses, they drew special attention in the twentieth century.

In Germany, desecrations have a long tradition. As early as the fourteenth century, Jewish cemeteries were destroyed and their gravestones used for the building of churches and homes. However, the broad public, sensitized by the emergence of organized antisemitism, became conscious of these acts as something unusual only at the end of the nineteenth century. Since the

foundation of Germany's first democratic republic in 1919, relatively exact statistics on these events have been kept; records of the vigorous public discussion engendered by these deeds are also available.

During the Weimar years (1919–1933), 200 cemeteries and synagogues were defiled, the high point of incidents being reached in the mid-1920s. In the Nazi period, acts of destruction escalated. Probably 80 to 90 percent of the approximately 1,700 Jewish cemeteries across Germany were totally or partially destroyed. The proportion of synagogues converted for use as garages and warehouses was also probably high, although no exact figures are available. On the night of November 9–10, 1938, the so-called Night of Broken Glass, more than 260 synagogues were set on fire. In the postwar Germanies, precise figures exist only for cemetery desecrations. From 1949 to the end of 1999, there were at least 1,000 such cases. Since the 1990s, annual occurrences have attained new levels, with a record 66 incidents in 1994. These high numbers are, to some degree, the reflection of greater public and official awareness. Alarmed by the growth of right-wing extremism, especially in the former German Democratic Republic, defilements that formerly would have gone unreported have instead been officially registered. In addition to the cemetery incidents, there are a few acts of vandalism targeting synagogues each year. Of late, the increasing militancy of the acts has become conspicuous. In 1998, the memorial tablet marking the burial place of Heinz Galinski, former spokesman of the Jewish community in Germany, was blown up twice. In 2000, youths hurled Molotov cocktails at synagogues in Erfurt and Düsseldorf.

The offenders have often been underage youths. During the Weimar years, probably one-quarter of the crimes were committed by individuals under twenty-one. Their punishment, then and now, has posed problems for the police and the judicial system. Is the overturning of a grave marker a conscious political act or just a piece of stupidity? Not every case is difficult to assess, however. At least a portion of the youthful offenders belong to right-wing extremist groups, making it possible to establish decisively the pres-

ence of political—that is, antisemitic—motives. Among adult offenders, the connections to extremist groups are even more apparent. In the Weimar Republic, for example, perpetrators were frequently members of Hitler's paramilitary, the SA or SS.

The motivations for these deeds elude exact understanding. Expressing one's Jew-hatred by defiling a cemetery may testify to the antisemite's secret desire to kill. Most cemeteries lie on the outskirts of towns, making them relatively remote locations where violent fantasies can be acted out and still remain a secret. The remote cemetery has also served antisemites as a place of retreat, especially in periods when physically manifested antisemitism was strongly condemned, as was the case in the mid-1920s. But even the moral outrage over the defilements and the public discussion of such acts in the media can occasionally produce copycat occurrences by perpetrators in search of recognition.

Desecrations are crimes according to the German Penal Code—§168 (disturbing the peace of the dead) and §305 (misdemeanor damage to property)—punishable with sentences of up to three years in prison. When the crime concerns felony damage to property (such as the destruction of sacred objects), a weapons violation (as in a bombing), or the theft of a cemetery ornament, more severe penalties are possible. For youthful offenders, there can be additional school-related punishments, including expulsion. In historical and current practice, the penalties have been relatively severe. In the Weimar Republic, for example, sentences of up to six years of penal servitude were possible. In the Federal Republic of Germany, offenders as young as seventeen or eighteen faced several years in jail. The harsh sentences are consonant with the strong outrage produced in society at large by this sort of crime, reflected also in the morally charged adjectives commonly used to describe such acts: *brutish*, *vulgar*, or *cowardly*. But there is a paradox here as well. The socially and juridically sanctioned punishment for these crimes could often be more severe than that meted out for violence against living Jews.

—Dirk Walter  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** German Democratic Republic; Germany, Federal Republic of; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Neo-Nazism, German; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Weimar

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## Deutsche Christen

The Deutsche Christen (German Christians) were a group of clergy and laypeople in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s who sought to synthesize National Socialism and Christianity. They aimed to purge Christianity of everything they deemed Jewish and to create a German church based on "blood." Most of the approximately 600,000 members were Protestant, although a few Catholics were involved. By mid-1933, Deutsche Christen had acquired key posts in the Protestant establishment—in national church governing bodies and university faculties of theology, as regional bishops, and on local church councils. Many kept those positions until 1945 and beyond.

Three impulses converged to form their movement. In 1932, a group of politicians and pastors met to discuss how to win the Protestant churches of Germany to the Nazi cause. They initially named themselves Protestant National Socialists but ultimately decided on Deutsche Christen instead. Meanwhile, in Thuringia, Siegfried Leffler and Julius Leutheuser, two young pastors and war veterans, had been preaching religious renewal along Nazi lines since the 1920s. They also called themselves Deutsche Christen. The two groups began to cooperate. A third initiative came from the Protestant, *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) associations that emerged after World War I. Dedicated to reviving church life through emphasizing German culture, anti-semitism, and nationalism, some of those organizations merged with the Deutsche Christen.

Instead of breaking with the established Protestant churches, the Deutsche Christen tried to take over from within. Their main rival was

the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*), another movement within official Protestantism. The Deutsche Christen also had opposition outside the church from neopagans who considered even Nazified Christianity "too Jewish." Although clergy normally spoke for the movement, the Deutsche Christen represented a cross section of German society.

They aimed to create a "people's church" that would provide a spiritual homeland for the "Aryans" of the Third Reich. Accordingly, they attacked every aspect of Christianity that was related to Judaism. They rejected the Old Testament, revised the New Testament, expunged words such as *Hallelujah* and *Hosanna* from hymns, and denied that Jesus was a Jew. Because they considered Jewishness racial, they refused to accept conversions from Judaism to Christianity as valid and insisted that only a hard, "manly" church devoid of qualities such as compassion could fight racial impurity.

Deutsche Christen ideas remained fairly constant, but the movement changed over time. From 1932 to late 1933, it enjoyed open Nazi support. It swept the Protestant church elections in 1933 and dominated the process that unified Germany's regional Protestant churches into one German Protestant church. One of their own, the naval chaplain Ludwig Müller, became the Protestant Reich bishop. But success was short-lived. Worried that the Deutsche Christen caused dissension, Nazi leaders withdrew their support. For 1934 and most of 1935, the movement was in shambles. But even though the national group splintered, the core ideas persisted. By late 1935, the movement began reorganizing, and by September 1939, almost all the factions had reestablished ties.

War fulfilled many of the aims of the Deutsche Christen. They wanted an aggressive Christianity; now they had the nation at arms. They demanded exclusion of "non-Aryans" and Jewish influences from German religious life; that goal was realized by default, through the isolation, expulsion, and murder of people defined as Jews. But the war also brought setbacks. Even Deutsche Christen experienced hostility from some Nazi authorities who resented Christianity in any form.

When Hitler's regime collapsed in 1945, the movement lost its credibility. To justify their involvement to Allied occupation authorities, de-Nazification boards, and even themselves, many former members claimed they had only wanted religious renewal. They rarely mentioned the antisemitism that had pervaded their program. Some pastors were ousted, but within a few years, almost all were back in the pulpit. Lay members easily reentered the Protestant mainstream.

Some scholars dismiss the Deutsche Christen because they constituted only about 1 percent of the population. In the Nazi context, however, their movement was significant. Through their quest for a "racially pure," anti-Jewish church, the Deutsche Christen echoed and endorsed the crimes of the Third Reich.

—Doris L. Bergen

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Churches under Nazism; Masculinity; Rosenberg, Alfred; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Devi, Savitri (1905–1982)

Savitri Devi was a French convert to Hinduism and a major proponent of occultic Nazi ideology. In the West, Devi is known for her identification of Adolf Hitler as an "avatar" (divine manifestation) who moved in harmony with Hindu tradition. In India, she is known as an early leader of the Hinduvta (Hindu Nationalist) movement.

Born Maximiani Portas, she was highly educated and particularly impressed by the antisemitic writings of the nineteenth-century French thinker Ernest Renan. She also followed the Nazi movement closely and was one of the few who actually read Alfred Rosenberg's ponderous *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, to which she gave high marks for its justification of antisemitism. At the same time, she immersed herself in study of the Hindu classics, the Vedas and the Upanishads, and eventually adopted the name of Savitri Devi,

an Aryan sun goddess. In 1940, she married Indian nationalist and esotericist A. K. Mukherjee, editor of the pro-Nazi publication *The New Mercury*, and settled in Calcutta, where she worked on her blueprint for a global Aryan religion combining Hinduism with Nazism. During a sojourn in Britain, she published several well-received works, including *The Impeachment of Man* (1946, reprinted in 1991), a manifesto for radical environmentalism and Aryan nature worship that is now regarded as a classic in neo-Nazi circles. Following World War II, while incarcerated in Germany for her Nazi activities, she wrote *Gold in the Furnace* (1949), an explicitly pro-Nazi autobiography, which she considered her greatest achievement.

In *The Lightning and the Sun* (1958), Devi declared Hitler a mystical embodiment of those two light sources, and she dedicated the work to him—"the god-like Individual of our times, the Man against Time." The latter tribute is explained within the book as the god-man who "lives in eternity while acting in time, according to the Aryan doctrine of detached violence." Devi believed that Hitler was the "one-before-the-last" such incarnation, a forerunner of "the one whom the faithful of all religions . . . await." This "last, great individual" would outdo Hitler by sparing none who "bear the stamp of the fallen ages." Devi claimed that Hitler knew both his own role and that of the "last Man against Time," for whom he would do "the preparatory work." With a peculiar twist of logic, she also described the forerunner role of Hitler in *Impeachment* as "messiah ben Joseph," a Jewish eschatological figure who presaged the final Messiah (ben David).

Devi's later years were dedicated to corresponding with admirers around the world, lecturing, and promoting Holocaust denial. She claimed an ally in Hindu leader Ramana Maharishi, who she said acknowledged Hitler as a *gnani* (sage). Devi died while on a lecture tour for the American Nazi Party, and her ashes were interred at the group's shrine in Arlington, Virginia. Her influence among neo-Nazis persists through her books and tapes, promoted by the American Nazi Party, British National Socialist leader Colin Jordan, Canadian Ernst Zündel, and New

Zealand's Renaissance Press, publisher of occult-based fascist magazines and books.

—Hannah Newman

*See also* American Nazi Party; Aquarius, Age of; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; *Myth of the Twentieth Century, The*; Renan, Ernest; Rosenberg, Alfred

### Dewey, Melvil (1851–1931)

By 1905, when Melvil Dewey was involved in a sensational antisemitic incident, he was the most influential librarian in the United States and one of the best-known librarians in the world. He was born in Adams Center, New York. Both his mother, Eliza, and his storekeeper father, Joel, were devout Baptists, and their son began study at a seminary in Oneida, New York. Determined to enlist in the work of uplifting the masses, he entered Amherst College in 1870 and joined the movements to introduce the metric system and simplified spelling (changing his name from the too elaborate "Melville"). He took a job in Amherst's library and quickly decided that librarianship was the field in which he could best help to elevate humanity. In 1876, he published his famous "decimal system" for classifying and shelving library holdings. His ingenious method quickly displaced rival classification schemes and ensured him a lasting reputation among professional librarians.

Dewey was one of the founders of the American Library Association (in 1876), its secretary for fifteen years, and then its president and treasurer. In 1883, he became head librarian at Columbia University, and in 1887, he established there (without permission) the first library school in the world. Under fire at Columbia, he accepted an offer in 1889 to become the secretary to the regents of the University of the State of New York and, simultaneously, the state librarian.

In the mid-1890s, Dewey and his wife, Annie, built a recreational retreat at Lake Placid, in the Adirondack Mountains. In 1894, they started the Lake Placid Club and over the years transformed the place into a 10,000-acre complex with tennis courts, golf courses, concert halls, and 150 member families. Like other Adirondack resorts, Dewey's club excluded Jews: "No one shall be re-

ceived as a member or guest, against whom there is physical, moral, social or race objection," announced one of its circulars. Rejecting "absolutely all consumptives, or other invalids," the club declared it "impracticable to make exceptions to Jews or others excluded, even when of unusual personal qualifications." When Henry Leipziger was barred from the meeting of the New York Library Association, held at the club in September 1903, he complained to Louis Marshall, who resolved to fight. Enlisting a group of prestigious and influential New York City Jews—men gathered around the American Jewish Committee and the *New York Times*—Marshall, in January 1905, petitioned the regents for Dewey's dismissal. No one denied the legal right of a private club to set its membership policies, but the petitioners contended that Dewey's open and arrogant prejudice rendered him unfit for the high positions he held in the state's educational system. The hearings before the regents were reported all over the country. In the end, the regents declined to fire Dewey but issued a strongly worded public rebuke of his conduct. A few months later, he was in trouble again over the issue, and in September, he resigned his positions, effective January 1, 1906. In 1927, he founded a second club in Florida, where he died two weeks after his eightieth birthday. His ashes were taken to Lake Placid.

—David W. Levy

*See also* American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Seligman-Hilton Affair; United States

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### Dialogue with Trypho

Justin Martyr, author of the *Dialogue with Trypho*, was born of pagan parents around the year 100 CE in Nablus (Flavia Neapolis). He made a study of Middle Platonism, which he re-

garded as the logical precursor to the Christianity that he then accepted. Justin was martyred between 160 and 165 CE.

The *Dialogue with Trypho* appeared between 155 and 160 CE and took the form of a fictional dialogue, reminiscent of the Platonic school. The story that Justin met with a real Jew named Trypho in Ephesus shortly after the Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 CE) is highly improbable. Fictional though the meeting likely was, Justin was familiar with at least some of the key Jewish arguments that he presented from his own perspective in the work: Christians interpreted the Bible arbitrarily (27,1; 79,1); Jesus was only a simple man whose Crucifixion demonstrated that he could not have been the messiah (32,1; 38,1; 68,1; 89,1); Christians did not obey the Torah, even though Jesus had lived according to its commandments (67,7). The reader's access to the Jewish perception of Christianity was, of course, mediated through Justin's own understanding of it.

Justin's apologetic thrust was to show that Christians, not Jews or pagans, were the one and true people of God. They were the true children of Abraham, the true Israel, in and for whom all God's promises would be fulfilled (82; 119; 123; 135; and elsewhere). The *Dialogue with Trypho* was an early expression of a fully developed Christian anti-Judaism. In the spirit of holy Scriptures, Jews were not really Jews. Rather, the real Jews were those who believed that Jesus was the Christ, no matter their ethnicity. Contemporary Jewry was thus deprived of its own tradition and religion. The church, as the true Israel, supplanted the Jews, contesting their claim even to call themselves Jews. This line of argument was presented to the readers of the Dialogue as a self-evident certainty.

But the work's initial purpose was to strengthen the identity of a still insecure church. The problem of Christian legitimacy led Justin to extreme claims—for example, that he understood the writings of the Jews better than they did themselves. That Jews should exist at all posed something of a cognitive dissonance for him, for their continued existence called the position of Christianity itself into question. Thus, Justin felt called on to pile on the textual examples in sup-

port of his case; whole stretches of the work read like a collection of testimonies in dialogue form. It is probable that Justin wanted to present arguments for inner-Christian discourse, but he seems to have overlooked that the "proofs" in his book only work if one already believed as a Christian. Another purpose was to proselytize among the pagans of the time, poised as they were between Judaism and Christianity. Justin hoped to persuade them to choose the latter as the "true Israel" (23).

After a highly stylized autobiographical prologue (1,1–8; 2), the dialogue unfolds over two days. Its major themes include the supersession of Jewish law by the law of Christ (10–47), Jesus as the true Messiah (48–108), and Christianity as the true Israel (109–141). Although elements of an irenic compromise are also present in the book—Jews are called brothers (96,2)—and although it ends on a note of reconciliation, the predominant tone is polemical and unyielding. Moral calumnies and the depiction of Jews as the deadly enemies of Christians, who curse them as a regular part of their synagogue services (16,4; 47,5; 95,4; 96,2), contribute to a sense of irreconcilable differences.

Giving voice to these claims, Justin supplied basic motifs for a pathological Christian anti-Judaism that would gain in strength and currency as Jews fell into a state of political powerlessness. His *Dialogue with Trypho* provided later theologians, including John Chrysostom, with a source of abundant arguments against the Jews.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Bar Kochba Revolt; Chrysostom, John; *Demonstratio Adversus Judaeos*; Roman Empire; Supersessionism

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## Diaspora Revolt (115–117 CE)

In the last years of the principate of Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus), the Roman Empire expe-

rienced Jewish revolts within the most important communities to which Jews had been dispersed following the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Modern scholarship refers to these complex events as the Diaspora Revolt. The Jews of Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Cyrene, and Alexandria clashed with the local non-Jewish populations and the Roman authority. Ancient writers did not provide sufficient information to establish with certainty the causes of such widespread events, but there is scattered evidence from previous decades pointing to social tensions between resident Jews and non-Jews with the right of citizenship. This conflict, in all likelihood, spawned the explosive revolts. The better-known cases are those of Cyrene and Alexandria, where scholars think that the diffused messianism of the time may have generated expectations for a Jewish king who would lead the Jews out of the Diaspora.

In Cyrene, the Jews revolted in an apparently organized uprising and destroyed roads and public buildings, mainly pagan temples. Some of them then proceeded to Alexandria, led by a Jewish "king," Loukuas. Papyrological evidence shows that fights between citizens and Jews had already occurred there in 113. Other papyri, very likely extensively embellished by rhetoric, present a description of part of the events suspiciously reminiscent of those we know from the Alexandrian riots of 38 CE. Other sources report that this time the Jews attacked pagan monuments, destroying the temple of Serapis; their main synagogue was also destroyed, an action confirmed by a passage from the Talmud. Revolts also occurred in the Egyptian countryside, concerning which particularly gruesome details have been recorded.

The Jews were clearly well organized militarily and able to inflict defeats on their opponents, at least until a regular Roman army sent by Trajan arrived from Parthia. The Jewish revolt was then crushed, and the Jewish presence in Egypt, Alexandria, and Cyrene was drastically reduced.

—Sandra Gambetti

*See also* Alexandrian Pogrom; Roman Empire

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## Dickens, Charles (1812–1870)

In the portrait of the Jewish fence Fagin in *Oliver Twist* (1838), Charles Dickens produced one of the most notorious anti-Jewish literary stereotypes of the nineteenth century. Already the most popular and best-paid novelist in England by that time, Dickens was also to become a champion of the causes of the oppressed. He abhorred slavery and was a supporter of the European liberal revolutions of the late 1840s, and in *Oliver Twist*, the story of an innocent workhouse orphan tempted into the world of crime, he attacked the New Poor Law of 1834. Reacting to the author's well-known liberal politics, a Jewish reader wrote to Dickens in 1863 and charged that he had "encouraged a vile prejudice against the despised Hebrew" and that the representation of Fagin was "a great wrong." Dickens, however, protested that "I have no feeling towards the Jewish people but a friendly one . . . always speak well of them, whether in public or in private, and bear my testimony (as I ought to do) to their perfect good faith in such transactions as I ever had with them" (Rosenberg 1960, 16). In the preface to the novel, Dickens wrote that he was aiming for a representation of criminals "as really did exist; to paint them in all their deformity, in all their wretchedness, in all the squalid misery of their lives." Such a sociological approach to crime, he considered, "would be a service to society."

Nonetheless, Dickens's representation of Fagin was drawn from both the idiom of stage melodrama and medieval images of the Jew as inherently evil. He is frequently referred to in the novel simply by the epithet "the Jew" and also as the "merry old gentleman," a euphemism for the devil. The reader first meets him in his dark, dirty, and vaporous den, hunched over a fire "with a toasting-fork in his hand"; he is described as "a very old shrivelled Jew, whose villainous-looking and repulsive face was obscured by a quantity of matted red hair." Fagin's red hair and toasting fork carry satanic associations, as does the apparent solicitude he uses to charm the naive Oliver into a life of pickpocketing and burglary. George Cruikshank's illustrations for the novel portray Fagin with a long, sharp nose, connoting shrewdness according to the physiognomic the-



Black-and-white engraving by George Cruikshank of the thief, Fagin, sitting in his jail cell, from an 1839 American publication of Dickens's novel, *Oliver Twist*. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ory of the day. The novel's figurative language links him with beasts: he is "lynx-eyed," a "wolf"; his hand is a "withered old claw"; he has "such fangs as should have been a dog's or rat's." He inhabits the night: "Creeping beneath the shelter of the walls and doorways, the hideous old man seemed like some loathsome reptile, engendered in the slime and darkness through which he moved: crawling forth, by night, in search of some rich offal for a meal." In Fagin's underworld, where "everything felt wild and clammy to the touch," the sliminess of the Jew is a sign not only of his physical repulsiveness and bestiality but also of his capacity to disorder representational boundaries.

—Nadia Valman

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Iconography, Christian; *Jew of Malta*, *The*; Shylock

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## Diderot, Denis (1713–1784)

A French philosophe and the leading editor of the landmark publication of the Enlightenment, the *Encyclopédie* (Encyclopedia[1751–1772]), Denis Diderot treated Jewish themes infrequently in his published works and even more rarely in his private correspondence: he showed none of the obsessive rhetorical venom toward Judaism exhibited by his contemporary Voltaire. However, his deprecatory attitudes toward ancient Jewish history and the Hebrew Bible reflected typical Enlightenment hostilities and have led some scholars to charge Diderot with antisemitism.

Many articles in the *Encyclopédie* sought to topple the biblical narrative of early Jewish history from its exceptional status. The authorial role of Diderot in various articles is not easy to ascertain, but as the key editor, he was to a large degree responsible for the overall tone of the work. The lengthy article entitled "Jewish Philosophy," signed by him, is most clearly illustrative of his stance toward Judaic themes. In it, he continually belittled the significance and creativity of Jewish thought, contrasting the sophistification of the Egyptians to the Jews' cultural inferiority. He was scornful of the supposedly arcane legalism of the Talmud, and he criticized the Jews for their "blind obedience" to this text. These attacks were stock themes in Enlightenment writings on Judaism and must be understood as part of a wider critique of revealed religion in general and of Christianity and its Jewish legitimating antecedent in particular. However, the especially persistent and sweeping dismissals of Judaism in the *Encyclopédie* reflected the unique intellectual difficulties posed by Judaism for Enlightenment thinkers such as Diderot. The mythic system of Judaism was impervious to Enlightenment critique, and this resilience readily provoked frustration. The repetition of familiar attacks on Jewish primitivism and legalism in several articles in this compilation revealed the inability of the philosophes to provide, within their rationalist schema, a conclusive alternative to the biblical account of Jewish history and survival.

In Diderot's philosophical fiction, there was one notable example of a negative Jewish stereotype: the lascivious Jew of Utrecht in *Rameau's*

*Nephew* (1761). In some of his critical writings, however, Diderot expressed a sustained admiration for the poetic power of the Jewish Bible. In the account of his travels in *Voyage to Holland* (1774), he also confronted with some sensitivity the reality of Jews as a contemporary social and political presence. He commented on the beauty of the Dutch Sephardic synagogues—though he was taken aback by the disordered noisiness of the services that occurred within them—and praised the toleration of religious diversity in the Dutch Republic.

In sum, Diderot's attitudes toward Jews and Judaism should be seen as eclectic and mobile, encompassing strains of idealism, denigration, and uncertainty. Although sharing the widespread Enlightenment tendency to posit a Jewish legalistic tribal atavism as the inverse of his own positive values of rational universalistic progress, he also, if only fleetingly, contemplated Jewish themes more positively in aesthetic and political contexts.

—Adam Sutcliffe

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Hegel, G. W. F.; Herder, J. G.; Jewish Question; Kant, Immanuel; Michaelis, Johann David; Talmud; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de.

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## **Dietary Laws**

Judaism's dietary laws, which dictate every aspect of food preparation and consumption, have greatly interested non-Jewish observers throughout history. Although some anti-Jewish writers, such as Tacitus and Apion, referred to the laws with disdain, claiming that they set Jews apart and showed their hostility toward non-Jews, most others seemed to have viewed them as merely another ethnic peculiarity in a world teeming with these. The one known attempt in antiquity to outlaw some Jewish dietary practices was made by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV

Epiphanes, who forced the Temple priests to sacrifice and consume pigs; this decree was part of a larger failed effort to Hellenize and politically stabilize Judea. With the rise of Christianity and its notion that the old law had been superseded, Jews who continued to practice the kosher laws were derided, and church councils repeatedly prohibited Christians from partaking of food with Jews.

One aspect of the kosher laws that has proven particularly controversial since the Middle Ages is the Jewish method of slaughtering livestock. Although Jewish texts make clear that the prescribed kosher method—one quick cut to the neck with a very sharp blade—is designed to cause the animal to expire quickly, thereby sparing it unnecessary pain, the highly ritualistic manner of the slaughter and the copious amount of blood it produces may have contributed to several medieval anti-Jewish myths, including that of the blood libel. In modern times, kosher slaughter continues to be criticized as cruel, particularly because traditional Jewish law does not allow the animal to be stunned prior to its slaughter. In the nineteenth century, laws were passed in Germany and Switzerland (where they are still in place) prohibiting the slaughter of animals that had not been stunned; although antisemitic intentions should not automatically be attributed to the lawmakers, it is sometimes hard to tell where concern for animal suffering ends and antisemitism begins in the shrillest popular agitation for such laws.

In the twentieth century, a new libel regarding kosher laws evolved in some Western countries. To ensure the kashrut of industrial food establishments and prepackaged products, kosher certifying organizations have arisen. For businesses that request it—and are willing to pay a service fee—these organizations send trained rabbis to oversee their production processes. If a food product is properly supervised, the kosher certifying agency allows the business to incorporate a small trademarked symbol, at a nominal cost, on the packaging. Antisemites have decried this certification as a "kosher tax" that powerful Jews have enlisted the government to collect on their behalf; others have alleged that greedy rabbis threaten businesses with a Jewish boycott un-

less they accept their fee-based kosher certification. Some have gone so far as to post lists of kosher-certified products on the Internet, in an attempt to boycott businesses that have surrendered to the “kosher mafia.”

—Aryeh Tuchman

**See also** Apion; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); *Judensau*; Kosher Slaughtering; Pork; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Roman Literature

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### Dining Society, Christian-German

Established in Berlin in January 1811 and lasting until 1815, the Christian-German Dining Society (Christlich-Deutsche Tischgesellschaft) was a social club that drew together members from the Prussian intellectual and political elite, including the romantic writers Clemens Brentano and Heinrich von Kleist, the club founder Achim von Arnim, the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, the military theorist Carl von Clausewitz, and conservative political figures such as Leopold von Gerlach, Ludwig von der Marwitz, and cofounder Adam Müller. The organization was created in a spirit of xenophobic German nationalism and Prussian patriotism at the time of the Napoleonic occupation, but though anti-French sentiment was paramount, the group is most notable for its explicit exclusion of Jews—even baptized Jews—from membership.

The fact that even converted Jews were barred from joining has led some historians to cite the Christian-German Dining Society as an early instance of racist antisemitism in Germany; others have concluded that the opinions expressed in the club’s statutes and discussions reflected more traditional forms of religiously motivated anti-Judaism. Arnim authored the club’s bylaws and gave some particularly disturbing anti-Jewish lectures there, for which he has typically been seen as the prime instigator of the organization’s anti-

semitism. More recent scholarship, however, suggests that even though Arnim did call for barring Jews from membership, he had proposed the admission of baptized Jews, only to be outvoted on that point by other founding members. The racial interpretation is still open to question, but it does seem clear from the club’s transactions that the anti-Jewish sentiment shared by many of the members was at least ethnic rather than purely religious in nature.

When assessing the significance of the Christian-German Dining Society, it is also important to consider the larger historical context. The organization was, first and foremost, intended to provide an alternative venue for Prussian and German patriots during the French occupation. The membership was largely drawn from the patriotically inclined among Berlin’s literary salons, and the exclusion of women (not just Jews) allowed the founders to form a more tightly knit all-male group, which marked an important shift in German political culture. Previous scholars also emphasized the society’s role in facilitating cooperation between literary romantics and conservative opponents of the Prussian government’s program of modernizing social, economic, and political reforms, which included a limited Jewish emancipation. This view, however, has recently been questioned, with two scholars pointing to the diversity of opinion among the club’s members and seeing little evidence of organized opposition politics. The romantic writer Müller certainly worked with Marwitz and other Prussian nobles to oppose the reforms, and anti-Jewish rhetoric featured in their public arguments, but this need not indicate similar political ties and views for Arnim, much less Kleist or Fichte. In terms of the relationship with German Jews, although it is true that not all members of the Christian-German Dining Society supported its anti-Jewish stance, it is equally true that the club will remain of historical interest primarily because it highlights the presence of anti-Jewish xenophobia among German nationalists at a crucial juncture in German history.

—Brian Vick

**See also** Burschenschaften; Christian State; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; State-within-a-State

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### **Dinter, Artur (1876–1948)**

The now nearly forgotten Artur Dinter was, on the strength of his novel trilogy *Sins of the Era*, one of the most widely read *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) authors of the 1920s and 1930s. A student of philosophy and the natural sciences, he earned a doctorate and went into teaching but then, in 1905, moved on to the theater world as an artistic manager and director. He helped found and lead the Association of German Stage Writers until the group expelled him in 1917 because of his strident racist preaching. Already a member of the Pan-German League, Dinter condemned the Writers' Association as an instrument of the Jewish "theater dictatorship" and proof of the "decadence" of the times. Meanwhile, the failure of his various theatrical projects inclined him more and more toward antisemitism. Eventually, he made antisemitic racism central to his understanding of the past, present, and future.

In 1917, he self-published 1,000 copies of the first volume of his trilogy. He described that volume, entitled *Sin against the Blood (Die Sünde wider das Blut)*, as the "first race novel" and dedicated it to his mentor, the "German" Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Taken up by the youth movement publisher Erich Matthes, the book, full of sexually titillating moments and antisemitic clichés, became an immense success, reaching an estimated 1.5 million readers by the early 1930s. The novel luridly detailed the dire consequences of miscegenation for its readers, depicting Jews as the bearers of death and degeneracy.

Dinter participated in the founding of the German Racial League for Defense and Defiance. After it was banned, he joined the German Racial Freedom Party and then left it in April 1925 to join the Nazi Party, which, in recognition of his

great services to the movement, gave him the extraordinary party membership number 5. But Dinter's goals were essentially religious rather than political, and he soon fell afoul of the Nazis. Dinter was a believer in the Aryan Christ, whom he regarded as the "greatest antisemite of all time." A prolific author, he wrote *179 Theses for the Completion of the Reformation: The Restoration of the Pure Doctrine of the Savior* (1926), an edition of the Gospels purged of "dogmatic falsifications" (1923), and several other books in this vein. He sought a religion cleansed of Jewishness and established the German People's Church to this end. This enterprise put him in direct conflict with Hitler, who, for the sake of political expediency, desired to steer clear of conflict with the established churches. Dinter was deposed from his position as *Gauleiter* (district leader) for Thuringia (in 1927), whereupon he conducted a running feud in print with Hitler. After the Nazis rose to power, he was briefly tolerated, but in 1937, Heinrich Himmler banned his church and his journal, *The Religious Revolution*, and prohibited him from further public speaking or writing. For the remainder of the Third Reich era, he was legally harassed and occasionally jailed. In 1945, as part of his de-Nazification proceedings, he was fined 1,000 reichsmarks, as one of the intellectual progenitors of the Nuremberg Laws.

—Matthias Brosch

Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Deutsche Christen; German Racial Freedom Party; Himmler, Heinrich; *Myth of the Twentieth Century, The*; National Socialist German Workers' Party; *Sin against the Blood*

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### **Disraeli, Benjamin (1804–1881)**

Disraeli, the Earl of Beaconsfield (after 1876), was formally a Christian, but his parents were Jews, and his father, a freethinker in rebellion against Judaism and the Sephardic community in London, had his son baptized at age thirteen. Benjamin nonetheless remained fascinated by

his Jewish descent and by the role of the Jews throughout history. His novels earned him recognition in the late 1820s and 1830s, but he gained much wider fame from his political career. He was first elected to Parliament in 1837, participated in various cabinets, and served as prime minister in 1868 and again from 1874 to 1880. Fame meant that his pronouncements about Jews were widely noted—indeed, they were often cited by antisemitic authors. His reputation as a wily statesman and a conservative Jewish “wizard” who had somehow arrived at the helm of the British Empire added to a complex set of images about modern Jews—by no means only negative—that were becoming current by the middle years of the nineteenth century.

Disraeli’s familiarity with things Jewish was, in many regards, superficial, but he spoke confidently about the decisive role that Jews had played in European civilization, and he proudly identified himself as a member of the pure Semitic race in spite of being a Christian. The Jewish characters in his novels were transparently designed to counter existing beliefs about Jews as cowardly or lacking a sense of honor. He asserted that Jews had survived over the centuries because they had maintained their purity of race and had collaborated across borders and empires. In his novel *Coningsby* (1844), modern Jews were portrayed as working steadily toward world power; the rich, wise, and generous Jewish banker Sidonia (generally considered a novelistic representation of Lionel Rothschild), declaimed that “all is race; there is no other truth.” The racial genius and solidarity of the Jews was the secret of their success and the promise of their future.

Disraeli’s belief in racial determinism was widely shared by his contemporaries in the second half of the nineteenth century, as was his belief in racial hierarchies; whether he influenced them in a racist direction or simply echoed and reinforced the growing fascination with the concept of race is a moot point. His political views emphasized hierarchies, too, with particular emphasis on the responsibilities of the privileged upper classes to aid and ally with the workers against the rapacious capitalistic class. In foreign policy, he opposed Russia and favored the Ottoman Empire, positions that his critics charged



Benjamin Disraeli’s reputation as a wily statesman, a conservative Jewish “wizard” who had somehow arrived at the helm of the British Empire, added to a complex set of images about modern Jews—by no means only negative—that were becoming current by the mid-nineteenth century. (George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress)

were motivated by the tsars’ persecution of the Jews and the relative benevolence of the Ottomans in regard to their Jewish subjects.

In the course of his colorful and unorthodox career, Disraeli angered many of his compatriots across the political spectrum, but for the most part, he gained the support of the conservative classes, as well as the affection of Queen Victoria. The extent to which the hostility that he did encounter had to do with his Jewish origin, as distinguished from his politics, is not easy to determine, but that hostility obviously was not pervasive or strong enough to prevent him from having a brilliant career. The acme of that career, as Disraeli entered his seventies, came at the very point that modern racial-political antisemitism was making its appearance on the Continent. His death in 1881, a year after leaving office, came before political antisemitism gained momentum

and broad attention. His racist ideas and conservative politics were atypical of Europe's Jews, and in subsequent years, they became an embarrassment to many of them.

—Albert S. Lindemann

*See also* Coningsby; Punch; Racism, Scientific; Rothschilds

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### Dmowski, Roman (1864–1939)

Born near Warsaw to a small-business family just after the failure of the January Uprising against tsarist Russia (1863–1864), Dmowski became active in the Polish independence movement at a time when it was growing increasingly narrow and inward-looking. He became the leader and chief theoretician of the right-wing National Democratic Party, founded in 1897. Because Germany was Protestant and relatively liberal, he advocated Polish reunification under tsarist Russian leadership as a step to full independence. Fluent in several languages, including English and French, he traveled to Paris in 1917 to press the Allies to support Polish independence. In 1919, he led the Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. He served briefly as foreign minister in a Center-Right coalition government in 1923; after Marshal Józef Piłsudski's coup in 1926, he founded the fascist-style Great Poland Camp. Soon after, he withdrew from politics, and he died a few months before the outbreak of World War II.

Dmowski expounded his political ideology chiefly in his book *Thoughts of a Modern Pole* (1903). A typical Catholic conservative nationalist, he was mistrustful of democracy, left-wing ideas, and Jews. The core of his ideology was "national egoism," the belief that nations are entitled to act in their own self-interest without concern for others. He despised the Russian and especially the German occupying powers for their repressions against the Poles (he himself had been deported to Siberia), yet he felt that they were behaving according to the laws of nature and that Poles, once in power, should do the same to their national minorities. As a Pole, he claimed, he

spoke as "a higher type of man." He advocated the assimilation of minority groups—other than the Jews, whom he considered "Asiatic" and therefore unassimilable. In general, Dmowski shared the antisemitic views of the Catholic Church at that time, seeing Jews as the linchpin of an anti-Catholic conspiracy involving communists, socialists, liberals, Freemasons, and Protestants.

Although his party never held sole power in Poland, Dmowski's views were very influential, and he continues to be admired by the political Right in Poland today. In theory, Dmowski opposed violence against the Jews, instead promoting economic boycotts, discriminatory legislation, and "voluntary" emigration, but antisemitic violence in interwar Poland was largely the work of his followers and was inspired by the kind of rhetoric in which he indulged.

—Steven Paulson

*See also* Boycott of 1912; National Democrats; Poland; Ultramontanism; Versailles Treaty

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### Doctors' Plot (1953)

A notorious provocation staged in the final years of Stalin's rule and fortuitously cut short by his death, the Doctors' Plot (*delo vrachei*, or "the case of the physicians") was publicly launched on January 13, 1953, with a report by the Soviet news agency TASS. Entitled "Arrest of a Group of Physician-Wreckers," the article announced the discovery and detention of a "terrorist group of physicians" who, by means of purposefully harmful diagnosis and treatment, "shortened the lives" of Soviet leaders A. Zhdanov (who died in August 1948) and A. Shcherbakov (who died in May 1945) and planned to do the same to other top-level Soviet civilian and military cadres. Several of the leading medical practitioners listed in the announcement were Jews (including the professors M. Vovsi, B. Kogan, A. Fel'dman, A. Grinshtein, and Ia. Etinger), and the antisemitic nature of the accusation was made clear by the

added charge that the “physician-killers, outcasts of humanity,” received their instructions, via the “bourgeois-nationalist” Jewish organization “Joint,” from U.S. intelligence services. Both before and after the announcement, there were numerous arrests of physicians, Jews and non-Jews, in Moscow and elsewhere. Those imprisoned were ruthlessly interrogated and frequently subjected to physical and psychological torture. At the same time, Lydia Timashuk, a Kremlin Hospital physician and a state security informer who, in 1948, denounced alleged mistakes in the handling of Zhdanov’s illness, was given an Order of Lenin award and elevated to the rank of a national heroine.

Jonathan Brent and Vladimir Naumov, who relied on previously unpublished archival documents, traced the origins of the case back to the death of Zhdanov and showed that it was part of a larger scheme by Stalin to subject the Communist Party, the government, and Soviet society as a whole to a new wave of legalized terror similar in scope to that of the 1930s. At the same time, the Doctors’ Plot was rooted in Stalin’s own antisemitism and was part of a broader pattern of postwar Soviet policy: dismissals of Jews from upper-level government and party posts; the campaign against “cosmopolitans” in education, science, and the arts (begun in 1947); the condemnation of Jewish nationalism and Zionism; the closing of Yiddish cultural institutions; the murder of Solomon Mikhoels (in February 1948); and the judicial murder of leaders of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in August 1952.

In characteristic Stalinist fashion, the January announcement was followed by an orchestrated public campaign against the “murderers in white coats,” involving the massive publication of the crudest type of antisemitic materials. This effort resulted in the spread of popular anger and hysteria in a population that still held, to a considerable degree, prescientific attitudes regarding illness and medicine. Throughout the Soviet Union, doctors—and Jewish doctors in particular—became feared, with patients frequently refusing treatment and accusing physicians of malpractice and outright criminality. Soviet Jews found themselves in an atmosphere of psycho-

logical terror, with the threat of pogroms becoming tangible.

Although evidence regarding the full extent of Stalin’s scenario for the Doctors’ Plot is sparse, it is known that a major show trial was being planned. The physicians, inevitably condemned to death, were apparently to be executed by hanging in front of large crowds in Moscow and other major cities. According to Sergei Khrushchev and others who had knowledge of the affair, this would have been followed by the mass deportations of Jews—allegedly at their own request, to escape reprisals by the aroused Russian people—to camps in the Far East. Staged accidents and orchestrated attacks on the trains at various locations would have ensured that only some of them would reach their destinations. A new, Soviet-style holocaust was being planned. At the same time, given the broader ramifications of the Doctors’ Plot, it is likely that the physicians would have been followed in the dock by many other government and party figures, including, as was the case during the Great Terror, some of Stalin’s closest associates.

All these plans were abruptly terminated by Stalin’s death on March 5, 1953; his successors, particularly Lavrenti Beria, quickly undid the Doctors’ Plot. Within days, the interrogations ended. On March 17, M. D. Ryumin, a senior security official who had played a malevolent role in the entire affair, was arrested (and ultimately shot). On April 3, the accused doctors were released from prison. One day later, an official decree stating that the charges against the physicians had been false and that the doctors had been fully rehabilitated was read over the radio and printed in newspapers; it was also announced that Lydia Timashuk had been stripped of her award. On April 6, *Pravda* carried a lengthy editorial under the title “Soviet Socialist Law Is Inviolable,” analyzing the role of the former Ministry of State Security in the frame-up.

For Soviet Jews, the Doctors’ Plot was a traumatic experience. For Soviet society at large, it had lasting consequences. Notwithstanding the official refutation of the charges, it contributed to the demonization of Jews in the popular imagination; for many, the rehabilitation of the physicians was merely proof of the Jews’ pernicious in-

fluence. Still, the turnaround by the government was a notable first in Soviet practice and may be regarded as the initial step toward the de-Stalinization of Soviet society.

—Henryk Baran

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Purges, Soviet; Slánský Trial; Sorcery/Magic; Stalin, Joseph; USSR

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## Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von (1751–1820)

A political writer and statesman, Dohm was the first major visionary of Jewish emancipation in Germany. In his treatise *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the Civic Improvement of the Jews [1781]), he formulated a systematic plea for granting Jews equal rights and thoroughly integrating them into the political, cultural, and economic life of European states. His ideas unleashed heated debates in the German press from the 1780s and into the nineteenth century. Translated into French in 1782, Dohm's essay also played a role in shaping the French debates over Jewish emancipation before and during the Revolution.

The son of a Protestant pastor and from the northwest German town of Lemgo, Dohm studied at Leipzig and Göttingen Universities, where he began contributing reviews and articles for a variety of periodicals. In 1776, he and a Göttingen colleague launched the *Deutsches Museum* (German Museum), one of the most prominent political journals of the period. A great admirer of both British "public spirit" and the brand of enlightened absolutism cultivated in Prussia, Dohm was eager to play a more active role in the political world. In 1779, he secured a position working in the Prussian capital as an archivist in Frederick the Great's Ministry of War. After

publishing his plea for Jewish emancipation and other notable works, he rose quickly in the Prussian civil service, was ennobled by Frederick William II in 1786, and spent twenty years in various diplomatic postings.

Dohm first became interested in the Jews' legal status as a result of his friendship with the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, who felt that an argument for Jewish emancipation would be more effective if it came from the pen of a non-Jew. Dohm, like so many other Enlightenment intellectuals, saw contemporary Jews as morally and politically degenerate, but he rejected all theological explanations for their supposed corruption. Arguing from a secular and political perspective, he contended that the character of the Jews resulted solely from their treatment at the hands of Christians and could thus easily be reversed by a state-sponsored program of moral and political regeneration. Eager to make them "useful" citizens, he proposed a holistic program of "civic improvement" that included granting Jews immediate civil rights, requiring them to perform military service, and moving them away from trade and into the more "honorable" and "productive" fields of agriculture and the crafts. Although he anticipated that they would reform Judaism as a result of emancipation, he did not make rights contingent on religious reform, and he showed much more tolerance toward Judaism as a religion than many of his peers. For the most part, both intellectuals and state authorities in the German states adopted Dohm's project of regenerating the Jews yet rejected his recommendation that they be given rights unconditionally. German Jews did not gain complete political equality until 1871.

—Jonathan M. Hess

**See also** Alsace; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Michaelis, Johann David; State-within-a-State

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## Dominican Order

A mendicant religious and preaching order of the Roman Catholic Church, the Dominican order was founded in the early thirteenth century by St. Dominic de Guzman (ca. 1170–1221) in response to the Cathar heresy in southern France. The traditional institutions of the church were proving inadequate to the needs of an increasingly urban and sophisticated Christian laity, and heresies were flourishing. The Dominicans, along with the Franciscans and other smaller mendicant orders, stepped into the breach, bringing the spiritual and intellectual rigor of monasticism into the streets of Europe.

Dominic and his followers sought to restore wholeness to the church and salvation to lost souls by preaching Orthodox Christian theology to heretics. Their original mission quickly expanded to include ongoing teaching of the Christian laity, correction of Christian error through preaching and inquisitorial process, and the conversion of Muslims and Jews. Believing that rational inquiry would lead inevitably to Christian truth, the order became renowned for its learning. Friars were trained in the scholastic theology of the universities and developed a highly systematized preaching style.

By the late thirteenth century, at the urging of Spanish friars, the order established language schools devoted to the needs of missionizing non-Christians. Recognizing that effective argument required the use of texts accepted as authoritative by their target audiences, friars studied Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. Christian theology taught that the Hebrew Bible contained proof of Christian doctrine, but the friars also came to believe that portions of the Talmud, when properly read, confirmed that truth and that the rest of rabbinic tradition represented a deliberate obfuscation of it. In his massive *Daggers of Faith against Jews and Moors* Raymond Martini, the famed Dominican theologian and Orientalist, tried to distinguish “proofs” of Christianity from Jewish “absurdities.”

Many Dominican-authored treatises against the Jews circulated during the Middle Ages. With names such as *Muzzle of the Jews*, *Quiver of Arrows against the Jews*, and *Errors of the Talmud*, these texts were meant as sourcebooks for

preachers targeting Jews. Jewish converts to Christianity, among them Nicholas Donin, Pablo Christiani, and Bishop Paul of Burgos, actively participated in the onslaught, using their knowledge of Jewish tradition against their former coreligionists.

Although early Dominican optimism that preaching to the Jews would bring about large-scale conversion proved unfounded, Jews remained an important Dominican concern for centuries, with forced sermons and staged disputations as favored tactics to win Jewish converts. When the anticipated conversion did not result, some Dominicans became increasingly hostile toward Jews, whom they perceived as irrationally obstinate. A number of friars turned to virulently anti-Jewish preaching—in some cases, inciting Christian mobs to turn on their Jewish neighbors. St. Vincent Ferrer, passionate in his determination to convert the Jews, traveled to Spanish Jewish communities accompanied by hundreds of zealous Christian flagellants, causing many Jews to convert out of fear.

Dominicans continued to target Jews through the sixteenth century, engineering the Spanish Inquisition and expulsion, helping to censor Hebrew books, and combining efforts at persuasion with efforts to place additional restrictions on Jewish communities. Interest in converting the Jews began to fade in the eighteenth century. A progressive Dominican theologian, Yves Congar, was instrumental in the composition of the Vatican II document *Nostra Aetate* (1965), which began the Catholic Church’s ongoing process of serious reflection on and dissociation from its historical intolerance toward Jews and Judaism.

—Deeanna Klepper

**See also** Ferrer, Vincente; Franciscan Order; Inquisition; Middle Ages, High; Spain, Riots of 1391; Talmud; Talmud Trials; Vatican Council, Second

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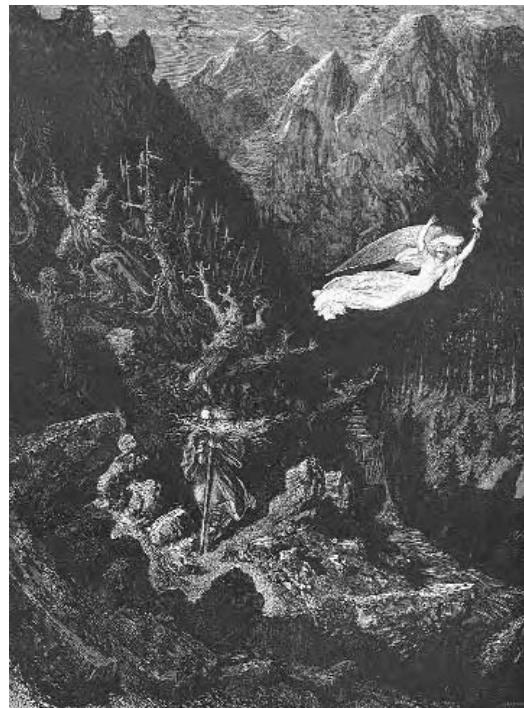
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## Doré, Gustave (1832–1883)

One of the most famous and versatile French graphic artists and illustrators of the nineteenth century, Gustave Doré was self-taught and precocious. In 1847, at age fifteen, he was hired by the well-known publisher Charles Philipon to work on his satirical *Journal pour rire*. Working alongside the legendary Honoré Daumier, he regularly drew the title page of the journal and achieved great popularity in the process. One of these covers was the woodcut *Le Juif errant* (*The Wandering Jew*), which appeared in June 1852 accompanied by a satirical lament of the “eternal Jew.” Artists throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries adapted Doré’s exaggerated caricature of the Jew, sometimes further accentuating its antisemitic potential. The figure’s angular facial profile, red hair, and slouching gait—all pictured in frantic forward movement—impressed the public, captured several elements of the anti-Jewish stereotype, and transposed them into a bold, negative visual image.

Doré dealt with the subject of the Wandering Jew several more times. He responded to anti-Jewish trends in French society and several popular works dealing with Jewish themes, such as Jacques Halévy’s opera *La Juive* (The Jewess [1835]) and Eugène Sue’s novel *The Wandering Jew* (1845). In 1852, he presented a series of pictures entitled “The Wandering Jew, Lament in Eight Tableaux, with the Last Judgment, Raising of the Dead, Heaven, Hell, and All the Devils.” Ten years later, on the basis of earlier compositions, he published another series of twelve, under the title “The Legend of the Wandering Jew.” Here, he treated the theme in the manner of romantic nature paintings, while at the same time trying to render the tormented soul of the eternally recurring Wandering Jew. The Jew’s proverbial loneliness and his isolation amid wild mountain landscapes made the series into a catchy example of “dark romanticism.” The series preserved the set pieces of anti-Jewish prejudice and put them at the disposal of anti-Jewish representation in French, English, and German humor magazines.

In addition to his illustrations for periodicals and literary works—from Dante to Byron—Doré, who described himself as a “militant Chris-



Gustave Doré dealt with the subject of the “Wandering Jew” several times. Here he treats the theme in the manner of romantic nature paintings, while at the same time trying to render the tormented soul of the eternally recurring wandering Jew. (Dover Publications)

tian,” created in the *Illustrated Bible* (*Bible illustré* [1866]) another influential series of images. He frequently clothed his Jewish figures in the tradition of Christian anti-Judaism. The rendering of Judas, for example, amounted to an antisemitic caricature and arguably introduced an embryonic racist visual vocabulary into late romantic European graphic art.

Doré was doubly effective in this respect. As the creator of woodcuts and lithographs published in large editions, he exerted significant influence in the world of high culture. As a caricaturist in popular journals, he reached a broad and appreciative bourgeois public that absorbed and then perpetuated his hostile distortions of Jewry. Doré’s graphics combined formal motifs and modern techniques with an exaggerated visionary romanticism that only partially concealed its high measure of anti-Jewish imagery. His technical finesse helped mask the invidiousness of the rep-

resentations of Jews. But, in fact, they disseminated and intensified the hostile stereotypes that remain usable and reusable in the antisemitic literature of the present day.

—Michaela Haibl

Richard S. Levy and Linnea H. Levy, translation

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); *Fliegende Blätter*; France; *Kladderadatsch*; *Punch*; Wandering Jew

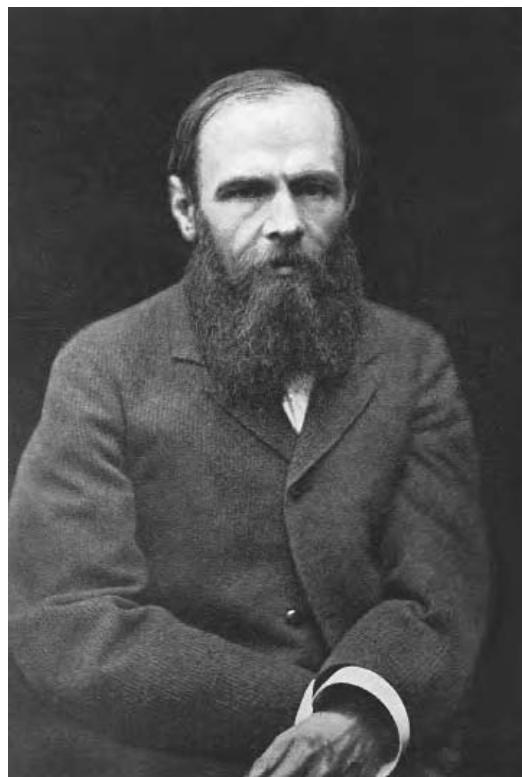
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## Dostoevsky, Fyodor (1821–1881)

The problem of Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky's antisemitism has repeatedly vexed his admirers, especially in the West. Critics have taken turns in minimizing or excusing Dostoevsky's comments about the Jews and dismissing his works as irredeemably contaminated by it. They have also expressed wonder that an author who was so full of compassion toward all who suffered and so dedicated to Christian love and charity could forgot those sympathies and beliefs when writing about Jews.

Until the last five or six years of his life, Jews played only a small role in Dostoevsky's thinking. A comic but sympathetic portrait of a Jewish prisoner occurs in his semiautobiographical novel *Notes from the House of the Dead* (which fictionalizes Dostoevsky's experience in a Siberian prison camp). In *Crime and Punishment*, the villain Svidrigailov chooses to commit suicide in the presence of a (highly improbable) Jewish fireman, who tells him, with a thick Yiddish accent, "This is not the place!"—perhaps an allusion to the Jewish sense of eternal displacement. Dostoevsky's political novel *The Possessed* (more accurately, *The Demons*) includes among other radicals a Jewish figure. In short, in most of his fiction, Dostoevsky



Portrait of Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881). (Bettmann/Corbis)

referred to Jews only in passing or as images to aid in making some other point.

Given the Russian context, his works through the 1860s do not justify the charge of antisemitism. Indeed, as an editor, he published criticisms of the antisemitism of another publication and called for Jewish rights. But his thinking took a decisive turn in the mid-1870s, and from that point until his death in 1881, he became an antisemitic propagandist whose writings have inspired numerous others. Even by the Russian standards of his day, Dostoevsky stood out as a particularly harsh critic of Jews.

What seemed to have changed in him was his attitude to history. Improbable as it seems, he became convinced that the world would literally come to an end in 1876 or 1877 (he made specific predictions) when the final battle between good and evil would take place, after which a reign of universal brotherhood would begin. In his odd, experimental collection of fiction, au-

tobiography, and journalism, *A Writer's Diary*, written for monthly publication, Dostoevsky interpreted the prediction of Revelation—the last book of the New Testament plays a larger role in Russian Orthodoxy than in Roman Catholicism—almost novelistically, as a struggle among personalities incarnated as nations or peoples. He believed he could understand these nation-characters and anticipate the plot governing their actions.

He offered more than one version of the dénouement of history. Catholicism (France), Protestantism (Germany), and Orthodoxy (Russia) would struggle until Russia's triumph; Christian Russia would battle the forces of Antichrist led by the pope; or the Christian principle of love would fight the Jewish principle of materialism, represented by Benjamin Disraeli, England, and the Russian financial community, as well as the Jews themselves. When this last fantasy gained ascendancy in his mind, Dostoevsky wrote that Jews would, if given the chance, exterminate Russians to the last person, as they did with Canaanite tribes in biblical times.

Dostoevsky may therefore stand as an apt illustration of Norman Cohn's celebrated thesis (in *The Pursuit of the Millennium*) that apocalypticism feeds antisemitism. In the final battle between good and evil, Jews are likely to be identified as the force of evil, as they are in that most famous of all Russian antisemitic documents, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

When the millennium failed to arrive on schedule, Dostoevsky ceased publishing *A Writer's Diary* and composed his greatest novel, *The Brothers Karamazov*. In it, the Apocalypse is interpreted not as imminent but as either metaphorical or impossible to predict. As in his earlier novels, Jews play essentially no role in the book, except for one passage in which the hero, Alyosha, says he does not know whether the charge of ritual murder is true. Actually, Dostoevsky entertained this charge as probable. In short, his antisemitism remained, but with its main source, belief in an imminent Apocalypse, gone, it seemed to be playing a smaller role. It is impossible to tell whether it would have receded to its earlier levels had Dostoevsky not died shortly after finishing *Karamazov*.

—Gary Saul Morson

**See also** Antichrist; Degeneration; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Modern); Rozanov, Vasilii; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Post-Soviet; Russian Orthodox Church

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## Dracula

Count Dracula, the east European villain of Bram Stoker's popular 1897 novel, is not explicitly identified as Jewish, although the novel's physiognomic language is suggestive of contemporary notions of the Jewish physique. Dracula is described by the novel's hero, Jonathan Harker, as having an aquiline nose, "peculiarly arched nostrils," "peculiarly sharp white teeth," and pointed ears; at other places in the novel, he is seen as tall and thin with a hooked nose and hard, cold eyes. Dracula can be read, however, as a monstrous composite of a number of fin-de-siècle discourses, including antisemitism.

The action of the novel shifts between Dracula's castle in Transylvania, where Harker, a young solicitor, is sent to assist with the count's house purchase in London, and England itself, where Harker and his allies attempt to defend the country and particularly its young women against invasion by the vampire. Dracula threatens to seduce and transform pure, virginal Englishwomen into voracious seductresses. At the same time as symbolizing a corrupt aristocracy, he also evokes, with his ease of mobility and lack of national allegiance, the rootless cosmopolitanism commonly ascribed to Jews.

Published during a period of increasing agitation against Jewish immigration to London, the novel presents the threat of the vampire as one of racial contamination and parasitism in terms that resonated with contemporary anti-Jewish hostility. In particular, the vampire is represented as degenerate. Stoker's intrepid vampire hunters explicitly discuss Dracula with reference to the theories of degeneration and criminality elaborated by Cesare Lombroso and Max Nordau. Like

gothic literature, Judith Halberstam has argued, late nineteenth-century racial antisemitism “unites and therefore produces the threat of capital and revolution, criminality and impotence, sexual power and gender ambiguity, money and mind, within an identifiable form, the body of the Jew” (in Ledger and McCracken 1995, 255).

—Nadia Valman

**See also** Britain; British Brothers League; Degeneration; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Maxse, James Leopold; *Ostjuden*; Svengali

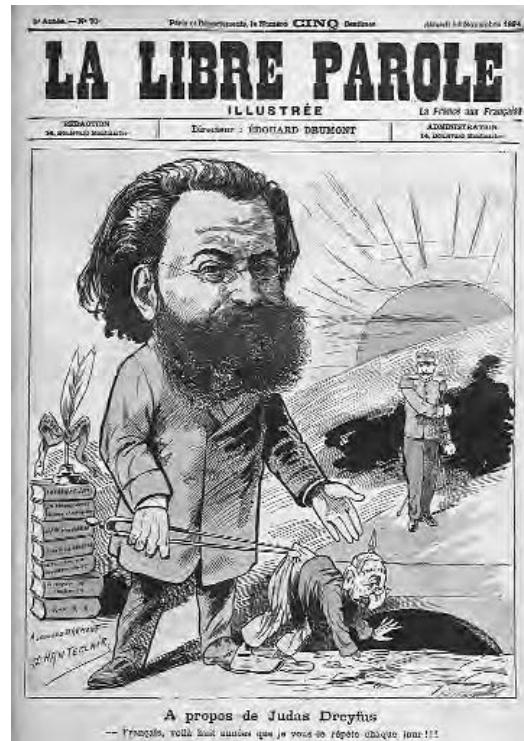
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## Dreyfus Affair

The arrest of Capt. Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) in Paris in the autumn of 1894 on charges of having passed military secrets to the Germans, led to one of the most famous and influential trials in modern history. His subsequent conviction was cheered by crowds shouting “Death to the Jews!” and it drew widespread commentary, overwhelmingly hostile to Dreyfus. But as evidence casting doubt on his guilt began to mount, “the Affair,” as it came to be known, provoked passionate and revealing divisions in the French nation.

In some regards, France was a surprising place for an eruption of antisemitism. In the nineteenth century, French Jews were considered fortunate; they faced fewer obstacles to acceptance and ascent, especially in legal terms, than the Jews of any other nation. Granted civil equality in 1791, they had thereafter risen in remarkable numbers to prominent positions in state and society, especially after the establishment of the Third Republic in 1875. Even in the military, Jews were significantly overrepresented. By the 1890s, most of France’s very small population of Jews (approximately 0.02 percent of the total population) had entered the ranks of the respectable bourgeoisie, and a number, including



On the front page of his inflammatory newspaper, the antisemite Édouard Drumont prepares to thrust Captain Alfred Dreyfus into the sewer. (Leonard de Selva/Corbis)

members of a branch of the Rothschild family, enjoyed fabulous wealth. Although anti-Jewish writers and theorists in France were numerous throughout the nineteenth century, efforts to launch antisemitic political parties during the 1880s were far less successful in France than in central Europe.

Those years did see, however, much negative publicity about Jews, often having to do with their being caught in financial scandals and in bribing parliamentary delegates. Édouard Drumont’s book *La France juive* (Jewish France) became a runaway best-seller in 1886. Its main theme—that the devious “Semites” with their ill-gotten riches, working behind a shadowy “syndicate,” were undermining the country and reducing its “Aryans” to servitude—was accompanied by a madcap compendium of rumors and anecdotes about the destructive role of Jews throughout history. Drumont’s newspaper, *La Libre parole* (The Free Word), won admiration from both

the Left and the Right for exposing political corruption, of which there was a great deal at the time. His paper was also well known for charges that the army was being fatally weakened by treasonous officers in its ranks, Jews prominent among them.

When Dreyfus was arrested, Drumont reported that the Jewish captain had initially “admitted everything” but would nonetheless be freed, as so many other Jewish culprits had been, through payoffs and behind-the-scenes manipulations. The key issue of motive—why would Dreyfus, who was from a very wealthy family, have sold military secrets to the Germans for paltry sums?—was dismissed by Dreyfus’s accusers with the assertion that the “foreign” mind of a Jew was unknowable.

A crucial stage was reached in January 1898 with the appearance of the broadside *J'accuse!* (*I Accuse!*) by the famous novelist Émile Zola, charging French authorities, high and low, with malfeasance in the case. The defenders of Dreyfus, the “Dreyfusards,” who stood largely on the republican Left, acclaimed Zola for taking up the cause of justice against a reactionary, antisemitic, antirepublican, and Catholic obscurantist Right. For these “anti-Dreyfusards,” as they were called, Zola was a symbol of all that they hated, a typical element of the corrosive secular forces that were undermining social cohesion, religion, and patriotism. Some in the anti-Dreyfusard camp went so far as to assert that Dreyfus’s actual guilt was of relatively little import compared to the catastrophe for France that would result from the victory of his corrupt and unprincipled supporters—an indication of how much the Affair had become a clash of blinding, deeply emotional symbols.

A number of historians have concluded that, contrary to widespread and persistent belief, Dreyfus’s Jewish origin was not crucial to his arrest and conviction. No persuasive evidence of an initial conspiracy to arrest him has emerged. What appears to have happened is that his accusers in military intelligence, working under intense public pressure to uncover the officer who was passing secrets to the German military, jumped to conclusions on insufficient evidence. Once Dreyfus had been charged, the reputations

of various officials became endangered, and in the effort to cover up initial incaution and incompetence, false testimony was given and material evidence forged, making his guilt seem clearer. Antisemitism emerged much more unequivocally once the campaign to free Dreyfus got under way—indeed, anti-Jewish passions erupted with shocking force. At the same time, the case was filled with ironies and contradictions. For example, it was conservative government officials, a few of them undoubtedly antisemitic, who discovered the forgeries and publicized the evidence of Dreyfus’s innocence.

The colorful characters and dramatic twists and turns made the Affair irresistible: Dreyfus’s harrowing years in solitary confinement on Devil’s Island; the uncovering of the real spy (Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy); the confession and suicide of a military intelligence officer who had falsified evidence (Hubert Henry); a second trial in September 1899, at which, even after these revelations, Dreyfus was again found guilty; and his liberation and ultimate exoneration (with a pardon granted in 1899 and full rehabilitation in 1906), paralleled by the political victory of the Dreyfusards and the serious weakening of the Right.

The lessons of the Affair and its long-range meaning are still debated, and even some of the facts of the case remain uncertain; a number of key officials no doubt took secrets to their graves. At the broadest level, the question still remains whether the ugly emotions that came into play in the Affair were proof, as Zionists have claimed, that Jew-hatred lies everywhere beneath the surface, even in modern states and societies, producing violent explosions in times of crisis—an argument for a separate Jewish state. Later observers ask a disturbing question. Does Jew-hatred as manifested in the Affair possess some sort of mysterious power capable of uniting the previously hostile elements of a society, as Hitler’s antisemitism did with such catastrophic results? What was the meaning, then, of the Dreyfusard victory? Can the Affair, in fact, be seen as a clash of Good and Evil, as distinguished from an avoidable conflict, based on blunders and misperceptions, involving fallible, emotional, and opportunistic people on both sides? These and

many other lingering issues cast a long and ominous shadow over the following century, and they explain why the Dreyfus Affair retains the fascination of a mystery novel to this day.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Alsace; Drumont, Édouard; Emancipation; France; *France juive, La*; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Rothschilds; Vichy; Zionism; Zola, Émile

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## Drumont, Édouard (1844–1917)

Édouard-Adolphe Drumont was born in Paris into a lower-middle-class family. His father, Adolphe-Amand-Joseph, worked at the Hôtel de Ville (City Hall) as a copy clerk, and both parents were supporters of the Republicans (liberals) during the Second Empire of Napoleon III (1852–1870). Although Drumont never obtained university training, he received a good education at the Lycée Charlemagne preparatory school. He remained poverty-conscious his whole life and was a profoundly lonely man even after he had achieved the height of notoriety, perhaps because he had been orphaned at an early age, had no close relatives or friends, and had lost his wife soon after marrying and before having children of his own.

After writing for a smattering of modest newspapers, his breakthrough came in 1869 when he became a staff writer at *La Liberté*, a left-of-center newspaper of Saint-Simonian socialist predisposition owned by a Jewish banking family, the Pereires. His first book of note, *Mon vieux Paris* (My Old Paris [1878]), was a nostalgic lament for the lost charms of “old Paris,” destroyed by railroad stations, department stores, and the

anonymous masses of modernity. Subsequent publications were in much the same vein.

Between 1879 and 1885, when the Opportunist Republicans (moderates) took control of the Third Republic, Drumont was rebaptized in his Catholic faith. He also became a convert to antisemitism. Spending these years doing research in the Bibliothèque Nationale, he amassed an impressive compendium of antisemitic charges and stereotypes about the Jews and Judaism. The following year, he published *La France juive* (Jewish France [1886]), which became the bible of the new antisemitism and the most widely disseminated book in France at the time.

Drumont fused three major strands of French antisemitism: (1) counterrevolutionary, Catholic anti-Judaism; (2) socialist anticapitalism; and (3) scientific racism. Drawing on the deicide myth, the anti-Jewish writings of the church fathers, and the medieval identification of Jews with Satan, he updated the theories of Abbé Augustin Barruel and, most important, Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux’s *The Jew, Judaism, and the Judaization of Christian Peoples* (1869), which argued that Jews manipulated the ideas of the Enlightenment and exploited the secret society of Freemasons to advance the French Revolution, depose Christianity, and dominate the world. The identification of Jews with usury, the elevation of the Rothschilds as a symbol of Jewish wealth and power, and the economic antisemitism developed by French socialists Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Charles Fourier, and Fourier’s disciple Alphonse Tousenel were important strands in Drumont’s narrative. Finally, he fashioned a new, specifically French brand of scientific racism, utilizing the modern disciplines of sociology, anthropology, criminology, physiology, and linguistics and drawing heavily on the theories of Gustave Le Bon, Gabriel Tarde, Jean-Martin Charcot, Cesare Lombroso, and Auguste Morel.

Having diagnosed the symptoms, Drumont prescribed his solution to the Jewish Question in a slew of publications, including *La Fin d’un monde* (The End of a World [1889]), *Le Testament d’un antisémite* (The Testament of an Antisemite [1889]), and *La Dernière bataille* (The Last Battle [1890]). He reached a mass audience in his newspaper, *La Libre parole* (The Free

Word), launched in 1892 with the masthead summarizing his doctrine, *La France aux français* (France for the French).

On the basis of his notoriety as an antisemitic writer, Drumont moved into direct political agitation, founding the extraparliamentary Ligue Antisémite de France in 1889, later led by his apostle, Jules Guérin, as the Ligue Antisémite Française and then under yet another name, the Grand Occident de France. The Jeunesse Antisémitique et Nationaliste (Antisemitic and Nationalist Youth) was formed under the double patronage of Drumont and the Marquis de Morès, a protofascist and violent activist and perhaps also the first national socialist. Associated with several other extraparliamentary groups, Drumont indirectly orchestrated a noisy assault on the republic and “Jewish France” from the Boulanger Affair (1886–1889) to the Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906). He ran unsuccessfully for parliament as a socialist in 1893 but then served as a deputy for Algiers on an antisemitic platform from 1898 until he was defeated in 1902. In the aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair, when the Radical Republicans (left-wing liberals) consolidated power in France, ending the civil war that Drumont did much to create, his fame began to ebb.

—Jonathan Judaken

**See also** Algeria; Baruel, Augustin; Church Fathers; Deicide; Dreyfus Affair; Fourier, Charles; France; *France juive, La*; Freemasonry; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph; Racism, Scientific; Rothschilds; Toussenel, Alphonse; Usury

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## Dühring, Eugen (1833–1921)

In his autobiography, *Sache, Leben und Feinde* (Matters, Life and Enemies [1882]), Carl Eugen Dühring characterized himself as a “thinker, logician, mathematician, physicist, jurist, and political economist,” as well as an objective histo-

rian and literary figure. He studied philosophy, law, and political economy in Berlin and took his doctorate in 1861; in 1863, he qualified as a university lecturer in philosophy and later in political economy. An unsalaried lecturer (*Privatdozent*), Dühring laid claim to competence in all “human interests.”

His *Critical History of the Universal Principles of Mechanics* (1872, 3rd ed. 1970) was awarded a first prize by the Göttingen University Faculty of Philosophy. But in the second edition of this work, as was to be the case with all his publications after 1875, Dühring fulminated against universities and their professors. They were “decadent,” “Chinese fossils,” “used up and passé,” “reptilian hangers-on,” and given to “monkish sneakiness.” In 1877, his license to teach was revoked.

When the Social Democrats wanted to establish a free university in Berlin, they offered Dühring a professorship. However, his social theories, which included a critique of Marxism, threatened to split the party and prompted Friedrich Engels to intervene: his essay “Herr Eugen Dühring’s Overturning of Philosophy” appeared as the book *Anti-Dühring* in 1878. But it was Dühring himself who rendered further cooperation with the socialists impossible. His verbal abuse of the party led to a complete break.

Whatever professional or private setbacks befell him, he was quick to blame on professors, Social Democrats, and Jews. Later, he developed a four-part “enemies list”: unscholarly professors; Hebrews; those infected by “Hebraism”; and so-called antisemites, that is, those who profited from his own “true and genuine anti-Hebraism.” When the famed eye doctor Albrecht von Graefe could do nothing to cure his progressive blindness, Dühring assailed him (erroneously) as a “Jew half-breed” (*Judenmischling*) who owed his reputation to the Jewish journalistic rabble rather than any real merit of his own.

Dühring’s tirades were more excessive than those of Heinrich von Treitschke and Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker, although they partook of the same spirit and represented a significant penetration of antisemitism into the ranks of the cultural elite. But Dühring’s proposed solutions to the Jewish Question were more radical than

those of his antisemitic contemporaries. *The Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem* (1881, 6th ed. 1930) and *The Replacement of Religion by Something More Perfect and the Elimination of Jewry by Means of the Modern Volk-Spirit* (1883, 4th ed. 1928) can be read as anticipating the Final Solution. Hitler, if he did not read Dühring directly, was likely familiar with his thought through the long excerpts in Theodor Fritsch's *Handbook of the Jewish Question*.

Friedrich Nietzsche, whom Dühring defamed in typically crass ways, answered in kind by referring to him as the "Berlin apostle of revenge," a man "who today makes the most indecent and offensive use of moralistic claptrap. He stands out, even among his own crew of antisemites, by the vehemence of his moralistic drivel" (*Genealogy of Morals*, third essay, chap. 14).

—Birgitta Mogge-Stubbe  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** *Handbook of the Jewish Question; Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem*, *The*; Marr, Wilhelm; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Social Democratic Party; Stoecker, Adolf; Treitschke, Heinrich von

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## Duke, David (1950– )

One of the best-known white supremacists in the United States, David Duke has, since the 1970s, promoted antisemitic ideologies as part of his efforts to "advance the white race." An activist and fund-raiser rather than an original thinker, Duke draws his antisemitic theories from a variety of sources: Holocaust denial from Mark Weber and the Institute for Historical Review, defamation of the Talmud and Judaism from Elizabeth Dilling and Israel Shahak, and allegations of Jewish control of the media from Edward Fields and William Pierce.

Duke began his career as a conventional neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klansman but then worked hard to recast himself as the voice of conventional, if right-wing, mainstream America. Absent the swastika armbands and peaked hoods of his early

days and with his focus on hot-button political issues such as immigration and affirmative action and his appeals to race and class resentments, Duke won a seat in the Louisiana state legislature in 1989; he also obtained a majority of white votes in 1990 and 1991 bids for a seat in the U.S. Senate and the governorship of Louisiana. As he later admitted, however, his fundamental views—on the superiority of the white race, the degeneracy of "niggers," and attempts by the Jews to "destroy all other cultures"—never changed. Indeed, until the practice was publicly exposed, Duke sold extremist literature, including *Mein Kampf* and *The Turner Diaries*, from his legislative office in Louisiana in 1989.

As the skepticism of a public that repudiated his core beliefs increased, Duke's political machine broke down by the mid-1990s, and he turned his attention to his ideological base. In 1998, Duke self-published a 700-page autobiography entitled *My Awakening*. In it, he asserted the truth of social Darwinism and the existence of an inherent conflict between human races. It is this conflict, Duke believes, that has led to increasingly perfect forms of humanity, the apex of which has been reached in the white "Aryan" race. He views nonwhite races as sub-standard competitors to the white race but reserves special attention for the dangers presented by Jews. He elaborated on this view in *Jewish Supremacism*, claiming that Jews since ancient times have hated non-Jews and have sought to dominate them using whatever means possible. In turn, Duke claims that antisemitism is merely the natural and healthy response of non-Jews to the depredations of their Jewish oppressors. His second book's title suggests the motive for the predatory Jewish practices and attitudes: they result, Duke claims, from the Jews' belief that they are a superior race and therefore have a right to rule the world. He then reads this theme back into all of Jewish history. The Bolshevik Revolution, according to Duke, was not about economics or the pursuit of utopia; it was the Jewish attempt to triumph over the Russian people, whom they hated, and appropriate the resources and power of what would become the Soviet Union. The Holocaust was a hoax, a Jewish plot to extract sympathy and reparations from the

rest of the world. Closer to home, American Jews so wholeheartedly endorse the separation of church and state, according to Duke, not because of Jewish historical memories of state-sponsored religious persecution but because they seek to diminish the religious and social cohesion of the Christian America, the better to exploit and control it. In an effort to shore up his allegations of Jewish perfidy, Duke reaches for the ultramodern theories of evolutionary psychology espoused by Kevin MacDonald, as well as to the medieval practice of defaming Jews by distorting passages from Jewish sacred texts, including the Talmud, and alleging that they express prescriptions that are accepted by large numbers of contemporary Jews.

In late 2000, Duke came under federal investigation for tax and mail fraud. Before he could be charged, he left the United States and lived for two years in Russia, which he called the “key to white survival,” and then in the Ukraine, where he received an honorary doctorate. While there, he wrote and lectured to a variety of European extremist groups and some mainstream meetings as well.

With the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., Duke discovered new material for his conspiratorial antisemitism. In a series of articles that appeared on his personal website and were promoted on the

site of his “white civil rights organization,” Duke alleged that the United States was targeted by Islamic extremists because it is dominated by “Jewish power,” and he added that Israeli intelligence agencies purposely withheld foreknowledge of the attack from U.S. authorities. Duke’s espousal of antisemitic 9/11 conspiracy theories gave him entrée to several Arab media outlets in the Middle East, and he even traveled to Bahrain and Qatar to lecture on the subject.

In December 2002, Duke returned to the United States and pleaded guilty in a New Orleans federal court to charges of mail and tax fraud. He began serving a fifteen-month prison sentence in April 2003.

—Aryeh Tuchman

**See also** Arabic Antisemitic Literature; Evolutionary Psychology; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Institute for Historical Review; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Mein Kampf*; Militia Movement; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Russia, Post-Soviet; Social Darwinism; Talmud; White Power Movement

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# E

## **Eichmann, Adolf (1906–1962)**

Adolf Eichmann, a lieutenant colonel in the SS, played a crucial role in the bureaucratic organization of the deportation of European Jews to their deaths. Born on March 19, 1906, in Solingen, Germany, he moved with his father to Linz, Austria, during World War I. From 1927 to 1933, he worked as a traveling salesman for the Vacuum Oil Company. He joined the Austrian Nazi Party in April 1932 and, in 1933, moved to Berlin and then Bavaria, where he worked in the Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service [SD]), the intelligence branch of the SS. After the annexation of Austria in March 1938, Eichmann was sent to Vienna, where he devised more efficient methods of coercing Jews to leave Austria. As leader of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration, he reduced the amount of time it took to arrange departures, refined the bureaucratic procedures of expropriation, and forced wealthier Jews to help pay the costs for those of lesser means. These techniques were extended to Germany after the pogrom of November 9, 1938, in order to accelerate efforts to rid the country of Jews. Eichmann implemented a similar program in Prague during the summer of 1939.

In the early months of World War II, Eichmann organized the first mass deportations, beginning with Moravia and Vienna. His achievements in this area met with the approval of his SS superiors and qualified him to take charge of evacuation affairs in the Referat IV D 4, in the newly founded SS Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office [RSHA]). Referat IV D 4 helped develop policies for dealing with Europe's Jews. As systematic plans for murdering them began to take shape in 1941, Referat IV D 4 became a strategic intermediary between officials in Berlin and regional administrators. At the

Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942, Eichmann participated in the broad bureaucratic coordination that was crucial for gathering millions of Jews and other victims and then transporting them to their deaths. By 1943, Eichmann's office had been involved in evacuation measures not only from Germany but also from central and Eastern Europe. In 1944, these were followed by actions against Jews in Greece, northern Italy, and Hungary.

Had this been the extent of Eichmann's criminal history, he might have been remembered as a significant but not overly distinctive perpetrator within the National Socialist state. However, after slipping out of Europe in 1946 on a Vatican passport, he was spectacularly tracked down in Argentina and kidnapped by Israeli agents in 1960. The 1961 Eichmann trial in Jerusalem attracted worldwide attention and highlighted the atrocities of the Nazi state through wrenching testimony by survivors. The banality of Eichmann's bureaucratic image combined with the shocking brutality of the evidence presented in court forced a general reassessment of the concept of criminal responsibility by scholars and the public alike.

—Paul B. Jaskot

**See also** Austria; Eichmann Trial; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Wannsee Conference

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*Totenkopf*. Edited by Ronald Smelser and Enrico Syring (Paderborn, Germany: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000), 134–146.

### Eichmann Trial

The year 1961 marked a significant turning point in postwar confrontations with the memory of the Holocaust in Israel. Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962) was put on trial in the District Court of Jerusalem from April 11 to August 15, 1961. Eichmann had been head of Department IV B 4 (formerly IV D 4) in the Reich Security Main Office in Berlin, whose role was to locate and deport Jews living in Germany, in Axis countries, and in Axis-occupied territories to concentration and extermination centers, as part of the Final Solution of the Jewish Question. Immediately after the war, Eichmann had eluded the fate of defendants who were considered high-level Nazi perpetrators at the Nuremberg trials in 1945 and 1946 by escaping to Argentina, where he had lived under a false identity in comfortable seclusion for almost fifteen years before Israeli agents captured and transported him to Jerusalem in 1960. In the Israeli court, presided over by Supreme Court Judge Moshe Landau, Attorney General Gideon Hausner presented an indictment of fifteen counts. It covered four categories of crimes as outlined in the Nazi and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law of August 1950: crimes against the Jewish people; crimes against humanity; war crimes; and membership in a hostile or enemy organization, namely, the SS, which was defined as such at the Nuremberg trials.

How could one man be held responsible for the deaths of millions of Jewish men, women, and children? Eichmann's German defense attorney, Robert Servatius, submitted a long opening objection to the fundamental legal and philosophical bases of that question. He also challenged the illegal capture of Eichmann, the territorial jurisdiction of the court, and the alleged prejudices of the judges, all of which, he argued, severely compromised Eichmann's ability to receive a fair trial.

The trial proceedings produced sensational revelations. Unlike the perpetrator-dominated testimony of the Nuremberg trials, Eichmann's



Adolf Eichmann testifies in a specially bullet-proofed glass booth during his trial in Jerusalem in 1961. (Library of Congress)

trial focused on eyewitness testimony. The justices of the district court believed that by laying bare the effects of state-sponsored violence, persecution, and suffering, Eichmann's prosecution could have an educational effect and help shape Holocaust memory for decades to come. The prosecution utilized traumatic eyewitness testimony from dozens of survivors, whose narratives of separation from families, incarceration, and Nazi-inflicted torment reverberated far beyond the courtroom in Jerusalem. Images of the survivors' unresolved pain were televised in Israel, West Germany, and around the world, and they profoundly stirred public consciousness of the Holocaust as a victims' narrative for which justice was long overdue.

Eichmann was not a face-to-face executioner but rather a desk killer, or *Schreibtischtäter*, a role that complicated a hitherto dominant image of the Nazi perpetrator as a sadistic racist and ideologically committed fanatic. His crimes were classed as "administrative," and arguably, it was this "modern" type of crime that influenced Hannah Arendt's 1963 account of the proceedings, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, in which she introduced into posttrial historiography and social dis-

course the phrase *the banality of evil*. The phrase proved controversial on a number of grounds but especially because it suggested that “ordinary” people, such as Eichmann, could commit mass murder while remaining ostensibly indifferent to the antisemitic ideology of the Nazis. Eichmann never admitted he was a racist, nor did he acknowledge that he performed his bureaucratic murders for any motive other than obedience to authority. He believed he was, as Servatius argued, a “cog in the machine”; his actions were justified according to the laws of the Nazi state, irrespective of their immorality and criminality or the resultant genocide.

Ultimately, Eichmann’s cog-in-the-machine defense did not convince the judges, nor did the defense’s allegation that the prosecution could not connect the harrowing eyewitness testimonies to Eichmann’s specific administrative roles. After the announcement of the guilty verdict, Eichmann delivered a characteristic statement of moral ambiguity that nonetheless denied all responsibility: “The witnesses’ statements here in the Court made my limbs go numb once again, just as they went numb when once, acting on orders, I had to look at the atrocities. It was my misfortune to become entangled in these atrocities. But these misdeeds did not happen according to my wishes. It was not my wish to slay people. The guilt for the mass murder is solely that of the political leaders” (*Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 5, sess. 120: 2216.)

Notwithstanding the protest of leading intellectuals, Eichmann was sentenced to death, and after a two-month appeal process, he was hanged on May 31, 1962. The debate about Eichmann’s responsibility in perpetrating mass murder continues.

—Simone Gigliotti

**See also** Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Eichmann, Adolf; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; National Socialist German Workers’ Party; Wannsee Conference

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## 1848

In the spring of 1848, a revolutionary movement originating in Paris swept through many parts of Europe, encompassing the territories of the Germanic Confederation, the Habsburg monarchy, Russian Poland, Scandinavia, and Italy. The upheavals did not have the same causes or follow the same patterns everywhere. Yet in all regions that were touched by revolution, activists sought the attainment of basic political liberties, the institution of parliaments elected by far-reaching suffrages, and the creation of constitutions in which the rights and duties of the citizens were defined.

The liberal and constitutional demands were especially attractive to the Jewish populations of these lands. In the general European struggle for emancipation, they hoped to eliminate ancient discriminatory regulations and to enjoy basic civil and human rights as well as equal protection under the law. Consequently, numerous Jews participated in the liberal revolutionary movement, became active in the new political organizations, fought in the streets and on the barricades, and utilized the unprecedented significance of newspapers and journals in the battle for public opinion.

In territories that had not yet established themselves as nation-states, the revolutions focused primarily on the question of national unity. In military conflicts such as the one between the Italian states and Austria or in the war of German volunteer units against Denmark, Jewish soldiers demonstrated their patriotism. In Hungary, too, Jews identified with the Hungarian national movement and enlisted in the Hungarian army.

The revolutionary movement was driven by the liberal bourgeoisie and democratically minded intellectuals. By contrast, revolutionary action in the streets was carried on by the lower

classes in a sometimes violent expression of social protest.

The extent to which Jews were already integrated into society is evident by the fact that they represented all positions on the political spectrum as it took form during the course of 1848 and 1849. Indeed, one was as likely to find Jews in the camp of constitutional monarchists as among the democratic republicans or in the social revolutionary movements.

This unprecedented political activism in the Jewish population led to a fundamental change in the self-perception of European Jewry. Jews entered into politics, performed public functions, and were elected to parliaments. In the past, they had acted as representatives of corporate entities; now, they participated as independent individuals. Such was the case with Adolphe Crémieux and Michel Goudchaux in France, Isaac Pesaro Maurogonoato and Leone Pincherle in Venice, and the tireless champion of Jewish emancipation in Germany, Gabriel Riesser. In Germany, Jews were elected to the Frankfurt National Assembly that deliberated on the fundamental legal precedent that civil rights could not be infringed upon on the basis of religious affiliation. The prominence of Jewish figures in the revolutionary arena and the promise of equal rights led numerous contemporary Jews to embrace the revolutions with near-messianic fervor. Even after many of its achievements and promises were overturned, 1848 remained enshrined in the memory of European Jews as a sublime moment.

Yet the development of the revolution was not free from contradictions and ambivalences for Jews. Even if the demand for their civil equality constituted a central issue in all European lands that were caught up in the revolutionary movement, the emancipation of the Jews was by no means guaranteed in the constitutions of the majority of states. The emancipation decree worked out by the Frankfurt National Assembly never went into effect. After suppression of the revolution, the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria granted constitutions to their subjects in which some of the measures improving the status of Jews were retained. In the states of the German Confederation, Jewish rights were confirmed only in a few smaller principalities.

Beyond that, in the regions with competing minorities and diverse ethnic cultures, the Jews often fell between the lines of warring national movements. In Poznan (Posen), for example, they were wedged between German and Polish interests, and in Bohemia and Moravia, they were suspected of siding with the Germans.

Above all, what made the year 1848 something less than a “golden moment” for Jews were the widespread anti-Jewish excesses and violent attacks on Jewish residences. Initially, riots and assaults of lesser scope broke out in Alsace; spread to Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, Westphalia, Franconia, and Upper Silesia; and eventually extended into Bohemia, Hungary, and even into Italian lands. All of these protests expressed a deep-rooted hostility against the Jews and a refusal by ordinary people to acknowledge them as equal citizens. This dark side of the revolutionary period is seen by some historians as its most important aspect; others emphasize the era’s more positive facets for the history of the Jews in Europe.

All the revolutionary movements of 1848 failed, and by the end of 1849, the Old Regime seemed to have regained full control. In fact, however, the political culture in all European lands had undergone fundamental change. This was especially true in regard to the Jews. Their demand for civil and legal equality had become a central issue, one that could no longer be avoided or ignored in any political conflict. Jews had also learned how to articulate their goals politically and to act in the public sphere.

—Ulrich Wyrwa  
Matthew Lange, translation

*See also* Alsace; Drumont, Édouard; Emancipation; Jewish Question; *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon*; Marr, Wilhelm; *Mirror to the Jews*, A; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich

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## Einsatzgruppen

The activities of the Einsatzgruppen (mobile death squads) during the German invasion of the Soviet Union have, in many respects, become emblematic of the National Socialist efforts to annihilate European Jewry. These units played a central role in Adolf Hitler’s racial war in the East. The vanguard of Heinrich Himmler’s SS forces, they were tasked with the elimination of the Third Reich’s putative racial enemies to make way for the acquisition of *Lebensraum* (living space). Although best known for their activities in the campaign against the Soviet Union, Einsatzgruppen participated in the German occupation of Austria and the Sudetenland in 1938, as well as the occupation of Czechoslovakia and the invasion of Poland in 1939.

The Einsatzgruppen were composed primarily of members of the Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police), including personnel from the Gestapo and the criminal police, as well as members of the Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service [SD]) and the Ordnungspolizei (Order Police) and, later in the campaign in Russia, the Waffen-SS. In operations in Austria and Czechoslovakia, these combined police forces concentrated on confiscating important political materials and identifying, finding, and arresting political “enemies” of National Socialism, among them Jews, Freemasons, religious leaders, members of the Communist Party, and those who resisted the annexation of their countries. The invasion of Poland in September 1939 resulted in a profound shift in the scope and scale of the activities of the Einsatzgruppen. Under the code name Operation Tannenberg, these units received orders from Chief of the Security Police Reinhard Heydrich to combat “enemies of the German people and state in the rear areas behind the fighting troops”

(Krausnick 1981, 29). In real terms, these orders provided the Einsatzgruppen with the authority not only to identify and arrest but also to act as the instrument for the elimination of political and racial enemies of the Third Reich, including Jews, Polish nationalists, Catholic clergy, and members of the nobility and the intelligentsia.

The activities of the Einsatzgruppen in Poland provided a bloody precedent for the second act of the Nazi racial war in the East—the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In contrast to the campaign in Poland, Hitler ordered the Einsatzgruppen entering the USSR removed from the control of the German army and placed under the authority of Reich Leader of the SS Heinrich Himmler for “special tasks.” The Commissar Order (*Kommissarbefehl*) of June 6, 1941, outlined these special tasks by directing the execution of Communist functionaries, officials, and political commissars serving with the Red Army, while also targeting Jews in party and state positions. The Commissar Order served as the charter of the Einsatzkommandos (mission detachments) and Sonderkommandos (special detachments) within the Einsatzgruppen as German forces prepared to enter Soviet territory on a mission of conquest, exploitation, and extermination. After the initial invasion, the Einsatzgruppen rapidly expanded the definition of the term *political functionaries* to include Jewish men and, eventually, Jewish women and children, independent of any affiliation with the Communist Party; the Third Reich’s propaganda campaign that inextricably linked Judaism with bolshevism made it only “logical” to broaden the categories of those Jews marked for death.

The Einsatzgruppen that entered the Soviet Union were divided into four groups, designated A, B, C, and D and assigned specific geographic areas of responsibility. Einsatzgruppe A operated in the Baltics and parts of White Russia (Belarus), Einsatzgruppe B in White Russia, Einsatzgruppe C in northern and central Ukraine, and Einsatzgruppe D in the southern Ukraine, Bessarabia, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. The units ranged in size from almost 1,000 personnel in Einsatzgruppe A to approximately 500 in Einsatzgruppe D. Operating primarily in detachments, the Einsatzkommandos and Sonderkommandos enthu-

siastically and methodically pursued their murderous mission and conducted actions ranging from individual executions to mass shootings, the most famous of which involved the murder of almost 34,000 Jews at a ravine in Babi Yar near the city of Kiev.

In a report detailing the activities of Einsatzgruppe A through October 15, 1941, an SS general, Walther Stahlecker, revealed the primary motive for his unit's mission in the East. He informed his superiors in Berlin that the "Security Police were determined by any means and with all decisiveness to solve the Jewish Question" (International Military Tribunal 1949, 672). In the prosecution of this goal, Stahlecker noted the co-operation of the Wehrmacht and highlighted the participation of local nationals in actions aimed at Jewish populations in the Baltics. By the end of 1942, the Einsatzgruppen had murdered approximately 750,000 Jews and increasingly cooperated with German army forces in antipartisan operations in the East—operations aimed not only at Jews but also at the entire spectrum of Nazi racial enemies. In the final analysis, the Einsatzgruppen played a key role in the Final Solution and left their mark as one of Himmler's most effective instruments in the annihilation of the European Jews and the conduct of a racial war of extermination.

—Edward B. Westermann

**See also** Commissar Order; Freemasonry; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust; Judeo-Bolshevism; Order Police

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## Eliot, T. S. (1888–1965)

British poet, critic, and playwright T. S. Eliot, born and educated in the United States, moved to England in 1914. He established his reputation during the early 1920s with his long poem *The Waste Land* (1922), his editorship of the literary and political magazine *The Criterion* (1922–1939), and a handful of brilliant essays on criticism. In 1927, he was baptized into the Church of England, and his suite of religious poems, *Four Quartets* (1935–1942), established him as the most influential literary figure in the English-speaking world since Samuel Johnson. He was named Nobel laureate in literature in 1948. A strikingly original poet, he was also a deeply learned scholar, a political conservative, and a committed Christian. Some forty years after his death, his poetry and criticism remain central to the canon of modernist literature.

A very small proportion of this oeuvre appears to be antisemitic in tendency. Three poems published in 1920—"Gerontion," "Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar," and "Sweeney Among the Nightingales"—associate recognizably Jewish characters with images of vermin, disease, death, or decay. Anthony Julius has suggested that a fourth poem from the 1920 group, the obscure "A Cooking Egg," also contains antisemitic material. Bleistein the Jew reappears, dead, in the sadistic "Dirge," one of the fragments that Ezra Pound cut from the manuscript of *The Waste Land*, and antisemitic jeers fill Eliot's unpublished letters of the 1920s to Pound and the Jew-hating patron of the arts John Quinn. When Eliot praised the Jewish poet Isaac Rosenberg, his language was racist, and in a 1933 lecture at the University of Virginia, shortly after Hitler's seizure of power, he notoriously said: "The population [of a community] should be homogeneous. . . . Reasons of race and religion combine to make any large number of free-thinking Jews undesirable. . . . And a spirit of excessive tolerance is to be deprecated" (Eliot 1934, 20).

Eliot never repudiated or explained that opinion, even when offered the opportunity after the war. However, he soon withdrew the entire text of his Virginia lectures from publication, calling it "a sick book." Over time, the antisemitism disappeared from his letters to the pathologically an-

tisemitic Ezra Pound, and in 1954, he put Pound on notice that an insult to the Jewish religion was also an insult to his own Christian religion. The preceding paragraph in this entry is a fairly complete summary of Eliot's antisemitic activities, and it is not long. As an antisemite, Eliot was minor. But historical circumstance made antisemitism an integral part of his life's work, even after he stopped writing about Jews.

The creative relationship between Eliot's language and his idea of the Jew ended with *The Waste Land*. After the early 1920s, only one more Jew was ever again to figure in Eliot's verse: the reverentially treated title character of "A Song for Simeon" (1928), an uninspired religious effort from the fallow period between *The Waste Land* and the *Quartets*. With the language problem of *The Waste Land* solved, Eliot the poet no longer needed his complex of metaphors for decay—which is to say, he no longer needed "Jews in his head."

He did not need them, either, when he wrote as a social critic. During the 1930s, his editorial comments in *The Criterion* sometimes expressed an irritable "anti-antifascism," but perhaps the most startling discovery to be made by reading through two or three bound volumes of the journal is its general quietism. In the age of Hitler and Mussolini, Eliot was a reactionary authoritarian who loathed democracy. But the central element of his eccentric politics was Christian theocracy, and he understood that Hitler and Mussolini were not Christian. Eliot published some antisemitic material in *The Criterion* and wrote sympathetically of the ideas of some Nazi sympathizers, but he was not a Nazi sympathizer. He seems to have regarded himself as a detached observer of the world, watching and waiting *sub specie aeternitatis* (from eternity's point of view).

When the Christian poet Marianne Moore implored *The Criterion* in 1933 to raise its voice in support of what she called "that ancient and valuable race, the Jews" (*Selected Letters*, 305), the journal remained silent, just as it would later on. Antisemitism probably contributed to the silence. But the Eliot of the eve of the Holocaust was the poet of the *Quartets*, and his first allegiance was to their language. The *Quartets* did not require images of vermin or corruption, so

Eliot did not require Jews—and did not need to care whether they lived or died.

—Jonathan Morse

**See also** English Literature of the Twentieth Century; Pound, Ezra

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## Emancipation

The original Latin meaning of the concept of emancipation referred to the release of the son from paternal custody. In the Age of Enlightenment, the word *emancipation* underwent a semantic extension and indicated the self-liberation of the individual from intellectual tutelage and dependence. During the French Revolution, the meaning of the term was elaborated on yet again to include the collective processes of the liberation of social groups and their respective engagement for equal rights. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the term became a central political slogan in the European public sphere, thanks to the highly visible battle of Irish Catholics for equal rights. From the second decade of the nineteenth century, the concept was also used to indicate the demand for equal rights for the Jewish population.

The emancipation of the Jews was not a one-time legal act but rather a continual process in all European lands with Jewish inhabitants. From a juridical perspective, emancipation marked the legal equality of Jews according to the principle that all citizens are equal before the law. From a social perspective, the concept also referred to the general advancement of the Jewish population, which moved collectively from the periphery into the mainstream of society and, in many individual cases, from marginality to great heights of wealth.

Even though the concept of emancipation surfaced in political discourse only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, its roots lay much deeper—first detectable in the protracted socio-cultural evolution of earlier European polities. As the cultural, still religiously defined conventions that sustained the economic and social system of a preindustrial era dissolved, a civil society emerged to supplant the previous system of estates (*Ständestaat*). Because this new society was no longer based on religious practices, some thinkers began to urge that the relationship between the Jewish and Christian populations be redefined. In a secular society, no longer organized around religious-corporative institutions, it was not necessary or useful to segregate Jews on the basis of their religion. As part of this reorientation process, Jews themselves began to seek residential rights in places from which they had been previously expelled. In 1638, the Italian rabbi Simon Luzzatto pleaded for tolerance and the removal of limitations on Jews, arguing a mutually beneficial economic utility. From Amsterdam in 1655, Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel demanded the return of Jews to England, and in 1714, the English deist John Toland published his pamphlet, “Reasons for Naturalising the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland, on the Same Foot with All Other Nations.” The most decisive programmatic essay that called for the integration of the Jews in civil society, which was read throughout Europe, came from the pen of the Prussian bureaucrat Christian Wilhelm von Dohm—*On the Civic Improvement of the Jews* (1781).

This document and the Edicts of Toleration in the Habsburg Empire, also in 1781, ushered in the Age of Emancipation, which gradually resulted in the constitutional acknowledgment of legal equality for Jews in Europe. The Age of Emancipation, from 1781 to 1878, can be divided into five phases. The first was characterized primarily by debates about the pros and cons of social integration and civic amelioration of the Jewish population. At the center of this exchange stood the Berlin triumvirate of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Moses Mendelssohn, and Friedrich Nicolai, whose emancipatory works were soon discussed in France and other European countries. The vigorous and at times acri-

monious discourse focused on the possible consequences of liberation for both Jews and non-Jews. Even their friends, let alone their enemies, entertained doubts about whether Jews could be admitted into civil society, given what were generally perceived as their human deficiencies.

The second phase was marked by both progress toward and retreat from the achievement of Jewish equality. After the French National Assembly proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, it seemed only reasonable that Jews also be granted civil rights, a step that was finally taken in September 1791 and only after substantial opposition had been overcome. Shortly thereafter, however, the Jews fell victim to the general antireligious policies of the Jacobins. Although the reign of Napoleon brought the first emancipatory legislation beyond the French borders, in Venice and Rome as well as in the Kingdom of Westphalia and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the emperor also passed rigorous special regulations for Jews in France that diluted the principle of legal equality. During this era in Tuscany, political upheaval was accompanied by substantial anti-Jewish unrest. But even in territories outside Napoleon’s direct control, the first stages of Jewish equality could be perceived. In Prussia, for example, the Edict of March 11, 1812, declared the Jews “Prussian Citizens.”

The defeat of the French at Waterloo in June 1815 marked the transition to the third phase. This period was defined by the contest for political hegemony between the legitimist, Christian conservatives of the Old Regime, reinstated by the Congress of Vienna, and new political forces that emerged from civil society and whose champions declared them to be the true voice of progress. The old dynastic powers initially held the reins of power, and in numerous European lands, the first steps toward Jewish emancipation were quickly rescinded. Traditionally oriented populations maintained grave doubts about easing restrictions on Jews. They expressed their resistance to change and threatened change in a wave of violent pogroms, stretching from Alsace to Bohemia, from Copenhagen and Hamburg to Riga and Krakow—the so-called Hep-Hep riots of 1819. Meanwhile, the progressively inclined

began to make headway against the repressive status quo. Although there were many local variations in this movement, in general it combined a desire to achieve national unity and self-determination by means of constitutional states in which liberal values would dominate. This agenda was especially appealing to Jews because nationhood on such a basis held out the surest promise of liberty and equality for them. With the July Revolution of 1830, the liberals took the offensive, and by the 1840s, the question of emancipation once again became a central topic in the European public sphere. A flurry of pamphlets and petitions favoring the emancipation of the Jews did not silence the opposition—there were some notable voices raised against the idea—but momentum toward Jewish equality seemed to be gaining the upper hand throughout most of Europe.

The revolution of 1848 and 1849 inaugurated the fourth phase of emancipation, in which the fundamental transformation in the self-perception of European Jews played a large role. Jews actively engaged in politics, assumed political offices, and were elected to parliaments. They found support primarily in the democratic and liberal parties and in all European countries that were seized by the revolutionary fervor. The emancipation of the people, which now was seen to include the emancipation of the Jews, became a central political demand. As in 1819, however, the movement toward equality provoked hundreds of cases of anti-Jewish violence over a very broad geographic expanse.

The suppression of the revolutions brought on the fifth and final phase. It began inauspiciously. In most places where revolution had achieved Jewish equality, it was promptly reversed. But it was no longer possible to ignore all that had just transpired. Liberals and democrats had learned from the revolutionary movement how to articulate their demands politically and influence public opinion. Although state institutions were dominated by conservative powers in many parts of Europe, the liberal movement exercised cultural hegemony in the political public sphere. Thus, after a decade of European reaction, a renewed liberal wave gathered strength. The political climate of the 1860s made it possible to es-

tablish Jewish emancipation throughout most of central and east-central Europe, this time much more solidly and with noticeably weaker resistance. At the Congress of Berlin (in 1878), an important milestone in the emancipation process was reached when the representatives of the Great Powers declared the legal equality of the Jewish population as a binding principle of international law. There were still places, particularly in eastern Europe, where Jewish emancipation had no reality, but its essential legitimacy had been forcefully pronounced.

The emancipation of the Jews in Europe resulted from the disintegration that overtook the corporative and caste order of the Old Regime. Within this general pattern of development, the various European state forms followed their own highly individualized paths to Jewish emancipation, essentially dependent on the ways in which they developed into secularized civil polities. Jews experienced these variations and many others, in relation to where they lived or emigrated. In places such as imperial Russia, where the secularization of society proceeded in fits and starts, they were unable to get out from under a host of onerous restrictions on their liberty. In North America, by contrast, Jewish immigrants effortlessly entered a pluralistic, mobile society without feudal or corporative traditions, one in which the equality of all citizens was firmly rooted. Further, inasmuch as the construction of a civil society was a European development, the Jewish experiences in Europe differed from those outside the European sphere. The Jews of the Ottoman Empire, Asia, and Africa were able to maintain their autonomy for a long period of time. In North Africa during the Age of Emancipation, Jews were economically privileged but not legally equal. Elsewhere, Jews remained virtually unaffected by the social and cultural upheavals of the nineteenth century; such was the case for the Jews of Yemen, whose situation under Muslim domination was precarious, and for the Falasha, the black Jews of Ethiopia. For the Jews of Persia, the issue of civil rights never became a question, even though they experienced religious intolerance and anti-Jewish persecution similar to that of European Jews. In India, as well, the issue of the political and civil rights of the Jews was ir-

relevant because the community lived in a segregated and isolated world within the Indian caste system. By contrast, the Jews of China had fully entered and all but disappeared into Chinese society in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The epoch of emancipation of the Jews of Europe was the product of liberal and democratic movements, secular values, and civil societies. It seemed a permanent, essentially unassailable achievement. But when these very same principles came under assault in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Jewish emancipation, too, was called into question, especially by the new antisemitic political movements dedicated to its overthrow. Following the collapse of European democracies and the rise of Nazism after World War I, one of the first casualties was Jewish equality.

—Ulrich Wyrwa

Matthew Lange, translation

**See also** Algeria; Alsace; Bauer, Bruno; Christian State; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; 1848; Fichte, J. G.; Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste; Hep-Hep Riots; Infamous Decree; Jew Bill; Jewish Question; *Jewish Question, The* (1843); Marx, Karl; May Laws; Michaelis, Johann David; Nuremberg Laws; Pale of Settlement; Philosemitism; Romania; Russia, Imperial; Stahl, Friedrich Julius; State-within-a-State; Toland, John; United States; Weimar

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## English Literature from Chaucer to Wells

From the expulsion of the Jews in 1290 through their readmission in 1656 and into the modern

era, the Jewish population of Great Britain remained tiny, only rising above 0.2 percent of the whole in the latter third of the nineteenth century. Yet throughout these centuries, Jews occupied a significant position in literary representation, and antisemitism was a productive resource for English writers.

The first historical accounts of Jewish figures in English literature, by Victorian critics, argued that there was a parallel between the rise and decline of Jewish persecution in England and the increasing realism of literary representations of Jews. Surveys written following World War II, in contrast, emphasized the continuity of stereotypes of the Jew across time, suggesting the persistence of cultural expressions of antisemitism. Most recent work, such as that of Bryan Cheyette, James Shapiro, and Michael Ragussis, analyzes the array of diverse and often contradictory depictions of Jews in given historical periods and argues that "the Jews" are repeatedly at the crux of wider questions of theological controversy, political inclusion, textual representation, and, above all, national identity. Rather than enduring, stereotypes are reinvented over and over again, and rather than being fixed and singular, the literary figure of "the Jew" is ambivalent and overdetermined.

The plot of "The Prioress's Tale" in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* focuses on the murder of a Christian boy in a Jewish ghetto. Despite his throat being cut, the child miraculously continues singing praises to the Virgin Mary, which leads to the discovery of his body and violent retribution on the Jews. The text draws on the anti-Judaism central to the medieval ritual murder libel and common to the genre exemplified by the tale "Miracle of the Virgin." In this genre, the pious reverence of the Virgin Mary is frequently conjoined with portraits of Jews as cruel, malicious enemies of Christianity. The Jews' refusal to accept Christ is set in opposition to the mystical body of the church, symbolized by the inviolable body of the Virgin. The tale, told by the sanctimonious Prioress Madame Eglantine, has been read in terms of the ironic narrative strategy of the *Canterbury Tales*, which characteristically questions the moral authority of the tales' narrators and frequently suggests a critique of the

abuse of ecclesiastical office. Other readings see the Jews as figurative opponents of Christianity whose slaughter stands for the triumph of spirituality over literality; some view the murder charge as the projection onto Jews of intra-Christian violence.

Early modern representations of Jews allude to currents in both traditional theology and medieval popular culture. The characters of Shylock in William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596) and Barabas in Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1589) have their prototype in the medieval morality plays, where the Jew appeared in the allegorical roles of Avaritia and Usury. In Shylock, moreover, usury is conjoined with the threat of bodily mutilation, and Marlowe's Jew is even more conspiratorially murderous, his poisonous methods recalling the fourteenth-century charge that the Jews caused the Black Death by contaminating wells. The plays illustrate a struggle between medieval church teaching on moneylending, which ought, as Shakespeare's merchant Antonio believes, to be an act of Christian charity, and modern, usurious commerce. Moreover, *The Merchant* deploys the Pauline, anti-Judaic opposition between Shylock, who insists on the letter of the law in executing justice because of his hardened Jewish heart, and his self-sacrificing debtor Antonio. In Shylock's defeat, the play demonstrates the supersession of Christian grace over Jewish "law." Like Shylock, the merchants of Venice are motivated by the desire for gain; however, they are simultaneously dependent on the pursuit of commerce and threatened by its destabilizing effects. Such ambivalence is expressed in responses to Shylock and also to his daughter, Jessica. The incompatibility of Jessica's beauty with her Jewishness is a frequent source of humor in the play, but her uneasy conversion to Christianity suggests the uncertainties about identity provoked by the possibility of Jewish conversion.

In the eighteenth century, antisemitism was more present in popular culture than in literary publications, but the figure of the Jew was to present an important challenge to the Victorian realist novel. In *Oliver Twist* (1838), a novel indebted to stage melodrama, Charles Dickens revived the earlier Christian stereotype of the crim-

inal Jew in Fagin, a lowlife receiver of stolen goods. Dickens's portrait of the dirty, red-haired Fagin, who lurks in an underground den, links the Jew iconographically to Satan and casts him as an outlaw. Luring the innocent young Oliver into a life of crime, Fagin recalls the Jew of the medieval blood libel, who similarly functioned as a foil to the inviolable innocence of the Christian child. Dickens's Jewish villain stands outside the sociological analysis of crime that the novel otherwise attempts.

As a symbol of an illegitimate and threatening economy, the fraudulent financier Augustus Melmotte in Anthony Trollope's *The Way We Live Now* (1875) similarly embodies Jewish criminality. "People said of him," Trollope wrote, "that he had framed and carried out long premeditated and deeply laid schemes for the ruin of those who had trusted him." Melmotte, a metaphor for the rapacious appetites of 1870s capitalism, has often been seen as a sign of that decade's prevalent Judeophobia. Yet in fact, it is the radical uncertainty surrounding Melmotte's identity, which is built entirely from what "People said of him," that makes him so sinister. In Trollope's England, increasingly subject to the power of the plutocracy, social order and identity were no longer guaranteed by the property of the landowning classes. Jews, therefore, symbolized not only the sinister force of capitalism but also the inevitability of social change. Trollope's other novels, such as *The Eustace Diamonds* (1873) and *Phineas Redux* (1874), seek to identify Jewish interlopers through their racial features, only to exclude them from English high society or have them acknowledge their inferior place within it.

Two of the most charismatic villains of the fin de siècle were gothic fantasies produced by the antisemitic imagination. In *Trilby* (1894), the biggest best-seller of the nineteenth century, the popular novelist George Du Maurier brought together fear and fascination in the predatory figure of Svengali, the Jewish mesmerist. The dirty, ill-mannered, but musically gifted Svengali turns the tone-deaf Irish artists' model Trilby O'Ferrall into a spectacular diva by hypnotizing her and making her dependent on him. The lure of foreign sexuality is also a key titillating feature of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). In the novel's

monstrous east European vampire, who threatens to infect England with his bad blood, a number of late nineteenth-century fears concerning race, gender, and degeneration are condensed.

If Stoker's text articulates a typically fin-de-siècle fantasy of reverse colonization, such imperial anxieties preoccupied Edwardian writers even more obsessively. Liberal opposition to the Boer War at the turn of the twentieth century reinvigorated the image of the degenerate and unpatriotic Jewish financier, who was seen to be directing the war to further Jewish interests. In the fiction of John Buchan, who opposed the liberal pro-Boers, the Jews' racial instinct was what made them potentially ideal servants of the empire. At the same time, as in his story "The Grove of Ashtaroth" (1912), the Jew, like civilization itself, is perpetually in danger of reverting wholly to those more primitive instincts. The paranoiac Jewish conspiracy theory that opens *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915) is a warning of what might happen if Jews eschewed a noble colonial role (such as Zionism) and succumbed to their vengeful desire for domination of the world's economy.

Ambivalence similarly structured the work of socialist writers of the Edwardian period. Although resisting the 1890s' "socialism of fools" that identified Jews crudely with capitalism, George Bernard Shaw, in *Man and Superman* (1903) and *The Doctor's Dilemma* (1911), nonetheless deployed Jews as figures of philosophical and economic materialism, opposed to the "Superman" because they were incapable of a higher form of social evolution. H. G. Wells, by contrast, imagined a utopian future in which even Semitic particularities would be transcended by assimilation, and he dismissed the biological basis for racial categories. In his novel *Tono-Bungay* (1909), therefore, Wells lamented the ascendancy of the Jewish plutocracy as a sign of "the broad slow decay of the great social organism of England," but he regarded his scientific socialist hero as equally part of England's retrograde Judaization. In his nonfiction, however, Wells identified both an "exclusive" and an assimilatory tradition in Jewish history. In his futuristic fantasy *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933), he described the Jews' "traditional willful separation from the main body of mankind" as an initial ob-

stacle to progress that was ultimately overcome in the rationalized universalist future state by the "success" of complete assimilation.

—Nadia Valman

**See also** Boer War; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Dickens, Charles; Dracula; Hobson, J. A.; *Jew of Malta, The*; New Age; Paul; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Shakespeare, William; Shylock; Supersessionism; Svengali; Trollope, Anthony; Usury; *Verjudung*; Well Poisoning; Wells, H. G.

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## English Literature of the Twentieth Century

"The extremes lie close together," Blanchard Jerrold wrote of London in 1872.

How many minutes' walk have we between St. Swithin's Lane, and that low gateway of the world-famed millionaire; and this humble authority in Exchanges, in materials for shoddy, in left-off clothes cast aside by the well-to-do, to be passed with due consideration and profit to the backs of the poor? The old clothesman's children are rolling about upon his greasy treasure, while he, with his heavy silver spectacles poised upon his hooked nose, takes up each item, and estimates it to a farthing. (Doré and Jerrold 1993, 123)

When Gustave Doré engraved this scene, he illuminated the rag dealer's room from behind,



Gustav Doré's, *A Clothesman at Work* (1872). (Dover Publications)

with a single beam of daylight entering through a small window set high up and far back. Glinting on chains, the beam illuminates an enormous double-pan balance hanging from the ceiling: a tool of the rag dealer's trade. Behind the balance, hunched over the rag he is valuing, the dealer is as rapt as a priest contemplating the mystery of justice. He may be wearing a long apron or a Jewish caftan, but in the half-light of this scene, his garment has taken on the form of a robe—in fact, a robe out of one of Doré's illustrations to the Bible. Emerging from the blackness of the engraver's ground, Doré's Jew takes form at the meeting point of his two archetypal ways of being thought of: the allegorical and the stereotypical.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, these extremes lay close together through the whole range of literary representation. In British and American literature, the Jew was simultaneously rich and poor, a jeweled exotic and a denizen of Western civilization's underworlds.

The Jew is Dickens's Fagin and the auctioneer who disposes of other men's fortunes in William Makepeace Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, but in the works of writers as different as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Benjamin Disraeli, and George Du Maurier, the Jew is also the possessor of an immemorial racial power over men and women. At either extreme, the Jew is something other than human. "I was a Jew once myself," remarks Trollope's silly character Bertie Stanhope to a bishop, and the bishop sensibly responds by pulling himself together and walking away (*Barchester Towers*, chap. 11).

Well into the twentieth century, some of these romantic and Victorian images retained their symbolic power, especially in popular culture. In *Goldfinger*, for example, Ian Fleming deployed all the technogadgets available to him in 1959, but his Jewish villain was conceptually an antique, sired by William Jennings Bryan out of *The Merchant of Venice*. High literary culture, however,

tended to modify the antisemitic archetypes that it had inherited. At the beginning of the twentieth century, for example, the expatriate American novelist Henry James returned to his country for the first time in thirty years and discovered that he and the changing language of his New York had entered into a distressing new relationship. Language always changes, of course, but James had not expected the new English to approach him from the direction of what he called “the terrible little Ellis Island.”

“Truly the Yiddish world was a vast world,” James mused in *The American Scene*, the record of his ten-month visit to the United States in 1904 and 1905. His vantage point at that moment was in New York, at one of “the half-dozen picked beer-houses and cafés in which our ingenuous *enquête*, that of my fellow-pilgrims and I, wound up.”

Truly the Yiddish world was a vast world, with its own deeps and complexities, and what struck one above all was that it sat there at its cups (and in no instance vulgarly the worse for them) with a sublimity of good conscience that took away the breath, a protrusion of elbow never aggressive, but absolutely proof against jostling. It was the incurable man of letters under the skin of one of the party who gasped, I confess; for it was in the light of letters, that is in the light of our language as literature has hitherto known it, that one stared at this all-unconscious impudence of the agency of future ravage. (chap. 3, sect. 3, “The Fate of the Language”)

The key idea here is “impudence”: the presumption of equality by an inferior. That the Jews around Henry James *were* inferior was simply a given. This unexamined assumption governed much of the representation of Jews in twentieth-century literature. In Edith Wharton’s *The House of Mirth*, for example, the idea that a Christian woman could marry a Jewish man was treated as self-evidently absurd, and G. K. Chesterton saw no problem about writing a humorous poem that concluded, “We persecute these curly-headed men” (Wilson 1984). Occa-

sionally, in a book by a Christian such as Willa Cather’s autobiographical novel *The Professor’s House* or a book by a Jew such as Nathanael West’s satire *The Day of the Locust*, an understated or unstated Jewish presence was essential to the design. Much more often, however, as in Ernest Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* or F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*, an author simply used a Jewish stereotype to keep his story moving along a clearly marked route. In fact, T. S. Eliot’s antisemitism may remain controversial in the twenty-first century only because we still have not learned which way to read it: as a casual use of the idiom of the time like Hemingway’s or Fitzgerald’s or as a fundamental, constitutive part of a great poet’s language.

But if antisemitism was a fundamental, constitutive part of Eliot’s language, it functioned there in a way that must be almost unique. Jewishness was at the heart of two twentieth-century works that changed the technology of language forever: Ezra Pound’s antisemitic *The Cantos* and James Joyce’s philosemitic *Ulysses*. It functioned there only by reference to material outside the text: the author’s personal pathology in the case of Pound, the author’s national and religious culture in the case of Joyce. And such is the general case. With only a few exceptions (notably Henry Roth’s novel *Call It Sleep* and some of the verse of Jerome Rothenberg), Jewishness remained peripheral to the *language* of twentieth-century literature in English. From one point of view, this means that Henry James’s fears about “the agency of ravage” were not realized. From another point of view, it means that the large Jewish presence in modern literature has had little literary importance.

But it has had great importance as a sociological weather vane. In 1945, for example, Gwethalyn Graham’s *Earth and High Heaven*, a trivial Canadian romance novel, became a best-seller in the United States because its didactic story—Christian girl falls in love with Jewish boy and discovers that antisemitism is a problem for Christians, too—suddenly became important to think about. With the revelation of the Holocaust, antisemitism was no longer in good taste. In 1951, the Jewish novelist Herman Wouk drove the point home by making the climax of

his best-seller *The Caine Mutiny* a flag-waving speech about the Holocaust and the war, delivered by a Jewish character. For several years after that, best-sellers by Jewish authors such as Leon Uris and Harry Golden repeatedly explained to the public that Jews are sometimes square-jawed heroes (Uris) and sometimes wise and lovable ethnic clowns (Golden), but they are always and under every circumstance mankind's best friend. However, overt discrimination against Jews—in employment, in education, in housing—diminished almost to nothing during the 1950s, and that dramatic improvement in Jewish life brought with it a new self-confidence, which, in turn, called into question the need for any sort of literary public relations campaign.

In 1959, major publishers in Canada and the United States released two works of fiction that brought to a close an era of Jewish moral posturing. Mordecai Richler's *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* and Philip Roth's *Goodbye, Columbus* were books by Jewish authors about Jewish characters—but these characters were throwbacks to pre-Holocaust, pre-Wouk/Uris/Golden stereotypes of the Jew. Vividly, shockingly, they were vulgar materialists, pushy climbers, scheming manipulators who provoked Christians' prejudices and then whined about them. The books' reviews communicated the North American Jewish community's dismay and fear. Yet Jewish assimilation into the social mainstream of the English-speaking world continued without a break to the end of the twentieth century, and literature continued to reflect the change.

Consider, for example, the protagonist of the 1971 British film *Sunday Bloody Sunday*: a man who was estranged from himself, unhappy, and Jewish. Twenty years earlier, the Jewishness would have been treated as a problem in itself. In *Sunday Bloody Sunday*, however, it functioned only metonymically, as a detail associated with the character's real problem. This, it turns out, was not that he was Jewish; it was that he was gay. In 1985, when the story was retold by another British film, *My Beautiful Laundrette*, its social setting was changed without any loss of authenticity from assimilated middle-class Jewish to immigrant Pakistani.

Another social signal was communicated in 1990 by Barry Levinson's *Avalon*, a story about an American family's life from the 1940s to the 1970s. With its wide emotional range, *Avalon* could have been about almost any middle-class American family, but the family in the film happened to be Jewish, and it had been touched by the Holocaust. For Jewish viewers, at any rate, there was no doubt about that. Yet the only holidays the family celebrated were Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July, festivals of the American cultural religion, and not one character uttered the word *Jew* even once. Toward the end of the screenplay (shot 241), a few lines alluded to the Jewish custom of naming a baby after a deceased relative, but these were not spoken in the final cut. Clearly, this deletion was not a case of censorship or squeamishness or fear of provoking hostility. No, the problem was simpler than that. Barry Levinson, author and director, wanted only to make a film that the general American public could understand, and to achieve that goal, he made a few cuts in his material. The material did not matter much anyway. By the end of the twentieth century, *Avalon* told us, the representative figure of the Jew had been assimilated for the first time into the language of high Western culture—and assimilated so completely that his Jewishness had lost its signifying force.

—Jonathan Morse

**See also** Chesterton, G. K.; Dickens, Charles; Disraeli, Benjamin; Doré, Gustave; Eliot, T. S.; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Pound, Ezra; Svengali; Trollope, Anthony; Wharton, Edith  
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**Entdecktes Judenthum (1700, 1711)**  
*Entdecktes Judenthum* (Judaism Uncovered), the major work of Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654–1704), was the result of twenty years of

labor. Jacob Katz characterized the book as the foundational text of scholarly antisemitism.

Although it purports to describe Jewish belief, the work is really a potpourri of accurate but literal translations of excerpts from over 200 Hebrew, Yiddish, Arabic, and Greek sources in their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions, embedded in tendentious, hostile interpretation. Eisenmenger insisted on the literal meaning of Jewish texts, refusing to read them according to midrashic or haggadic tradition or even in the metaphoric sense current in Christian theology. He charged that Jews believed God literally danced with Eve and braided her hair, wore phylacteries, and created humans' evil inclination (*yetzer hara*). He alleged, despite contrary evidence in prescriptive literature such as the Shulkhan Arukh, an early modern legal compendium, that Jews said Christians had no souls, called Christ "the uncircumcised God," and sought the ruin of non-Jews; further, Jews swore false oaths, killed children who converted, tested experimental remedies on Christians, and sold them spoiled meat. Despite his awareness of contrary Jewish readings of such texts and his acknowledgment that Jewish tradition emphasized that Christians, as followers of the Noahide commandments, were not subject to violence as idolaters, Eisenmenger charged that the presence of such prescriptions in Jewish texts was sufficient evidence that Jews followed them. Eisenmenger countered possible objections to his conclusions, frequently violating rhetorical conventions.

Eisenmenger's Jewish sources included the 1644 Amsterdam Babylonian Talmud; the 1603 Krakow Jerusalem Talmud; the 1684 Sulzbach Zohar; daily and holiday prayer books from Venice, Sulzbach, Frankfurt am Main, Prague, and Nuremberg, and the Tsena Urena (a seventeenth-century Yiddish compendium of prayers and Torah and Talmud texts); as well as works by Maimonides, Nachmanides, and several other Jewish luminaries. He named Rabbi Joseph Franco of Amsterdam as one of his teachers, explained the divergence between Sephardic and Ashkenazic Hebrew pronunciation, and was erudite enough to use arcane kabbalistic numerology in the service of his own arguments. His sources also included notorious books by converts such

as Anton Margarita, reliable accounts such as those of Johannes Buxtorf, and classical anti-Jewish tales. Although his approach to Jewish literature was akin to later Enlightenment tracts critical of the Jews, he preserved remainders of medieval sentiment, recounting incidents of well poisoning and ritual murder.

Only four chapters of the book actually treated the beliefs of Jews, and these, too, were hostile. The work concluded with a reflection on why Jews persisted in unbelief and suggestions for accelerating conversions that included measures to increase the attractiveness of Christianity while restricting the freedom of Jewish religious practice.

On its publication in Heidelberg (in 1700), the work was immediately seized by the imperial government. Eisenmenger and his heirs agitated fruitlessly for its release; in 1711, Friedrich I of Prussia authorized a Königsberg edition, identical in content to the original but with orthographical changes, an index, and errata pages. An English translation was published between 1732 and 1734 and in 1748. The originally seized books were released in 1740.

—Susan R. Boettcher

**See also** Diderot, Denis; Liutostanskii, Ippolit; Pfefferkorn, Johannes; Pranaitis, Justinas; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Rohling, August; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Talmud Trials; Well Poisoning

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## Erasmus (1466–1536)

The leading humanist of his age north of the Alps, Desiderius Erasmus was born in Holland and educated under the auspices of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Devotio Moderna tradition. Inclined more toward a life of learning

than one of priestly duties, Erasmus was a leading member of a far-flung circle of humanists devoted to improving piety and learning in their world. Prodigiously energetic, he oversaw multi-volume, complete editions of the works of, among others, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome before embarking on the first critical edition, with a new Latin translation and commentary, of the Greek New Testament (1516).

In common with most Christian thinkers of the time, Erasmus held the Jews accountable for the Crucifixion, and he seems never to have deviated from this conviction. He considered Judaism at the time of Jesus' life a system of outward ceremonies and purity codes, valid as a provisional disposition before the Incarnation but empty after it. He condemned scrupulosity in ritual, without pious intention accompanying it, as Judaizing, whether by Jews or Christians. At points in his work, he echoed, with evident consent, the anti-Judaism of the late Middle Ages.

Such conventional commentary notwithstanding, Erasmus stands out among his contemporaries as an advocate of tolerance. Impatient with theological quarreling, he found the finer points of Scholastic disputations too elusive to support the strident contentiousness of rival theological factions. For Erasmus, the essence of Christianity, largely abandoned by his contemporaries, lay in a "philosophy of Christ," in contrast with the largely pagan philosophies undergirding the rational superstructure of Scholastic thought. The philosophy of Christ, for Erasmus, found its expression in an attitude of tolerance for differing religious viewpoints and even diffidence toward presumed certainties. Identifying Jesus as an example of charity toward outcasts, the Erasmian view articulated a solidarity with adherents of deviant beliefs that did not stop short at Judaism; as he stated in the catalog of his own works, his temperament was such that he "could love even a Jew."

Erasmian openness and contempt for rigid dogmatism may seem oddly discordant with his veneration of the church fathers, known for their attachment to the idea of orthodoxy and associated, much later, with an exclusive idea of patristic "consensus." Although it is possible to see Erasmus's simultaneous attachment to tolerance

and to the formulators and anathematizers of the early church as another manifestation of his enigmatic personality, a more sympathetic reading of his work reveals a subtler but coherent thinker. Piety, for Erasmus, originated in the spirit and found its expression in outward devotion and ritual. Given the dominant contemporary impression of Judaism as uncritical and unfeeling adherence to "carnal law," Erasmus viewed that tradition as only another form of the "works-righteousness" that he and the Protestant Reformers who followed him found so objectionable in the Catholicism of their day.

—Ralph Keen

*See also* Augustine of Hippo; Church Fathers; Deicide; Philosemitism; Reformation; Supersessionism

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## Eugenics

Eugenics is an ideology dedicated to improving human heredity. Francis Galton, the founder of modern eugenics, promoted the idea in the 1860s after reading *The Origin of Species* by his cousin Charles Darwin. In addition to coining the term *eugenics*, Galton also was the first to use the phrase *nature versus nurture*. He and most eugenicists took the side of nature in this debate, insisting that most aspects of human character—including moral traits, such as diligence and thrift—are hereditary. They viewed many physical disabilities, psychiatric problems, and even criminal behaviors as hereditary conditions that could be eliminated by controlling reproduction. Eugenicists did not always agree on the best measures to improve human heredity, but they proposed various policies, such as incentives for the "fit" to have more children, marriage prohibitions or sterilization of the "unfit," and even infanticide for those born handicapped.

The eugenics movement reached its height in the first three decades of the twentieth century, when many eugenics journals and organizations were founded in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. The first eugenics law was passed in the United States in 1907, when Indiana legislated compulsory sterilization for mentally disabled prison inmates. Many U.S. states passed compulsory sterilization laws targeting the mentally disabled, and other countries, such as Denmark and Sweden (both in 1934), followed suit. Germany passed its first compulsory sterilization law shortly after the Nazis came to power in 1933, and in 1939, Hitler expanded his eugenics program by authorizing the murder of the physically and mentally disabled.

Eugenics is not intrinsically racist or antisemitic, and quite a few Jewish physicians and scientists supported eugenics in the early twentieth century. The famous German Jewish geneticist Richard Goldschmidt promoted eugenics, as did Harold Laski, who formed the Galton Club at Oxford University to disseminate eugenics ideology.

Nonetheless, many leaders of the eugenics movement not only embraced antisemitism but also made antisemitic racism an integral part of their eugenics ideology. Galton claimed that Jews were “specialized for a *parasitical* existence,” (in Pearson 1924, 2: 209) and his protégé, Karl Pearson, agreed. The geneticist Charles Davenport, the leading eugenics advocate in the United States, accused Jews of having criminal traits and suggested kicking them out of American society. The founding father of the German eugenics movement, Alfred Ploetz, toned down his prejudices in public but was intensely antisemitic in private, founding the secret Nordic Ring to promote racist and antisemitic eugenics. Fritz Lenz, appointed in 1923 to the first professorship in eugenics in Germany, also promoted antisemitic racism in his writings.

In the early twentieth century, U.S. eugenacists pressed for immigration restrictions against “inferior” races, including Jews. Many advocates for eugenics, including Madison Grant, supported the antisemitic Immigration Restriction League, and others testified before Congress in a successful bid to introduce immigration quotas in the 1920s. In 1939, the eugenicist Harry

Laughlin warned in a report that the Jews were “human dross” that would corrupt the American racial stock; he recommended decreasing Jewish immigration quotas by 60 percent. During the 1930s, many American eugenists praised the Nazi regime for introducing compulsory sterilization, though a good number distanced themselves from Nazi antisemitic measures.

The eugenics movement went into steep decline in the mid-twentieth century. By the late twentieth century, a new eugenics (often under a different label, such as genetic screening) reemerged, usually emphasizing individual choice rather than compulsory measures.

—Richard Weikart

**See also** Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; *Passing of the Great Race*; Racism, Scientific; Social Darwinism

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## Evian Conference

From July 6 to July 15, 1938, a conference convened in the French spa town of Evian to address the problem of Jewish refugees. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had called for the meeting shortly after Germany’s annexation of Austria in March 1938.

Roosevelt initially invited twenty-nine countries to attend the conference, which was to promote the emigration of German and Austrian Jewish refugees. From the outset, he clearly stated that no country would be forced to change its immigration policies, although they would be asked to consider making such changes. Myron C. Taylor, a former president of United States Steel Corporation, served as the conference chairman, and James G. McDonald, former high commissioner of refugees from Germany, served as his

deputy. Eventually, delegates from thirty-two countries attended, representing the United States, Great Britain, France, six smaller European democracies, Canada, the Latin American states, Australia, and New Zealand. In addition, forty private agencies, as well as twenty-one private Jewish groups, sent representatives. The expectation that the Jewish organizations would present a suitable immigration plan was unfulfilled when they proved unable to agree among themselves.

Not all of the invited countries were interested in attending the conference: Italy, for instance, refused Roosevelt's invitation. Romania requested that it, like Germany and Austria, be categorized as a producer of refugees. Along with Poland, it sent observers to Evian; both countries were particularly interested in the deliberations because they were eager to promote Jewish emigration.

The Evian Conference was marked by a lack of substantial progress toward the resettlement of refugees. During the first session, Taylor announced that the United States was working to consolidate the German and Austrian immigration quotas and would make every effort to fill them completely. Although this was a significant gesture for a limited number of Jews, the United States clearly was not altering its immigration quotas or creating a more liberal immigration policy. Having established no high standard for themselves, the U.S. representatives looked on as country after country offered excuses as to why they could not accept more refugees. Most representatives cited economic and unemployment crises or claimed that their countries were already saturated with refugees. Only the Dominican Republic took a meaningful step, agreeing to establish a large farming community to accommodate refugee resettlement.

The two primary problems faced at Evian were the funding of refugee relocation and the fear that countries in eastern Europe would imitate Germany's antisemitic policies in order to rid themselves of their Jewish populations. Organizers worried that successful resettlement options would simply encourage countries to drive out their unwanted populations, thus perpetuating and even intensifying the refugee problem.

One promising initiative of the Evian Conference was the establishment of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (ICR), whose goals were to persuade Germany to allow for the orderly immigration of its Jewish refugees and to establish permanent settlements in countries that would provide a safe environment for them. Unfortunately, when it came time to implement the policy, the ICR lacked both the funding and the authority to have any sizable impact on the problem.

The Evian Conference marked the first time the Jewish refugee issue was seen to be an international concern. However, although the represented governments acknowledged the Jewish plight, it was clear that they were unwilling to offer substantial aid.

—Melissa Jane Taylor

*See also* Holocaust; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Mussolini, Benito; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Poland; Romania; United States

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## Evolutionary Psychology

A field of research and scholarship that views the human mind as the product of evolutionary processes, evolutionary psychology is the successor to mid-twentieth-century sociobiology. Evolutionary psychologists understand complex human learning structures and behavior patterns as having been conditioned by survival and reproduction pressures experienced by humans and their prehuman ancestors in prehistoric environments. The corollary field of behavioral genetics seeks to understand the relationship between specific patterns of behavior and inherited predispositions.

Some figures within the field, such as J. Philippe Rushton and Richard Lynn, have achieved notoriety by advancing arguments widely perceived as xenophobic, particularly with

respect to Africans and people of African descent. The most extended attempt to apply the principles of evolutionary psychology specifically to Jews, however, was undertaken by Kevin MacDonald, a member of the Department of Psychology at California State University—Long Beach. MacDonald is also associated with the Charles Martel Society, an “intellectual arm” of the white supremacy/white separatism movement, and is a frequent contributor to its journal, *The Occidental Quarterly*, also serving (along with Lynn) on the journal’s advisory board. He has published three books on Jews, Judaism, and antisemitism.

In *A People That Shall Dwell Alone* (1994), MacDonald argued that for roughly the last 2,000 years, Jews have engaged in strategic “cultural and eugenic practices” (1994, 19), in essence breeding for a population high in a set of genetically influenced psychological predispositions and other attributes, such as high “verbal intelligence,” (19) that would enhance their ability to compete against non-Jews for resources and for reproductive success. These psychological predispositions allegedly include an array of traits that foster a strong sense of in-group commitment, including an attraction to authoritarian power structures and tendencies toward cultural separatism and ethnocentrism. MacDonald found that Jews are strongly marked by these traits, so much more strongly than other human groups that he consistently spoke of them as constituting the defining characteristics of what he called Jewish “hyper-collectivism,” (299) the “intense commitment” to the group that is the “*sine qua non* of Judaism as a group evolutionary strategy” (1994, 257).

*Separation and Its Discontents* (1998b) offered MacDonald’s theory of antisemitism, which he described as an essentially reactive phenomenon. Jews pursuing their group evolutionary strategy actively seek to prevent non-Jews from protecting and serving their own interests. Unless prevented by exceptionally severe restrictions on their activities, Jews engage in their group strategy by attempting to establish “economic, cultural and political domination” (MacDonald 1998b, 39) over other groups. In a pattern typical of his style, MacDonald framed his discussion

of the perceptions of Jewish domination of non-Jews as “themes of anti-Semitism” (32) that need not be accurate in order to promote conflict, and he avoided explicitly stating whether such perceptions are indeed accurate. As his examination of each “theme” unfolded, however, he presented historical information in a way that implies that perceptions of Jewish economic and cultural domination of other groups are largely correct. Major manifestations of antisemitism in Western history, including “corporate Catholicism in the late Roman Empire” (91); “the Iberian Inquisitions” (121); and German National Socialism, “the anti-Jewish group evolutionary strategy” (133) all emerged in response to extended periods of Jewish exploitation of non-Jews. These movements typically take on the shape of “mirror images” (ix) of Judaism, as non-Jews adopt the group-serving behaviors and racialist assumptions Jews practice against them. The more these movements abandon the “universalistic, assimilatory tendencies” (163) of Western cultures in their natural state, the more closely they resemble Judaism.

Jewish attempts to avert the worst effects of the antisemitism generated by their own behavior include a variety of countermeasures: “cryptis” or “the pursuit of phenotypic similarity” (181), that is, the adoption of a deceptive non-Jewish identity to mask continuing identification with the Jewish group; manipulation of a culture’s political and media apparatus in order “to make anti-Semitism a disreputable, unsavory enterprise” (190); and instilling in non-Jewish cultures “universalist ideologies” (193) while at the same time jealously defending Jewish particularity and exclusivity. They also attempt to circumscribe the activities of individual Jews likely to provoke hostility from non-Jews. These measures all share an agenda of deception, insofar as they are attempts to conceal from non-Jews behavior patterns that are, in fact, essential elements of the Jewish group evolutionary strategy. Moreover, as “hyper-collectivists,” Jews are especially prone to engage in group-serving self-deceptions, typically by persuading themselves that Judaism is an ethical—indeed, an “ethically superior” (248)—religion, when in truth it is nothing more than a group strategy fitted with a religious veneer.

In *The Culture of Critique* (1998a), MacDonald applied his theory as an explanatory model, assessing a variety of historical movements as manifestations of the Jewish group evolutionary strategy. In all cases, he viewed these movements as efforts to facilitate or establish Jewish domination over non-Jewish populations. So the American school of anthropological thought founded by Franz Boas sought to delegitimize evolutionary explanations of human behavior, thus limiting the possibility that non-Jews would develop the perspective required to perceive and understand accurately the Jewish group evolutionary strategy (chapter 23). The Frankfurt School of sociocultural critique led by Theodor Adorno sought to stigmatize antisemitism as a pathological condition (169), and Freudian psychoanalysis declared “psychoanalytic intellectual war on gentile culture” itself (151). In the same vein, MacDonald discussed world communism as a protracted exercise in ethnic warfare perpetrated by Jews against the peoples of Eastern Europe. In the United States, Jews use their position of cultural dominance to prevent “gentile European Americans” (also variously referred to as “Western” or “Northwest Europeans”) from recognizing their own ethnic group interests. By promoting both the ideology of “radical individualism” (101) and the ideology of multiculturalism (249–256), by manipulating immigration policy to create an ethnically heterogeneous U.S. population (243ff), and by exploiting the right to free expression to foster a debased, hypersexualized cultural climate (325), Jews force on “European-Americans” a debilitating environment designed to marginalize their attempts to cohere and develop an effective counterstrategy (chapter 7).

MacDonald explicitly asserted that “the continued existence of Judaism” (315) is detrimental to the long-term stability of Western society. If catastrophic social collapse is to be averted, policies entailing “intense social controls” (309) based on “ethnic group membership” will need to be implemented to achieve “parity between Jews and other ethnic groups” (307). These include “a high level of discrimination against Jews for admission to universities or access to employment opportunities and even entail a large

taxation on Jews to counter the Jewish advantage in the possession of wealth” (307). Such measures would be consistent with a rising awareness of group identity among the “European peoples in the New World,” who, in the best-case scenario, may be expected to become “more aware of themselves as a positively evaluated ingroup and more aware of other human groups as competing, negatively evaluated outgroups” (330).

There is no evidence that MacDonald conducted any original research on Jews for these works. Instead, they were entirely founded on citations of secondary sources, some of them of extremely dubious character. He grounded the critical distinction between Jews’ supposed biological predispositions toward “hyper-collectivism” and Westerners’ supposed biological predispositions toward assimilative individualism on arguments taken from the writings of the Nazi eugenics Frits Lenz. Elsewhere, he produced a profoundly distorted reading of David Irving’s notoriously shoddy history of the anti-communist 1956 revolt in Hungary as evidence that under communism, Jews enjoyed “sexual and reproductive domination of gentiles” insofar as “Jewish males were able to have disproportionate access to gentile females” (99). When he did cite legitimate scholarship, it was often by way of a paraphrase that omitted and suppressed information contrary to the expectations raised by his theory.

There is every reason to conclude that MacDonald’s project falls well short of the standards expected of scholarly inquiry and scientific research. He does not subject his hypotheses to rigorous scrutiny by evaluating them against contradictory data; he instead shields his theory from coming into contact with such data. The theory of Judaism as an evolutionary strategy is an exercise in propaganda masquerading as scholarship; its purpose is not to come to a clear understanding of the complicated and often fraught relationships between communities of Jews and non-Jews but instead to encourage “Europeans in the New World” to regard other human groups, particularly Jews, as “negatively evaluated outgroups.” In short, it is an attempt to cultivate widespread hostility toward Jews predicated on distorted interpretations of historical events, an

exercise that is, by definition, indistinguishable from any other form of antisemitism.

—David Isadore Lieberman

**See also** Irving, David; Racism, Scientific; White Power Movement

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## Expulsions, High Middle Ages

In the later Middle Ages, Jews were expelled from all the major western European countries. And often, expulsions on a monarchy-wide scale were preceded by those from smaller regions. In 1289, Charles of Anjou, nephew of Louis IX and the protagonist of the forced conversion of southern Italian Jewry in the early 1290s, expelled Jews from the Duchies of Maine and Anjou. In his role as the Duke of Aquitaine, the English king Edward I expelled the Jews of Gascony, in France, a year prior to his expulsion of Jews from England, in 1290. Jews were expelled from France in 1306; in 1322, after a partial recall in 1315 (or so it seems); again in 1359; and finally in 1394. Each time, the pool of Jews to expel grew smaller. Expulsions in Germany were numerous, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Speyer in 1435, Regensburg in 1519). German Jews were just as often massacred, a situation reflecting the lack of both centralized control and real authority in the Holy Roman Empire. The best-known expulsion is that from

Spain in 1492, which was formally reversed only after the death of Francisco Franco in 1975.

Before Italian unification in the nineteenth century, expulsions were regional, notably from the Duchy of Lombardy in 1594, which was a possession of the Spanish Crown, and from small communities in Friuli-Giulia to the northeast of Venice toward the end of the sixteenth century. As put by the leaders of Udine, they had found an *occasione scacciare gli ebrei* (opportunity to be rid of the Jews). In the Papal State, which occupied about one-third of the peninsula, Jews were prohibited from all places save Rome and Ancona, first in 1569 and permanently in 1593. Jews were expelled from Sicily—under Aragonese rule—in 1492 and from the related Kingdom of Naples by 1510 and 1541. There was also the expulsion *into* the ghettos that began in Venice in 1516 and continued rapidly after the start of the Roman ghetto in 1555.

The Spanish expulsion drew great attention for two principal reasons: the size of the community and its great age, dating back to the Roman Empire. Myths grew up about the importance of the expulsion for the Spanish economy. Even today, historians debate whether the absence of Jews was economically determinant as Spain declined in the early modern period, but these debates often rest on mythical reasoning. Most agree the expulsion did not ruin the Spanish economy, if only because so many Jews—perhaps the majority (here again, there is great historiographical debate)—had converted, and so, de facto, many “Jews” and their alleged commercial acumen never left. Others, known as crypto-Jews, constantly moved in and out of Spain to carry on business. The “Jewish” role, whatever it was in Spain’s economy, was largely uninterrupted.

Another issue was force. The Spanish Jews who fled to Portugal in 1492 were all forcibly converted five years later, opening a major ecclesiastical debate. Cardinal Pier Paolo Pariseo argued that even in the third generation, these conversions, the product of “absolute” force, remained illegal and hence invalid. Pariseo’s opponents—who favored establishing the Portuguese Inquisition, which was notoriously violent—carried the day.

A common view is that Jews were expelled because of ecclesiastical pressure to rid Christendom of Jews, and rulers eventually bowed to ecclesiastical demands. This is not true. Jewish writers of the times said the opposite. Their real fear was the kings. The anonymous author of a fictional story about events in the year 1007 was specific. The Jews, he wrote with knowing exaggeration, fell under the jurisdiction of the popes. Kings, without papal authorization, tried to force Jews to convert, and by implication, they were the “evil kingdom” for whose destruction Jews prayed daily. The pope was legitimate authority; kings were capricious and untrustworthy. Another anonymous author, who penned letters ostensibly about the burning of thirty-one Jews in Blois in 1171 on a charge of ritual murder, had the king improbably telling his wife that her brother, the count who burned the Jews, had insulted the Crown. In fact, the letter was a satire. The king the author really intended, Philip Augustus, expressed his belief in libels of ritual murder and worse. The nobility, also satirized in this account, was not much different. The major dukes of thirteenth-century France protected only those Jews who might make a profit for them. In England, the king alone profited; the nobility believed that Jews posed a constant threat. Hence, the nobility pressed for expulsion, just as it sought to destroy the Jews of York in 1191, seeing in the Jews the king’s hated financial agents.

There was ecclesiastical animus, but it must be contextualized. Legally, expulsion was a royal prerogative and it could be and was arbitrarily invoked, which explains any lack of either papal protest or expression of approval. By contrast, the formal church maintained a clear, ancient doctrine that made room for Jews, as long as they played a subservient role. Often, there was fear that Jews were doing otherwise or that their actions contaminated Christian ritual and threatened the *corpus mysticum* (Eucharist). But papal policy never abandoned fundamental principles of acceptance based on Pauline teaching. The church called for restriction, not expulsion.

It was in the kingdoms that fears about Jews were decisive. Philip Augustus is said to have heard, as a child, that Jews sacrificed Christian

children and consumed their hearts—a full-blown blood libel. He expelled his Jews in 1182, only to call them back sixteen years later when it became clear to him that the exploitation of Jews by French barons was to his disadvantage. The desire to convert Jews, together with an inability to enforce restrictive legislation, eventually led to the more definitive expulsion of 1306. There was also royal piety. In 1179, Philip Augustus still questioned whether it was right to abandon the Jews’ old privileges, allowing them to possess Christian servants or to build synagogues. In 1283, Philip III wrote the prohibition on synagogue building and on having Christian servants into a charter. In addition, from the mid-thirteenth century, the kings of France took the lead in such acts as burning the Talmud. The Jews, said Louis IX, were his to police. Meir ben Simeon insisted the king was harsher than the pope when it came to prohibiting lending at interest.

To all this was added the inability to insert Jews into the body politic, called in France the *corpus reipublicae mysticum*—the lay counterpart to the mystical body of the church, the *corpus ecclesiae mysticum*. Legally, Jews were *Judaei*, hence unique, and bound either to major barons or kings. Thought profitable in the short run, such a unique status could not endure in a society where participation in the civic body, viewed as the *Corpus Christi*, was vital. This was even truer in the *quasi res sacrae* (inalienable substance) of the English Crown, for in England, the Jews were the *quasi catallum* (veritable chattels) of the king alone. There could be no civil quiet or proper taxation as long as the barons feared that the king would exploit this special Jewish status to foreclose on their estates. Indeed, in gratitude, the act of expulsion led the barons to grant a tax worth ten to fifteen times the entire fortune of the Jews, a fiscal fact they probably did not know. What continually provoked the baronial fear of foreclosure was the English kings’ early understanding that controlling the courts was the surest way to achieve stable power. To this end, the kings forced all disputes arising over loans made by their Jewish dependents, whose records the kings also held, to be aired in royal courts. However, by the late thirteenth century, the virtue of well-run courts was commonly appreciated, and

nearly everybody turned to royal justice willingly. Even here, the Jews' special status became far more of a liability than a virtue. Getting rid of the Jews cost virtually nothing, provided for urgent royal financial need, and created a consensus the king desired in order to prosecute wars. Necessity seems to have overridden the fact that, theoretically, the "Jewish chattel" were a part of the putatively inalienable *quasi res sacrae*.

The Jews' civil dependency on rulers thus made their tenure in the medieval kingdom precarious. How this dependency arose is most visible in the case of Germany, where Jews once received individual charters of *tuitio* (special protection and privilege). These charters were granted only to permanent residents and members of a recognized *gens* (people). As feudal statutes developed, however, and there was no other way to accommodate Jews, the status of being "protected" became the Jews' only status and on a group, no longer on an individual, level. Yet by what right did they have this status? According to Emperor Friedrich I's statement in 1157, they had it because Jews pertained to the *camera* (the royal chamber), which symbolized royal continuity. However, such a status was demonstrably artificial—so artificial and weak, in fact, that Emperor Friedrich II in 1234 declared Jews to be *servi camerae nostrae* (the servants of this chamber; not real servitude or slavery). In reality, Friedrich had only given a name to what was otherwise ubiquitous. Jews were the *tanguam servi* (veritable servants) of the French kings, the *servi Regis* (royal servants) of Spanish monarchs, and, as said, the quasi *cattallum* of the English. When pressure became too great, therefore, Jews could legally be expelled. This situation, not cynical and pragmatic explanations, explains the course of events; pragmatic cynicism, in fact, removes the expulsions from their proper medieval context.

—Kenneth Stow

**See also** Church Councils (Early); Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Ghetto; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Spain under Franco; Talmud Trials

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## Expulsions, Late Middle Ages

Driving Jews out of their homes was not a phenomenon new to late medieval Europe, yet the many expulsions of the fifteenth century had a more profound effect on the subsequent development of both Jewish and non-Jewish societies. Beginning in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Jews were driven out of England and France. During the fourteenth century, numerous expulsions and pogroms associated with accusations against Jews during the Black Plague, efforts to wrest money from them, and inflammatory anti-Jewish preaching also resulted in the significant demographic movement of Jewish individuals and communities.

But throughout the fifteenth century, Europe was disrupted by a wave of expulsions and attempted expulsions that changed the face of Jewry. In Germany, Jews were expelled from a variety of regions and cities under numerous pretexts and because of local conditions. Among the significant regional expulsions were those in the Palatinate (1390–1391), Thuringia (1401), Austria (1420–1421), Breisgau (1421), Bavaria-Munich (1442), Bavaria-Landshut (1450), Mecklenburg/Pomerania (1492), Carniola (1496), and Styria (1496). The phenomenon continued into the sixteenth century, with expulsions occurring in Brandenburg (1510), Alsace (ca. 1520), and Saxony (1540). The regional expulsions might include large archbishoprics, such as Cologne (1429), Mainz (1470), and Magdeburg (1493), or clusters of cities, as in the case of Bohemia in 1454. During the fifteenth century, Jews were expelled from the German cities of Vienna (1421), Cologne (1424), Augsburg (1438–1440), Mainz (1438 and 1470), Munich (1442), Würzburg (1450), Breslau (1453–1454), Erfurt (1453–1454), Hildesheim (1457), Bamberg (1478), Salzburg (1498), Nuremberg (1499), Ulm (1499),

Nördlingen (1504), Regensburg (1519), and Rothenburg ob der Tauber (1520). A mere list of place-names, however, does little service to an understanding of the dramatic social and communal effects of the expulsions. Jews were forced into new areas, many migrating eastward, and into new regional communal associations.

Various reasons might be given to justify the expulsions—from traditional anti-Jewish religious diatribes that accused Jews of blasphemy toward Christianity to more recent and sinister accusations of ritual murder or host desecration. In many cases, Jews were accused of subverting the common good with the practice of usury. In some cases, they were accused of treasonous behavior. In Augsburg, for example, Jews were labeled as evil, dangerous, and disobedient and were accused of conspiring against the city and being lazy and parasitical. In 1438, they were given two years to quit the city. In most cases, however, the underlying motivations for expulsion seem to have resulted from local political maneuvering and the acceding to popular pressure arising from virulent anti-Jewish preaching.

On the Iberian Peninsula, the terrible persecutions and pogroms of 1391 set the scene for complicated problems related to Jewish identity and the position of the Jews in Spanish society throughout the following century. Jews were segregated in Andalusia in 1480 and expelled in 1483. In 1483, the municipal council of Valmaseda in the Basque country banned marriages between resident and foreign Jews, and in 1486, following the Andalusian model, it expelled the Jews. With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the combined expulsions and forced conversions in Portugal in 1496 and 1497, and the expulsion from Navarre in 1498, Jews were essentially driven from the Iberian Peninsula. This created significant and dramatic changes for both Jewish and Christian societies. On one hand, some 200,000 Jewish exiles left Spain, attempting to integrate into a wide variety of far-flung communities where they were forced to learn new languages and occupations and adapt to diverse environments. The Spanish Crown as well as local and regional government, on the other hand, had to contend with a great number of economic and legal problems regarding the

often complex property and business relationships left in the wake of the expulsions.

The Spanish expulsion edict issued by Ferdinand and Isabella focused on the alleged negative influence exercised by observant Jews on those who had converted to Christianity. The very extensive edict detailed the fundamental guilt of the Jews in a traditionally anti-Jewish religious context. According to the text:

“You know well, or ought to know, that because we were informed that in our realms there were some bad Christians who Judaized and apostatized from our holy Catholic faith, whereof the chief cause was the communication between the Christians and the Jews . . . we ordained that the said Jews should be set apart. . . . Thereby is established and made manifest the great damage to the Christians that has resulted and results from the participation, conversation, communication which they have held and do hold with the Jews, of whom it is proved that they always attempt by whatever ways and means they can to subvert and detract faithful Christians from our holy Catholic faith and separate them from it and attract and pervert them to their cursed belief and opinion.” (translated in Beinart 2002, 49–50).

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Dominican Order; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Host Desecration; Middle Ages, Late; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Spain, Riots of 1391; Usury; Well Poisoning

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# F

## **Farhud (1941)**

A *farhud* in Iraqi Arabic designates a breakdown of law and order. The word became the name of the pogrom against the Jews of Baghdad that occurred on June 1 and 2, 1941.

As British troops approached Baghdad on May 29, the leaders of the pro-Nazi government of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, including the Mufti Hajj Amin al-Hussaini, fled the country, leaving in charge the three-man Council for Internal Security. The Judeophobic minister of economics, Yunus al-Sab`awi, who headed paramilitary gangs, also remained behind and declared himself military governor of the capital. On May 30, al-Sab`awi summoned the president of the Jewish Community Council and ordered him to tell all Jews to remain at home and refrain from any communication with one another. Al-Sab`awi prepared an incendiary speech for broadcast by radio, calling for an uprising and a purge of the “enemy within,” a clear reference to the Jews. However, before he could deliver the speech, he was arrested and expelled from the country. Convinced that the danger had passed, the Jews of Baghdad went out on June 1, the holiday of Shavuot, traditionally marked by pilgrimages to the tombs of holy men and visits to family and friends. Many also went out to welcome back the Hashemite regent, who had fled the pro-Nazi regime. Soldiers, soon joined by civilians, attacked this group of Jews, killing one and injuring others while the police looked on. Rioting spread throughout the city, and by nightfall, a major pogrom was under way. The rampage in the Jewish neighborhoods and business districts continued until the afternoon of the following day, when the regent finally gave orders for the police to fire on the rioters and Kurdish troops were brought in from the north. The British

army encamped on the outskirts of the city did not intervene by order of the ambassador, Sir Kinnahan Cornwallis, who did not wish to give the appearance of reinstating the pro-British regent by force of arms.

In the Farhud, 179 Jewish men, women, and children were killed; 242 children orphaned; 586 businesses looted; and 911 buildings housing more than 12,000 people pillaged. Total property losses were estimated by the Jewish community’s investigating committee at \$680,000 (some estimates were four times that amount). The Iraqi government commission of inquiry advanced considerably lower casualty statistics, although one of its members later acknowledged the government’s desire to minimize the figures.

The Farhud dramatically undermined the confidence of all Iraqi Jewry and, like the massacres of the Assyrian Christians in 1933, had a highly unsettling effect on all the Iraqi minorities. The Farhud left an indelible mark on the Iraqi Jewish collective memory and is recounted in novels and memoirs by emigré writers in several languages.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Constantine Pogrom; Hussaini, Mufti

Hajj Amin al-

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## **Farrakhan, Louis (1933– )**

Louis Farrakhan has emerged as the most visible and vociferous African American antisemite on the contemporary scene. His charismatic style, ability to articulate the frustrations of the African American working class, and willingness to chal-



Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam addresses a crowd at Madison Square Garden while protected by his bodyguard. (Jacques M. Chenet/Corbis)

lence the racial status quo have catapulted him into the public arena, despite the general unpopularity of his Nation of Islam movement within the larger African American community.

Farrakhan was born Louis Eugene Wolcott but changed his name to Louis X after he joined the Nation of Islam in 1955. A disciple of Malcolm X, he adopted the Muslim name Abdul Haleem Farrakhan. When Malcolm X and Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammed split in 1964, Farrakhan remained loyal to Muhammed and eventually came to head the religious organization.

Farrakhan connected the power of the ruling whites to age-old antisemitic canards. In several high-profile speeches, he claimed that Judaism was a “gutter religion,” called Jewish landlords “bloodsuckers,” and remarked that “Hitler was a very great man” (in Dinnerstein 1994, 220–225). National Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League pressed Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam to the top of their domestic political agendas, condemning his hate speech

and calling for unconditional public apologies for his conduct.

The Nation of Islam leader rose to prominence in an era when American Jews faced marginalization from their one-time allies in the African American community. Once considered white America’s most committed social reformers, Jews endured charges of white racism and paternalism by a new generation of black leaders, most notably Farrakhan, who accused them of exploiting African Americans for their own communal gains. Critics of Farrakhan argue that the Nation of Islam has remained a tiny movement in the African American community and that Farrakhan’s antisemitism has damaged his ability to attract wider support. They also agree that his ability to capture media attention, fueled in some measure by the organized Jewish community’s public statements against him, keeps him and his message in the public eye.

In the 1990s, Farrakhan distanced himself from his antisemitic rhetoric and tried to forge alliances with local U.S. politicians, international

leaders, and mainstream Muslim clerics. His successful effort to bring together 400,000 people at the Million Man March in Washington, D.C., offered him the opportunity to expand his message as well as his base of support.

—*Marc Dollinger*

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Nation of Islam; *Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*  
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### Fascist Intellectuals (French)

Defining the phrase *French fascist intellectual* and cataloging the figures who meet the definition is problematic for several reasons. First, a lively debate among historians, including Zeev Sternhell and Robert Soucy, has focused on the question of whether an indigenous French fascism exists and, if it does, what its intellectual and cultural roots and identifying features are. Sternhell has argued that, historically, French fascism was essentially leftist in origin, growing out of the revolutionary syndicalism of Georges Sorel and the Sorelians. For Robert Soucy, French fascism was primarily a product of conservative and reactionary traditions exemplified in groups such as the Ligue des Patriotes and integral nationalists such as Maurice Barrès.

Another difficulty is that there is a tendency to confuse what Soucy has referred to as the “Second Wave” of French fascism with collaborationism with Nazism during the German Occupation of France from 1940 to 1944. For example, the modernist novelist Louis-Ferdinand Céline, author of classic works including *Journey to the End of the Night* and *Death on the Installment Plan*, was a rabid antisemite and admirer of Hitler. His antisemitic pamphlets published in the late 1930s and during the Occupation are still censured in France, and they were the primary reason Céline was forced to flee with the Germans at the Liberation and live in exile in Scandinavia for a number of years. But Céline

was not a fierce nationalist or a proponent of militarism, features commonly associated with the fascist mind-set. Finally, in speaking of fascist intellectuals, the common tendency is to assume that this category of intellectuals became extinct with the collapse of the Nazis and the demise of the Vichy regime at the end of World War II. In fact, in the immediate postwar years, a small but influential group of literary fascists achieved influence and prominence. Known as the *hussards*, the group was headed by the young novelist and literary critic Roger Nimier. Nimier successfully relaunched the careers of disgraced fascist and collaborationist writers after the Liberation and carried on a constant campaign against Jean-Paul Sartre and leftist “committed” literature. More recently, in the early 1980s, New Right intellectuals, including Alain de Benoist, were categorized as fascists. There have been other fascist or *fascisant* intellectuals before and since.

The most widely recognized group of fascist intellectuals is, of course, the generation of writers who played a dominant role in the interwar years and during the Occupation. This group included several figures clustered around the review *Je suis partout* (I Am Everywhere), such as Robert Brasillach, Lucien Rebatet, Alain Laubreaux, and Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, brother of the famous undersea explorer. Of this group, Robert Brasillach is the best known, and he was certainly the most influential in the interwar years and during the Occupation. Brasillach was a graduate of the prestigious École Normale Supérieure and was a successful journalist, novelist, and literary critic. His essays on classical writers such as Virgil and the French playwright Pierre Corneille are still considered astute in some quarters, and several of his novels are still praised by his admirers, although they are more widely viewed as dated and facile. Like many French fascists, Brasillach had early ties to Charles Maurras’s royalist and Catholic organization Action Française.

In his role as journalist and fascist propagandist, Brasillach wrote of his journeys to Nazi Germany and sang the praises of the Nuremberg rallies in *Notre avant-guerre* (Our Prewar Years [1941]). He also visited Francoist Spain and wrote a hagiographic account of the defenders of

the Toledo Alcazar, *Les Cadets de l'Alcazar* (The Cadets of the Alcazar [1936]). When World War II started, Brasillach was in uniform. He was captured by the Germans, briefly held as a prisoner of war, and then returned to Paris to edit *Je suis partout*. An archcollaborator throughout the Occupation, he was arrested and tried at the Liberation. His courage during his trial for treason earned him the respect even of those who despised his politics. He was executed on February 6, 1945, after an appeal for clemency signed by François Mauriac, Albert Camus, and others was rejected by Charles de Gaulle. Following his execution and largely as a result of the efforts of Maurice Bardèche (who himself became an apologist for fascism and a Holocaust denier after the war), Brasillach became a martyr for the extreme Right in France. His literary reputation was inflated, and his complete works were republished in expurgated form by Bardèche.

The other significant figure associated with *Je suis partout* was Lucien Rebatet, who served as music and cinema critic, writing under the pseudonym François Vinneuil, and authored a collaborationist, antisemitic best-selling essay, *Les Décombres* (The Rubble), in 1942. Rebatet's literary reputation rests on one massive novel, *Les Deux étendards* (Two Standards), published in 1952 and praised by the eminent critic George Steiner, who argued that it was a finer novel than any of the more recognized works of Céline. Admirers of Rebatet insist on the accuracy of Steiner's judgment, but this view is not widely held. Rebatet was imprisoned at the Liberation, but unlike Brasillach, he was granted clemency. He continued to write for right-wing publications after the war and became a fierce anti-Gaullist. He died in 1972, and his memoirs, *Mémoire d'un fasciste*, were published posthumously in 1976.

Of all the fascist intellectuals of his generation, certainly the most accomplished as a literary figure—and the one whose reputation in academic circles in France has improved considerably since the mid-1990s—is Pierre Drieu la Rochelle. Drieu's genealogy included the Surrealists and an early association with the Sorelians. A decorated veteran of trench warfare during World War I, he quickly made his literary reputation with novels celebrating the manly virtues of war and de-

nouncing the decadence of French culture and society in the interwar years. The best known of these works are *Le feu follet* (Will o' the Wisp [1931]), *La Comédie de Charleroi* (1934), (Comedy of Charleroi) *Rêveuse bourgeoisie* (Dreamy Bourgeoisie [1937]), and *Gilles* (1939). He also wrote a number of political essays and meditations on contemporary Europe. By the late 1930s, these tended to celebrate his commitment to fascism. The title of his book *Socialisme fasciste* speaks for itself, and Drieu's other profascist works include pamphlets and essays on Jacques Doriot, the former communist leader who switched sides and founded his own fascist party, the Parti Populaire Français. During the Occupation, Drieu edited a prestigious literary review, the *Nouvelle revue française*, and contributed pro-German pieces to the collaborationist press. The full extent of his virulent antisemitism only became apparent with the publication of his wartime journal in 1992. As the Liberation approached, Drieu took his own life rather than face trial.

The list of French fascist writers and intellectuals from the interwar years also includes a number of figures who did not necessarily trumpet their fascism or belong to fascist parties but were in sympathy with tendencies and attitudes commonly associated with fascism: the cult of war and virility, antisemitism, fierce nationalism, disdain for "decadence," and so on. Belonging to this group are novelist, essayist, and later playwright Henry de Montherlant and the novelist and short-story writer Paul Morand. Finally, a number of figures who claimed to be seeking a "third way" between fascism and democracy gathered around the 1930s review *Combat*: the left-wing novelist and essayist Maurice Blanchot, the Christian philosophers Emmanuel Mounier and Denis de Rougemont, and the critics Thierry Maulnier and Pierre-Henri Simon.

—Richard J. Golsan

**See also** Action Française; Bardèche, Maurice; Barrès, Maurice; Brasillach, Robert; Céline, Louis-Ferdinand; France; Maurras, Charles; Rebatet, Lucien; Sartre, Jean-Paul; Spain under Franco; Vichy

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### Faurisson, Robert (1929– )

A professor of French literature and a leading Holocaust denier for more than thirty years, Robert Faurisson was born in London in 1929, the son of a French father and a Scottish mother. Following his studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s, he was awarded his doctorate from the Sorbonne, and in 1978, he was appointed professor of French literature at the University of Lyon. He was highly influenced by the Holocaust denial theories of Paul Rassinier, with which he became familiar in the 1960s.

His emergence as a Holocaust denier occurred in 1974, when he published a provocative letter to the director of Yad Vashem (Israel's Holocaust Memorial Authority). The letter contained many of Faurisson's main arguments, which he later elaborated on in his articles and books. He claimed that extensive archival research had proved to him that the Nazis had never planned or implemented systematic genocide against the Jews. Testimonies of Nazi officials who were accused of being part of the extermination process such as Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, were full of contradictions, and details given on the extermination could easily be refuted. After the establishment of the international forum for Holocaust deniers, the Institute for Historical Review, at the end of the 1970s, Faurisson became very active at its conferences and in its publications. He traveled and lectured in various countries and tried to assist fellow deniers who were facing legal difficulties. Twice, in 1984 and in 1988, he testified at the trials of the Canadian-German Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel. It was Faurisson who, prior to the 1988 trial, proposed hiring an expert witness who could sci-

entifically undermine the alleged facts of the gas exterminations. The result was the publication of the *Leuchter Report*, one of the most influential works in the history of Holocaust denial.

Given his professorship at a prestigious university, Faurisson's denial of the Holocaust raised severe criticism among French intellectuals. Among those who spoke out against him was the eminent French historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet. However, Faurisson was also supported by French intellectuals from both the extreme Right and the extreme Left and even by prominent linguist Noam Chomsky, who defended his right to freedom of expression. However, Faurisson's ability to disseminate his ideas was restricted considerably when the French legislature passed the Gayssot Law against Holocaust denial in 1990. A year later, Faurisson was prosecuted, convicted, and fined, and in 1991, he was dismissed from his academic post. Undismayed by the decline of Holocaust denial in recent years and the devastating judgment against its fundamental allegations in the Irving trial (in 2000), Faurisson as recently as 2001 published an article combating "the creation of the Jewish genocide myth."

—Roni Stauber

**See also** Fascist Intellectuals; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Institute for Historical Review; Irving, David; *Leuchter Report*; Zündel, Ernst

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### Ferrer, Vicente (1350–1419)

Vicente (Vicente in Spanish) Ferrer was born in Valencia in 1350. In 1368, he became a Dominican priest. In the 1370s, he published two treatises on logic and philosophy. After studies in Barcelona, he became father confessor to Queen Yolanda of Aragon. In 1399, following a short period of service to Pope Benedict XIII, Ferrer began to preach throughout Spain and other parts of Europe. He was said to have had a charismatic effect on his audience. Accompanied by

priests and flagellants, he moved through numerous cities and preached the Gospels. Many miracles are ascribed to him, 873 of which are officially recognized by the Catholic Church. One of his main tasks was to missionize the Jews, with the aim of putting an end to the existence of Judaism by moral rather than physical force. Thus, he condemned the deadly anti-Jewish riots that swept through Spain in 1391. Ferrer reportedly succeeded in converting 25,000 Jews, as well as 8,000 Muslims, to Christianity.

Jews were subjected to the power of the state as well as Ferrer's powers of persuasion. Under his influence, several anti-Jewish rules were promulgated in 1412 in Castile (and in 1415 in Aragon): Jewish habitation was restricted to separate quarters, which Jews could leave only under guard; Jews had to wear distinguishing beards and were forbidden to appear in costly clothes; and they could not occupy public offices or work as physicians, pharmacists, tax collectors, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, dealers, or in several other occupations. If these rules had been strictly enforced, Jewish life would not have been sustainable in the kingdoms. But even in their loose application, the regulations amounted to grave discrimination and sent a clear message that Jews who continued to practice Judaism would not be tolerated. Vincente Ferrer died in 1419 in Vannes, France, and was canonized in 1455.

—Bernd Rother

*See also* Dominican Order; Inquisition; Spain, Riots of 1391

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## Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804–1872)

Ludwig Feuerbach studied theology in Heidelberg and Berlin before transferring, under the direct influence of G. W. F. Hegel, to philosophy. He obtained his doctorate in Erlangen (in 1828), where he taught until he was sacked for his critical stance (in 1832). Associated with the Young Hegelians and writing for their periodicals, he reached the height of his fame with the

publication of *The Essence of Christianity* in 1841. From the mid-1840s, he spent virtually the rest of his life as a recluse, living on a precarious income.

Feuerbach was not, strictly speaking, a systematic thinker, and his significance lies in the impulses he gave to others rather than in the substance of his thought. His ambiguity and conventional prejudices with regard to Jewry notwithstanding, the formulations on Judaism in his *Essence* (mainly in the eleventh and twelfth chapters) were, on the whole, rather more even-handed and inoffensive than the few passages that are usually quoted would suggest. Having declared many of the characteristics previously identified primarily with Judaism to be typical of religion in general, he then considered the question of what remained to distinguish Judaism from Christianity. It was in this context that he portrayed Judaism as characterized by egoism and utilism. Where paganism took nature as given and sought to understand and interpret it, thereby ultimately submitting to it, Judaism, Feuerbach argued, posited that nature had been created expressly by a divine will. Israel, in turn, was the exclusive beneficiary of the divine purpose. Assuming, as Feuerbach did, that any deity was but a mirror image of the ideals aspired to by the human beings worshiping that deity, this, in fact, amounted to the assumption that nature existed solely to serve human aspirations (utilism) and, at that, exclusively those of Jewry (egoism).

Karl Marx readily adopted these two labels, and they reverberate in *Zur Judenfrage* (On the Jewish Question [1843]), his answer to Bruno Bauer. Feuerbach's genuinely formative influence on the young Marx was of a methodological nature and hinged on Feuerbach's "Provisional Theses for the Reformation of Philosophy" and his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future* (both in 1843). Feuerbach's so-called transformative method, the notion that Hegel's thought could be turned on its feet if one exchanged the subject and the predicate of his contentions, had an inordinately more substantial influence on Marx's developing thought (including *Zur Judenfrage*) than his notion of Judaism's essential egoism and utilism. These two labels, however, took on a life of their own among thinkers and polemicists,

who applied them to underscore their negative preconceptions with even less concern for the substance of Feuerbach's thought than Marx himself did in *Zur Judenfrage*.

—Lars Fischer

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Hegel, G. W. F.; Jewish Question; *Jewish Question, The* (1843); Marx, Karl; Young Hegelians

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## Fichte, J. G. (1762–1814)

A major figure in the development of German philosophy from Immanuel Kant to G. W. F. Hegel, Fichte was also one of the great icons of German nationalism and the promoter, at one juncture in his career, of a distinctly philosophical brand of Jew-hatred.

Born to a family of weavers and peasants in a small village in Saxony, Fichte studied at Jena and Leipzig. After the publication of his *Versuch einer Kritik aller Offenbarung* (Attempt at a Critique of All Revelation [1792]), a work that extended Kant's philosophy into the realm of religion, he became an academic celebrity overnight and earned a professorship at the University of Jena. While at Jena, he published a controversial book defending the principles of the French Revolution in 1793 and the first of many versions of his seminal work, the *Wissenschaftslehre* (Doctrine of Knowledge [1794]). A popular lecturer, he wrote on issues of epistemology, law, ethics, and political economy. In 1798, an essay he published expressing radical views on religion resulted in a charge of promoting atheism. Under pressure, he resigned his post and relocated to Berlin, where he continued to write, lecture, and publish. In the years 1807 and 1808, during the Napoleonic occupation, he delivered his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Addresses to the German Nation), a call for German nationalism. Fichte was appointed head of the philosophical faculty at the newly created university in Berlin in 1810 and became its first rector in 1811.

In his defense of the ideals of the French Revolution in 1793, Fichte singled out Jews and Judaism as constituting a "state-within-a-state" that was "predicated on the hatred of the entire human race" and "spreading through almost all lands of Europe and terribly oppressing its citizens." In his critique of the ancien régime, he presented the alleged clannishness, misanthropy, and economic power of international Jewry as anathema to his ideals of human rights, legal equality, and human freedom. The only way to give Jews civil rights, he claimed in a moment of rhetorical excess, would be "to cut off their heads in one night and put others on them in which there would not be a single Jewish idea" (*Gesamtausgabe der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1964, 1: 292–293). Historians of philosophy have tended to ignore these comments. Fichte's contemporaries did not, however. In 1794, Saul Ascher, a Berlin writer and an early ideologue of Reform Judaism, charged Fichte with promoting a distinctly modern form of Jew-hatred that was secular, philosophical, and not without a basis in Kant's own philosophy. In the debates over Jewish emancipation in subsequent years, moreover, anti-Jewish writers frequently invoked Fichte's authority to deny Jews rights, casting him as a great philosopher of Jew-hatred.

Fichte's own relationship to Jews and Judaism over the course of his career was complex and ambivalent. There are few traces of such Jew-hatred in his  *Addresses to the German Nation*, and Jew-hatred played a minimal role in his subsequent writings. While at the University of Berlin, he at one point prominently interceded on behalf of a Jewish student. If Fichte helped launch a novel form of Jew-hatred, it was because he denigrated Jews and Judaism as the antithesis of modern visions of political universalism, not because he cast Jews as the enemy of German nationalism.

—Jonathan M. Hess

**See also** Hegel, G. W. F.; Kant, Immanuel; Misanthropy; State-within-a-State

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## Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in

Once in power, the National Socialists immediately set about removing Jews from every level of the public sphere in Germany, including the entertainment industry. Already on March 29, 1933, the board of Germany's largest film studio, the Universum-Film A.G. (Ufa), fired all Jewish employees. Ufa's action preceded any formal order by the government and even the April 1 boycott of Jewish-owned businesses and professionals. On June 30 of that same year, the Aryan Paragraph codified the expulsion of Jews from the German film industry. This law was followed by the establishment of the Reichsfilmkammer (Imperial Film Chamber [RFK]) on July 14. The RFK functioned as a guild under the control of Joseph Goebbels's Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda; membership was obligatory. No film could be publicly screened unless everyone who worked on it was a member of the RFK, and Jews and other "undesirable elements" were not eligible for membership. With the passage of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, industry prohibitions on Jews were matched by a repeal of their rights as citizens.

There were occasional exceptions. The Propaganda Ministry could, at its discretion, issue *Sondergenehmigungen*, or special permission to allow film personnel with Jewish backgrounds or partially Jewish spouses to work in the film industry. An RFK document from 1936 even stated that some *Volljuden* (individuals of 100 percent Jewish origin) were members. The Nazis' racist antisemitism, based on genetic notions of Jewish or German "blood," rendered decisions about who would and would not be allowed to work in film a strange process of political alchemy. Director Fritz Lang, whose mother was born Jewish but later converted, was initially offered the post of head filmmaker for the Nazis by Goebbels himself. Lang declined. The popular comedic actor Heinz Rühmann was told he must divorce

his Jewish wife before he would be accepted into the RFK. After years of exceptions, Rühmann relented in 1938; his wife survived the war in exile. Others were less fortunate. The actor Joachim Gottschalk, his Jewish wife, and his child committed suicide after he was unable to convince Goebbels to protect his family from deportation.

Those who were able to secure visas for the United States enriched Hollywood films with their diverse talents. A partial list of actors, directors, and film musicians who fled Europe, at least in part due to antisemitic persecution, includes Hanns Eisler, Erich Korngold, Fritz Kortner, Fritz Lang, Peter Lorre, Max Ophüls, Luise Rainer, and Billy Wilder. A young Werner Klemperer, son of the famous conductor Otto Klemperer, also escaped Nazi Germany. Ironically, he would go on to fame as Colonel Klink, the German commander of a prisoner-of-war camp in the television sitcom *Hogan's Heroes*.

—Cary Nathenson

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Boycott of Jewish Shops; Emancipation; Goebbels, Joseph; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nuremberg Laws

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## Film Propaganda, Nazi

Despite the prominence of antisemitism in National Socialist ideology and the dominance of film as the medium of propaganda and entertainment, the function of antisemitism in film in Nazi Germany was itself remarkably limited. Of the nearly 1,100 feature films produced under the Nazis, only a handful demonstrated explicit antisemitic content, and even there, the antisemitism was often secondary to the film's plot. Furthermore, the antisemitism portrayed in most of these features was often a more "traditional" anti-Jewish sentiment rather than the

ideological racism specific to National Socialism. Typical films in this category were the comedy *Robert und Bertram* (1939), in which Jews are shown as bumbling and farcical, and the melodramas *Die Rothschilds* (1940) and *Wien 1910* (Vienna 1910 [1942]), in which they appear as greedy, coarse, and conspiratorial. Such films reproduced clichéd images of Jews familiar to German audiences from centuries of satirical theater and political caricature.

As repugnant an assault on Jews as these films provided, such anti-Jewishness predated fascism and was not particular to Germany. National Socialist antisemitism, by contrast, paired such ancient prejudices with a racist strain constructed out of crude biological theories of evolution and genetics. Thus, there was often a disconnect between the modern, racial antisemitism at the core of Nazi policy and the relatively harmless, traditional anti-Jewishness deployed in many of the films. Simply put, the bias was often structurally irrelevant to the film. The anti-Jewish potential of these films was diluted further by the failure to integrate it with filmic strategies that would have supported the message effectively. The hostility toward Jews in these films resided almost entirely in the language of their scripts. The figure of Mayor Karl Lueger in *Wien 1910*, for example, told the audience repeatedly that Jews were Vienna's misfortune, but the film neglected the opportunity to reinforce his statements through editing, shot composition, musical score, or lighting.

Two films, however, were designed to translate National Socialism's antisemitic ideology to a popular audience: *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew [1940]) and *Jud Süß* (Jew Süß [1940]). After the Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 pogrom) failed to trigger spontaneous acts of anti-Jewish fury, Joseph Goebbels was determined to initiate film projects that would raise the level of Jew-hatred in the populace. In *Der ewige Jude*, the director Fritz Hippler blended staged footage shot in the Lodz Ghetto after the German invasion of Poland with material from newsreels and feature films, creating a montage that "documented" Jews as a corrupt and parasitic "race." Bogus statistics and graphics lent the film an objective, scientific tone. Contemporary evidence of the film's reception suggests that au-

diences were more horrified and disgusted—particularly by the graphic scenes of the ritual slaughter of animals—than enlightened about the evils of Jewry. *Der ewige Jude* was quickly pulled from distribution and considered a flop.

Despite its failure at the box office, *Der ewige Jude* is significant for employing a variety of powerful images and techniques to represent Jews as outsiders culturally, socially, and, most important, biologically. In one sequence, the film exploits the technique of fading one image into another (dissolve) to argue that all Jews inherently shared several negative traits. Each shot begins by showing bearded Ashkenazi men in traditional, eastern European clothing and then fades into images of these same men clean-shaven and wearing Western suits. The narration explains that since Jews are easily recognizable in caftans and skullcaps, assimilation is an attempt to mask their Jewishness. The images reinforce this message and add an even more important one: a Jew remains a Jew (portrayed in *Der ewige Jude* as vermin), whether in the eastern shtetl or in Berlin's middle-class salons. Furthermore, the dissolve sequence acts as a kind of visual indoctrination: the sharp observer should be able to identify a Jew regardless of his attire, country of origin, or class. Thus, *Der ewige Jude* presents its viewers a filmic epistemology as well as a methodology of racial antisemitism.

Veit Harlan's *Jud Süß* repackaged the logic of antisemitism displayed in *Der ewige Jude* into a historical melodrama that audiences adored. Very loosely based on true events from the eighteenth century, the film portrays the infiltration of the court of Württemberg by the Jewish financier Joseph Süß Oppenheimer. Süß, played with smarmy charm by Ferdinand Marian, exploits the corrupt nobility in order to expropriate the state's coffers, institute a cruel and arbitrary tax policy, and lift restrictions on Jewish residency in Stuttgart. Eventually, Süß's protector dies, leaving the court Jew at the mercy of those he cheated. Süß is arrested and hung in the town square.

The film is effective for a number of reasons. It is an arguably entertaining story, cast with some of Germany's top stars of the day (Marian, Heinrich George, Kristina Söderbaum, Werner

Krauss). The antisemitic venom, though obvious, is integrated into the film's story and strategy, rather than overwhelming it (as in *Der ewige Jude*) or seeming to stand apart from the film (as in most other features with anti-Jewish motives). Marian, a dark-haired matinee idol, played Süss as an irresistible masher, and the figure's powerful erotic gaze captured women on and off the screen (fan letters to Marian/Süss would later be offered as evidence of the film's harmlessness and even its flattering portrayal of Jews!). Marian's sexualization of the Süss figure is powerful enough to lend to his rape of Dorothea (Söderbaum) at least a hint of seduction rather than brute coercion. Ultimately, Süss is executed not for his financial crimes but for sexual intercourse with a gentile, thus highlighting the Nazis' disproportionate anxiety about Jewish sexuality and Jewish-German miscegenation. This erotic ambivalence allows Süss's character to function as both evil and enticing—qualities that propelled the film's antisemitism while pulling in audiences.

The technique of the dissolve seen in *Der ewige Jude* is more subtly employed here. At the end of a speech vowing to open the gates of the city to all Jews, Süss is shown in dissolving shots transforming from beard and caftan to a finely dressed gentleman on his way to court. The message remains that Jews change their appearance at will yet remain ghetto Jews, here characterized as greedy, malicious, and licentious. The viewers of *Jud Süß* were likely to see Jews as devilishly amorphous and yet as real and compelling—and therefore, even more dangerous—figures.

Whereas *Der ewige Jude* rages ceaselessly against Jews, *Jud Süß* counters its negative portrayal with a positive "Aryan" hero for audiences to contemplate. Faber (Malte Jaeger) embodies National Socialist ideals of Germanness: he is youthful, strident, and incorruptible. He represents the rising power of the "productive classes," the guilds and estates (his name is from the Latin meaning "to make"), and therefore, he stands in clear opposition to the bloated and hedonistic nobility represented by Duke Karl Alexander (George). Significantly, Faber models the racist lesson learned from the dissolve technique: he alone is able to recognize Süss as a Jew, despite the latter's superficial conversion. Thus, Faber is

cast as an identification figure for the audience—the only ones who share the knowledge of Süss's origins because they have witnessed his on-screen transformation. In this way, racist antisemitism was taught while the audience was invited to partake of the counterfantasy of German supremacy.

*Jud Süß* became one of the top-grossing films of the Nazi era, boasting 20.3 million viewers alone in its first year in theaters. The film was shown to German police forces and troops in occupied eastern Europe, with the intention of inciting and hardening them to violence against Jews. All the cast members would later claim to have been coerced into participating in the film. Director Harlan was twice put on trial for crimes against humanity (in 1949 and 1950). He was, however, acquitted, and he continued to work in the film industry, as did most Nazi-era actors and directors, after 1945.

—Cary Nathenson

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); *Fliegende Blätter*; *Gartenlaube*, *Die*; Goebbels, Joseph; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Jud Süß; *Kladderadatsch*; Kosher Slaughtering; Lueger, Karl; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Nuremberg Laws; *Ostjuden*; Racism, Scientific

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#### *Fliegende Blätter*

The illustrated humor weekly *Fliegende Blätter* (Flying Pages) was founded in Munich in 1844, and throughout the century of its existence, it remained true to its original policy of purveying material in full accord with the middle-brow

tastes of the mainstream of the German *Bürgertum* (bourgeoisie). During most of its first two decades, sales remained stable at about 10,000; in the early 1870s, it reached 20,000 and then rose to 42,000 in 1882 and to 95,000 in 1895. After reaching this peak, it gradually declined despite a merger in 1928 with *Meggendorfer Blätter*, a once-popular competitor also published in south Germany and specializing in the same kind of rather innocuous illustrated humor.

The adjective *köstlich* (delicious) frequently came into play when describing the stereotypical stock-in-trade of the weekly: students dissipating their parents' money on wine, women, and song; absentminded professors; children imitating their parents and servants their social betters; vain aristocrats and haughty officers; foolish, fashion-mad females; cute, humanized animals of all types; Germans from different regions speaking their funny dialects; foreigners with their queer, characteristic habits; and, of course, Jews of many sorts. As was the case with the social types already mentioned, none of the Jewish exemplars were considered offensive by contemporaries. It was all just "good, clean fun," including the cartoons and caricatures of Jews.

Amid the many hundreds of caricatures and jokes published by the journal, most of the "Jewish" figures belonged to the commercial professions, generally either the upper or lower echelons thereof: beggars (*Schnorrer*), peddlers (*Hausierer*), and livestock traders on the low end and businessmen, bankers, and stockbrokers on the high. In this same general category, there was a strong admixture of caricatures of colorful eastern European Jews (*Ostjuden*), many of whom were depicted while engaged in commercial pursuits of various kinds. Judging from the frequency of his appearance, the favorite Jewish type of the *Fliegende Blätter* was the *Protz* (or, approximately in English, the Showoff)—the nouveau riche social climber who had made it economically. Often the Protz had acquired the much-coveted honorific title of *Kommerzienrat* (financial adviser), granted by the authorities to philanthropists and benefactors of society. He could usually be seen in the company of his wife and son, both of whom sported the same ridiculous characteristics.

During the first dozen years or so of the weekly's existence, "Jewish" items were a marginal feature, appearing less than half a dozen times per annum; during the late 1860s, the incidence increased to about ten per year. The number more than doubled during the so-called boom of the early 1870s (*Gründerjahre*) and the ensuing years of financial and economic recession; during the 1880s and up until the mid-1890s, between a dozen and fifteen Jewish subjects made their appearance annually. But thereafter, they gradually declined to barely perceptible levels of representation, indicating, perhaps, the editors' wish to distance themselves from the new and disreputable political and racist antisemitic movements. The antisemites had developed their own aggressive graphic stereotypes of Jews and were disseminating them for political purposes, a development frowned on by the *Fliegende Blätter*.

What do these many hundred "Jewish" depictions over the years signify? At least four interpretations are possible. Such representations: (1) constituted legitimate social commentary and satire on the growth of capitalism and on the admission of Jews into German society; (2) led to the creation, crystallization, and dissemination of stereotypes that were subsequently adopted by antisemitic movements and parties; (3) provide evidence of the deeply rooted animosity of German society toward Jews; and (4) demonstrate that increasing social contact produced friction between Germans and Jews. Other avenues of interpretation are also possible. The previously noted relationship of the rise and fall in the quantity of "Jewish" items in the *Fliegende Blätter*—the house journal, as it were, of the German Bürgertum—to the emergence of political antisemitism suggests that further research is required and may arrive at more tangible conclusions.

—Henry Wassermann

*See also Angriff, Der; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Gartenlaube, Die; Kladderadatsch; Simplicissimus; Stürmer, Der*

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## Fontane, Theodor (1819–1898)

Along with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Thomas Mann, Theodor Fontane ranks as one of the three most popular German novelists of all time. He was an early supporter of the 1848 rebels, and although he later softened this stance in deference to his largely bourgeois readership, he retained the reputation of a political progressive. Fontane continues to be viewed as an avatar of cosmopolitan urbanity and tolerance and as a social critic who never stooped to polemic.

In the West, Fontane was celebrated both for his aesthetic "finesse" and sophistication and for his critical stance toward the old Prussian aristocracy. Typically, he was much more candid about the passé nature of the nobility in his letters than in his generally more conciliatory novels. The distinction between the private and the public Fontane may help explain his enduring popularity.

Yet, as Gordon Craig obliquely put it, "Fontane always had a problem with the Jewish Question" (Craig 1999, 190). He was, at least in his correspondence, unambiguously and consistently antisemitic. Despite oft-quoted assurances about the importance of Jews to German culture and reminders of the friendly treatment he received at their hands, he considered them, in the end, capable only of material, as opposed to "spiritual," assimilation. He regarded baptism, generations of German civil service, and military decorations as mere veneer that could never successfully conceal the "core Jew" (*Stockjude*). Regarding the Dreyfus Affair, he insisted that he was initially entirely persuaded by Émile Zola, but he could not suppress his conviction that the scandal unmasked the European press as a total Jewish conspiracy. If scholars have generally treated Fontane's antisemitism rather gingerly—and here, Hans-Heinrich Reuter's frank designation of the author as "bigoted" (2: 754) contrasts refreshingly with Craig's all too encomiastic assessment—the Nazis were certainly not so coy. Fontane's derogatory views about Jews were ap-

rovably quoted in the SS paper *Das Schwarze Korps* on September 19, 1935: "They are—despite all their talent—a horrible people; not the yeast enzymes that bring forth strength and life, but rather the ugly living organisms that promote fermentation."

As with his view on the obsolescence of the aristocracy, his antisemitism was given explicit articulation in the letters but more muted expression in the fiction. His antisemitic characterizations, such as that of Frau Salinger in *Irrungen Wirrungen* (Delusions, Confusions [1888]), are sometimes dismissed as Fontane's perhaps unfortunate but otherwise justified critique of the rising middle classes. As William Zwiebel argued regarding the opposition of the Poggendorf and Bartenstein families in *Die Poggendorfs* (1896), "Scorn for the bourgeoisie and antisemitism were but two sides of the same skeptical attitude towards what he saw as the coarseness and materialism that had established themselves in the new Reich" (1992, 117). Fontane defended his use of "types" in order to characterize larger social groups. But even Craig admitted that this strategy descended into stereotypes in the case of the author's critique of the propertied middle class in *L'Adultera* (1882) and his decision to make both van der Straaten and Rubehn converted Jews (Craig 1999, 190).

In Fontane's masterpiece, *Effi Briest*, mild antisemitism presents itself just three times, and each of these instances could be read as the respective character's errant view being held up for criticism. For example, in the passage where Innstetten is described as a workaholic and neglectful husband, it is suggested that his preference for Richard Wagner is linked to the latter's stance on the Jewish Question (chap. 13). Then there is Güldenklee's toast at forester Ring's Christmas party, during which the character condemns G. E. Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* as a "Jew story" that, like so much other liberal rubbish, has caused social confusion and unrest (chap. 19). But Güldenklee is a minor and comical figure, and there is no hint in the novel that Fontane actually shared this view (which he did). Finally, when father Briest expatiates on his granddaughter's future marriage prospects, he expresses the hope that if Annie must one day marry a rich

banker, she can still find at least one who is not a Jew (chap. 25). Though likable, Briest is himself a comical dimwit, so even this remark might be dismissed or qualified by the context. At any rate, the novel is too complex to reduce to any one character's utterance. One encounters a multilayered, ironic structure that is thankfully at odds with the author's unmistakable antisemitic prejudice.

—William Collins Donahue

**See also** Banker, Jewish; Dreyfus Affair; "Jewish" Press; *Schwarze Korps, Das*; Wagner, Richard; Zola, Émile

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## Ford, Henry (1863–1947)

Henry Ford ranks as the foremost purveyor of antisemitism in the United States. Biographers have spilled ink on hundreds of pages trying to understand the sources and meaning of Ford's hatred for Jews, but with few direct sources to reveal his thoughts and motives, they have had to rely largely on inductive speculation. What is known concretely is that Ford was first to circulate the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to a mass audience in the United States, a feat he accomplished through his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*, and by publishing articles based on the *Protocols* as a set of pamphlets entitled *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*. By neglecting to copyright the pamphlets, he gave license to hatemongers all over the globe to disseminate the *Protocols* under his name, thereby significantly increasing its historical and philosophical credibility.

Most historians and biographers agree that World War I made overt what previously had been only latent for Ford—a tendency to blame Jews for things he found repugnant. Profiteering, media coverage of his pacifist crusade, and international diplomacy all seemed to him to be un-

duly influenced or conducted by Jews. During the war, the press criticized Ford harshly for the first time in his career for the failed "Peace Ship" voyage of 1915 and then for the mistaken report that the Ford Motor Company would not reemploy U.S. reservists deployed to Mexico. Public humiliation and his evident loss of popularity crystallized Ford's unsystematic prejudices into a sharp, focused conviction.

After the war, Ford used his manufacturing organization to finance and disseminate his antisemitic views. His enormous resources enabled him to carry out his public program of antisemitic attacks while keeping his own role sufficiently ambiguous to deflect attempts to hold him legally responsible.

The *Dearborn Independent*'s content and management reflected Ford's increasingly narcissistic worldview. The *Independent* allowed him to communicate directly with the American public, free from what he complained was Jewish control of the mass media. Ford sought to staff the newspaper with men whose primary credentials were shared prejudices and absolute loyalty to their employer. When the *Independent*'s first editor objected to the paper's increasingly antisemitic content, he was swiftly replaced by William J. Cameron, a former Detroit reporter and Ford Motor Company public relations official. It was under the compliant Cameron's watch that the paper became the platform for broadcasting Ford's antisemitic convictions by means of the *Protocols*.

During the 1920s, the *Independent* ran two series of articles that appropriated passages from the *Protocols* and interpreted them in light of recent world and national events. The first series (from May 1920 to January 1922) provoked harsh public criticism. Establishing a pattern of timely intervention to protect his boss, Ernest G. Liebold, Ford's secretary, turned away all critics with an ingenuous recommendation that they keep reading the paper because, he hinted, it would soon produce additional compelling evidence. The protests of the prominent attorney and president of the American Jewish Committee, Louis Marshall, drew only an unsigned letter on newspaper stationery calling him a Bolshevik and implying that he, too, was simply part of the



Photo shows Aaron Sapiro (left) and his attorney, William H. Gallagher, at the opening session of Sapiro's million-dollar libel suit against Henry Ford. This suit had its inception in a series of articles published in Ford's *Dearborn Independent*. (Bettmann/Corbis)

conspiracy. Ignoring public and media reaction, Ford continued his antisemitic campaign, with the Ford Motor Company entirely subsidizing the venture's considerable losses.

Marshall's exchange with Ford's newspaper touched off intense discussions among Jewish Americans all over the country. Though deeply troubled by the *Independent*'s campaign, they expressed conflicting views about how (and whether) to respond. One approach, favored by Marshall, was to avoid direct and public confrontations with Ford personally, refrain from engaging the claims in the *Independent*, and instead focus the debate on the discredited *Protocols*. This view prevailed at a meeting of Jewish organizations in New York in October 1920, when leaders momentarily united against their common foe to endorse a statement written by Marshall that exposed the falsity of the *Protocols*.

Another less public approach, advocated by Ford's former neighbor Rabbi Leo M. Franklin, was to ask Jews whom Ford trusted to approach the automaker personally. Franklin and other Jewish leaders believed they had to strike a careful balance between a dignified defense and anything that might be taken as an implicit admission of guilt. As a result, they decided not to file suit or to support any independent investigation into Ford's allegations.

Yet others believed that forcing Ford to submit to the law was the only proper response to the personal damage caused by the *Independent*'s libels. Many Jews, fearing a negative response from the public, opposed the use of lawsuits to fight discrimination generally, but in the case of Ford, this approach ultimately proved the most effective in eliciting a response from the man himself. Several Jews named in the paper filed

lawsuits. One suit filed in New York by the author and diplomat Herman Bernstein produced an attachment against Ford that proved impossible to execute because the automaker stayed out of that state's jurisdiction. Another eventually led to a dramatic legal showdown.

The *Independent*'s second antisemitic series attacked the work and legal conduct of Jewish lawyer Aaron Sapiro, who had gained fame through his work organizing farmers' marketing cooperatives with the economic powers of business corporations. In a twenty-article campaign, the *Independent* depicted this development as the implementation of plans to be found in the *Protocols*. "Jewish Exploitation of Farmers' Organizations," proclaimed one headline. Not only did the paper allege that Sapiro was part of a Jewish conspiracy to place U.S. agriculture under the control of Jewish speculators and financiers, it also claimed that he committed legal malpractice and defrauded his clients. Disregarding the counsel of Marshall and others, Sapiro decided to defend his professional reputation, his good name, and all Jews everywhere. He filed suit in federal district court in Detroit, where he could cross-examine Ford in person, a prospect he relished; he set his damages at \$1 million, a sum that riveted the attention of the media. Unlike the other suits, Sapiro's grievance met the libel law requirement that false publications be accompanied by a show of malice, usually demonstrated by a refusal to consider evidence contrary to the published allegations.

Ford's lawyers sought to delay the case indefinitely, hoping Sapiro would lose heart, and then they attempted to drain his resources with expensive and prolonged pretrial discovery. Sapiro remained undeterred. The case finally proceeded to trial in March 1927, with one major source of drama: would Ford testify? During nearly four weeks of hostile cross-examination, Sapiro bested Ford's attorney, U.S. senator James A. Reed, in a performance that also won Sapiro a decided victory in the court of public opinion. Ordered by the judge to appear, Ford was promptly involved in a mysterious automobile accident and hospitalized. Sapiro then demanded that the judge appoint an independent official to determine Ford's condition and force him to appear if healthy. At

that point, the Ford forces moved quickly to bring about a mistrial. This they accomplished by planting an interview with a juror in the Detroit papers, after first charging that Sapiro had attempted to bribe her with a box of candy. The mistrial thus ended a bizarre series of events inside and outside the courtroom that point to at least one conclusion: Ford had no intention of ever taking the stand in the case.

Nor did he intend for the case to go back to court. Ford secretly dispatched intermediaries to Louis Marshall, requesting his services in settling the case. Marshall seized the opportunity and wrote a statement of apology, which Ford signed after it was read to him over the telephone. The apology incorporated Ford's claims that he was wholly unaware of the contents of the newspaper, that he had been betrayed by his employees, and that he was entirely repentant. The apology was greeted with such overwhelming expressions of acceptance and relief by Jewish spokespeople, organizations, and editorialists that both Sapiro and Herman Bernstein realized further litigation would be futile. Both settled their suits with Ford out of court in private agreements that provided each some compensation for legal expenses.

Marshall's goal in intervening in the case was not to serve the interests of any party to the litigation. He sought Ford's repudiation of *The International Jew*. This he got, together with Ford's promise to do all he could to revoke permission for antisemitic publishers to continue printing it. This promise proved empty. The Ford lawyers wrote desultory letters to South American and European publishers only as long as Marshall prodded them to do so. Marshall's death in 1929 ended serious efforts by the Ford Motor Company to make good on Ford's promise. *The International Jew* continued to circulate all over the world.

Ford proved ruthless in his efforts to mold the litigation to serve his interests. Interestingly, in order to end the case when and as he did, he willingly sacrificed what little public credibility he had left after a tumultuous decade of public missteps. The humiliation that Marshall hoped would serve as sufficient punishment in lieu of paying money damages appeared not to bother Ford. Indeed, on his seventy-fifth birthday in

1938, he accepted the Grand Service Cross of the Supreme Order of the German Eagle from Hitler's government, putatively in recognition of his achievements as a manufacturer and industrialist. Few contemporary observers missed the symbolism of the occasion. In his heart and mind, Ford remained obdurately unrepentant. As the Sapiro trial revealed, his strategy of evasion had proved effective. He hid behind subordinates who assumed responsibility for the injuries his newspaper inflicted, and during the endgame of the Sapiro case, he exploited the divisions among Jews to escape the authority of the legal process.

—Victoria Saker Woeste

*See also* American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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## Förster, Bernhard (1843–1889)

An activist in the antisemitic movement in Berlin in the early 1880s, Bernhard Förster achieved considerable notoriety as the founder of Neu-Germania, a German colony in Paraguay from which Jews were to be excluded. The failure of his colonial project led to Förster's suicide in 1889.

As a young man, Förster fell under the spell of Richard Wagner, whose nationalistic and antisemitic zeal he shared. When Wilhelm Marr's Antisemiten-Liga (Antisemites' League) failed, Förster joined Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg in founding the antisemitic Deutscher Volksverein (German People's Association) in 1881, the proclaimed aim of which was to improve the lives of German artisans and peasant farmers. Förster took a leading role in preparing the Antisemites' Petition that would have essentially disenfranchised German Jews. One of the people he enlisted to collect signatures for his petition in the

city of Naumburg was his future wife, Elisabeth Nietzsche, sister and later literary executor of the philosopher, whom he had first met at the premiere performance of Wagner's Ring cycle in Bayreuth in 1876. Although the petition gained more than a quarter million signatories, the Prussian government refused to act on its demands. In 1882, Förster lost his position as a teacher at a Berlin preparatory school after causing a public scandal by insulting Jewish passengers in a Berlin streetcar.

Frustrated by the failure of his antisemitic agitation in Berlin, Förster traveled to South America in 1883 to seek out land for a colony that would provide a refuge for true (read antisemitic) German patriots and the nucleus for a new, pure-blooded Germany. He was convinced that a regeneration of Germanic virtues was only possible on soil free of Jewish influence. Although he believed that the vast Russian Empire offered a more natural area for German colonization, the large Jewish presence there made such a project inadvisable. Förster hoped to divert German emigration from North to South America because he felt that Germans lost their national character too readily in the melting pot of the United States. Having identified an approximately 250-square-mile parcel of land in Paraguay as a suitable location for his colony, Förster returned to Germany in 1885 to marry Elisabeth, raise funds, and recruit followers for his new venture.

Before returning to Paraguay to launch the new colony in 1886, he published a pamphlet extolling the prospects of creating a new Germany in South America and denouncing his homeland as a "step-fatherland" that had succumbed to Jewish power. However, his colonial project failed to gain sufficient capital or attract enough settlers to become viable. Disgruntled colonists accused him of selling land he did not own, since under the terms of his contract with the government of Paraguay, he would gain title to the land only if he succeeded in settling 140 families within two years. Facing bankruptcy as the two-year deadline approached and unwilling to return to Germany as a failed man, Förster took a fatal dose of poison in June 1889.

Elisabeth Förster attempted to defend the integrity of her husband and carry on the enterprise

for a few years. Despite her vigorous promotional efforts, however, control of Neu-Germania passed to a colonial company in Paraguay made up of members of various nationalities, and the colony lost its exclusively German character.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Marr, Wilhelm; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Settlement *Heimland*; Wagner, Richard

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## Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth (1846–1935)

Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche's stance on antisemitism was largely opportunistic. She was probably telling the truth when she wrote, in 1913, that she never had negative feelings toward Jews during her childhood because "in Naumburg, there aren't any" (*Der einsame Nietzsche*, 259). However, she suppressed any misgivings she might have had about antisemitism when she married the openly antisemitic Bernhard Förster in 1885 and then backed the attempt to found a racially pure German colony in Paraguay. In defense of her late husband's colonial venture, Elisabeth railed against the "antisemites" for letting her husband down, but for her, the antisemites were simply a political faction in parliament who ought to have sent her husband financial help to save him from ruin.

Förster-Nietzsche subsequently confessed that she had simply mouthed obedience to her husband's views. "In this way, I developed into a warm defender of his colonial plans, finally even into a defender of antisemitism, which I actually found unpleasant and for which I never had the slightest cause," she wrote (*Der einsame Nietzsche*, 349). It must be noted, however, that when writing this, she was enjoying the financial backing of a Jewish banker, the Swede Ernst Thiel. She had also decided, soon after the death

of her husband in 1889, that her life's task lay in acting as her brother's caregiver (until his death in 1900) and archivist, rather than as her late husband's apologist. In the financial crisis of 1922, Förster-Nietzsche lost most of her savings, as did Thiel. Within a few years, she once again switched her allegiance, this time to the National Socialist Party, correctly surmising that it would underwrite her operations at the Nietzsche-Archiv in Weimar.

Toward the end of her life, Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche became friendly with Adolf Hitler, receiving money from his private purse. She was also an ardent admirer of Benito Mussolini. The attraction was not their politics but their power and social status. To demonstrate her support for her new paymasters, she even suggested, in her last book, *Friedrich Nietzsche und die Frauen seiner Zeit* (Friedrich Nietzsche and the Women of His Time [1935]), that Nietzsche himself would have approved of the National Socialist agenda had he lived to see it. Friedrich Nietzsche, of course, had been unremittingly hostile toward his brother-in-law's antisemitism and had virtually frozen contact with his sister after her marriage. A strong anti-antisemite, he was stung by her advice, in a letter dated September 6, 1888, not to become too friendly with the Jewish literary critic Georg Brandes because the latter had "looked into too many cooking-pots and eaten from too many plates."

Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche did not go much beyond this pedestrian level in her antisemitism, perhaps because she never allowed herself to become fully cognizant of its destructive potential.

—Carol Diethe

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Förster, Bernhard; Hitler, Adolf; Mussolini, Benito; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Wagner, Cosima

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## Fourier, Charles (1772–1837)

François Marie Charles Fourier was a French social theorist and reformer who developed a system known as Fourierism, the goal of which was

to rebuild society around small, cooperative agricultural associations called *phalanges* (phalansteries). Although he wrote no comprehensive treatise against the Jews, his socialist criticism of nineteenth-century economic and social evils included frequent attacks on Jews as economic parasites. This perspective was based on his belief that commerce, banking, and financial speculation were fundamentally immoral and the root of contemporary social ills. As such, Fourier's writings would later inspire late nineteenth-century antisemites in their economic arguments against the Jews.

Born in Besançon, France, to an affluent bourgeois family whose wealth derived ironically from commerce, speculation, and possibly fraudulent bankruptcies, Fourier eventually relocated to Paris and became an ardent critic of the mercantile life for which he was bred. He spent much of the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods in Lyon, where he witnessed firsthand the poverty of unemployed silk workers and became acquainted with many of the important social reform ideas of the day. Fourier's most important works include *The Social Destiny of Man, or, Theory of the Four Movements* (1808), *Treatise on Domestic Agricultural Association* (1822), and *The New Industrial World* (1829). In each of these works, he argued that the goal of human society should be to create a world consonant with human needs and human nature. His "System," as it was called, was meant to create a social order in better harmony with human nature, in which human desires and emotions would ultimately find fulfillment. This order organized people into agricultural phalansteries, small units in which all members would live and work together, share the benefits of their production equally, and take responsibility for the welfare of all. These phalansteries would remedy what Fourier perceived as the immorality, exploitation, boredom, and wastefulness of his world. In a way that somewhat foreshadowed Marx, Fourier criticized industrial society and the liberal economic and political theories that supported it as the source of contemporary poverty, vice, and emotional emptiness. In addition to his socialist critique of commercial capitalism, he inspired early feminists with his critique of bourgeois marriage and

family life. Fourierists attempted to put the master's theories into action by building cooperative agricultural settlements in France as well as abroad in the mid-nineteenth century.

Although Fourier himself never took direct action against Jews, his social critique was full of anti-Jewish rhetoric. He argued that the Jewish religion was responsible for all that he deplored in the Jews: their deceit, usury, concentration in professions he deemed "useless," and economic exploitation of non-Jews. He also advocated that Jews be stripped of their citizenship. In addition, one of his followers, Alphonse Toussenel, wrote a treatise inspired by Fourier called *The Jews, Kings of the Epoch* in 1845, which became a cornerstone for the arguments later developed by the influential antisemitic theorist Édouard Drumont.

—Lisa Moses Leff

*See also* Drumont, Édouard; France; Marx, Karl; Rothschilds; Socialists on Antisemitism; Toussenel, Alphonse

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## France (1789–1939)

The history of antisemitism in modern France is complex and ambivalent. France was the first European country to emancipate the Jews, not only in France itself but also in the vast territories conquered by Napoleon. At the end of the period considered here, the Vichy regime (1940–1944) enacted racial laws closer to the Nazi model than any European nation. After emancipation, the Jewish integration into every level of society in France was almost unparalleled elsewhere in Europe, as was most dramatically evident in France's two Jewish prime ministers, Léon Blum and Pierre Mendès France. Yet during the Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906), there were antisemitic riots in most major French cities.

The legislators of the French Revolution pushed the 40,000 Jews of France to the forefront of modern Jewish history as the first legally emancipated Jews in Europe, extending full citizenship to those who swore the civic oath and

thereby renounced Jewish communal autonomy. Emancipation passed despite vehement opposition and in two stages, reflecting the ambivalence of revolutionary attitudes struggling between long-standing prejudices and Enlightenment principles. The acculturated Jews of southwestern and southeastern France were granted citizenship on January 28, 1790. The less acculturated Jews of Alsace-Lorraine and Paris had to wait until September 27, 1791.

The price of Jewish emancipation was cultural integration, with Judaism and Jewishness limited to the private sphere and individual rights deemed to conflict with Jewish communal identity. “One must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation, and give everything to the Jews as individuals,” proclaimed Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre (in Katz 1980, 109). No subsequent regime until Vichy, whether republican, royalist, or Bonapartist, challenged the principle of Jewish citizenship, but the Jewish Question was raised anew in each succeeding period over the next 200 years.

As legally equal citizens, Jews were well positioned to ride the tide of modernization, spurred by industrialization and urbanization, which led to their integration into economic, political, and university institutions and to their progressive embourgeoisement. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews were visible in every area of French life, especially after the advent of the Third Republic (1870–1940), to which they were zealously committed.

In response, two currents of anti-Jewish antipathy—right-wing and left-wing—emerged out of broader critiques of French modernization and the modern state. Each identified Jews as the symbols of what the critics opposed. First, a *counterrevolutionary*, conservative, Catholic tradition arose that named Jews and their purported republican, Masonic, and Protestant allies as the spirit and corrupting force of modernity and revolution. Catholic antisemites claimed Judaization advanced the destruction of the family and organic France, the true France of the peasant and the provinces. The proponents of this worldview pitted the counterrevolutionary vision of a traditional, aristocratic, hierarchical France ordered by the monarch against the France of the Revolution and its slogans of liberty, equality, fraternity,

and the universal rights of man. They sought to purge France of the corrupting influence of Judaized modernity that they identified with materialism, commerce, the stock market, industry, and the city—worst of all, Paris, where so many Jews were now centered; it was deemed a Babylon of vice and decadence, crime, unbelief, immigration, and cosmopolitanism.

The second trend of thought hinged on the socialist critique of industrialization and capitalism that created a new aristocracy of money. Its origins date from the July Monarchy (1830–1848), when Louis Philippe took the throne and the middle classes achieved new power; among them were a number of Jewish families, especially the Rothschilds, who became the new symbol of everything that a nascent socialism opposed. Although there was strong Jewish adherence to the Saint-Simonian strand of utopian socialism, the followers of Charles Fourier and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon began to identify the Jews with a new plutocracy of financial capitalism, likening them to the old aristocracy as parasites on the body of the people. The most influential socialist antisemite was Alphonse Toussenel, a disciple of Fourier and author of *The Jews, Kings of the Epoch* (1845), which argued that Jews dominated France through control over financial capitalism. His attacks on the Rothschilds resulted in a flood of pamphlets targeting the banking family as emblematic of what was wrong with capitalist modernity.

In the aftermath of the stunning defeat in the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian War, with the amputated region of Alsace-Lorraine a perennial source of humiliation and with the firm establishment of the Third Republic on the principles of 1789, a politics characterized by *revanche* (revenge) arose on the Right that hinged on integral nationalism and antisemitism. This third variety of antisemitism fused elements of the other two strands to forge an indigenous French *racial* antisemitism. Although it incorporated elements of German racial biology, British eugenics, and social Darwinism, the French variant rested more heavily on culture and tradition than blood, more on sociological, medical, criminological, and psychiatric sciences than on “hard sciences.”

The “pope” of this new antisemitism was the

muckraking journalist Édouard Drumont, who rose to prominence with what rapidly became the century's best-selling political work. *La France juive* (Jewish France [1886]) was a lengthy synthesis of socialist and counterrevolutionary Judeophobia, folk stereotypes, anecdotal evidence, and scientific theories of the day. Drumont's earnings from the book launched an antisemitic newspaper, *La Libre parole* (The Free Word [1892]), which served as the propaganda spearhead for several new antisemitic leagues that agitated for extraparliamentary solutions to France's decadence and degeneration. These leagues, their leaders, and the news organs that fostered their interpretation of French modernity formed the bridge between the Boulanger Affair (1886–1889) and the formation of the new revolutionary right-wing royalism of the Action Française.

The Action Française took form in 1899 during the ongoing Dreyfus Affair. The new mass political movements of the Right fused during these turbulent times, with antisemitism providing their most reliable bond. What started as a case about Capt. Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew on the army General Staff falsely accused and then convicted of selling military secrets to the Germans in 1894, had become, by 1898, a civil war. Long-simmering national, religious, political, and cultural conflicts broke into the open. Antisemitism now became a pivotal political weapon employed by the opponents of the Third Republic, a state the anti-Dreyfusards branded as *la France juive* and promised to supplant with a new national revolution.

The Dreyfus Affair also marked the abandonment of antisemitism on the Left and the transition of socialism into part of the democratic order. World War I saw a parallel decline of antisemitism on the Right, as all elements who opposed the Central Powers were accepted into the *union sacrée* (sacred union). In the aftermath of the French victory, there was a renaissance of Jewish culture in the 1920s. The influx of eastern European Jewish refugees before and during the war helped revitalize the Jewish community and allowed Zionism to exert a significant influence in Jewish affairs.

But these hopeful developments dissipated

rapidly in the late 1920s. The Great Depression, political polarization, and xenophobia in a period of high Jewish immigration (from Hitler's Germany) fostered the fascist antisemitism of the 1930s. Fascists amalgamated the figure of the revolutionary and "the Jew," thus neatly epitomizing their dreaded enemy—"Judeo-Bolshevism." Building on the tradition of extraparliamentary agitation, a number of heterogeneous fascist groups arose in the 1920s and 1930s. All decried decadence, demographic decline, parliamentary disorder, the specter of communism, socialism, and the Jewish Syndicate. Their ultimate symbol was Léon Blum, the first Jewish and socialist prime minister, who rose to power as head of the Popular Front government in 1936. Although these diverse agitators never controlled the state, they eventually influenced the Vichy regime that installed itself after the defeat of France in June 1940. The end of the republic and the arrival of the Nazis inaugurated a sustained assault on the legacy of Jewish emancipation in France.

—Jonathan Judaken

*See also* Action Française; Algeria; Alsace; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; Emancipation; Eugenics; Fourier, Charles; *France juive, La*; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Jewish Question; Judeo-Bolshevism; Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph; Racism, Scientific; Rothschilds; Social Darwinism; Toussenel, Alphonse; Vichy

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#### *France juive, La (1886)*

*La France juive* (Jewish France [1886]), a two-volume, 1,200-page synthesis of counterrevolu-

tionary Judeophobia, socialist Jew-hatred, and scientific racism established the reputation of the journalist Édouard Drumont as the “pope” of French antisemitism. The book quickly became the best-selling political work of the century. It sold 100,000 copies in six months and went through more than 200 editions by 1900.

*La France juive* gathered together the themes of premodern and modern antisemitism, from Left and Right, Christian, secular, scientific, and folk sources. Littered with anecdotes, legends, rumors, and jokes, it was organized by a systematic interpretation of the history of old France in the process of degeneration as a result of the invasion and corruption wrought by the Jews, most emphatically since the beginning of the Third Republic in 1871. Advancing a conspiracy theory that also involved Protestants and Freemasons, Drumont seized on the scandals and hot-button issues that, he argued, were symptoms of French disease and decadence, the result of infection by an occult enemy—the Jewish Syndicate. He thus claimed to have unmasked the Jewish culprit in every sphere of public life: financial, political, and cultural.

The first 140 pages comprise a chapter aptly titled “*The Jew*,” which purports to “reveal the essential features distinguishing Jews from other men” by presenting “an ethnographical, physiological and psychological comparison of the Semite and the Aryan.” This racial dichotomy then animates the long historical treatise on “The Jew in the History of France,” which reinforces Drumont’s basic thesis: “the Jew” has been the cause of every calamity the French have faced. Jews were responsible for medieval epidemics, the French Revolution, and all the destructive forces of modernity. With the rise of the Rothschilds and the reign of financial capitalism, Aryan opposition began to crumble before the Jewish assault, leading to the debacle of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and 1871. Defeat was contrived by German Jewish speculators, and it unleashed financial scandals such as the crash of the Catholic banking enterprise, the Union Générale (in 1882), which, in turn, sparked the economic depression of the late nineteenth century.

The final third of the first volume and much of the second is an invective against the anticler-

icalism that had severed the French from their Catholic roots, thus sapping the sources of strength with which to resist the Jews and their allies. Half of the second volume is a diatribe against the decadence of the servile, immoral upper classes corrupted by *Paris juive* (Jewish Paris), the antithesis of the “old Paris” that Drumont idealized. The piece concludes with a chapter identifying the Promethean, villainous forms and deeds of “*Les Juifs*”: deicide, blood sacrifice, the cult of Moloch, pornography, the iniquitous Talmud, and the spreading of Jewish disease and contagion. Without scrupling about the means, the mighty Jewish Syndicate sought to destroy “*la France aux français*” (France for the French) and to supplant it with “Jewish France.”

—Jonathan Judaken

**See also** Drumont, Édouard; Freemasonry; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Racism, Scientific; Renan, Ernest; Rothschilds; Talmud

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## Franciscan Order

The Friars Minor or Franciscan order, a mendicant religious order of the Roman Catholic Church, was founded when, after a sudden and dramatic conversion experience, Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) rejected his merchant family’s position and wealth and embraced a life of radical poverty in imitation of Christ and the apostles. The charismatic St. Francis quickly attracted a small group of followers, who joined him in his mendicant life. They pursued poverty out of concern for their own salvation, but the apostolic model was an inherently conversionary one, and so they began working to bring other Christians to repentance and religious commitment. Recognizing Francis’s potential to help address the changing needs of the Christian laity, Pope Innocent III supported him when his band of mendicants approached

in 1209, presenting a primitive rule and asking for recognition and permission to preach the Gospel as they wandered. The rapid success of the new movement both reflected and further intensified the religious revival of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe.

Remaining firmly obedient to the church, the early Franciscans provided an orthodox antidote to similar heretical apostolic movements. Preaching to nonbelievers came to have a place in Franciscan mission as well; Francis himself tried to convert the Egyptian sultan, and second-generation Franciscan missionaries traveled as far away as India and China. For a variety of reasons, however, Franciscans did not pursue the mission to Jews that was so important to Dominican friars. Even when Franciscans became actively engaged in scholastic theology alongside Dominicans, the Franciscan concept of mission, based on the imitation of Christlike poverty and preaching of the Gospel message, was less suited to the endeavor than the Dominican style of direct confrontation and rational argumentation. An equally important factor was the strong apocalyptic element within Franciscan spirituality, particularly the influence of Joachim of Fiore's eschatology, which highlighted a critical role for Jews at the end of Christian salvation history. Traditional Augustinian toleration fit in well with Franciscan anticipation of a peaceful conversion of the Jews in God's time.

Though Franciscans remained aloof from the activities that led Dominican friars to missionary language study, an important group of loosely associated Franciscans did utilize Hebrew and Aramaic in their scholarship. Working to correct problems in the transmission of the Latin Old Testament or devising new literal-historical readings of Scripture, these scholars found the Hebrew Bible and Aramaic translations invaluable tools. The movement reached its height in the early fourteenth century with Nicholas of Lyra, whose Bible commentary made extensive use of the Hebrew Bible, Rashi's (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki) commentaries, and other rabbinic texts to establish the literal meaning of Scripture. Though few in number, the Franciscan Hebraists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were influential, and their work formed a bridge

to the Hebraism of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists and reformers.

By the fifteenth century, anti-Jewish rhetoric made its way into the sermons of an increasing number of popular Franciscan preachers; in most cases, an imaginary, symbolic Jew stood as a rhetorical emblem of unbelief and rejection of Christ. The anti-Jewish sermons of Bernardino of Siena, for example, used the image of the Jew as usurer to prompt Christian audiences to repentance, to Christian charity, and to a return to a more rigorous Christian life.

—Deeana Klepper

*See also* Dominican Order; Innocent III; Middle Ages, High; Usury

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## Frank, Leo (1884–1915)

Leo Frank was the victim of the most notorious episode of antisemitic violence in the history of the United States. Born in Paris, Texas, Frank grew up in Brooklyn. He earned a degree in mechanical engineering from Cornell University before heading to Atlanta in 1908 to become superintendent of the National Pencil Company. Frank married Lucille Selig, the daughter of a well-to-do Atlanta family, and in 1912, he was elected president of the city's B'nai B'rith chapter.

On Confederate Memorial Day, April 26, 1913, the bloody body of thirteen-year-old Mary Phagan was discovered in Frank's factory. She had been raped. The day of her murder, Phagan had gone to receive her pay from Frank: this was the best honest evidence that the prosecution could muster. Yet through perjury and other prosecutorial malfeasance—combined with an inept defense and threats of violence

against the jury—Frank was found guilty and sentenced to hang.

The main witness against Frank, National Pencil Factory janitor Jim Conley, was black (and according to the scholarly consensus, the likely murderer of Mary Phagan). One sign of the power of antisemitism in the case was the willingness of a white jury and the white public in the Jim Crow South to accept the testimony of a working-class African American male against the word of a wealthy white. Although the “racial” identity of early twentieth-century Jews in the United States was somewhat indeterminate, with Jews often seen as dark “Hebrews” and not authentically Caucasian, Frank was generally conceded to be white; indeed, his defense tried hard to play the race card, impugning Conley’s integrity because he was supposedly an untrustworthy black man.

Soon, the trial’s irregularities became the subject of intense public concern. Jews, northerners, and southern progressives presented a compelling argument that ultimately convinced Georgia governor John Slaton to commute Frank’s sentence to life imprisonment. Thousands of white Georgians went on a rampage to protest this decision, eventually requiring the National Guard, operating under martial law, to restore order.

For many Georgians, Frank incarnated two odious and alien influences: the northern industrialist intent on exploiting child labor and “the Jew.” In the words of Tom Watson, the populist demagogue who most effectively mobilized antisemitic fervor, Frank was “the typical libertine Jew who is dreaded and detested by the city authorities of the North for the very reason that Jews of this type have an utter contempt for law, and a ravenous appetite for the forbidden fruit—a lustful eagerness enhanced by the racial novelty of the girl of the uncircumcised” (Woodward 1938, 438).

The next step in the drama was perhaps inevitable. A mob stole Frank away from the prison farm where he was incarcerated, dragged him off to Marietta, Georgia (Phagan’s hometown), and lynched him.

In the end, the Leo Frank case did not unleash a wave of antisemitism in the United States. The



The antisemically motivated lynching of Leo Frank, who was convicted on flimsy evidence of raping and murdering Mary Phagan, an employee of his Georgia pencil factory. (Bettmann/Corbis)

lynching did, however, help lead to the creation of the second Ku Klux Klan, arguably the most powerful antisemitic organization in U.S. history; it also gave birth to an organization that showed Jews were ready to take up the challenge of self-defense, the Anti-Defamation League of the B’nai B’rith.

—Robert D. Johnston

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Ku Klux Klan; United States; Watson, Tom

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## **Frantz, Constantin (1817–1891)**

Trained as a mathematician, Constantin Frantz became a philosopher, a political publicist, and a unique figure in the development of antisemitic theory. Frantz planned to unite the ideologies of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism, as well as the warring states of Europe. His federalism, based loosely on Friedrich von Schelling's philosophy, would bring together industry and agriculture and finally even Protestantism and Catholicism. For a time, Frantz was a publicist for the Prussian government, but after 1860, he vehemently disagreed with Otto von Bismarck's German and European policy and broke the connection.

Beneficiaries and instigators of this fatal political course were, he was certain, mainly the Jews. Frantz was a prolific writer, and he remained consistent in his views over the decades. His first publication on this topic, *Ahasverus or the Jewish Question* (1844), already contained many of the ideas that were developed at greater length in his *World Politics* (1883). In the years between these two works, he returned continually to the topic, most intensely in *National Liberalism and Jewish Dominance* (1874) and in *Federalism as the Governing Principle* (1879).

Frantz drew his ideas concerning the proper place of Jews from the sphere of religion; some of them seem to have come straight out his favorite time period, the Middle Ages. Although he explicitly rejected the fashionable racial antisemitism of the 1870s and even scoffed at the imprecision of the term, Frantz thought conversion to Christianity would make no difference: "The Jews will always be Jews" (*Ahasverus*, 28). Thus, racial and religious elements were not distinctly differentiated in his theoretical universe.

In spite of his repudiation of organized antisemitism, Frantz shared many of the positions adopted by the antisemitic political parties of the 1880s. He believed that Jews should never be full citizens; that they could have no true allegiance to their countries of residence; and that they dominated the newspapers, international trade, and the stock exchange. Although he thought this to be the case all over Europe, it was most acutely so in Bismarck's Germany, which

he was fond of calling a German Empire of Jewish Nationality.

For all his indulgence in anti-Jewish stereotypes, there are a few features in Frantz's system that are not typical of the antisemites in general: he was an ardent pacifist, and though he favored a European crusade to free Jerusalem from the Ottoman Empire, he abhorred the idea of a war within Europe because this would impede its "inevitable" uniting under the banner of federalism. And even though Jews would undoubtedly be second-class citizens in the Frantzian utopia—denied voting rights, intermarriage with Christians, military careers, or access to the civil service—he drew the line when he just as clearly stated that the basic human rights, including due process and the equal protection of the law in civil and criminal matters, must be guaranteed to all. In the last analysis, Frantz advocated a system of apartheid under the doctrine of separate but equal.

—Michael Dreyer

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Center Party; Christian State; Dühring, Eugen; Glagau, Otto; "Jewish" Press; Jewish Question; Stoecker, Adolf; *Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The*; Wandering Jew

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## **Freemasonry**

"Freemasons control the world!" This assertion is to be found in numerous literary works that purport to reveal the powers that have ruled global events from behind the scenes ever since the French Revolution. In reality, Freemasonry is a widespread international humanitarian association that champions respect for human dignity and tolerance. It proceeds from the conviction that if trusting relationships between people of differing beliefs and cultures can be created, then human conflicts can be settled and their destructive consequences averted. In the past, Freemasonry worked for the improvement of society, and it has never directly or indirectly participated in conspiracies.

The starting point for conspiracy theories re-

garding Freemasons is the conviction that secret wire-pullers shape and determine political events and that the world is being directed by conspiratorial groups. The experience of military defeat, revolution, and civil conflict in the twentieth century engendered great feelings of anxiety and confusion and also produced the need to find scapegoats. These were swiftly found. Jews and Freemasons were well suited for this role because both were regarded as privileged minorities with suspicious international connections.

Also crucial to the emergence of the theory of a Jewish-Masonic world conspiracy was the position of the Jews in the medieval and early modern social order. Because Jews were held collectively responsible for the Crucifixion of Jesus in the eyes of Christians, they could not be fully integrated in a society defined by religious faith. Confined to ghettos, they pursued their livelihoods through petty trade or moneylending, occupations held in low esteem or condemned as un-Christian by the religiously delineated social doctrines of the era. These conditions favored the gradual rise of a socioeconomic antisemitism that complemented an existing Christian antisemitism.

Freemasonry's inclination toward the ideas of the Enlightenment and natural rights was seen by Christian conservatives after 1789 as preparing the way for the emancipation of Jewry. They tended to view Freemasons with distrust, as both beneficiaries and champions of Jewish emancipation. In a few portrayals of the time, it was claimed that the Jews were the "useful tools" of the Illuminati and the Jacobins who ruthlessly exploited the Jews' hatred of European governments. That such claims, when combined with traditional antisemitism, could be used effectively to provoke and channel aggression was demonstrated by the numerous documented anti-Jewish excesses.

The basic model for the theory of a Jewish-Masonic world conspiracy arose in the aftermath of the French Revolution. During the course of the nineteenth century, suspicions that the Jews were engaged in dark doings intensified to a point bordering on obsession. Social transformation and the continuing process of secularization strengthened the predisposition to see Freemasons and Jews at the root of menacing schemes.

Such beliefs became articles of faith for the elite of the Old Regime and for many clergy. Advancing industrialization, with its many casualties in the middle and lower classes, convinced the insecure and the anxiety-ridden that "jewification of the Christian State" was well under way.

Jews had come to represent many aspects of a deeply unsettling modernity. But equally important were the strong residual effects of the Christian medieval demonization of Jews that endowed them with uncanny, highly dubious characteristics. Together, these factors placed them at the focal point of conspiracy theories with antimodern and antiliberal agendas and in which they performed familiar scapegoat functions. The intimate association of Jews and Freemasons—they had become virtually synonymous—was axiomatic. Thus, Freemasons and Jews supposedly plotted the ruination of Germany by unleashing World War I and then administered the final blow with "Entente-Freemasonry," dictating the catastrophic Paris Peace Settlement. The compulsive need to expose the "inner connections" supposedly governing the actions of the Masonic lodges, capitalism, and bolshevism led to the construction of multiple conspiracy theories in the early decades of the twentieth century. The most successful of these was the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which integrated a great variety of grotesque notions into a single, detailed global conspiracy scenario.

Scholars recognize in the *Protocols* the revival of a modernized version of demonological antisemitism. The "original" appeared in the book by the Russian pseudomystic Sergei Nilus, *The Great in the Small and the Antichrist as an Imminent Political Possibility*. No less a person than Alfred Rosenberg, Führer's Plenipotentiary for Supervision of the Total Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Education of the National Socialist Party, based his anti-Freemason writings on the *Protocols*. As the manipulator of national politics and the real force stage-managing events, Rosenberg identified "all-Jewish high finance," hiding behind philanthropic and religious front organizations all over the world. To corroborate his diagnosis in all its details, he excerpted, commented on, and published his own version of the *Protocols* beginning in 1923.

In the 1920s, an ideologically tinged conspiracy theory appealed to certain sorts of people. Those who saw the traditional social order in terms of moral absolutes and whose basic outlook was deeply antiliberal viewed any challenge to their beliefs or interests as illegitimate, the work of evil minorities bent on destruction. Conspiracy theories serving this constituency cast the demonic powers as liberalism, democracy, socialism, and communism—all weapons ruthlessly wielded by Freemasons and Jews.

Historically, conspiracy theories have fed off social misery and political and economic uncertainties. Such theories serve a rationalizing function by providing a simple (and simplistic) explanation for all the existential anxieties of the moment. They reduce a complex reality to something more manageable. Obviously, they cannot function as objective tools of analysis, for their real purpose is to “unmask the enemy” and then to present themselves as political weapons in the battle against that enemy. Since conspiracies presuppose that a small minority can manipulate the great majority and decisively influence the course of events, it stands to reason that this minority possesses fearsome superhuman powers. This is why conspiratorial literature, especially that which portrayed Freemasonry as a satanic force, often bordered on the pathological. Filled with dread visions, it foretold the imminent destruction of everything sacred.

For those open to reason and research, it is obvious that Freemasonry never served as “the general staff of world revolution,” nor was it ever guilty of the sins attributed to it by anti-Masonic propaganda.

—*Helmut Reinalter*

*Richard S. Levy, translation*

**See also** Ahlwardt, Hermann; Barruel, Augustin; Christian State; Coughlin, Charles E.; Deicide; Drumont, Édouard; Emancipation; *France juive, La*; Germanic Order; Hep-Hep Riots; Japan; Judeo-Bolshevism; Ludendorff, Erich; Maurras, Charles; Nilus, Sergei; Pius IX, Pope; Preziosi, Giovanni; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rosenberg, Alfred; Smith, Gerald L. K.; State-within-a-State; *Verjudung*; Versailles Treaty; Winrod, Gerald B  
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## Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939)

The Viennese sociocultural reality of Sigmund Freud's early youth was marked by the tension between maintaining a rigid loyalty toward the Habsburg dynasty and its strict clerical traditions and the ever-growing appeal of modern, secular, and bourgeois values that were sweeping through central Europe in the 1860s. When the Freud family moved from Freiberg (today Příbor), Moravia, to Vienna in the early 1860s, the metropolis was shedding its medieval appearance in both a literal and a figurative sense. The era was an age of wealth and grandeur in which Vienna, the imperial city of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and its newly rich bourgeoisie embraced a short-lived political liberalism that seemed destined to dominate Europe. The Ringstrasse era represented Vienna's rapid physical restructuring from what was once an ancient walled-city into a modern urban showpiece of neo-Baroque and neo-Gothic architecture. Along with its physical transformation, the city opened socially and politically, becoming, to all appearances, more tolerant of its Jewish population. By 1865, most, if not all, of the humiliating taxes and onerous controls placed on Jews had been lifted, and they were allowed to move freely. Great numbers of Jews, like the Freuds, moved from the hinterlands of the Dual Monarchy to opportunity-rich Vienna. Their children could now receive a secular education and gain admittance to the university.

The euphoria and rapid increase in personal wealth among Jews and gentiles alike, however, soon came to an abrupt halt with the devastating crash of the stock market on May 9, 1873. In the same year that Freud began his university studies, Vienna witnessed a frenzy of antisemitic scapegoating. In Vienna's press, Jewish bankers were vilified as culprits for the collapse. This scapegoating was Freud's first experience of a virulent public display of antisemitism, which continued to disrupt political life through the decade of the 1880s. Antisemitism reached its peak in the cap-

ital in the 1890s when Karl Lueger, the outspoken antisemite and demagogic Christian Social mayoral candidate, was finally seated by Emperor Franz Josef as lord mayor of Vienna (in 1897).

Freud's second experience of antisemitism came in this period as well and directly affected his professional life. A *Privatdozent* (unpaid lecturer) since 1885, he was nominated for a professorship by two influential colleagues, Hermann Nothnagel and Richard von Krafft-Ebing, in 1897. The medical committee unanimously endorsed Freud's candidacy, but the Ministry of Education flatly denied the promotion. Freud waited another five years before the emperor signed the promotion decree. Antisemitism also affected the new science of psychoanalysis for which he was largely responsible. So many of his early followers were Jews and so much of psychoanalytic theory dwelled on human sexuality that the movement as a whole presented an easy target for those who would disparage it as "typically Jewish."

Freud, however, faced his most menacing struggle with antisemitism as a frail, ill octogenarian. Even as the German Wehrmacht marched into the city on March 12, 1938, he was unwilling to leave the country for fear of the total collapse of his psychoanalytical organization. But just ten days later, his children Anna and Martin were arrested by the Gestapo, interrogated, and then, unexpectedly, released. More than anything else, this convinced Freud to leave behind the city and the work that he loved.

—Istvan Varkonyi

**See also** Austria; Billroth, Theodor; Emancipation; Jung, Carl Gustav; Lueger, Karl; Psychoanalysis

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## Freytag, Gustav (1816–1895)

Author of the popular novel of commerce *Soll und Haben* (Debit and Credit, [1855]), the

Prussian historian Gustav Freytag represented the views of a generation of liberal nationalists in the debate over Jewish assimilation. Accused of prejudice by contemporary critics such as Theodor Fontane and charged with propagating literary antisemitism by modern academics, Freytag is a case study of the tensions within Prussian liberalism on the Jewish Question. Freytag's reputation as a liberal has been a casualty of his success as a novelist. There is no doubt that he created, in his memorable villain Veitel Itzig, one of the most poisonous stereotypes of the greedy, utterly immoral Jewish businessman in nineteenth-century literature.

Nevertheless, Freytag's real passion was history, and his cultural history of the German middle class, *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Pictures out of the German Past [1857–1862]), and especially his biographical sketch of Martin Luther earned him a place in the Valhalla of Protestant historiography. *Pictures* provides the necessary context to bring his views on the Jewish Question into focus. If Freytag detected any conspiracies at work in German history, they were to be found in the machinations of the Jesuit order, the Catholic Church, and the Austrian Habsburgs. Like the Prussian middle class with which he identified, the Jews were also the historical victims of Catholic superstition, Habsburg power politics, and Jesuit resistance to progress.

To Freytag, Judaism was not so much evil as anachronistic. It was harmful only to the extent that it inhibited reason, progress, and the integration of Jews into German society. He encouraged Jewish assimilation, which he defined as largely a process of moral education into German bourgeois values. As one Jewish character in *Debit and Credit* puts it, "It is only through contact with gentiles that a Jew can acquire an appreciation of any values beyond the coarsest material ones." Freytag thus placed the burden of integration firmly on the Jewish community. Mere legal emancipation could never bring about real assimilation; a deeper change in the nature of the individual Jew was required. To be useful citizens of the new capitalist Germany, Jews did not have to become Christians, but in Freytag's view, they did need to exchange the caftan for the cra-

vat, control their greed, and *behave* like Christian gentlemen.

Freytag did not ascribe Jewish greed to any racial characteristics or to any circumstances beyond mere historical backwardness. Far closer in spirit to Voltaire than to Hitler, Freytag was not an antisemite in the modern sense of the term. He married a Jewish woman, joined the League against Antisemitism (Abwehr-Verein), and publicly denounced antisemitism on a number of occasions. In a polemical exchange with Richard Wagner in 1869, he pronounced the process of Jewish assimilation “almost” complete. However, unlike Charles Dickens, who also created a famous Jewish villain, Freytag never expressed any regret for creating Jewish stereotypes. He insisted that Veitel Itzig and the other Jewish characters he described in *Debit and Credit* were realistic portrayals of Jews he had known. It is also true, however, that *Itzig* became a synonym for *Jew* in the Third Reich.

—Larry L. Ping

**See also** *Debit and Credit*; Emancipation; Fontane, Theodor; Jewish Question; League against Antisemitism; Philosemitism; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de; Wagner, Richard

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### Fries, Jakob Friedrich (1773–1843)

A philosopher at the universities of Heidelberg and Jena, Jakob Fries rose to prominence after the Napoleonic Wars and exerted a major influence on the newly formed nationalist fraternities, or Burschenschaften. His hostility toward Jews and Judaism was expressed most emphatically in the pamphlet *On the Endangerment of German Welfare and Character by the Jews* (*Über die Gefährdung des Wohlstandes und Charakters der*

*Deutschen durch die Juden* [1816]), but it pervaded his writings on ethics, politics, and religion.

Born in 1773, Fries grew up and was educated among the Moravian Pietist Brethren in the Saxon town of Niesky. After declaring himself an advocate of enlightened “natural religion,” he dropped plans for a theological career and dedicated himself to the study of philosophy. In 1805, he was appointed extraordinary professor at Heidelberg, where he taught for over a decade before being called to a professorship at Jena in 1816. Fries has usually been described as a neo-Kantian, although he abandoned the a priori universalist premises of Immanuel Kant’s philosophy in favor of a system grounded in the certainties of human psychology. The consequences of this subjectivist approach were most evident in the realm of ethics, where Fries replaced the Kantian imperative to “act so that the maxims of your will could be the basis of a universal law” with the command to “act as you are convinced that you should act.” This doctrine of “conviction” also informed Fries’s conception of political life, which he believed should be based on the “republican” principles of honor, piety, equality, and public spirit. In his *Ethics* (1818), he favorably contrasted the “healthy” societies of the ancient Germans or North American Indians with what he saw as the degeneracy and corruption of the aristocracy, the Christian clergy, and the Jews.

Fries’s foray into antisemitic polemics was occasioned by debates at the Congress of Vienna over granting civic rights to Jews in the German states. In 1816, the Berlin historian Friedrich Rühs published *On the Claims of the Jews to German Citizenship* (*Über die Ansprüche der Juden an das deutsche Bürgerrecht*), which declared Jews to be worthy of “human rights” but not “citizenship rights.” Rejecting the logic of the gentle reformer Christian Wilhelm Dohm, Rühs argued that the supposed negative aspects of the Jews’ character and livelihood were the result not of centuries-long oppression but of the Jewish faith itself, which constituted a “state-within-a-state.” The only solution to this problem was for the Jews to convert to Christianity. Until that happened, they should be forced to remain separate from the Christian population, pay pro-

tection money to the state, and wear a special sign on their clothing.

Rühs's demands, harsh as they were, did not go far enough for Jakob Fries. In his review of Rühs, he insisted that no one who was unworthy of civil rights deserved state protection and that the Jews should either abandon their traditional practices or leave Germany. But for the philosopher Fries, religious conversion could only be a first step. In his eyes, Judaism was less a "faith" than a "commercial caste bound by theocratic despotism and sworn together through its own religion" (*Sämtliche Schriften*, 1996, 25: 162). Thus, he also demanded that the legal authority of the rabbis be destroyed and that Jews be forced out of occupations in areas such as finance and trade. Moreover, Jews could no longer be allowed to maintain their "physical separation" but would have to merge with the larger gentile population. Only in this way, Fries argued, would it be possible for Jews to "fuse with the Christians into a single civil union" (172). As Gerald Hubmann noted, this vision of Jewish assimilation (and self-annihilation) suggests that Fries did not see Jews as a biological race. Still, the language of his pamphlet was brutal and aggressive, with frequent references to Jews as "parasites" and "bloodsuckers" and a warning that if the German governments did not act quickly, the whole affair would end in "a terrible act of violence" (158).

Fries's fulminations sparked outrage among Jewish writers and among reform-minded officials in Germany. But they were well received by the more radical members of the Jena Burschenschaft, for whom Fries became both a mentor and a spiritual leader. The most notorious of his followers was the theology student Karl Sand, who absorbed his doctrine of ethical "conviction" and his hostility toward Catholics, Jews, and aristocrats. In 1819, Sand murdered the conservative playwright August von Kotzebue. That same year, the Hep-Hep riots broke out across Germany in an atmosphere galvanized by the tirades of Rühs and Fries. In response to these events, government authorities suspended Fries from his university position at Jena. He would not be fully rehabilitated until 1838, five years before his death.

—George Williamson

**See also** Burschenschaften; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Hep-Hep Riots; Kant, Immanuel; State-within-a-State; Yellow Star

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## Fritsch, Theodor (1852–1933)

Eulogized by the Nazis as a pioneer of their movement and one of the few successful antisemitic publishers of the imperial and Weimar eras, Theodor Fritsch is best known as editor of the *Handbuch der Judenfrage* (Handbook of the Jewish Question [49th ed., Leipzig, 1944]) and the leading antisemitic journal, *Hammer: Blätter für deutschen Sinn* (Hammer: Journal of the German Way [Leipzig, 1902–1940]). Fritsch bridged two generations of antisemites, participating in the birth of the political movement during the German Empire and living just long enough to see Hitler take power.

Born to peasant parents in Prussian Saxony, Fritsch became a milling engineer, founded an organization for small-scale millers, and published its newspaper (in 1880); his earnings from these enterprises allowed him to finance his early antisemitic activities. He entered the antisemitic movement through lower-middle-class reform politics, helping to establish antisemitic clubs in Dresden and Leipzig in the early 1880s. In 1885, he started a newspaper, the *Antisemitic Correspondence* (*Antisematische-Correspondenz*), which became one of the mainstays of parliamentary antisemitism. But Fritsch never favored parliamenterizing the movement. Earlier than most, he saw that conventional politics offered little prospect of solving the Jewish Question, a conclusion later shared and acted on by Hitler.

Viscerally antidemocratic and imperious, he had no faith in the judgment of the German masses and eventually advocated a "constitutional dictatorship" as the only suitable form for such poor material. Many of his most treasured proj-

ects were destined for the antisemitic elite and had an element of withdrawal or separatism attached to them. In 1894, he “retired” from party politics, unable to put up with the intellectual shallowness of the movement’s popular leaders and their misguided emphasis on the spoken word—Fritsch himself could not deliver an effective speech. During the next thirty-five years, he devoted himself to the nonpartisan antisemitic indoctrination of all sectors of German society. Writing under his own name and the pseudonyms F. Roderich Stoltheim, Fritz Thor, and Thomas Frey, he published well over forty books and edited several more, including an early version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1924) and a translation of Henry Ford’s *The International Jew* (1922). These and his other publications were instrumental in establishing antisemitism as a legitimate part of German political culture.

In the 1880s, Fritsch developed an innovative way of financing his relentless publishing ventures, sending out half the edition of one of his works free of charge to youth groups, influential public figures, Sunday schools, and nationalist organizations; he capitalized on the interest thus engendered to sell the other half, using the proceeds to pay for a new edition. His deep hatred of Jews spilled over into denunciation of most aspects of modern culture. Contemptuous of the kaiser, the Reichstag, Christianity, education, and the press, he preached a “revolution of Germanic values” that would embrace tax reform, validation of the lower middle class as the “bedrock of the race,” vegetarianism, temperance, and a return to the land. Only then could suitable legislation deny Jews the power to rule over Germans. After the 1912 Reichstag elections, which returned too many liberals and socialists, he began calling openly for “a holy Fehme of dedicated men” to kill off the leaders of a dreaded socialist revolution (in Levy 1991, 191).

Personally reinvigorated by the German collapse of 1918 and vindicated in all his direst prophecies of doom, Fritsch unleashed a new burst of activity. In the early years of the Weimar Republic, when he still hoped for its violent overthrow, he often crossed the boundaries of permissible behavior. He characterized and simultaneously justified the murder of Walther

Rathenau in a 1922 article titled the “Desperate Act of a Desperate People” (in Levy 1991, 192–199). He brought libel suits against prominent men and was himself frequently sued, losing every time and then issuing long accounts of his trials that thundered against the “System” and the “Jew Republic.” He overcame his detestation of parliamentary politics long enough to serve as a radical rightist member of the Reichstag (in 1924). But when the Weimar Republic seemed to stabilize in the mid-1920s, Fritsch fell back into his normal pose of despairing prophet. The rise of Hitler’s movement did nothing to dispel his militant pessimism. To the resentful Fritsch, Hitler was the reincarnation of the mouthy leaders of prewar antisemitic politics, a man without political instincts who was able only to make fiery speeches to the feckless masses. After fifty years of indefatigable propagandizing against Jews, Fritsch thought his life had been wasted. He saw Germany as no closer to solving the Jewish Question than when he began. The masses, he grumbled, had learned nothing; they remained immune to serious antisemitism and incapable of the sustained effort required to overpower the Jewish enemy once and for all.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Antisemitic Correspondence; Antisemitic Political Parties; Ford, Henry; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Germanic Order; *Handbook of the Jewish Question*; Hitler, Adolf; Imperial Hammer League; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rathenau, Walther; Settlement *Heimland*; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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## Fugu Plan

*Fugu Plan* is the name coined by Marvin Tokayer for schemes by Japanese military offi-

cers and diplomats to exploit Jews for the benefit of the Japanese Empire during the Asia-Pacific War. The term derives from Koreshige Inuzuka's comparison of Jews to puffer fish (*fugu*), which are considered a great delicacy in Japan but can be deadly if prepared incorrectly. In July 1939, Inuzuka, the navy captain responsible for the Jews of Shanghai from 1939 to 1942, joined army colonel Norihiro Yasue and Shanghai consul general Shirō Ishiguro to author the "Joint Report on the Jews of Shanghai." The report was developed in response to the influx of Jewish refugees into Japanese-occupied Manchuria and Shanghai. The number of Jews in Shanghai eventually exceeded 20,000.

The "Joint Report" was based on the exaggerated appraisal of Jewish power contained in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which Yasue had translated into Japanese in 1924, and it contained proposals to exploit "Jewish power" for the benefit of Japan. Jews were to be used to influence U.S. policy, to attract "Jewish capital" to the Japanese Empire, and to establish a Jewish settlement in Manchuria, where 30,000 Jews could exercise their talents to aid the Japanese war effort. Inuzuka had previously proposed that as many as 300,000 Jews be resettled. Although some desultory efforts were made by the authors to implement aspects of their scheme, including an abortive appeal to Rabbi Stephen Wise to intercede on Japan's behalf with the U.S. government, the "Joint Report" remained fantasy and never became Japanese government policy.

Japanese policy toward Jews was formulated on December 6, 1938, at a meeting of government ministers and had three basic principles: that no special effort be made to attract Jews, that Jews be

expelled, and that Jews be dealt with on the basis of the same immigration policies as other nationalities. As an isolated island nation, Japan had little experience with immigration, however, and its policies were often formulated and implemented by local military and consular staff. The influx of masses of Jewish refugees to Shanghai was the result of ad hoc decisions made by officials such as Chiune Sugihara, who, on his own recognition as Japanese consul in Kaunas, Lithuania, issued more than 2,100 transit visas to Jewish families fleeing the Nazis in 1940. Unwilling to liquidate the Jews as their Nazi allies urged, convinced despite all evidence to the contrary that Jews were powerful and well connected, and with little experience and few policies to govern their actions, the Japanese adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward the Shanghai Jewish community, which felt secure enough under their rule to develop a rich cultural life. Designer Peter Max, former U.S. Treasury secretary W. Michael Blumenthal, and former Israeli cabinet minister Zorach Warhaftig were members of the Shanghai Jewish community, which survived the war virtually intact.

—David G. Goodman

**See also** Japan; Lithuania, Holocaust in; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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# G

## ***Garbage, the City and Death, The***

Conservative historian Joachim Fest branded Rainer Werner Fassbinder's hastily written drama *The Garbage, the City and Death* (*Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod*), a piece of left-wing antisemitism before it was even published in 1976. The charge stuck for several reasons, not the least of which was the presence of grotesque and undeniably antisemitic figures in the play. Two other factors included the general vulnerability of the Left in 1976 to charges of inappropriately confronting the Nazi past and the fact that numerous others, including prominent Holocaust survivor Jean Améry, joined in the chorus of condemnation. As a result of this outcry, the book was withdrawn, and Fassbinder was unable to raise the necessary funding to make a film out of the play. Furthermore, he refused to allow the play to be produced before his death in 1982. Ironically, then, the initial furor erupted over a play that few could have read and none had seen.

There can be no doubt—certainly, Fassbinder himself harbored none on this point—as to the play's forceful antisemitic content. The protagonist is “the Rich Jew,” a rapacious, deceptive, and ultimately murderous Frankfurt real estate developer who has no other identity than this. He remains a nameless, Jewish “other” who fulfills the requirements of the antisemitic imagination. He avenges himself on Müller One, a transvestite, impenitent former Nazi who may have killed the Rich Jew's parents, by murdering Müller's daughter, the prostitute Lily/Roma B. He evades responsibility when the police arrest another likely suspect (the gentile Franz B.). Perhaps the most virulent antisemitic rhetoric is placed in the mouth of Hans von Glück, a competitor in the real estate business who expressly wishes that the

Rich Jew had been gassed during the Holocaust. Possibly more offensive still is the Rich Jew's bald assertion that in postwar Germany, he is “untouchable,” a very cynical but perhaps insightful reading of some post-Holocaust sensitivities.

Antisemitism in the play is one thing; but is the play itself antisemitic? Fassbinder did not provide a ready-made realist perspective to “control” the play's reading, such as German viewers would get with the now famous 1979 broadcast of the television series *Holocaust*. Many critics were offended by the unsavory depiction of the Rich Jew and wished for more sympathetically drawn or more representative Jews. Fassbinder vowed never to present oppressed minorities (a category in which he included Jews) in a positive light, however, arguing that one must depict them precisely as a product of their social deformation. A plausible defense can be made by focusing on the play's formalist technique: the very artificiality of the generic “rich Jew” points to a social construct that has more to do with Germans' antisemitic imagination than the actual Jewish community of Frankfurt. Yet despite all elucidation regarding the author's experimental and nontraditional narrative technique, *The Garbage* remains, in part, clearly referential. This tension—modernist innovation versus realism—ran through Fassbinder's oeuvre and often proved very productive. In his greatest success, *The Marriage of Maria Braun* (1978), these two strands can be said to account for the film's broad appeal: the realist narrative served more traditional tastes (and depicted Germany as female victim), and the formal innovation (exaggerated use of melodrama and film noir citation, for example) could be recruited for more progressive readings.

The “realist” aspect of *The Garbage* was the

one that proved most objectionable, especially when, in 1985, director Günther Rühle chose to stage the play at last. Although several prominent German Jews supported the production, they did so with some ambivalence. The play's most eloquent proponent, Thomas Elsaesser, justified it, in the end, not as a work of art but as a "social text" capable of provoking a productive public debate. Many German Jews who had de facto assimilated to German society remained profoundly disturbed by the figure of a disreputable and nefarious Jew who was so fundamentally alien. In all of this, it is perhaps worthwhile to recall that Fassbinder never exempted himself from the phenomenon he referred to as "something like a second original sin," a relationship that bound Germans and Jews via the Holocaust and has continued to warp their relations down to the present.

—William Collins Donabue

**See also** Bubis, Ignatz; Germany, Federal Republic of; New Left

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### **Gartenlaube, Die**

During its heyday in the mid-1870s, the mass-circulation liberal weekly *Die Gartenlaube* (Garden Hut)—catering, as it never ceased proclaiming, to the interests of the whole family of the German *Bürgertum* (bourgeoisie)—was the most widely read periodical in Germany. In addition, it influenced the whole genre, promoting the appearance of half a dozen imitators and rivals and the introduction of family-interest supplements in many other periodicals. The *Gartenlaube* also exerted its influence on the German Jewish press.

The journal's long history falls into philosemitic and antisemitic phases. *Die Gartenlaube* was founded in 1853 by Ernst Keil (1816–1876).

He launched it as an ostensibly nonpolitical venture, soon had 100,000 readers (by 1860), and eventually reached a peak circulation of 210,000. During that period, Keil devoted much space to what Kirsten Belgum has defined as "Popularizing the Nation" (or *Volk*) to all segments of the Germany-to-be. This he did in accordance with the explicitly liberal worldview embodied in the Nationalverein (National Union), whose members championed the cause of German constitutionally based unity and whose liberal politics Keil found praiseworthy.

One not-too-subtle element of this national and social agenda of uniting the nation under the banner of the liberal bourgeoisie was popularizing Judaism in general and German Jews in particular. Judaism was praised for its family-oriented and picturesque religious practices. Works by the Jewish painter Moritz Oppenheim (1799–1882), much celebrated in Jewish circles for his kitschy depictions of Jewish family life, were featured. Articles on well-known Jewish figures emphasized their contributions to German letters, society, and state; even controversial figures, such as Ferdinand Lassalle and Heinrich Heine, also received their due. German Jews who had benefited the economic welfare of the nation came in for special attention. That he emphasized rather than obscured the Jewishness of these individuals suggests that Keil wanted to integrate Jews and Judaism—to be sure, in their explicitly liberal and bourgeois formats—into the German nation and state.

The second and longer phase of *Die Gartenlaube* followed the stock market crash of 1873. Keil allowed Otto Glagau, an antisemitic and scandal-mongering journalist who had hitherto published in rival journals, to write a series of sensationalist articles in which he insinuated that Jews had caused the crash and had benefited from it—almost exclusively—at the cost of ordinary Germans. Glagau subsequently published a best-selling brochure in which he denounced Keil for having toned down and even deleted some of his explicitly antisemitic declarations. Even with the editing of Glagau's articles, however, the antisemitism was unmistakable and, given the reach of *Die Gartenlaube*, damaging.

Glagau's sensation coincided with the cresting

of the journal's popularity. *Die Gartenlaube* published more and more articles with an expressly antisemitic coloration. But its turn to antisemitism coincided with a decline in readership. Attempts to stem the loss of circulation by fusing with other weeklies of a similar hue had little effect. A much-diminished *Die Gartenlaube* struggled on, finally folding during World War II.

—Henry Wassermann

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); *Fliegende Blätter*; Glagau, Otto; Heine, Heinrich; *Kladderadatsch*; *Simplicissimus*

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## Gemlich Letter

The first preserved piece of political writing by Adolf Hitler and the first to mention the word *Jew* is the letter he wrote Adolf Gemlich on September 16, 1919, detailing his views on the Jewish Question. Hitler was then in the pay of the "News Bureau"—the cover name for a spy agency of the army in Munich—delivering civics lectures to soldiers and reporting on the German Workers' Party (later the National Socialist German Workers' Party), which he soon joined. The letter, a copy of which was placed in the army bureau's archive, most probably represents the answer to an inquiry from Gemlich that Hitler was called on to deal with as part of his duties. Doing so forced him to put his opinions in writing for the first time.

Political antisemitism, according to the letter, ought not be the product of "emotional impulse" but should instead be based on "knowledge of the facts." Like the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) antisemites of the late imperial era, Hitler defined Jews in racial rather than religious terms. "The Mosaic faith, no matter how significant it may be for the survival of this race, cannot be the exclusive determinant of who is or is not a Jew" (all quotes from Jäckel and Kuhn 1980). Jews constituted a "non-German, alien race," unwilling or

incapable of "giving up its racial peculiarities" or of adapting to the German nation. "Everything that prompted men to strive for higher goals, be it religion, socialism, or democracy, is for them only a means to an end, ways to satisfy their greed for money and mastery. As a consequence, they are the carriers of racial tuberculosis among the nations."

All these accusations, including the formulaic Jew as contagious bacillus threatening to suck the life out of the nations, were in keeping with the clichés of the *völkisch* antisemitism of Hitler's day. What is unusual in the letter is that Hitler still considered socialism and democracy to be "higher ideal values"; he would soon "discover" their connection to Judeo-Bolshevism, however.

From these general observations, it follows that "antisemitism based on purely emotional motives will find its logical expression in the pogrom. The antisemitism of reason, however, must lead to the systematic legal struggle for the abolition of the Jew's privileged status, that which distinguishes him from the other foreigners who live among us (Aliens Law). The ultimate goal, however, must be the absolutely final removal of the Jews altogether." Clearly, he was distinguishing between a short-term goal and a long-term goal. As a first step, the civil emancipation of the Jews should be rescinded. This demand made its way into points 4 and 5 of the Nazi Party program of February 24, 1920. Related measures were incorporated in points 6 and 8, denying Jews the right to hold public office and calling for the expulsion of all those who had arrived in Germany after the outbreak of World War I (primarily eastern European immigrants).

Exactly what Hitler meant by the "removal of the Jews altogether" (*Entfernung der Juden überhaupt*) is open to debate. In the context of his public oratory of the time, there is much to suggest that he meant expulsion, that is, emigration coerced by the state. Particularly persuasive in this regard is Hitler's "foundational" speech of August 13, 1920, "Why Are We Antisemites?" However, Hitler's seeming restraint may also have been the result of a prior cautioning from his army employers to proceed with utmost care when dealing with "certain matters." This, rather than innate moderation, may explain his dis-

tancing himself from pogrom antisemitism and his emphasis on legal measures to be taken against Jews.

—Clemens Vollnhals

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; *Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?*; Hitler, Adolf; Hitler Speeches (Early); Judeo-Bolshevism; Nazi Party Program; *Ostjuden*; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## General Orders No. 11 (1862)

The Civil War was the context for the most egregious act of official antisemitism in U.S. history. On December 17, 1862, General Orders No. 11 was issued from Holly Springs, Mississippi, the headquarters of the Union army's Department of the Tennessee, under the command of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. Signed by an adjutant "by order" from Grant, it decreed: "The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade . . . are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order."

The incident developed from a larger issue in the war's western theater. To meet northern manufacturers' demands, the federal government authorized a limited cotton trade within those areas of the Confederacy under Union control, with the army responsible for enforcement of trade regulations. Speculation and corruption were soon rampant. As conflict increased, accusations against speculators crystallized into accusations against Jews. Recapitulating the long history of anticommercial Jewish stereotyping, *Jew* became synonymous with *speculator* in the language of both the military and civilians.

The Mississippi River, the main conduit of cotton shipment, was in Grant's command. Grant was neither more nor less prejudiced than the average American gentile of his time. But frustrated by widespread smuggling (and also, perhaps, embarrassed by his father's involvement in a legitimate cotton-trading partnership with some Cincinnati Jewish merchants), he singled out one group he could easily identify and thought he might be able to control.

In fact, the order was enforced only in Holly Springs and neighboring Oxford and in Paducah, Kentucky, where some thirty Jewish families were expelled. Paducah's Jewish leaders immediately sent telegrams of protest directly to President Lincoln and appealed to other Jewish communities and to the B'nai B'rith for help. In January 1863, Cesar Kaskel of Paducah met with Lincoln, who countermanded Grant's order.

Grant later admitted to having acted hastily. Contemporary evaluations of the incident and assessments of blame tended to reflect partisan politics, rather than attitudes toward Jews or civil rights; when Grant ran for president in 1868, Democrats publicized the order more to embarrass Grant than to defend principle.

The fate of General Orders No. 11 has registered in the annals of U.S. Jewish history as proof of the country's exceptionalism, compared to what would have been unexceptional antisemitism in Europe. Jews felt free to protest to their government, and they expected—indeed, demanded—that their grievances be remedied. The prominence of a Jewish issue in the 1868 campaign forced American Jews to begin reassessing their community's role in public life, furthering the emergence of a self-conscious American Jewish political voice.

—Amy Hill Shevitz

**See also** Armed Forces of the United States; United States

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## **George, Stefan (1868–1933)**

Stefan George was famous for the emotional intensity and formal rigor of his poetry, for his dreams of cultural purification and renewal, and, perhaps above all, for the abject loyalty he inspired in his accomplished, largely Jewish “circle” of disciples overawed by his shamanlike airs and stature. George was born into ordinary circumstances in Büdesheim, a village on the southwest bank of the Rhine. His father was a convivial, comfortably successful wine merchant, his mother a reclusive and devout Catholic. George seems to have gotten along with his parents reasonably well and then to have embraced his first opportunity to leave home in 1882 to attend the well-known Ludwig-Georg-Gymnasium (preparatory school) in Darmstadt.

The French symbolist poets exerted an early, decisive influence on George’s writing. In the 1890s, he seriously considered living and working in France as an expatriate artist. But instead, he decided to commit himself to Germany and quickly developed into a cultural chauvinist. Indeed, by 1894, George’s new attitude and his interest in avoiding foreign words and making the German language more Germanic had alienated some contributors to his *Blätter für die Kunst* (Art Pages), the journal that he founded in 1892 and that remained his artistic focus until 1919. Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Leopold von Andrian, two cosmopolitan-minded stars of Viennese letters, broke acrimoniously with George, for example. Von Andrian complained of George’s antisemitism, although just what he was referring to remains unclear.

George had entered into a friendship with Ludwig Klages, who later became an important antisemitic thinker. But he also had begun to attract Jewish admirers. Karl Wolfkehl, Erich Kahler, Friedrich Gundolf, and Ernst Kantorowicz formed the nucleus of the vaunted “George circle.” These German Jews were successful scholars and ardent enthusiasts of German culture. Yet neither George, who was one of the most widely acclaimed German poets during the Weimar Republic, nor his disciples were popularizers. Just the opposite was the case. They isolated themselves in an exclusive “secret society,” energized by homoerotic attractions

and a common desire to dwell in a rarefied artistic-intellectual-linguistic sanctuary.

Some critics see Stefan George as an antisemite. But on what basis do they make this assessment? There is no explicitly antisemitic content in George’s poetry, and he had close Jewish connections. Nonetheless, he believed Jews to be culturally inferior to Germans. “They do not experience life as deeply as we do,” he once remarked. Furthermore, he is said to have made flattering observations about Hitler and to have stated, just after the Nazis took power, “the Jews should not be surprised if I side more with the Nazis” (Norton 2002, 156).

More significant than these random comments and attributions, perhaps, is George’s artistic vocabulary. His poetry celebrates autocratic “Führer” figures who would create a more Germanic “new Reich.” George’s enthusiasm for World War I, as well as his acidulous bitterness toward the French after it, are also sometimes adduced by those who see him as an antisemite. They argue that George conferred cultural legitimacy on themes, terms, and ideas that comprised core elements of Nazi political discourse. That is why some influential Nazis, for example, Ernst Bertram, publicly claimed George as their spiritual “prophet.” In addition, Joseph Goebbels created the George Prize for literature in 1934. Yet unlike other highbrow seekers of Germanic renewal, such as Martin Heidegger, George never formally supported the Nazis, and he was clearly put off by the very prospect of having to join an organization that he had not designed and did not control. As Walter Benjamin put it just after George’s death, “If ever God has punished a prophet by fulfilling his prophecy, then that is the case with George” (in Adorno 1994, 416).

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Austria; Benn, Gottfried; Goebbels, Joseph; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Weimar

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## German Big Business and Antisemitism (1910–1945)

By most indicators, Jews and Jewish-owned firms were well-represented in the upper ranks of German industry and finance prior to World War I, but this presence decreased during the Weimar Republic. Antisemitic attitudes surged in Germany in the 1920s, yet they appear to have played only an episodic part in the decline of the Jews' role. Rather, the downward trend resulted from (1) the falling birthrate of the German Jewish population, which led to a steady drop both in the percentage of Jews in the German citizenry after 1880 and in their absolute numbers after 1910 and to a rising average age level, and (2) economic developments that eroded the fortunes of family-owned or family-led firms and/or aborted the careers of veteran managers—notably, the hyperinflation of the early 1920s, the merger wave that followed, and the Great Depression. One consequence was that during Hitler's rise to power, most leading German entrepreneurs gave little credence to and saw little to gain from Nazism's charges that the nation's economy had become "Jewified" and could be improved by driving Jews from it. In fact, many Germans in big business had strong personal feelings to the contrary, having served with Jews in the war, rubbed elbows with them professionally, and found them loyal and cooperative in cartels and interest groups; many also had familial experience with intermarriage.

Nevertheless, certain strains of antisemitism persisted and even gained strength in German business circles as the Nazi Party ascended. The first among these was rooted in irritation at the prominence, both real and exaggerated, of Jews among the political opponents and intellectual critics of capitalism in the turbulent aftermath of World War I. The second fed on the discomfort caused by the arrival in Germany of some 100,000 largely traditionalist Jews from eastern Europe between 1917 and 1925. The result was a fateful ambivalence among corporate leaders in the face of Nazi racism. Opposed to infringements on the rights and livelihoods of people like

themselves, German corporate executives were often receptive to restrictions on those Jews whose beliefs or customs challenged their own.

Once Hitler achieved power, even this selective form of solidarity collapsed. As the Nazis began pushing Jews from German economic life, the boards of most major banks, industries, and interest groups generally gave in, though sometimes haltingly, to demands to retire or dismiss most of their Jewish officers and employees. Such appeasement did not go unchallenged—among the famous magnates who opposed or tried to limit the persecution were Carl and Robert Bosch, Carl-Friedrich von Siemens, and, most eloquently, Georg von Müller-Oerlingshausen and Emil Kirdorf. But for the most part, corporate leaders concluded that discretion was the better part of valor. "The interests of the firm" usually argued for compliance, and abandoning one's Jewish colleagues seemed a small price to pay, however regrettably, in order to signal an enterprise's willingness to serve the New Germany and thus perhaps to deflect the Nazis from their more radical economic proposals.

In the years prior to World War II, as German firms adjusted to the state-directed economy of the Third Reich, they found increasing material reasons to cooperate in the persecution of the Jews. Antisemitism grew apace, even if distress over its application to old friends and colleagues remained. Participation in takeovers of Jewish-owned property at ever more advantageous prices brought rewards that otherwise might have fallen to competitors, demonstrated the ability of private enterprise to perform the nation's work, and enabled aggressive individuals to enrich themselves and build reputations.

After 1939, the abandonment of moral inhibitions toward Jews became virtually complete, and increasing cruelty directed at those caught in corporate sights in occupied Europe was only encouraged by their foreignness and the degradation to which the Third Reich reduced them, as well as by the effects of years of Nazi propaganda. Now, Jews' positions, assets, and even their persons devolved in the eyes of most German managers to mere factors of production, which could be used up like any other. Only a handful of business leaders showed any compunction about the

use of Jewish slave laborers, when or wherever other workers were unavailable. Most German enterprises exhibited, moreover, a mounting readiness to extract every last portion of productivity from the laborers they had been allotted in order to offset the costs that using them entailed, such as payments per head to the SS and outlays for guards and barracks.

In the end, the historical record of the attitudes and behavior of the big business community toward Jews before and after 1933 suggests that antisemitic feeling may have been less a cause than an effect of the cruelty these executives meted out. Over time, they adopted the ideology that legitimated the conduct they thought their economic interests required. And for many years after 1945, the persistence of that ideology—along with considerable measures of amnesia, excuse making, and self-pity—contributed powerfully to the universal resistance of German business leaders to making restitution or paying compensation to those whose lives their actions had devastated.

—Peter Hayes

**See also** Aryanization; Judeo-Bolshevism; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; *Ostjuden*; Weimar

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## German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

Founded in 1949 as the antifascist, socialist German state, the German Democratic Republic

(GDR) was plagued by semiofficial antisemitism throughout its forty-year history. Despite the shared experience of persecution under the Nazis, many Communists in East Germany, governing through the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, or SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland), exhibited marked antisemitic and anti-Zionist tendencies.

Communists, predicated their hold on power on the claim to be the primary victims of Nazi persecution, felt threatened by the presence of the East German Jewish community, which vocally demanded support and reparations for the Holocaust. Moreover, the leader of the community from 1946 to 1953, Julius Meyer, was active in the SED and politicized the Jewish community. Support for Jewish demands, most notably reparations, became a point of contention in internal SED power struggles. Those Communists who had spent the war years with the Stalinist leadership in Moscow, including Walter Ulbricht, opposed reparations and used the issue to exclude their opponents from the ruling elite, including non-Jewish Politburo member Paul Merker, who had spent the war years in Mexico City (where he had ties to German Jewish refugees).

In December 1952, following a purge of Jews from the Czechoslovak Communist Party—most notably the party's first secretary, Rudolf Slánský—Ulbricht and his allies in the SED used supposed support for Israel and ties to the United States as a pretext to remove Merker and many Jewish Communists from public life. The high point of the purge coincided with the Doctors' Plots in the Soviet Union, and many leading Jews in the GDR fled to the West at the time. Although the worst persecution of the Jewish community ceased after Stalin's death in March 1953, the regime refused to offer reparations for Holocaust survivors or provide even minimal support to the Jewish community.

Following Soviet policy, many in the SED initially supported the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, but that support disappeared as the Soviet bloc came to support the Arab states in the Middle Eastern conflict. Official policy regarded (social democratic) Israel merely as a capitalist lackey of the United States. Espionage on behalf of the United States and Israel was one of

the charges leveled at Slánský and other victims of Stalinist show trials in the early 1950s. Despite their experience under the Nazis, “antifascist” East German Communists made no effort to moderate the virulent antisemitism of their Soviet or Arab allies.

During the Six Days’ War of 1967, East German officials compared Israel to Nazi Germany and regarded the Middle Eastern conflict as one against “Hebraic social-fascism” and the “spear point of US imperialism.” Some historians, including Jeffrey Herf and Michael Wolffsohn, regard the GDR as essentially antisemitic. They claim that anticapitalism and anti-Zionism utilized anti-Jewish stereotypes and a preexisting basis of Marxist hostility toward religion as societal factors. Others, including Angelika Timm, differentiate between hostility toward Israel and domestic antisemitism. Unlike Poland, for example, East Germany did not overtly persecute its own Jewish citizens in 1967.

In 1973, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) opened a bureau (later considered an embassy) in East Germany—the first in the Soviet bloc—and the GDR began to supply the PLO with arms and training. Two years later, the GDR voted for UN Resolution 3379, which equates Zionism with racism.

In 1987, seeking support for the weakening regime, SED leader Erich Honecker adopted a conciliatory tactic in dealing with foreign Jewish groups. In November 1989, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the GDR began talks with the World Jewish Congress regarding reparations for the Holocaust. The East German government was not suddenly philosemitic; rather, it cynically hoped to shore up its international image and to gain the sympathy of the U.S. government by winning the favor of American Jews. The only democratically elected East German parliament, in office from March to October 1990, acknowledged both German responsibility for the Holocaust and the existence of antisemitism in the GDR.

Although the SED dominated the East German state, the GDR was officially a multiparty polity, and many former Nazis and Nazi sympathizers in East Germany found a political home in the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutsch-

lands (National Democratic Party of Germany). Since German reunification, there has been a dramatic increase in extreme right-wing political activity in the eastern regions of Germany, although most of the physical violence has been directed against foreigners rather than German Jews. Nationalist, right-wing political parties have enjoyed success in local and state elections.

—Jay Howard Geller

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors’ Plot; Germany, Federal Republic of; Slánský Trial; Socialists on Antisemitism; Stalin, Joseph

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## German Eastern Marches Society

One of many patriotic societies of imperial Germany, the German Eastern Marches Society (Deutscher Ostmarkenverein) focused its energies on the so-called Polish Question in the Prussian East. Although it advocated harsh anti-Polish measures, the society maintained a more ambivalent and flexible attitude toward Germany’s Jews.

Ferdinand von Hansemann, Hermann Kennemann, and Maj. Heinrich von Tiedemann, prominent German nationalists from the eastern Prussian province of Poznania, founded the German Eastern Marches Society in November 1894; the organization was often referred to as the H-K-T Society and its members as *Hakatisten* because of the initials of its three primary backers. The goal of the society was to defend German interests wherever and whenever they were threatened by “the Pole” and to expand, strengthen, and solidify the German presence in the eastern provinces. The organization sought to mobilize the national loyalties of Germans in the region in support of harsher policies against

Prussian Poles—for example, the Germanization of schools and place names, economic aid for resident Germans, and the settlement of Germans in the provinces.

Although many nationalists, such as the members of the Pan-German League, viewed Jews as the cultural, religious, and national “Other,” the statutes of the Eastern Marches Society did not exclude their membership. On the contrary, the society recognized the utility of Jews for the German cause in the Prussian East, reaffirming the Germanness of Jews, if only for pragmatic reasons. It was clear to the leaders of the society that a strong German presence in the eastern provinces required an alliance with the region’s Jews, precisely because Jews represented a crucial—loyal, wealthy, and dynamic—part of the German population, particularly at election time. To ensure that the Jews maintained a German presence in the eastern provinces, the society admonished its members to reject antisemitism. Tiedemann repeatedly called for a fight against antisemitism whenever it surfaced, describing Jews as a pillar of Germandom. The Eastern Marches Society’s condemnation of antisemitism was motivated primarily by politics and demography: with Jewish support at the polls, Germans would be able to stave off Polish advances. Jews would not support antisemitic candidates, however, and antisemitism might have forced them to leave the region, rendering German candidates vulnerable to defeat by a united Polish voting bloc.

Despite the Eastern Marches Society’s professed nonconfessionalism and public condemnation of antisemitism, there were antisemites among its leaders and members. Yet antisemitism did not become a prominent feature of the society’s ideology in the way that typified radical nationalist organizations elsewhere in the Reich. At least, this was the case until the loss of the eastern territories following World War I, when the society ceased practicing restraint on the Jewish Question and incorporated a discourse of scientific racism into its ideology.

—Elizabeth A. Drummond

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Pan-German League; Poland; Racism, Scientific

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### German National People’s Party

The German National People’s Party, or Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP), was the most important conservative political organization of the Weimar Republic. Established in 1918, the DNVP traced its roots to the pre-World War I political Right. During the Weimar years, the party divided into two factions: a moderate wing that grudgingly accepted the republican constitution and was willing to cooperate with other parties in the German parliament and a reactionary wing that sought to replace democracy with an authoritarian form of government.

The DNVP, whose adherents were often referred to as the Nationalists, was one of numerous political parties organized in the months following the collapse of the German monarchy. Composed of industrialists, monarchists, members of the nobility, middle-class nationalist liberals, and lower-middle-class antisemites, the DNVP sought to widen its essentially elitist electoral base by appealing to the broadly defined middle class. In spite of its efforts, the party remained relatively small, although it did win 20.5 percent of the vote in the 1924 Reichstag elections. Thereafter, however, support eroded, and the party won only 8 percent of the vote in the Weimar Republic’s last election. From 1918 to 1924, the Nationalists openly opposed Germany’s democratic institutions, yearning for a Hohenzollern restoration. In the Reichstag, they aggressively opposed the Versailles Treaty and the obligations imposed by the victors. The Nationalists defiantly demanded that the government refuse to pay reparations and that Germany rearm as quickly as possible.

The party also perpetuated the antisemitic rhetoric typical of the imperial era. To the “real”

antisemites further to the Right, this sort of antisemitism “in kid gloves” had become totally inadequate. Hitler, for instance, thought the Nationalists were demagogic rather than sincerely antisemitic and that they were only willing to fight for their own narrow economic interests. Their shopworn antisemitism was trotted out only at election time. Suspicions regarding their seriousness in the matter of the Jewish Question were confirmed when moderates gained control of the party, a process accelerated by the murder of Walther Rathenau (in 1922) and entailing the expulsion of several radical antisemites.

In the mid-1920s, the DNVP was an uneasy participant in a number of coalition governments. In October 1928, however, media mogul Alfred Hugenberg led a revolt of the party’s right wing, and he became the new chairman. Under Hugenberg’s leadership, the Nationalists moved swiftly rightward, openly denouncing the moderate policies of the previous four years and adopting a more radical brand of political antisemitism. In 1929, the DNVP was at the forefront of the opposition to the Young Plan, under which Germany agreed to a new schedule of reparations payments. Given its unimposing electoral base and its inability to reach the masses directly, the DNVP made room for the Nazis in the campaign against the Young Plan, hoping to exploit Hitler’s popularity with certain elements of the middle class and, perhaps inadvertently, giving him more political legitimacy than he had been able to gain on his own. Although Hugenberg and the party leadership had misgivings about Hitler’s economic and social radicalism, they found nothing to object to in his extremist antisemitism. In the end phase of the republic, it was often difficult to distinguish between Nazi and DNVP Jew-hatred.

The DNVP was at the center of the conservative movement throughout the Weimar years. Despite the moderate interlude, the party, representing the propertied and educated German elite, did nearly as much as the Nazis to destroy Weimar democracy.

—*Russel Lemmons*

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; German Racial Freedom Party; Hitler, Adolf; Hugenberg, Alfred; National Socialist German Workers’ Party;

Pan-German League; Pudor, Heinrich; Rathenau, Walther; Weimar

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## German National White Collar Employees Association (1893–1934)

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the number of commercial clerks in Germany increased dramatically: only 468,591 in 1895, the total number rose to 835,303 by 1907. The clerks’ harsh working conditions led to the founding of numerous unions. Among them, the German White Collar Employees Association (Deutscher Handlungsgehilfen-Verband zu Hamburg), founded on September 2, 1893, was an exception because it combined sociopolitical demands with a strong antisemitic and anti-Social Democratic agenda. From its inception, it was closely allied to the antisemitic German Social Party (Deutschsoziale Partei). After a faltering start, the union intensified its propaganda effort and tellingly renamed itself the *German-National* White Collar Employees Association (Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband [DHV]). Replacing the neutral *German* with *German-National* advertised the intensification of the group’s antisemitic component and emphasized its separation from liberal and Social Democratic commercial associations.

On so-called White-Collar Days, combining lectures and sociable entertainment, the union promoted its economic demands and its “spiritual” goals, among them the educating of members to become “healthy national men.” Jews were denied membership. The centrality of nationalism in the DHV outlook can be explained by the class-based thinking of the union’s leaders, who saw proletarianization as the greatest danger facing the clerks. Although their actual working conditions and incomes hardly differed from those of the proletariat, they considered themselves “brain-workers” and identified themselves with the middle class. This status-consciousness

reinforced the members' German nationalism and expressed itself politically in fighting against *international* socialism. But the clerks felt equally threatened by high finance, big business, and "unproductive capital"—all typified by the stereotypical "greedy Jewish capitalist."

Antisemitism was a distinguishing characteristic of the DHV and apparently helped recruit membership, strengthening the organization's political influence. In addition to its connection to the German Social Party, the DHV further embedded itself in the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movement through contacts with the German League (Deutschbund), the Pan-German League, and the Imperial Hammer League.

In 1911, the association entered a second phase, heralded by the resignation of its scandal-plagued chairman, Wilhelm Schack, and his replacement by Hans Bechly, who declared the union's political neutrality and withdrew it from völkisch politics and alliances. Bechly threw in with the Christian (nonsocialist) trade unions, which promoted the white-collar workers' economic and social interests without recourse to antisemitism or racist ideology.

But World War I led the DHV back to its original formula for success with a new wave of "*völkisch* educational work." Its Fichte Society of 1916, organized to promote racist and patriotic aims, gravitated toward Wilhelm Stapel, representative of a less extreme form of antisemitism that he, with the association's help, popularized in conservative, nationalist, and Protestant circles. The DHV established its own Hanseatic Publishing Institute, an extraordinarily successful propaganda instrument that enhanced the impact of the union's already numerous professional publications. Following World War I, the DHV, in order to preserve its political influence in the democratic environment of the Weimar Republic, joined again with the Christian trade unions. The alliance precluded public espousals of a radical völkisch or antisemitic nature. But these sentiments were kept alive within the organization by means of elite groups, such as the Faithful Followers' Circle. The party leadership preferred to exercise its political options in the Protestant and nationalist milieu by means of the right-of-center and conservative parties. But in the later stages

of the republic, DHV rank-and-file members clearly preferred the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). In 1931 and 1932, the leadership made an abortive attempt to win Hitler over to the union's goals and to engineer a coalition of the Catholic Center Party (Zentrum) and the NSDAP.

Hitler's takeover in 1933 was, at first, effusively welcomed by the DHV, whose members felt certain that their own ideological and social demands would now be achieved. The white-collar workers, however, had not paid close enough attention to the socially retrograde and antiunion line of the NSDAP. The DHV was swiftly "coordinated," that is, forced into the German Labor Front. On February 20, 1934, a year after Hitler assumed power, the DHV was dissolved and its 400,000 members transferred into the Nazi unified trade union.

—Alexandra Gerstner

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; German National People's Party; Hugenberg, Alfred; Imperial Hammer League; Lange, Friedrich; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Pan-German League; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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## German Peasant League

The first German Peasant League (Deutscher Bauernbund [DBB]), founded in 1885 by Ferdinand Knauer and Berthold von Ploetz, illustrated the potential and the pitfalls of German peasant politics—and its fluctuating relationship with regard to antisemitism—from the 1880s onward. The DBB's first leaders were "respectable" antisemites in the style of Adolf Stoecker, rather than that of Hermann Ahlwardt or Otto Böckel. The Prussian provinces provided the members, to whom the league lent material support by means of a network of buying cooperatives and whose votes were supposed to

muster rural backing for Otto von Bismarck's government. However, the proindustrial policies of Bismarck's successor, Count Leo von Caprivi, threw the league into an existential crisis in 1890. Ploetz fled into the arms of the organizers of a broader, explicitly nongovernmental, and more radically antisemitic organization, the Agrarian League. The DBB was instrumental in the success of the Agrarians, contributing 40,000 of their original 162,000 members, the bulk of the treasury, and many of the original functionaries. Ploetz was elected president of the new association and also named leader of the antisemitic Economic Union (*Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung*), a caucus organized in the Reichstag after the elections of 1893.

The second incarnation of the German Peasant League (1909–1927) was engineered by liberal agrarian dissidents who had come under attack from the right-radical Agrarian League. Eastern peasant colonists, who also resented Junker domination of agrarian politics, allied with the dissidents. The leading personalities in the revived DBB were a Hanoverian estate owner, Friedrich Wachhorst de Wente, and a renegade Agrarian League functionary, Karl Böhme. The Bauernbund designation reflected the liberal belief that an exploitable gulf existed between the interests of peasants and aristocratic estate owners and that agrarianism did not have to translate automatically into right-wing politics or antisemitism. The organization never attained a large membership base or secure finances; it was underwritten by the industrial interest group the Hansa League (Hansabund), as a means of weakening the Agrarian League's hold on the countryside. In policy terms, the second league was most notable for its support of "moderate" tariffs, its willingness to work with the government, and its rejection of antisemitism. However, in 1911 and 1913, when the DBB incorporated several independent, largely antisemitic regional peasant groups, its opposition to antisemitism weakened.

During World War I, the DBB lobbied against government controls and supported the Reichstag's Easter Resolution in 1917 calling for peace without annexations. This opposition to the controlled economy and identification with the Left led to an alliance with the German De-

mocratic Party (DDP) in December 1919. The DBB acted as the party's rural auxiliary, holding nearly one-fourth of its seats in the first postwar Reichstag. But the league split in 1924 over matters of tariff policy, and the issue of antisemitism once again contributed to the discord. Karl Böhme, supported perhaps by a majority of the DBB's members, moved to the Center-Right German People's Party (DVP). Wachhorst's supporters, who retained control of the league's treasury and newspaper, accused Böhme and his followers of covert antisemitism, a charge that Böhme vehemently denied and that remains unsubstantiated by the historical record. Acrimony reigned between the two factions until 1927, when the league dissolved.

—George S. Vascik

*See also* Agrarian League; Ahlwardt, Hermann; Böckel, Otto; Memminger, Anton; Ratzinger, Georg; Stoecker, Adolf; Weimar

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## German Racial Freedom Party

During the course of the German Revolution of 1918, a number of rightist national groups and parties, finding themselves in somewhat desperate straits, came together in the German National People's Party (Deutschationale Volkspartei [DNVP]). The DNVP embraced essential elements of the prewar antisemitic and *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movements. Although the party must be considered fundamentally antisemitic, it was characterized from its inception by a great variety of often conflicting views on the Jewish Question. The leadership attempted to maintain good relations with Jewish members and contributors, and a few state branches of the party distanced themselves completely from open antisemitism. But many party members and the organizations that they were associated with engaged in radical antisemitic agitation. In time, the DNVP's internal divisions, especially concerning the Jewish Question, resulted in two factions. One hewed somewhat reluctantly to the line of legality. The other, including the *völkisch*

antisemitic elements, chafed against the lack of radical action and publicly rejected the Weimar Republic as a creation of the Jews. It pushed relentlessly for radical solutions of the Jewish Question. The murder of Walther Rathenau in 1922 threw the party into crisis.

The moderate leadership moved to isolate and then expel the radicals led by the three Reichstag deputies Albrecht von Graefe, Reinhold Wulle, and Wilhelm Henning. First forming their own rebel faction in the Reichstag, the three joined with like-minded rightist radicals to form the German Racial Freedom Party (*Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* [DVFP]) in December 1922. The well-known radical antisemites Ernst zu Reventlow, Artur Dinter, and Theodor Fritsch soon joined the leadership of the new party, hoping to make it an umbrella organization for völkisch groupings and thereby fill the vacuum left by the recently banned German Racial League for Defense and Defiance.

The waxing and waning of the DVFP's fortunes had much to do with its relations to the rise of Hitler and his party. When the Nazi Party was banned in many parts of Germany in 1923, there was limited cooperation between it and the DVFP, and a number of individual Nazis gravitated to the party—especially in the north, where the DVFP was most active. But in March 1923, the DVFP was also banned by the government of Prussia, which declared it to be no more than a surrogate for already prohibited organizations under the Law for the Protection of the Republic. Several members participated in Hitler's attempted putsch of November 1923. The party's momentary importance in German political history came when Hitler was removed from the scene and imprisoned for his attempted overthrow of the republic.

The DVFP, again cooperating with the Nazis in several areas and with other rightist extremist groups, contested the Reichstag elections of 1924 and turned in an estimable success—winning 6.5 percent of the vote and thirty-two seats. In addition to the party's three original leaders, Fritsch, Reventlow, and Erich Ludendorff, also won mandates. But the promising coalition was riven by conflict, rivalry, and shifting political alliances, which compromised its political effec-

tiveness. Another election in December 1924 revealed the party's weakness. Now campaigning as the National Socialist Freedom Movement of Greater Germany, it managed to win only fourteen seats; the results of the Prussian state parliament elections that took place soon afterward were equally disappointing. After Hitler was released from prison and despite mediating efforts by Ludendorff, the party could no longer avoid schism. On February 2, 1925, Graefe, Wulle, Reventlow, and Fritsch announced the reestablishment of the German Racial People's Movement (*Deutschvölkische Freiheitsbewegung* [DVFB]). Ten days later, Hitler refounded the Nazi Party in Munich.

Hitler and his party were the clear winners in the struggle to monopolize völkisch antisemitic politics in the Weimar Republic, outmaneuvering the DVFB at every turn. While DVFB leaders argued and plotted, the rank and file began to drift away. By 1928, the party had lost nearly 45 percent of its membership, including some of its leaders, mostly to the Nazis. The Nazis had developed a new style of mass-party politics, while the DFVB remained mired in the old ways. Even though the two groups shared much the same outlook on the need to solve the Jewish Question and used antisemitism as a major tool of political mobilization, the DFVB failed to move with the times, and none of its old-fashioned leaders, schooled in the antisemitism of the prewar era, could match Hitler's popular appeal or political savvy. One by one, the prominent leaders left the party, were lured to the Nazis, or made their peace with them. Wulle, who remained with the DVFB, greeted Hitler's accession to power on January 30, 1933; nevertheless, his party was dissolved a few months later. He remained active as a writer until 1938 but kept his distance from the Nazis. He was then arrested and jailed, spending the years from 1940 to 1942 in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. After the war, he attempted to use his imprisonment to stylize himself a resistance fighter.

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* *Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?*; Dinter, Artur; Fritsch, Theodor; German National People's Party; National Socialist

German Workers' Party; Hitler, Adolf; Ludendorff, Erich; Reventlow, Ernst zu; Weimar

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## German Racial League for Defense and Defiance

In the early years of the Weimar Republic, no organization broadened the appeal of antisemitism more vigorously than the short-lived but tempestuous German Racial League for Defense and Defiance (Deutschvölkischer Schutzbund und Trutz-Bund [DVSTB]). Founded on February 18, 1919, at a meeting of the Pan-German League, the DVSTB was no more than a catchall for various antisemitic splinter groups at first. Its further history developed in two stages. In the formative phase of its first year of existence, the organization actively fended off the leadership claims of all sorts of other antisemitic groups and personalities. Initially too weak to control the debate over antisemitism, the league was unable to prevent the maverick, right-wing extremist Heinrich Pudor, from taking the spotlight by openly advocating the pogrom as a legitimate solution to the Jewish Question. However, Alfred Roth, the active leader of the DVSTB, took steps to strengthen the organization, recruiting the Imperial Hammer League (Reichshammerbund) of his friend Theodor Fritsch, as well as another important antisemitic organization. By October 1919, the significantly bolstered DVSTB entered its second phase, operating for the next two years as the dominant force in the antisemitic camp.

Membership in the league reflected this dominance. Still only 30,000 strong at the end of 1919, it attracted 160,000 to 180,000 new members by 1922. Counting those who joined and then left the organization before its abolition following the murder of Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau (on June 24, 1922), at least 200,000 individuals participated in its activities. Close to 40 percent of them were university educated; that the ranks included many secondary school teachers, university professors, and even seminarians, such

as the later resistance fighter Martin Niemöller, demonstrates the strong appeal the DVSTB had for the middle sectors of German society.

The political style of the organization harked back to the elitist politics of the Wilhelminian period. Several of the local branches resembled clubs, with regular lecture evenings and social gatherings; they did not, however, develop the all-important paramilitary or conspiratorial groups typical of other Weimar rightist movements, such as the Storm troopers attached to the Nazi Party. On the basis of its mass membership, the league was nevertheless able to set the parameters for antisemitic discourse in the early republic. Members excelled in the coarsest brand of antisemitism, maligning Germany's Jewish citizens and, at times, calling for their outright murder. If ever the league rose to power, Roth threatened, Jews would be "marched to the gallows." But the league reserved its major effort for the unremitting campaign against *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews), demanding again and again the forcible expulsion of Jews who had immigrated to Germany from eastern Europe and the passage of an aliens law based on blatantly antisemitic principles.

Despite its crude fanaticism, the DVSTB ought to be considered the last gasp of a radicalized Wilhelminian antisemitism rather than the direct forerunner of the Nazis. Hitler always kept his distance from the organization, deeming the Munich branch of the DVSTB as little more than a "gentleman's club" or an outpost of the rival German National People's Party. The league was both too elitist and too timid for his tastes. In 1920, the Nazis challenged the more influential league in the matter of antisemitic radicalism, calling for the expulsion from Germany of *all* Jews, not just *Ostjuden*.

During its short existence, the league was weakened by constant internal conflicts and rivalries. As its public reputation dissolved, its rowdy tendencies gained the upper hand, until the assassination of Rathenau led to its official dissolution.

—Dirk Walter  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Fritsch, Theodor; German National People's Party; Hitler, Adolf; Imperial Hammer League; National Socialist German Workers' Party;

*Ostjuden*; Pan-German League; Pudor, Heinrich; Rathenau, Walther; Roth, Alfred; Weimar

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## German Students, Association of

The Verein Deutscher Studenten (Association of German Students [VDSt]) was founded in the aftermath of Heinrich von Treitschke's infamous "the Jews are our misfortune" article, published in November 1879, and the antisemitic petition campaign of Berlin students in 1880. A Berlin chapter of the VDSt was formally established on January 18, 1881, the tenth anniversary of the founding of the German Empire, although the University of Berlin authorities refused to grant it recognition. The movement quickly spread to other universities. One of the largest and most dynamic chapters was in Leipzig, under the leadership of Friedrich Naumann and Diederich Hahn. On August 6, 1881, the Leipzig branch organized a huge national meeting on the Kyffhäuser, the mythic resting place of Friedrich Barbarossa. The VDSt branches joined together into a national organization, known as the Kyffhäuserverband. The association rejected the German party system of the day and characterized itself as "national, Christian and socially-aware." Its two major concerns were foreign influences and culture in the new Reich, most notably Jewish culture, and the social ills caused by Jewish industrialization. In this outlook, the founders of the association were closely allied with Adolf Stoecker and the "respectable" Christian conservative antisemites. The organization distinguished itself from the older style of student fraternity by not publicly "wearing colors" and not indulging in the cults of dueling or drinking. The local chapters conducted nationalist agitation and sponsored series of talks on ethical and social issues. More than anything else, the VDSt illustrated the pervasiveness of antisemitism as an explanatory

model—not just on the Right—for many young Germans, who later carried this outlook into diverse agrarian, reactionary, pacifist, Christian Social, and Socialist politics.

Like the antisemitic political parties, the association was prone to intense and divisive ideological controversies. In 1891, the official motto, "With God for Emperor and Reich," was dropped in a pointed attempt to detach the VDSt from the Hohenzollern dynasty, while also making it possible for Austrian chapters to join. In 1896, the bylaws were revised to prohibit members whose parents were converts from Judaism, thus adding a distinctly racial strain to the group's largely cultural antisemitism. A further controversy erupted in 1906 when Naumann, after giving open support to a Social Democrat running for the Reichstag, felt it necessary to resign from the VDSt. The students reached a compromise in the following year, guaranteeing the members' freedom of political expression.

After World War I, the association made its antirepublican political orientation known by retaining the old black-white-red imperial colors. In keeping with such politics, the organization also began to focus more on the nation (*Volk*) than on the state, defining its new mission as the "defense of Germandom" in the areas recently lost to the Reich. Throughout the 1920s, antisemitic and reactionary tendencies became more pronounced, and well before its advent, the leader of the VDSt was calling for a "Third Reich."

Nonetheless, the independent existence of the organization ended in 1934, when it was subsumed into the National Socialist German Student League. Following World War II, it was banned in the U.S. zone until March 1947. The successor organization is today composed of forty-one chapters. Its antidemocratic past continues to haunt the revived VDSt, making it a controversial participant in university life for many German students.

—George S. Vascik

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Aryan Paragraph; Germany, Federal Republic of; Hahn, Diederich; Stoecker, Adolf; Treitschke, Heinrich von; Weimar; *Word about our Jews, A*

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### **German-American Bund**

In Buffalo, New York, at the end of March 1936, Fritz Kuhn, the newly elected “führer” of the German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund [GAB]), proclaimed the organization was the official successor to the Friends of the New Germany (FONG). The bund constituted the second phase (1936–1941) of Nazi Germany’s attempt to utilize ethnic Germans in the United States for its own political purposes.

FONG was a merger of several pro-Nazi groups that had existed in the United States since 1923, composed mainly of recent German immigrants. Authorized by the Nazi Party’s political organization, Heinz Spanknöbel, the leader of the Nazi locals in the United States, formed FONG in May 1933. The group took direction from the Nazi Party’s Foreign Organization in Hamburg. By 1936, it had a maximum of 15,000 members, most of them German citizens. Notorious for its militaristic style, outspoken political propaganda, and antisemitism, the group sought to take over German ethnic organizations in the United States, utilizing a number of tactics.

By the end of 1935, however, Nazi Germany was forced to bow to U.S. diplomatic pressure to rein in FONG’s propaganda. Another mode of political activism was clearly needed, one that would be less subject to official U.S. scrutiny. The founding of the bund in 1936 was the Nazis’ solution to maintaining a presence in the United States. To escape surveillance, the coordination of German American groups was to be carried out by a *cultural*, rather than the former political, organization—namely, the German Foreign Institute (Deutsches-Ausland Institut) based in Stuttgart. The goal of tying German Americans to Nazism remained unchanged. Although the plan was to have the bund operate as a social-cultural body, coming out as a political force only at the opportune moment, it quickly turned into an

even more aggressive political agent under the leadership of Fritz Kuhn and several other ambitious German American leaders. Even the Nazis found it difficult to control these self-appointed *führers*.

Almost immediately after its founding, the bund unleashed a vigorous antisemitic and anti-communist propaganda campaign. It found allies on the extreme Right in the United States, such as the Fichte-Bund, the German National Alliance, the Ku Klux Klan, William Dudley Pelley’s Silver Shirts, Gerald L. K. Smith, George Van Horn Moseley, Father Coughlin, and many others. With an estimated 30,000 followers, the bund developed a network of organizations, owned training and recreational camps, and published a weekly newspaper, the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* (German Clarion and Observer) with a circulation of 10,000. It successfully coordinated several larger German American umbrella organizations, effectively damaging their reputations and ability to function as nonpolitical, cultural associations.

The bund’s flagrant propagandizing on behalf of Nazism attracted congressional concern. In June 1938, the McCormack Act to register “agents of foreign principals” was passed to outlaw alien political activists in the United States. It was soon followed by several other laws, culminating in passage of the Alien Registration Act (on June 28, 1938), which reactivated the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798. The First Amendment of the Constitution kept Fritz Kuhn from being tried for his political activities but not for his tax evasion and the misappropriation of bund funds. In December 1939, he was sentenced to two and a half to five years in prison, which seriously hurt the bund. Later, he was deprived of his citizenship and deported. It was left to his successor to preside over the bund’s dissolution.

With Germany’s declaration of war on the United States on December 8, 1941, all German nationals and those classified as being in the service of an enemy nation automatically fell under the special legislation of the Department of Justice. Organizationally, this constituted the end of the German-American Bund in the United States, although individual pockets of underground activity continued to exist. A few Ger-



A bumper sticker on a high school student's car stating he is a member of the German-American Bund, a Nazi movement in the United States during the 1930s that was especially popular in the Midwest. Omaha, Nebraska, November 1938. (Corbis)

man American Nazis became involved in German intelligence and sabotage activities in the country, of which Operation Pastorius in 1942, is best known.

—Cornelia Wilhelm

**See also** Coughlin, Charles E.; Judeo-Bolshevism; Ku Klux Klan; Moseley, George Van Horn; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Pelley, William Dudley; Smith, Gerald L. K.; United States

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## Germanic Order

The Germanic Order (Germanen-Orden) was an antisemitic and pan-German organization

formed in 1912 by Theodor Fritsch as a "secret" sister organization of the Imperial Hammer League (Reichshammerbund). It was designed to attract well-connected individuals and provide an outlet for their activism, while keeping their identities secret. The branch organizations were given innocuous names, such as the Association for Northern Art or the Thule Society. They were structured on the model of the Masonic lodge because, it was thought, only a secret "Aryan" lodge could effectively combat the conspiracies of Jews and Freemasons. The leaders of the Germanic Order were heavily influenced by the occult Ariosophy of Guido von List. The order mixed Masonic rites and rituals from a variety of racist fringe groups and added a heavy dose of Wagnerian drama. Only those with ideal "Germanic" heredity and features were admitted. Its symbol was the swastika superimposed on a cross.

The Germanic Order's mission was to monitor the activities of Jews, combat Jewish influence, and provide a center for the distribution of antisemitic propaganda. Fritsch had hoped to make it the central command post for the entire antisemitic movement. Never very large before the war, its fewer than 1,000 members were found chiefly in northern and eastern Germany. World War I brought the organization to the brink of dissolution, as its members left to go to war and its finances dwindled. Squabbles between leaders led to fragmentation and schisms.

The postwar rise of the extreme Right revived the group's fortunes. A nationwide network was established, and close ties with other racist organizations were forged, particularly with the activist German Racial League for Defense and Defiance (Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutz-Bund). In 1918, Rudolf von Sebottendorf formed the Thule Society as a branch organization of the Germanic Order in Bavaria that was involved in counterrevolutionary activities and the birth of the Nazi Party.

In 1921, members of the order, also associated with the shadowy Organization Consul, heeded Fritsch's call for a "Holy Fehme" (named after the secret medieval court) against the nation's enemies and assassinated Matthias Erzberger, a leading Catholic politician and signatory of the armistice ending World War I. Members of the order were involved with other radical nationalist organizations in the planning of further political assassinations, including that of the Jewish foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, Walther Rathenau, in 1922. The Law for the Protection of the Republic, together with the suspicion of other racist and nationalist organizations because of its Masonic structure and occultism, led to the Germanic Order's rapid decline. Notwithstanding Hitler's later disapproval of the order, the organization had helped establish the radical rightist and occasionally murderous atmosphere in which Nazism thrived.

—Mark Swartzburg

*See also* Freemasonry; Fritsch, Theodor; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Imperial Hammer League; List, Guido von; Pan-German League; Rathenau, Walther; Roth, Alfred; Stauff, Philipp

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### Germany, Federal Republic of (West Germany)

Since its foundation in 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany has struggled to allow freedom of expression while protecting both its citizens from abuse and the state from antidemocratic attack. Under the leadership of Konrad Adenauer from 1949 to 1963, the federal government attempted to reconcile with the Jewish community and to fight expressions of neo-Nazism. To this end, the West German parliament (Bundestag) enacted laws against antisemitic defamation. However, during the Adenauer era, the Center-Right elite, which included a number of former Nazi fellow travelers, wished to avoid a direct intellectual confrontation with the Nazi past. By the mid-1960s, as both the Social Democratic Party and the student movement grew in popularity, such a confrontation was irrepressible. Meanwhile, expressions of antisemitism, often couched in other terms, entered the general political discourse.

During the Federal Republic of Germany's first years, overt antisemitism manifested itself primarily through cemetery desecrations. However, more latent antisemitic attitudes persisted. In 1953, claiming fear of a backlash from the Arab states or West Germany's inability to pay, most of the country's parliamentarians refused to support Holocaust reparations to Israel or world Jewish organizations. Although the government slowly established a working relationship with Israel and Jewish groups abroad, the overall population was not enthusiastic about these ties, and by the late 1950s, some politically extreme, socially alienated elements reacted violently. In 1958, the synagogue in Düsseldorf was attacked,

and on Christmas Eve 1959, extremists daubed antisemitic graffiti on the wall of the newly restored Cologne synagogue, unleashing a wave of similar acts, to the great embarrassment of Adenauer's government.

The years 1967 and 1968 signaled a turning point in West Germany's relationship to Israel, Jewry in general, and antisemitism. Prior to that time, the most vigorous German supporters of Israel had been on the political Left. Many on the political Right supported the oil-rich Arab states in the Middle Eastern conflict or had latent antisemitic tendencies. As a result of Israel's victory in the Six Days' War and the emergence of the student movement in Europe, these political positions largely reversed. Many on the Right admired Israel's military successes, and they valued its opposition to pro-Soviet Arab states. By contrast, many on the Left, embracing nascent Third World liberation movements and rejecting U.S. foreign policy, supported Palestinian groups against Israel, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization. They regarded Israel as an imperialist agent and an aggressor, not as the representative of historical victims. Their anti-Zionism often degenerated into overt antisemitism, and some politically leftist, German Jewish intellectuals left Germany for Israel at that time. In Frankfurt, student protestors and squatters targeted building developments owned by Jewish real estate speculator Ignatz Bubis, and their anticapitalist invective against Bubis occasionally drew on anti-Jewish stereotypes.

Widespread public debate over Germany's relationship to its past and to the Jews remained generally limited until the 1980s. During a visit to Israel in 1984, West German chancellor Helmut Kohl noted that he was the first chancellor to come of age after World War II and that, as a result of "the grace of late birth," he could not bear guilt for the Nazis' crimes. Kohl's comments, which he claimed were not intended to serve as an evasion of responsibility, ignited a controversy over complicity in the Holocaust and generational accountability. The following year, Kohl and U.S. president Ronald Reagan visited a German military cemetery at Bitburg, which contained the graves of Waffen-SS soldiers. The planned visit alienated Jewish groups worldwide,

and to mollify their critics, the two leaders first visited Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Many Jewish leaders, including Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel and chairman of the Berlin Jewish community Heinz Galinski, remained unconvinced by the gesture. Galinski regarded the insensitivity of the visit as emblematic of widespread latent antisemitism on the political Right.

In 1986, a fierce debate about the uniqueness of the Holocaust, known as the *Historikerstreit* (historians' controversy), erupted among German intellectuals. During the debate, some mainstream scholars advanced positions that were insensitive and potentially antisemitic. Philosopher Jürgen Habermas attacked historian Ernst Nolte for his comparison of the Soviet gulags with Auschwitz and his assertion that the Holocaust was an explicable response to the Bolshevik threat in the 1930s. Many on the political Right decried any constant fixation on German guilt, and many on the Left accused conservative historians and politicians of being apologists for atrocities committed under Nazi German rule.

Ironically, the Historikerstreit ignited a larger cultural war in which many on the extreme Left, in their critiques of U.S. and Israeli foreign policies, exhibited a far more pronounced antisemitism than those on the Right did in comparing the crimes of Hitler and Stalin. Charges of antisemitism have also plagued left-wing artists in Germany, including Rainer Werner Fassbinder. In 1985, Jewish groups, led by Ignatz Bubis, physically prevented a production of Fassbinder's play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* (*The Garbage, the City, and Death* [1975]), which drew on overtly antisemitic imagery and Nazi invective in its portrayal of an exploitative and murderous Jewish real estate developer.

Political parties exhibiting antisemitic tendencies have enjoyed success in local politics but done poorly on the national level since the early 1950s. During the 1960s, the right-wing National Democratic Party of Germany was the chief representative of most politically extreme voters and did particularly well in state elections in Bavaria and Hesse. Since German reunification, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of racially motivated crimes, including an arsonist attack in 1994 on the synagogue in

Lübeck. In the 1990s, some extreme right-wing electoral groups gained in popularity, including the Republikaner (Republicans) and the Deutsche Volksunion (German People's Union), which received enough support to seat deputies in several state parliaments. Article 9 of the German Constitution allows the state to ban organizations, including political parties that threaten the democratic order. Since 1952, numerous extraparliamentary groups and several political parties have been dissolved under this provision.

The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, under the supervision of the Interior Ministry, has monitored radical political activity in Germany since 1950. Its officials document political extremism in Germany and provide public prosecutors with information needed to take legal action against antidemocratic organizations. Although the office initially concentrated on left-wing groups, it has focused more on radical right-wing groups in recent years.

—*Jay Howard Geller*

**See also** Bubis, Ignatz; Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919; *Garbage, the City and Death, The*; Historians' Controversy; Nazi Rock; Neo-Nazism, German

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## **Ghetto**

In medieval Christian Europe, Jews tended to reside in close proximity to each other in what was referred to as "the Jewish quarter." Various reasons have been given for the formation of such quarters. Most generally, Jewish residential patterns followed those of other foreign, minority,

and occupational groups. Also, Jews wished to live close to relatives, friends, and coreligionists and near the synagogue and other institutions of the community. On occasion, authorities who wished to attract Jews for economic reasons granted them a specific location, and in some cases, that area was surrounded by a wall, with gates for their protection. However, for the most part, the Jewish quarters were neither segregated nor compulsory. The Frankfurt quarter, established in 1462, was one of the few exceptions. In late fifteenth-century Spain, Jewish quarters were increasingly made compulsory, segregated, and enclosed until finally, in 1480, all Jews and Muslims were required to live cordoned off from Christians. However, this policy was never successfully implemented. Thus, although a few compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarters existed in medieval Europe, they did not represent the norm. And even these exceptions would never have been referred to by contemporaries as *ghettos*, for the term only became associated with Jews in early sixteenth-century Venice.

In the Middle Ages, the Venetian government permitted individual Jews to reside in the city but never authorized them to settle as a group, except for the brief period from 1382 to 1397. However, Jewish moneylenders lived on the adjacent mainland, and in 1509, when they fled into the city to escape the armies of the League of Cambrai, the government granted them refuge. Still, the Venetians were bothered that Jews now lived wherever they wished, all over the city. Consequently, in 1516, the Senate enacted a compromise between the new freedom of residence and the previous state of exclusion by requiring all Jews to dwell on the island known as the Ghetto Nuovo (the New Ghetto), so named because it was the dumping ground for the waste products from the adjacent Ghetto Vecchio (the Old Ghetto), the municipal copper foundry. (The noun *ghetto* derives from the verb *gettare*, meaning "to pour, or cast, metal.") This island was walled up and had a gate at each end that was locked from sunset to sunrise.

Because a few compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarters had existed in Europe prior to 1516, the often heard statement that the

first ghetto was established in Venice in 1516 is correct in a technical, linguistic sense but misleading in a wider context. A more accurate formulation would be that the compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarter received the name *ghetto* as a result of developments in Venice in 1516.

In 1541, Ottoman Jewish merchants visiting Venice complained to the government that they did not have adequate room in the ghetto. After investigating, the government responded by ordering that twenty dwellings located in the Ghetto Vecchio on the other side of a small canal from the Ghetto Nuovo be walled up and joined by a footbridge to the Ghetto Nuovo. This development further strengthened the association between the Jews and the word *ghetto*.

The Counter-Reformation adopted a hostile attitude toward the Jews, and in 1555, Pope Paul IV issued a bull that sought stringent restrictions on them. Its first paragraph provided that henceforth throughout the Papal States, the Jews in a given area were to live together on a single street, separated from all Christians (or, should one street not suffice, then on as many adjacent streets as needed), with only one entrance and exit. Accordingly, that same year, the Jews of Rome were required to move into a new enclosed quarter, which was soon referred to as "the ghetto of Rome." During the following decades, almost all Italian authorities mandated special compulsory, segregated, and enclosed quarters for Jews, which, following the Venetian and, later, the Roman nomenclature, were given the name *ghetto*.

In 1630, the Jewish merchants of Venice requested that the ghetto be enlarged to house some additional wealthy Jewish merchant families who would come to the city if provided with adequate housing. The Senate decided that an area located across the canal from the Ghetto Nuovo would be enclosed and joined to it by a footbridge. Since Venice already had the Old Ghetto and the New Ghetto, this third ghetto became known as the Newest Ghetto (the Ghetto Nuovissimo). However, the Ghetto Nuovissimo differed from the Ghetto Vecchio and the Ghetto Nuovo in one important respect. Although the latter two designations had been in

use prior to the residence of the Jews in those locations and owed their origin to the previous presence of a foundry in that area, the Ghetto Nuovissimo had never been associated with a foundry. Rather, it was called the *Ghetto Nuovissimo* because it was the site of the newest compulsory Jewish quarter. Thus, the word *ghetto* had taken on a generic life of its own, even in the city that gave birth to the term.

The word *ghetto* gradually came to be used in a more generalized secondary sense in reference to areas of dense Jewish residence, even if not compulsory, segregated, and enclosed with walls and gates. Then, in the nineteenth century, it assumed two different and indeed even opposing meanings. On the one hand, it was utilized positively in a romantic and nostalgic sense, stressing the richness of life in the preemancipation Jewish quarter with its warmth, close family ties, and communal solidarity, despite the frequently encountered material poverty and daily struggle for a livelihood. On the other hand, the term carried a negative connotation, especially among assimilated Jews and Zionists, for whom it represented the traditional pre-Enlightenment and preemancipation Jewish community that should have given way to more modern forms and values.

These varying usages of the word *ghetto* had the effect of blurring the important distinction between voluntary Jewish quarters and coercive ones. To distinguish between the two, at least in scholarly discourse, it became necessary to refer to different types of ghettos, as, for example, the "technical ghetto" or the "voluntary ghetto"—a distinction that certainly would have mystified inhabitants of the early modern Italian peninsula. These ambiguous uses of the word *ghetto* have rendered the understanding of Jewish historical reality more difficult, especially when the word is used loosely in phrases such as "the age of the ghetto," "out of the ghetto," "ghetto life," and "ghetto mentality," which are so often applied to the Jewish experience in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even nineteenth centuries, especially in central and eastern Europe and almost always with negative valuation.

Actually, the word can be used in the original Counter-Reformation Italian sense of a compulsory and segregated Jewish quarter only in con-



Paper shop in a Jewish ghetto, Vilna, Russia, 1922.  
(Library of Congress)

nexion with the Jewish experience on the Italian peninsula and in a few places in the Germanic lands; it ought not be applied elsewhere. For example, up to the Revolution of 1917, many Jews in the Russian Empire lived in small towns and rural villages in the Pale of Settlement that were predominantly Jewish. Even though, with limited exceptions, no Jew was to live outside the restricted areas, the Pale never possessed the defining characteristic of the ghetto because Jews were not segregated in compulsory enclosed quarters from their Christian neighbors. Use of the term *ghetto* in this eastern European context, although common, is inaccurate.

On occasion, it has been claimed that the establishment of the ghetto was beneficial for the Jews, especially in fostering and facilitating Jewish cohesiveness, but very often, the Jewish residents had not wished to be compelled to live in

a segregated area. Ghettoization was obviously not a necessary prerequisite for the functioning and survival of Jewish communities, for in innumerable locations during the Middle Ages and early modern times, Jews formed and maintained communities that endured creatively without forcible segregation.

The purposes of the ghetto seem not to have been realized. Thus, in Venice, for example, the establishment of a ghetto did not effectively seal Jews off from contacts with the outside world on any level, from the highest to the lowest—much to the consternation of church and state alike. The often alleged negative impact of the ghetto on the Jews also requires rethinking. To a considerable extent integrated into their environment despite its general anti-Jewish orientation, the Jews of Venice shared much of the general outlook and most of the interests of their Christian neighbors, although they retained their own religious identity, with all that it entailed. Actually, the decisive element determining the modes of Jewish self-expression was not so much the circumstance of whether Jews were required to live in a ghetto, but rather the attractiveness of the outside environment. In the case of cosmopolitan Venice, basking in the afterglow of the Renaissance, the stimulus to Jewish culture and intellectual activity was considerable. The negative impact of the ghetto on Jewish life has been, perhaps, too heavily emphasized.

In the twentieth century, the word and concept of *ghetto* received yet another meaning when employed by Nazi Germany during the Holocaust. These twentieth-century ghettos differed fundamentally in nature and function from those of Counter-Reformation Italy. The earlier ghettos were intended to provide the Jews with a clearly defined permanent space in Christian society in accordance with traditional Christian theology: Jewish existence in debased conditions testified to the validity and superiority of Christianity. Nazi ghettos constituted merely way stations on the planned road to the annihilation of Jews, in accordance with the doctrines of modern racial antisemitism. Christian anti-Judaism offered a way out of the ghetto through conversion. Nazi antisemitism provided no such escape.

—Benjamin Ravid

**See also** Augustine of Hippo; Emancipation; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Holocaust; Pale of Settlement

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## Ghetto Benches

Polish universities in the interwar period were hotbeds of the National Democratic movement, particularly its radical wings. From the first years of independence, right-wing students agitated for restoration of the tsarist *numerus clausus*, the quota that restricted the admission of Jews to universities. Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov tried to introduce such quotas for the faculties of medicine and philosophy in 1922 and 1923, but this initiative was ruled unconstitutional by the Ministry of Religions and Education. Subsequently, the ministry canvassed forty-one university faculties; only twelve opposed the quotas. In the early 1930s, the radical rightist Great Poland Camp began to advocate the *numerus nullus* (complete exclusion of Jews from Polish universities), but as long as Józef Piłsudski remained alive, there was no chance that such extreme demands would be accepted, and members of the group lowered their sights. In 1931, their youth movement, the All-Polish Youth, demonstrated against allowing Jewish medical students to dissect Christian cadavers; the medicine faculty caved in and began supplying Jewish cadavers for Jewish students. Emboldened, the radicals began to demand the physical segregation of Jewish students in lecture halls. At first, they would ask the Jews to accept “voluntary” segregation; when the Jews refused, they would attack them and try to move them by force. Incidents of this

sort led to violent clashes, which took place at nearly all Polish universities and even spread to the high schools. Violence also occurred in connection with local university elections and fee protests. The 1935–1936 school year began with demonstrations over the death of a Polish student in one of these clashes and led to more violence. Instead of disciplining the instigators, university administrators responded by suspending lectures, sometimes for weeks at a time, and by making other concessions. The Lvov Polytechnic introduced “ghetto benches,” or segregated seating, in December 1935, but this measure was dropped after two months.

The 1936–1937 academic year was marked by the most serious disturbances to date, including a three-day “blockade” of the University of Warsaw by right-wing students. In January 1937, the minister of education spoke out in the parliament against separate seating and encouraged the universities to take steps to end the violence; a few months later, he dissolved the All-Polish Youth, the main instigator of the outbreaks. However, perpetrators were generally given only small fines or suspended sentences, even when the attacks led to serious injuries, as they frequently did. During the 1937–1938 academic year, most institutes of higher education introduced segregated seating for students. These included the Wawelberg and Rotwand school of engineering (Warsaw), founded by two prominent Jewish industrialists and donated to the state in 1919 with the explicit provision that it would not discriminate according to race, religion, or nationality.

About 100 Polish academics signed a protest against segregated seating, but most others took no position, and a few openly supported the radicals. By 1939, most institutions of higher education had adopted the *numerus clausus*.

—Steven Paulsson

**See also** German Students, Association of; National Democrats; *Numerus Clausus* (Hungary); *Numerus Clausus* (U.S.); Poland

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### Glagau, Otto (1834–1892)

Born in Königsberg, Otto Glagau studied philology and philosophy, worked as a private tutor for ten years, and in 1863 launched his career as a journalist covering the Danish War. A popular legend explained his “conversion” to antisemitism in the 1870s as the result of a personal financial disaster at the hands of a dishonestly run, Jewish-owned mining company. In fact, his Jew-hatred predated this event by many years. In a book recounting his travels in Lithuania in 1869, Glagau expressed many hostile opinions about *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) and also insisted that they be considered part of the same unwanted Jewish “race” that inhabited Germany. When the crash of 1873 struck, he managed to publish an exposé in Germany’s largest-circulation magazine, *Die Gartenlaube*. The series of articles and a number of books on the same subject made wild claims regarding Jewish culpability for the crash and its human consequences. Fully 90 percent of the *Gründer* (fraudulent entrepreneurs), he said, were Jews. Glagau was widely believed, even though he offered only anecdotal evidence to back the charge.

From 1880 to 1888, he edited a journal entitled *Der Kulturmäpfer* (Battler for Civilization) and used it to help organize anti-Jewish feeling into a grassroots political movement. Like his colleagues Wilhelm Marr and Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Glagau had high hopes for antisemitism, seeing it as a means of integrating Germans of all political persuasions: the true “struggle for civilization” was to be waged by German Protestants and Catholics fighting together against “an alien tribe” and in defense of Germanic values. Proclaiming that “the social question is the Jewish Question,” he hoped to lure working-class and lower-middle-class Germans into a great political party. “I

don’t want to destroy or slaughter the Jews, nor banish them from the land; I don’t want to take away anything that once belonged to them, but I will check them, and that from the ground up” (in Niewyk 1990, 350).

Beneath Glagau’s menacing rhetoric was an essentially conventional program. The antisemitic party he envisioned would win elections and gain enough seats in the Reichstag to undo emancipation and legislate Jews out of German national life. In 1883, at the Chemnitz Congress of antisemites he helped to organize, Glagau used his influence to defend this basically segregationist program against challenges mounted by the more radically inclined followers of Eugen Dühring, whose solution to the Jewish Question went beyond apartheid to embrace expulsion and, much later, physical elimination. Glagau thereby helped put political antisemitism in pre-World War I Germany on a hopeless path. The small and feckless antisemitic parties never came close to passing a single law. Glagau died a pauper in 1892.

—Richard S. Levy

*See also* Antisemitic Political Parties; Dühring, Eugen; *Gartenlaube, Die; Kulturkampf*; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Marr, Wilhelm; *Ostjuden*

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### Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de (1816–1882)

Marred by a troubled upbringing and hampered by his family’s dedication to the Bourbon dynasty, Gobineau was reared in an aristocratic, Catholic atmosphere among people who despised the French Revolution and all it stood for. After serving in the postal administration, he turned to journalism in the 1840s, writing for a variety of Catholic and legitimist publications and upholding a profoundly pessimistic view of postrevolutionary France. He lauded the Germans for preserving their aristocratic traditions but feared that they would also soon succumb to bourgeois liberal tendencies and the mindless demands of the masses for greater democracy. Gobineau became

the secretary to Alexis de Tocqueville in 1848 and followed him into the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he remained until 1877, serving in its diplomatic corps.

The revolutions of 1848 sealed Gobineau's distrust and fear of the masses and their potential negative impact on state and society. A supporter of local politics and decentralization, he viewed Parisian society with extreme displeasure because of its deviation from familial ideals and traditional norms and its predilection for radical politics. The work he is best known for, *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853–1855), expressed his disdain for the upheavals he had witnessed in French and European society.

Gobineau's *Essay* integrated anthropological, linguistic, and historical factors to support an all-embracing theory of race with which to explain civilizations' development and decline. His racial determinism limited the role of free will and human liberty. Moreover, he did not believe the races were equal. The white, yellow, and black races differed in value and in their respective contributions to civilization. Their characteristics were immutable unless they mixed with other races. Deriding theories based on class, religion, politics, or territory, he claimed that creative civilizations stemmed from the white race, specifically the Aryan branch of it, and "that a society is great and brilliant only so far as it preserves the blood of the noble group that created it" (in Biddiss 1970, 117). Because miscegenation was at the root of society's degeneration, the *Essay* repeatedly enjoined Aryans to guard the purity of the race and prevent the decline of civilization.

Miscegenation, the bane of societies and civilizations, provided the crucial link to Gobineau's critical stance toward contemporary French society. He depicted the masses as degenerates—the progeny of racial mixing—and believed their aristocratic superiors—those of true Aryan stock, who should have maintained rule over French society—were being thrust aside. In this gloomy view, Gobineau distinctly parted company with his mentor Tocqueville, who rejected racial determinism and continued to believe in humankind's ability to change the course of history.

Gobineau's *Essay* proved to be an important source for antisemitic writers and racial thinkers,

although the work hardly concerned itself with the Jews and was not directed at them specifically. He regarded their steadfastness with respect, although he also saw them as agents of the miscegenation ("semitization") that he dreaded. Historians, in their quest to understand the intellectual evolution toward Nazism, have for good reason turned to Gobineau's thought, yet they are certainly at odds on the nature of his contribution to racial antisemitism.

—Richard I. Cohen

**See also** Bayreuth Circle; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; 1848; Racism, Scientific; Schemann, Ludwig; *Verjudung*; Völkisch Movement and Ideology; Wagner, Richard

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## Goebbels, Joseph (1897–1945)

One of the most infamous leaders of the Third Reich, Joseph Paul Goebbels led National Socialist Germany's Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda from 1933 to 1945. Controlling a vast media empire, he played a central role in efforts to drive Jews out of Germany's cultural life. A rabid antisemite, he incorporated anti-Jewish images into much of the Third Reich's propaganda, helping to prepare the German people for genocide.

Goebbels was born on October 29, 1897, in Rheydt, a small town in Germany's Rhineland. His parents were middle-class Roman Catholics who raised their son in a devout home and made certain he received an excellent education. A 1902 operation left him with a clubfoot, rendering him unfit for military service during World War I. As a consequence, the bright young man was able to pursue a doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in 1922, writing a dissertation on the romantic playwright Wilhelm Schütz. Unemployed and having little else to do, Goebbels wrote the autobiographical novel

*Michael*, eventually published in 1929. Joining the National Socialist German Workers' Party in 1924, Goebbels allied himself closely with Gregor and Otto Strasser, leaders of the party's left wing and critical of Adolf Hitler. The leader's charisma won him over, however, and Hitler appointed him *Gauleiter* (district leader) of Berlin in 1926. As leader of Berlin's Nazis, Goebbels sought to win over the city's proletarian population through a combination of ardent nationalism and crude antisemitism. In 1927, he established *Der Angriff* (*The Attack*), a newspaper in which many of his propaganda motifs made their initial appearance.

Goebbels, along with the paper's cartoonist Hans Schweitzer, launched a relentless antisemitic attack on the vice-president of Berlin's police force, Bernhard Weiss, climaxing in the publication of *Das Buch Isidor* (*The Isidor Book*) in 1928. The following year, Hitler appointed Goebbels to be the party's propaganda chief, and in that post, he proved instrumental in the rise of the Nazis during the end phase of the Weimar Republic. One of his most notable achievements was to fashion a secular hagiography around the Nazi thug Horst Wessel, who was murdered by Communists in 1930. Following Hitler's elevation to the chancellorship on January 30, 1933, Goebbels became the new government's propaganda minister. He used his office to promote antisemitism, employing all of the media under his control, including film. The venomous antisemitic films *Jud Süß* (*Jew Süss*) and *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), which depicted Jews as parasites and vermin, were his personal projects. Goebbels also cultivated a myth of omniscience surrounding Adolf Hitler. Nevertheless, his influence on Hitler waxed and waned throughout the history of the Third Reich, although in the closing days of the war, Führer named him the plenipotentiary for total war. In this new position, Goebbels made every effort to convince the German people to fight the Allies to the bitter end. On May 1, 1945, after overseeing the poisoning of their six children, Goebbels and his wife, Magda, committed suicide.

As Nazi Germany's propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels played an important role in justifying the regime's antisemitic policies, winning

the overwhelming acquiescence of the German people for the Nazi persecution of Europe's Jews.

—Russel Lemmons

**See also** *Angriff*; *Der*; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Film Propaganda, Nazi; Hitler, Adolf; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Weimar

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## Goga, Octavian (1881–1938)

Born into the family of a village schoolteacher and with relatives in the clergy, Octavian Goga grew up in Transylvania, attended both Romanian and Hungarian schools, and studied philology in Budapest. His ethnic heritage and longing for the national emancipation of Romanian Transylvania formed the inspirational basis for his early, highly successful volumes of poetry, *Poezii* (1905) and *Ne cheamă pământul* (*The Earth Calls Us* [1909]).

Before the war, he began to dedicate himself increasingly to politics and journalism, publishing most of his socially engaged nationalist and conservative essays in his own journal *Tara noastră* (*Our Land* [1908]). He became an unstinting admirer of Benito Mussolini, from whom he drew some of his ideas. Goga longed for the renewal of Romanian nationhood and saw it issuing from the peasantry. He compared Romania to a new wine, not yet fully fermented, and "the national idea" as the mystical means by which it would reach maturity.

Honored by the Romanian Academy (in 1923) as the poetic extoller of the nation, Goga simultaneously pursued a political career that was much more controversial among his contemporaries than his verse. He worked on behalf of the emancipation of Transylvania (from Hungarian rule); in 1912, he was jailed in Hungary, and in 1915, he sought exile in neighboring Romania, fighting on the Romanian side in the war. Afterward, he entered party politics, at first in a conservative government coalition. In the 1920s, he

associated with a variety of groups on the Right, arriving in 1927 at uneasy membership in A. C. Cuza's LANC—National Christian Defense League. But Cuza's extreme antisemitism and Goga's Orthodox royalism were not suited for one another. Goga's personal slogan, "Christ, King, Fatherland!" became the basis for his own National Agrarian Party in 1932. Soon after Hitler gained power, Goga's party was persuaded by the Nazis to cooperate again with LANC. The electoral results were not impressive. Nevertheless—and in a surprise move—King Carol II named Goga prime minister (on December 28, 1937), even though his party won under 10 percent of the vote.

The new prime minister barely had time to inaugurate his government, with declarations of loyalty to Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, before the king dismissed him after only five weeks in office. The naming of Goga in the first place may have been a ploy to demonstrate to the Romanian people the utter bankruptcy of parliamentary politics and to justify the king's assumption of dictatorial power as the "national savior."

—Krista Zach  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Cuza, A. C.; Iron Guard; LANC—National Christian Defense League; Mussolini, Benito; Romania

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## Göring, Hermann (1893–1946)

Hermann Wilhelm Göring, son of an imperial era colonial official, was born on January 12, 1893, near Rosenheim, Bavaria, and baptized in the Lutheran Church. He attended several Prussian cadet schools and became a famous fighter pilot during World War I, winning the extraordinary Pour le Mérite medal.

This distinction and his popularity brought

Göring to the attention of Adolf Hitler, who managed to recruit him for the Nazi Party. Like Hitler, he blamed "Jews and Communists" for the lost war. In May 1928, Göring won a seat in the Reichstag. On January 30, 1933, he entered Chancellor Hitler's government, filling the posts of Prussian minister-president and minister of the interior, both crucial for the success of the seizure of power. He used these positions ruthlessly to ensure the triumph of Nazism within Germany. One of his first acts in April 1933 was to help formulate measures for the purge of Jews from the German civil service, part of a broad occupational ban he had been demanding well before 1933.

In 1934, Hitler rewarded Göring for his accomplishments in the coordination of domestic politics by naming him his deputy and then his successor in the event of his death. He became the second most powerful man in the Third Reich. In the following years, he served as Hitler's special plenipotentiary on a number of important missions. At the end of 1934, he surrendered his police functions to Heinrich Himmler in order to devote himself to foreign affairs and the building up of the Luftwaffe, which he commanded from March 1935. His preoccupation with weaponry increasingly involved him in economic planning, especially the overseeing of the Four Year Plan for national rearmament.

As head of the Ministry of Economics, Göring issued a number of decrees concerning "Aryanization," providing the legal basis for forcefully ousting Jews from the national economy. Claiming that "the Jew" outside Germany was plotting to unleash war, Göring "was forced" to goad industry to greater rearmament efforts. Nonetheless and in spite of the propaganda slogans, he repeatedly exempted prominent Jews from the discriminatory effects of racial legislation. He reacted with annoyance to the Night of Broken Glass, the November 9–11, 1938, pogrom, because the party's unauthorized actions ran counter to his economic guidelines and damaged the rearmament program. He importuned Hitler to make him commissar in charge of the Jewish Question, in order to make sure that his economic directives were adhered to. His aim was not the destruction of Jewish assets, factories,

and resources but their expropriation on behalf of the rearmament program. By the same logic, he opposed the imposition of cost-ineffective ghettos for Jews and instead strongly backed emigration as the solution to the Jewish Problem. Göring's antisemitism, which was basically nationalistic and economically rapacious, differed significantly from Hitler's Darwinist, racist, and ultimately genocidal Jew-hatred.

Göring's greater moderation in foreign and military policy matters began to alienate Hitler, and by 1939, he found himself excluded from a number of important decisions. To counteract his loss of power, he sought to demonstrate his unbreachable loyalty to Führer. Soon after the invasion of Poland, he cosigned Hitler's Germanization Decree of October 7, 1939, which Himmler used to legitimize his "special handling" of the occupied territories and which administratively enabled the territorial and racial reordering of Europe in the spirit of National Socialism. Göring also issued guidelines for the merciless exploitation of the East. In this connection, he composed his letter to Reinhard Heydrich of July 31, 1941, commissioning him to implement the Final Solution of the Jewish Question. Administratively, this letter marked the beginning of the Holocaust.

As the war dragged on and military deficiencies became increasingly obvious, Göring's loss of power accelerated. In the beginning of 1943, he had an open break with Hitler. Having lost faith in victory, Göring distracted himself with extended furloughs and travels, during which he became the greatest art collector in Europe—at the expense of Jews, foreign museums, and private galleries. In his *Political Testament*, written just before his suicide, Hitler expelled Göring from the Nazi Party and terminated all his official functions.

Captured by the Allies, Göring stood trial at Nuremberg. He denied that he had initiated the Holocaust or known anything about it. The tribunal nevertheless found him guilty on all charges and condemned him to death. On October 15, 1946, the night before his execution was to take place, he committed suicide by means of a cyanide capsule.

—Alfred Kube

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Goebbels, Joseph; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Nuremberg Laws; Purge of the German Civil Service

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## Gospels

Answering the question of whether the four Gospels in the Christian New Testament could be considered antisemitic depends on how the term *antisemitism* is defined and on whether the question refers to the intentions of the authors and/or to the ways in which the New Testament has been used or abused over time.

All four Gospels were written near or after the Roman destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. They also were all written when the Jews who believed that the crucified Jesus had been raised to Lordship were still a subgroup within the diverse Jewish populations of the time. Some assemblies of such believers, or churches, had begun to admit gentiles into their fellowships (with varying membership requirements), and many were still predominantly Jewish in composition. In addition, to different degrees, most of the Gospel writers believed that God's kingdom was drawing near and that they were thus living at the end of human history.

The significance of this context is that some of the Gospel passages that were used to promote hostility toward Jews in later centuries actually originated in the midst of (1) debates within the churches about gentile admission requirements; (2) debates with Jewish contemporaries about the importance of Jesus, especially in a world suddenly devoid of the Temple; and (3) efforts to present the churches positively to Roman imperial eyes.

Gospel passages that were to prove particularly relevant to later relations between Jews and Christians include those that portray Jesus' inter-

actions with his own Jewish contemporaries, especially in terms of debates over proper Torah observance, and those that tell of the circumstances of his execution (known as the passion narratives).

Widely considered to be the earliest of the Gospels (composed around the year 70), the Gospel of Mark presents a Jesus whose true identity as God's Son is not perceived by *any* human character—including his family, his disciples, his friends, and his foes—until his death on the cross. Most likely written in a church that had recently experienced persecution, perhaps under Emperor Nero between 64 and 66, the Gospel exhorts its readers to remain faithful to their beliefs even when threatened with death. Its attitude toward Judaism is distant, although the Pharisees seem especially hostile to Jesus. The author comments that Jesus has “declared all foods clean” (7:19), that is, eliminated kosher laws, but this probably reflects the practices in a largely gentile Marcan church, rather than the historical attitudes of Jesus himself. Later debates about Jesus’ identity are reflected in such scenes as the high priest asking whether Jesus is “the Son of the Blessed One” (14:61). The chief priests and scribes demand Jesus’ death in the passion narrative, but the Marcan motif that no human characters really understand Jesus diffuses the animosity of both the Pharisees and the Temple leadership.

Written perhaps a decade or two later, the Gospel of Matthew seems to come from a largely Jewish church. The Matthean Jesus does not abolish kosher laws but rather insists that anyone who teaches others to break the least of the commands of the Torah will be least in God’s kingdom (5:17–19). For Matthew, Jesus is the one who definitively teaches the Torah. The author uses quotations and allusions to many personages from Israel’s Scriptures, especially Moses, to make this clear. Matthew believes that God wants all Jews to live according to Jesus’ teachings. He inveighs against competitors for influence in the post-Temple Jewish world, most notably the Pharisees who, in chapter 23, are called “blind guides,” “hypocrites,” and “white-washed tombs.” Matthew argues that Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE because its corrupt leaders, the Temple priests, had misled the

people to demand Jesus’ crucifixion. The so-called blood curse—“And all the people answered, ‘His blood be on us and on our children!’” (27:25)—is Matthew’s warning to his Jewish readers not to follow the blind Pharisaic guides of their generation but to follow Jesus’ teachings instead. Many Jews blamed one another for the Temple’s destruction in the last decades of the first century, and Matthew was among them. However, his words would acquire more destructive meanings in later centuries.

The Gospel of Luke and its companion volume, the Acts of the Apostles, evince a complex set of attitudes toward Judaism. On the one hand, the author stresses that Jesus, his family, and his followers are pious, Torah-observant Jews and that the church is the divinely willed outgrowth of Pharisaic Judaism. In the passion narrative, he usually distinguishes between Jewish leaders and the Jewish people, portraying the latter as sorrowful (23:48). On the other hand, in the Acts of the Apostles, he presents several speeches in which apostles prophetically confront Jewish contemporaries with such words as, “You killed the Author of Life” (Acts 3:15). As Acts goes on, the opposition of Jewish characters to the spread of the church intensifies. Again reflecting an intramural dynamic, Luke believes that Israel is being reconstituted into a community consisting of noble Jews who accept Jews and their gentile allies. Other Jews, he holds, “will be utterly rooted out of the people as the time of God’s judgment nears” (Acts 3:21, 23).

The Gospel of John, written around the end of the first century, originated in a Jewish church that had been engaged in a painful break with a local Jewish community. The explicit claim of the Johannine church that Jesus was “equal to God” (5:18) was seen as a violation of monotheism and triggered some sort of expulsion from the Jewish community (9:22; 12:42; 16:2). The anger of the writer(s) over this conflict, combined with a delight in irony, results in the Gospel’s frequent use of the collective phrase *hoi Ioudaioi*, usually translated as “the Jews.” For this Gospel, “the Jews” are those in darkness who think they are doing God’s will by opposing the truth of Jesus but who have shown themselves not to be authentic Jews at all. Jesus is portrayed as replac-

ing such Jewish observances as the Sabbath (5:1–47), Passover (6:1–71), and Sukkot (7–9). Jesus denounces some Jews as having the devil as their father (8:44). Most ominously, it is “the Jews” who exclaim to the Roman governor, “We have a law, and according to that law he ought to die because he has claimed to be the Son of God” (19:7). Postresurrectional debates have undeniably shaped this scene. Of the four Gospels, John’s is arguably the one that most expresses animosity toward Jews who do not believe in Jesus’ Lordship.

Polemics found in the four Gospels is consistent with the rhetoric found in other Jewish literature of the time, most notably at Qumran. Since this polemic occurs between Jews, the application of the later term *antisemitism* would be both out of place and anachronistic. However, there is no doubt that these aspects of the Gospels were put to antisemitic purposes in later centuries.

This potential was catalyzed in the patristic period (roughly the second through sixth centuries). Gentile Christianity extracted and collected various elements from among the Gospels in the service of an anti-Jewish theology called supersessionism. The church fathers combined the negative aspects of Jesus’ debates with Jewish contemporaries together with Matthew’s blood curse and with Luke’s and John’s collective use of “the Jews” to produce a portrait of Jews and Judaism as the degraded and even demonic enemies of Christianity. This religious picture of a delegitimated rabbinic Judaism would become imprinted on the imagination of Christian Europe and contribute to the marginalization of Jews in Christendom.

—Philip A. Cunningham

**See also** Church Fathers; Dietary Laws; Passion Plays; Medieval; Paul; Roman Empire; Supersessionism

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## Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri (1805–1876)

A devout Catholic and political legitimist associated with Ultramontanism, Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux was a noble who served in the court of Charles X of France in the 1820s. After the Revolution of 1830, he retreated to his chateau in Coulommiers and devoted his time to the study of what he considered the greatest dangers of the day: the Talmud, the occult, Freemasonry, and Satanism. Gougenot’s most famous anti-Jewish tract was a book entitled *The Jew, Judaism and the Judaization of the Christian Peoples*, published in 1869. The book received only limited attention at the time of its publication and did not sell well, although it won the blessing of Pope Pius IX and appealed to French Ultramontanists. The book came into its own in the 1870s in Austria-Hungary and Romania, where political antisemitism was gaining a foothold at that time, and it became more important in France after 1886, when the leader of French political antisemitism, Édouard Drumont, helped bring out a new edition.

*The Jew, Judaism and the Judaization of the Christian Peoples* merged traditional Catholic myths about the Jews with anti-Jewish conspiracy theory. Regarding the latter, the book shows the influence of the writings of Alphonse Toussenel, despite the differences in their political sympathies (Toussenel was a left-wing Fourierist, Gougenot a right-wing legitimist). Gougenot argued that Jews were engaged in a secret plan to dominate and destroy the world through seemingly innocent modern institutions such as high finance, Freemasonry, the liberal press, and Jewish self-defense organizations, especially the Alliance Israélite Universelle. He criticized the French government for granting citizenship to the Jews during the Revolution (1791) and for agreeing in 1830 to support their religious expenses to the same extent as those of Christians.

Gougenot depicted Jews as “Satanic” practitioners of ritual murder, and he defamed the Talmud and the Kabbalah as weapons of black magic. Gougenot also developed new myths to buttress the old, arguing that the French revolutionary tradition, the republican movement, and especially the rise of secularism were part of the Jewish conspiracy against Christians—a claim that would later inspire the antirepublican, antisemitic movement of the late nineteenth century.

French Jewish leaders deplored Gougenot’s book as an example of the worst kind of anti-Jewish prejudice. However, in marked contrast to their actions vis-à-vis Louis Veuillot in roughly the same period, members of the Central Consistory (the central administrative body of French Judaism) decided that the book would not significantly affect public attitudes. They therefore refrained from suing Gougenot for libel or even responding to his charges.

—Lisa Moses Leff

**See also** Alliance Israélite Universelle; Austria; Drumont, Édouard; France; Freemasonry; Hungary; Pius IX, Pope; Ritual Murder (Modern); Romania; Talmud; Toussenel, Alphonse; Ultramontanism; Veuillot, Louis

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**Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste (1750–1831)**  
A native of eastern France, Abbé Henri-Baptiste Grégoire was a key figure in the granting of emancipation to Jews in France during the French Revolution. In 1788, while still a parish priest, he shared the prize in the Metz Academy’s essay contest on whether Jews could be made “more useful and more happy.” His entry, the *Essay on the Physical, Moral and Political Regeneration of the Jews*, brought him national attention and helped him win election to the Estates General in 1789.

During the Revolution, Grégoire became a key figure in the National Assembly. He wrote a motion in favor of the Jews in 1789 and helped introduce Jews desiring citizenship to his fellow



The abbé Henri-Baptiste Grégoire was a key figure in granting emancipation to Jews in France during the French Revolution. (Corbis)

deputies. The Jews were hardly his only interest during these years, though. He was also famous for his campaigns to obtain full citizenship for people of color and the poor, to wipe out non-French dialects, and to destroy the monarchy. Further, he was the leading proponent of a republican-Christian synthesis.

To his good fortune, Grégoire survived the fall of Maximilien Robespierre and the purge of other radical revolutionaries, and he remained an important figure in the postrevolutionary years. Though his major interests shifted away from the Jews, he continued to be interested in their fate. His more than 400 writings include pamphlets on the Jews of Germany and Amsterdam (1806 and 1807), and his multivolume *History of Religious Sects* (1814, 1828–1845) devoted several chapters to world Jewry.

Although Grégoire was long considered the father of Jewish emancipation and a hero to Eu-

ropean Jews, he came under attack in the late twentieth century as post-Holocaust Jewish writers began to notice that his famous *Essay* contained antisemitic stereotypes. When Grégoire was honored by being placed in the Pantheon of Paris during the French Revolution's bicentennial (in 1989) as an exemplar of French ideals of tolerance and antiracism, Franco-Jewish writers pointed to passages in the *Essay* referring to the "spirit of greed which universally dominates [Jews]," their having "no idols other than money," and their "pallid faces" and "hooked noses." As a devout Catholic, Grégoire also ridiculed the Talmud and criticized Jews' "exclusive religion" and their "hatred for the nations." Indeed, as early as the 1930s, others had noted that Grégoire's efforts to help Jews rested on hopes that they would convert to Christianity.

At the same time, as some writers have pointed out, Grégoire was hardly the Jews' worst enemy at the time in which he lived, and in fact, he did much to help them. Although his idea of "regeneration" suggested that Jews were currently degenerate, it also placed much of the blame for this on Christian persecution and suggested that Jews were members of the same universal human family as Christians. Moreover, Grégoire insisted that Jews had the capacity to be like others if their circumstances were changed. Despite his critical view of Judaism and many Jews, he befriended a number of French Jews during his lifetime, and he disagreed sharply with other Christians who insisted that Jews were inherently inferior and devilish. Grégoire's denunciations of anti-Jewish violence were perversely acknowledged by the Nazis, who destroyed a statue of him when they occupied eastern France in 1942.

—Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Jewish Question; Misanthropy; Talmud

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## Gregory the Great, Pope (590–604)

One of the traditional "doctors" of the Western church, Gregory I is one of two popes from antiquity to have had the honorific "the great" appended to his name. The scion of a patrician family, Gregory was born around 540 in Rome, where he became prefect in 570. Five years later, he converted his family's large Roman estates into a monastery, and he himself became a monk. In 579, Pope Pelagius II (r. 579–590) sent him as his emissary to Constantinople. Shortly after returning to Rome in 590, Gregory became an abbot and was then elected pope. As pope, he exercised strong political authority in the region of central Italy that eventually formed the Papal States, initiated the conversion of England, wrote an influential account of the life of St. Benedict (author of the Benedictine Rule), and made important innovations in liturgical chant. He is often regarded as the first medieval pope and a founder of the Christian Middle Ages. His influence on Christian attitudes toward Jews and Judaism was pivotally influential.

In his personal attitude toward Jews and Judaism, Gregory had absorbed the traditional antisemitism of the Western patristic theological tradition, to which he was quite capable of giving sharp and apparently heartfelt expression, especially in those of his writings (such as his biblical commentaries) that did not have the force of law or concrete empirical effect. Gregory could easily dismiss Judaism, as cultured Romans had early Christianity, as a ludicrous "superstition," and many of his attacks on Christian heretics began with the observation that they were blind or literal-minded like "the Jews." Beyond that, Gregory was also anxious to convert Jews to Christianity. On the one hand, he was emphatically opposed to the use of force and to any physical violence against Jews or the synagogue, even as coercion was being applied to Jews to convert in southern France at the very beginning of his pontificate. While demanding that bishops neither use nor condone violence, he urged them to preach to the Jews in the short interval that was left before the end-time, in order that they might convert to Christianity.

On the other hand, he pursued a practical policy that can otherwise be described, in context, as

benign. He guaranteed religious toleration, both theoretically and practically, and did much to protect Jewish rights as enshrined in Roman law. His famously influential encyclical *Sicut Iudaeis* (598) is often seen (not entirely accurately) to have epitomized his policy: “Just as no freedom may be granted to the Jews in their communities to exceed the limits legally established for them, so too in no way should they suffer a violation of their rights.” As has been observed by several scholars, if Gregory’s personal attitude was informed by the traditional animus of patristic antisemitism, he was guided by the political and moral imperatives of Roman law in his actual dealings with Jews and Jewish communities. Even more significantly, it has been shown that he relied primarily on the older Theodosian Code rather than the more recently promulgated Justinian Code, which was notably less favorable to Jews. As one noted scholar has observed: “Thus, Gregory was not simply a legalist giving Jews their due, as might any unimaginative bureaucrat. Rather, he was an important political and ecclesiastical policy maker who chose a course of action that would seem to demonstrate a pro-Jewish stance regardless of the latest imperial legislation” (Bachrach 1977, 36).

In practice, this pro-Jewish stance led Gregory, on several occasions, to prevent the confiscation of synagogues and sacred vessels and books and to forestall interference in Jewish ritual practice. Although Jews were not permitted to hold Christian slaves by either the Justinian or Theodosian laws, Gregory usually allowed the practice when it occurred (as he mock innocently put it) “in ignorance” or “accidentally.” This forbearance, however, may have been intended less to inconvenience Jewish merchants than to placate imperial officials, who certainly knew about the slave trade and were loathe to impede it. There are other instances in which Gregory acted on behalf of Jewish economic interests even when Roman law forbade him to do so.

Ironically, then, he, more than any other pope, happily violated his own injunction in *Sicut Iudaeis* not to go beyond legally established Jewish rights on behalf of the Jews. A pope who regarded Jews in his theological writings as “depraved” and “perfidious” and who attempted to

convert them away from their “superstition,” Gregory, in the end, demanded and achieved for individual Jews and Jewish communities—legally, economically, and politically—much more than either Roman law demanded or his pontifical successors would be willing to grant.

—Kevin Madigan

**See also** Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Church Fathers; Justinian Code; Middle Ages, Early; Roman Empire; Roman Literature; Slave Trade and the Jews; Theodosian Code

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## Grimm, Brothers

Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859) Grimm, usually referred to as “the Brothers Grimm,” were among the most illustrious figures of German cultural and political life during the first half of the nineteenth century. They also often figure prominently in histories of German antisemitism, yet this view is problematic and needs to be set in its proper context. Moderate liberals, the Grimms did not differ from many other German liberals of the day in their ambivalence about German Jews. The brothers had imbibed many elements of the anti-Jewish stereotype so prevalent then in Germany, yet they did not support anti-Jewish measures in politics.

Examples of anti-Jewish stereotyping can be found in the Grimms’ correspondence, but it is above all to that most enduringly famous of their works, the *German Fairy Tales*, that scholars have usually pointed when they identify the brothers as antisemitic. The brutal and degrading tale “The Jew in the Thorns” stands out in this regard, though it should be noted that similarly disturbing stories can also be found in the Grimms’ collection of *German Legends*, including “The Jews’ Stone” and “The Girl Who Was Killed by the Jews.” Historians have debated whether these tales reflect the Grimms’ own views or only those of the common people from whom the tales ostensibly came. In either event, it is important to

recognize that such negative images of German Jewry were commonplace in German culture at that time and that they did not automatically entail political consequences, much less racial antisemitism. That the *Fairy Tales*, aimed at children as they increasingly were in later editions, may have played a role in the propagation of anti-Jewish prejudice into the later nineteenth century and fed the growth of actual antisemitism is another matter and one that deserves closer investigation.

For the Grimms, as with many other nineteenth-century German liberals, negative sentiments about Jewry could and did coexist with support for Jewish emancipation. Liberals sometimes supported emancipation as a means of “improving” the Jews and demanded reforms as its price; others did so without conditions and simply hoped for a certain degree of assimilation to occur afterward. The opinions of the Grimms on this question are hard to discover, but Jacob, at least, was among the delegates to the 1848 Frankfurt parliament who voted nearly unanimously for unconditional civic and political equality for German Jews.

The Grimms are also often noted in histories of antisemitism for their contributions in three other fields: the development of the ethnic *Volk* concept in German nationalism; the propagation of interest in a pure, mythic German prehistory; and the promotion of notions of a conquering diaspora of Aryan peoples defined by linguistic affinity. In none of these cases, however, did the Grimms actually apply these ideas to their thinking about Jews; rather, it was left to later interpreters of German nationalism to do so. Here, as with the *Fairy Tales*, the Grimms’ legacy proved much more troubling than their original ideas.

—Brian Vick

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; 1848; Emancipation; Jewish Question; *Jews' Beech, The*; *Völkisch Movement and Ideology*

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## Gwynne, H. A. (1865–1950)

A number of early twentieth-century journalists assumed significance in the political narratives of their time. H. A. “Taffy” Gwynne was one such individual. Born in 1865 at Kilvey, near Swansea in Wales, the son of a schoolmaster, he received his education at the local grammar school and abroad. After a brief time as the Balkans correspondent for the *Times* (London), he became the Reuters news bureau representative in Romania. Special assignments kept him overseas for much of the 1890s, covering events such as the Boer War. In 1904, he became foreign director of Reuters. In that year, he left the agency and returned to Britain to assume the editorship of the *Standard*. He stayed with that paper until 1911, when a bigger prize loomed, and Gwynne was able to slide effortlessly into the editor’s chair of the *Morning Post*.

From his new vantage point, he exerted more influence, becoming involved in much scene shifting behind the political stage. He helped to propel the career of H. H. Kitchener during World War I. He argued in favor of conscription (a novel departure in British military history), which was introduced in 1916. He also played a key role through his involvement in *The Cause of World Unrest* (1920), a collection of articles that had appeared in the *Post*. The book strongly suggested the existence of a menacing Jewish conspiracy, a claim that reflected, in part, Gwynne’s lively fear of bolshevism. His support for the notions contained in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, translated by his former Russian correspondent Victor Marsden, was instrumental in helping the forgery achieve some brief credibility among influential Britons. Despite his personal influence in national politics, however, his paper gradually lost ground with the public. After its merger with the *Daily Telegraph* in 1937, Gwynne left publishing. He died on June 26, 1950.

—Colin Holmes

**See also** Boer War; *Cause of World Unrest, The*; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Romania

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# H

## **Hahn, Diederich (1859–1918)**

Diederich Hahn was the most famous and controversial agrarian politician in Germany before World War I. He was born in 1859 into a bourgeois family of dike builders in the town of Oste, near the mouth of the Elbe River. He began his life steeped in the liberalism of his Friesian homeland and went off to university in Berlin with letters of support from prominent local liberal politicians. In Berlin, he fell under the spell of Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker. He moved to Leipzig, where he was instrumental, along with Friedrich Naumann, in creating the antisemitic Association of German Students in 1881. After completing a doctorate in 1886 under the economist Adolph Wagner, he was helped by some of Berlin's leading liberals to acquire a position as an archivist for the Deutsche Bank. Hahn's ability to engage in highly visible antisemitic activities without sacrificing his connection to liberal sponsors in the early stage in his career underlines the equivocal relationship between liberalism and antisemitism in the Germany of the 1880s.

Ultimately, Hahn's ambition and his fealty to Otto von Bismarck led him to break with the liberal world. In 1891, the year after Bismarck's ouster as chancellor, Hahn managed his campaign in a Reichstag by-election. In 1893, at the age of thirty-four, he was himself elected to the Reichstag, joined the right-wing radical Agrarian League (Bund der Landwirte), and became one of the most vocal defenders of the economic interests of the landowning nobility of Prussia. He lent himself to a variety of extreme right-wing political causes, many of them antisemitic in nature. Hahn's maiden speech in the Reichstag was infamous for the phrase "Strike my lieutenant, I'll strike your Jew," uttered in a heated exchange over stock exchange reform.

From 1897 until his death in 1918, Hahn was the Agrarian League's national director in charge of its internal administration, press relations, and electoral agitation. A skillful and innovative organizer, he created the largest, best-financed, and most smoothly run political organization in the prewar period. Under his leadership, the Agrarian League grew to over 330,000 members, organized into a sophisticated network of provincial, regional, and local branches supported by an infrastructure of paid speakers and organizers, libraries, buying cooperatives, and insurance schemes. He imparted his own hyperbolic, emotionally charged speaking style to an entire cadre of rural activists and left a mark on rural political discourse that lasted far beyond his own lifetime, infecting it, in particular, with a harsh, aggressive, and antisemitic worldview.

It is difficult to arrive at a nuanced understanding of that worldview. With the exception of specific but rare outbursts, Hahn was careful to confine his public antisemitic utterances to general condemnations of the Jews. How personal this antisemitism was in his private life is also hard to ascertain because most of his papers have been destroyed. However, his remark to a newspaper editor is probably the best indication of his utter sincerity in the matter of antisemitism: "I hate the Jews and will strike them wherever I can" (Hahn 1908).

—George S. Vascik

**See also** Agrarian League; Antisemites' Petition; German Students, Association of; Stoecker, Adolf; Tivoli Program

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## Haman

Identified as “the enemy of the Jews” almost as soon as he appears in the Bible (Esther 3:10), Haman reigned as the highest official in the Persian court of King Ahasuerus. According to the book of Esther, Haman grew enraged when the Jew Mordechai failed to follow local custom by paying him obeisance, and he sought revenge by plotting the first attempted genocide of the Jewish people. After persuading Ahasuerus not to oppose his plan, Haman was finally thwarted by an elaborate scheme in which Queen Esther—the king’s wife as well as Mordechai’s niece—revealed her previously concealed Jewishness and brought about Haman’s downfall. Ahasuerus ordered Haman hanged on the gallows once intended for Mordechai, gifted Haman’s estate to Mordechai and Esther, and granted the Jews of Persia the right to self-defense against their enemies.

Although scholars from ancient to modern times have attempted to identify Ahasuerus with the Persian kings Artaxerxes or Xerxes, there is virtually no evidence to support the existence of a historical Haman. Whether he actually lived or not, however, he has become an archetype of the antisemite, an outcome likely intended by the author of the book of Esther as well as its earliest rabbinic interpreters. The book of Esther gives prominent attention to Haman’s lineage, referring pointedly to him as “son of Hammedatha the Agagite,” an identification that inspired the sages of antiquity to construct a comprehensive genealogy for him that credibly linked him to Israel’s most ancient enemies, Esau, Amalek, and Agag. Placing Haman in this context, the sages sought to elevate him from a wicked yet bumbling figure to a timeless representation of those enemies who for centuries had schemed to destroy the Jews and (symbolically) their God. One typical midrash, which begins “Accursed are the wicked, who all devise evil against Israel,” compares Haman’s failed plot to Cain, Esau, and

Pharaoh’s botched attempts to rid the world of the Jews; it concludes by linking Haman’s defeat to God’s triumph over Israel’s enemies in messianic times (*Esther Rabbah* 7:23).

Such teachings account, in part, for the passion with which Haman is regarded even in modern times. However, the figure of Haman himself remains compelling in its own right. Here is a hateful man of virtually unlimited power, wishing to be worshiped as a god and consumed by ambition to destroy the people of God—arguably the ultimate example of the fearsome antisemite. Yet because Haman’s defeat is known to us from the moment we meet him, because the book of Esther takes such delight in pointing out his blunders, and because he is a figure of history rather than a living, breathing enemy, Haman serves also as a catharsis; generations of Jews have projected onto him the names and qualities of their own more immediate foes, then symbolically conquered these foes by invoking Haman’s downfall. For the sages of antiquity, Haman became identified with their despised Roman persecutors; for the Jews of Nazi Europe, Haman was said to be used as a code name for Hitler. Certainly, the roaring noise makers (groggers) and pounding feet that sound when Haman’s name is heard during the Purim Megillah reading attest to the fascination Haman still holds for Jews today.

Although the biblical Haman is a single human being brought low simply by human ingenuity (indeed, God’s name does not appear at all in the book of Esther), Jewish tradition has granted him an identity and a significance that span history, from the genealogies of Genesis to the time of the Messiah. According to one midrash, before being hanged on the gallows, Haman pleaded with Mordechai not to permit his name to be blotted out. Perhaps ironically, Haman’s dying wish has been granted to this day.

—Elaine Rose Glickman

*See also* Hitler, Adolf; Roman Empire; Talmud

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## Hamas

The word *Hamas*, meaning “zeal” in Arabic, is the acronym for Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (The Islamic Resistance Movement). The organization was founded in Gaza in December 1987, at the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising known as the first intifada, as the militant branch of local association of the Muslim Brotherhood. Under the leadership of Sheikh Ahmad Yasin, the brotherhood had previously focused its activities on spiritual and social revival among Palestinians, had refrained from anti-Israel resistance, and was hostile to the secular nationalist groups that comprised the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Israeli authorities had even given discreet financial support to the brotherhood’s social welfare activities in the hope that it would provide a quietist alternative to the PLO. However, the groundswell of popular participation in the intifada convinced the brotherhood’s leadership that the time had come for armed jihad. It refused to join the Unified National Command of the Uprising established by the PLO but did agree to operate with it as an independent organization. The Israeli authorities cracked down heavily on Hamas, imprisoning Sheikh Yasin and exiling other leaders.

Hamas opposed the Arab-Israeli peace talks that began at the end of 1991 and the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords, and it increased its terrorist activities against Israelis after the establishment of the Palestine Authority (PA). Its most dramatic weapon became the “martyr,” or suicide bomber. This development had not been condoned by Sunni Islam and seems to have been inspired by Shi’ite groups such as the Lebanese Hizbollah and Amal. Hamas has continually posed the primary challenge to PLO rule in the PA.

From the beginning, Hamas espoused the antisemitism of the Muslim Brotherhood’s leading thinkers, Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb. This fact is clear from its own ideological credo formulated as the Islamic covenant in 1988, which not only calls for Islam to eliminate Israel but also states “our struggle against the Jews is extremely wide-ranging and grave.” It cites the Hadith (tradition attributed to the Prophet Mohammed) in noting that at the end of time, Muslims will fight

the Jews and kill them. The covenant and other Hamas publications draw on the libels of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, accusing Jews of a universal conspiracy for world domination. It also accuses them of instigating the French and communist revolutions and having their fingerprints on every war that has ever broken out anywhere. It claims that the Zionists control the imperial states and were behind the establishment of the United Nations and that the Freemasons, Rotary and Lions Clubs, and B’nai B’rith are all Zionist fronts. It brands Israel as “a vicious Nazi-like enemy” and opines that “the Nazism of the Jews does not skip women and children.” Some of the antisemitic canards are backed in the covenant by koranic proof texts.

Hamas’s anti-Jewish rhetoric has become increasingly violent since the second intifada. The art page of its website opens with a poster depicting an axe inscribed *al-Qassam* (for the organization’s ‘Izz al-Din al-Qassam commando squads) chopping in half the word *Jews*, scattered skulls, and the words “We shall knock on Paradise’s Gates with the Jews’ skulls.”

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Arab Antisemitic Literature; Arafat, Yasir; Freemasonry; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism; Muslim Brotherhood; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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## *Handbook of the Jewish Question (Antisemites’ Catechism)*

In November 1884, the Dresden antisemitic newspaper *Deutsche Reform* (German Reform) published a call for “a handy, pocket-sized guide with a wealth of information” on the Jewish Question. Theodor Fritsch, close to the Dresden antisemites, vowed to fill this suddenly discov-

ered need in the near future. But it was only on May 31, 1887, that his publishing house issued the first 212-page edition of the *Antisemites' Catechism: A Compilation of the Most Important Material for the Comprehending of the Jewish Question*. Its author was Thomas Frey, one of Fritsch's many pseudonyms. The first edition nearly sold out within the week. There followed in rapid succession a second, improved edition and then two further printings in the same year.

Fritsch acknowledged his authorship in the tenth edition (in 1891). He steadily expanded his collection of material from edition to edition, so that by the time the twenty-fifth appeared in 1893 (in a run of 35,000 copies), the book had grown to 411 pages. Beyond its expansion, however, Fritsch made virtually no conceptual changes in his guide. Ever the systematic exploiter of his own works, he let excerpts appear as freestanding pamphlets, newspaper articles, or "little enlightenment writings."

The guide featured a catechism-like question-and-answer introduction to the Jewish Question "in everyday language." One of the book's essential features was devoted to the "sayings of famous men concerning the Jews." Fritsch included here anything negative about his subject that he could extract from scientists, artists, and writers, even if their alleged antisemitism consisted of no more than uttering the common prejudices of their day. Of course, authentic antisemites such as Richard Wagner, Arthur Schopenhauer, and Heinrich von Treitschke were also prominently represented. Fritsch included among the illustrious some far less well-known radical antisemites, such as Eugen Dühring and Adolf Wahr mund. His purpose was clear: to create the sense of continuity in antisemitism among the great from the days of Cicero to the present.

A complement to this feature was a section entitled "Jewish Self-Judgments and Sayings," in which Jews and Jewish character were allowed to convict themselves in their own words. In line with this aim was a series of Talmud extracts, taken from August Rohling's *The Talmud Jew*. (Fritsch knew no Hebrew and, like Rohling, was unable to read the original.) Here, readers could learn about the Jews' double morality and their

license to cheat gentiles, allegedly encouraged by the Talmud. "A History of the Jewish Race (*Volk*)" reinforced the idea of unchanging Jewish values and highlighted the Jews' stubborn unwillingness to accommodate themselves to the ways of others. "Jew-Statistics" supposedly proved the overrepresentation of Jews in key sectors of society, as well as their above-average participation in criminal acts. Taken together, these features of the *Antisemites' Catechism* served one basic purpose: to demonstrate the negative influence of Jewry on all aspects of German life.

Fritsch wanted his readers to draw the proper political conclusions from what they learned. He devoted a chapter to the history of the antisemitic movement. In the "Ten Commandments of Lawful Self-Help," he enjoined his audience to maintain the purity of Germanic blood and to isolate the Jews as a practical step toward this goal. Party politics, which Fritsch never really approved of, nevertheless received support from the *Catechism*, which reprinted the platform of the antisemitic German Social Party and provided a handy listing of antisemitic clubs and newspapers. After Fritsch had a run-in with authorities, the book was seized in 1888, and Fritsch was legally required to remove some passages that libeled the Jewish community. By 1889, a much-abbreviated version intended for mass distribution appeared as *Facts about the Jewish Question: An ABC for Antisemites—Taken from the "Antisemites' Catechism."*

In 1907, the twenty-sixth edition of the book assumed the title under which it is best known today: *Handbook of the Jewish Question: A Compilation of the Most Important Materials for Forming a Judgment on the Jewish Race*. By that time, Fritsch had sundered all connections to the party antisemites, announcing that the handbook stood above all political party strife and would henceforth devote itself to the purely objective and scientific study of society.

The *Handbook* adhered fairly faithfully to the structure of the 1907 edition, but it also reflected certain trends of the day, such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and occasionally gave more or less weight to traditional subjects. Beginning with the thirtieth edition of 1931 and the virtual retirement of Fritsch from an active role, indi-

vidual features began to carry bylines. The *Handbook of the Jewish Question* survived until 1944, when it was in its forty-ninth edition and over 330,000 copies had been printed. During the Third Reich, it became a school textbook that Hitler himself fully endorsed. In a letter that appeared on the cover of the 34th edition of the *Handbook*, he wrote to Fritsch: "Even as a young man in Vienna, I studied the *Handbook of the Jewish Question*. I am convinced that this book, in very marked fashion, served to prepare the ground for the National Socialists Movement."

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Bartels, Adolf; Dühring, Eugen; Fritsch, Theodor; Hitler, Adolf; Jewish Question; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rohling, August; Talmud; *Talmud Jew*, *The References*  
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## Hegel, G. W. F. (1770–1831)

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel began to develop his distinctive philosophy in Jena, where he had moved in 1801. As his funds dwindled, he left Jena in 1807 and became a secondary school principal in Franconia before securing a post at the University of Heidelberg in 1816. Two years later, he was appointed to J. G. Fichte's prestigious chair in Berlin, where he spent the rest of his life.

Hegel assumed that religion and philosophy were alternative modes of understanding and expressing truth. History consisted of a succession of religions and philosophies, each of which had been a more comprehensive and perfect representation of truth than the one before. Each new form of religion had not simply negated the one that went before. Rather, the valid elements of each obsolete religion were contained and developed further in the one that superseded it. Biblical Judaism had been one of these imperfect reflections of truth. It had been valid in its time, and Hegel, in fact, associated it with a particularly significant step in the development of human consciousness. Although Christianity had

ultimately superseded all other religions, including Judaism, it did not directly supersede Judaism in his scheme of things. Provisos such as this one already indicated that the utility of his complex system for more common forms of political discourse was rather limited.

Hegel was by no means sparing in his characterization of what he held to be the deficiencies that had rendered Judaism obsolete, and he found postbiblical Judaism equally inexplicable and futile. He was more optimistic than most of his contemporaries, however, that Jews would assimilate if given a chance. Thus, he supported the granting of equal rights to Jews, even though he held to the common view that their current behavior did not as yet merit full emancipation. While Hegel was teaching in Heidelberg, the student fraternity there carried a remarkable motion permitting the admission of Jewish students. The initiator of that motion, F. W. Carové, was closely involved with Hegel. The transcript of Hegel's lectures on "The Philosophy of Right," delivered in Heidelberg in 1817 and 1818, shows that he already expressed his support for formal Jewish emancipation, thus boosting the case of those favoring the admission of Jewish students to the fraternity.

Probably the most influential aspect of Hegel's stance was the link it construed between the notion of Judaism's obsolescence (which tended to draw more attention than his assertion that Judaism had been valid in its time) and his concept of (irreversible) historical progress. Within the parameters of the Enlightenment discourse, the debate on Judaism's alleged inferiority could, at least in theory, be reopened if it could be proven that Judaism was not as immutably tied to its initial revelation as its critics claimed and was hence perfectible after all. But the Hegelian model rendered that option impossible, even in theory. His contention that Judaism was obsolete was not only meant as a qualitative judgment; it also supposedly represented a fact of history. Given that history obviously could not be turned back, this seemed to offer a watertight case.

—Lars Fischer

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Burschenschaften; Emancipation; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Fichte, J. G.; Marx, Karl; Young Hegelians

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### **Heidegger, Martin (1889–1976)**

Martin Heidegger was born in south Germany in the rural Catholic town of Meßkirch. In the course of a long life—and a world away from Meßkirch—he became the most famous philosopher of the twentieth century. Yet the remarkably complex issue of antisemitism in Heidegger's life and thought began in that small village.

The antisemitism Heidegger experienced as a youth in Meßkirch had its source in traditional Catholic views about Jews. But Heidegger's schoolteachers *rejected* the modern concept of antisemitism then making headway in German politics because it was contrary to Catholic doctrine. This new term *antisemitism* was purely secular and based on race. The church did not oppose Jews for racial reasons but because they had rejected Christ, which was a *religious* issue. However, this traditional Catholic hostility toward Jews was part of the landscape Heidegger grew up in and needs to be considered when explaining his choices later in life.

His family was part of the lower middle class. In Europe's rigid class structure, many in this economically and socially threatened grouping grew particularly vulnerable to extremist politics, including antisemitic politics. Heidegger, however, was not a victim of modernity. Even as a child, his genius was unmistakable. He was put under the care of local Catholic teachers, who saw to his schooling in a private elite academy and groomed him for the university, a trajectory totally at odds with that of most people of his social background.

Heidegger's university world was significantly Jewish. The adviser for his 1913 dissertation at Freiburg was the famous phenomenologist Edmund Husserl, who was a Protestant in religion

but made no secret of his Jewish birth and his Jewish cultural heritage. Heidegger became known as a Husserl's brilliant assistant lecturer, and he soon developed a following among university students all over Germany, who read and passed on the notes from his lectures. Even more striking were the number of Heidegger's own students in the 1920s who were Jewish by birth. Many came from families with a markedly higher social status than Heidegger's own. Hannah Arendt came from such a background and became not only one of his best students but also Heidegger's secret lover for five intense years during the 1920s. Other of his Jewish students who went on to distinguished careers were Karl Löwith, Hans Jonas, and Herbert Marcuse.

In 1923, Heidegger received an appointment to teach at Marburg University. His lectures there eventually resulted in his most famous book, *Being and Time*, which was published in 1927 and led to his appointment as Husserl's successor at Freiburg in 1928. Three years later, Heidegger suddenly announced his interest in the Nazi movement and claimed to see parallels between its philosophy and his own.

In 1933, he joined the Nazi Party and was almost immediately elected rector of Freiburg University, an office that he conducted with considerable enthusiasm. As a Nazi, Heidegger imposed Nazi discipline on the university. Whatever the influence of antisemitism in his childhood milieu or that which he experienced in academic culture, the sort he now wholeheartedly practiced was of a different order. There is overwhelming evidence that, for a brief period, Heidegger zealously hounded Jewish professors and students in the university. Where and when possible, he saw that their careers were cut short or undermined in significant ways.

Within a year of his appointment as rector at Freiburg, for reasons still not entirely clear, Heidegger abruptly resigned and returned to teaching. Later in the 1930s, the Nazis became suspicious that he was not following the party line on important issues, and eventually, the Gestapo began monitoring his lectures. In 1944, he was forced into the *Volkssturm* (civilian militia) and had to fight against the invading U.S. and French armies.



German philosopher Martin Heidegger, one of the twentieth century's most influential thinkers, was a mentor to French existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre. Heidegger's central theme was man's inability to understand his own existence. His most famous work, translated as *Being and Time*, was published in 1927.  
(Bettmann/Corbis)

After the war, a German de-Nazification board declared him unfit to teach in a German university because of his membership in the Nazi Party and his activity as rector. He remained a private scholar until the early 1950s when he was granted formal retirement by the new West German government, which legally permitted him once again to give lectures at various German universities.

Heidegger's return to the academic scene coincided with his growing world fame. In the 1950s and 1960s, his admirers no longer came from the extreme Right but from the ranks of high-powered intellectuals on the Left, among them Jean-Paul Sartre. Later, his influence spread to U.S. universities, where his philosophy inspired many of the students who became involved in the civil rights movement and in

protests against the Vietnam War. Heidegger's Nazi past was a matter of public record and the subject of occasional exposés published in obscure journals, but few of his new followers seemed much interested. He died in 1976, fully esteemed by the intellectual world.

Then, in 1987, the Chilean scholar Victor Farias published a book in French, *Heidegger et le Nazisme*, giving thorough exposure to Heidegger's involvement with the Nazi Party and his overtly antisemitic activities during the 1930s. Its publication stimulated an impassioned discussion and debate among thinkers of all schools. They asked the key question: who *was* the real Martin Heidegger? That debate continues to this day.

—Leif Torjesen

**See also** Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Sartre, Jean-Paul

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## Heine, Heinrich (1797–1856)

The first German Jewish creative writer of international reputation, whose poems went out into the world "on wings of song," in his own phrase, did not have intense experiences of antisemitism in his youth: there was no ghetto in his home city of Düsseldorf; his family was reasonably well integrated into the community; and from age eight to seventeen, he lived under Napoleonic occupation, which brought certain benefits to the Jews along with burdensome restrictions on commerce and military conscription. He did witness anti-Jewish disturbances in 1819, when the windows in the Hamburg townhouse of his millionaire uncle Salomon Heine were broken, and his private letters report recurrent anxiety from antisemitic insinuations, along with his own dismissive remarks about Jews that might sound antisemitic in another context. After Prussia restored legal restrictions on Jews in 1822, narrowing his career options, he had himself baptized shortly before completing his law degree at Göttingen in 1825—a step he came to regret as damaging to his dignity, al-



Drawing of German poet Heinrich Heine, (1797–1856). (Bettmann/Corbis)

though, when it suited him, he would project a persona as a Prussian Protestant. He came to fear being identified as Jewish in public. In 1829, the pathologically insecure poet Count August von Platen included some witless jibes about Heine's Jewishness in his comedy *Der romantische Ödipus* (The Romantic Oedipus), and Heine struck back within the year with a savage satire on Platen's homosexuality, *Die Bäder von Lucca* (The Baths of Lucca).

During much of his life, Heine, believing religious faith had been made obsolete by the Enlightenment, included Judaism with Christianity in a conspiracy to suppress sensual gratification and plentitude. In response to an accusation of Jewishness, he once wrote: "One does not turn to the excessively withered charms of the mother when the aging daughter no longer pleases" (Heine 1973–1997, 165). But an alteration was working within him under the surface; an early sign of it was a spirited defense of Shylock in his *Shakspeares Mädchen und Frauen* (Shakespeare's Maidens and Ladies, [1838]). A real shock came

with a ritual murder charge in Damascus in 1840, leading to a pogrom in the Middle East during which the government of France—for Heine, the guardian of the Enlightenment tradition—temporized opportunistically. He responded by publishing an extended yet incomplete version of a novel with a medieval Jewish setting that he had begun in his student days, *Der Rabbi von Bacherach* (The Rabbi of Bacherach).

His subsequent ventures into Jewish themes and his declaration of submission to a belief in God, though lively topics of inquiry to the present day, are not relevant here, and antisemitism played only a marginal role in his generally poor standing with the German public in the latter part of his life and for some years afterward. A collection of forty-two obituaries, some quite hostile, contains not a single overtly antisemitic note. He was regarded as frivolous, unpatriotic, and Frenchified—a view shared by many prominent Jews, who particularly resented his attack on his fellow dissident of Jewish descent, Ludwig Börne, widely regarded as Heine's moral superior. In the latter third of the nineteenth century, his reputation improved, both in general and among Jewish commentators. Simultaneously, with the rise of a more systematically articulated antisemitism, elaborate attacks were mounted against him. Notable among several zealots was Adolf Bartels, who strove in some two dozen publications to drive Heine out of German culture. Such agitators may seem more significant in historical retrospect than they appeared to be in their own time, when mainstream opinion regarded them as fringe crackpots. They would not have been so agitated if Heine's standing in German culture had not been substantial, as confirmed by nearly forty collected editions of his works published between the 1860s and the end of the Weimar Republic. The precipitous decline of his reputation among arbiters of taste around the turn of the century is owed not to antisemitism but to a modernist devaluation of his poetry, led not least by critics of Jewish origin such as Robert Neumann and Karl Kraus. The Nazis, of course, attempted to erase him altogether. (Although it has been reported that the "Lorelei" setting appeared in Nazi songbooks as "author unknown," in order to rescue the popu-

lar poem from its tainted Jewish authorship, no one has been able to find an example to support this claim.) In the vigorous revival of Heine studies in postwar German scholarship, antisemitism played no role except as a count of indictment against the bourgeoisie, although some uncompromising leftists continue to insist that he could not have had a Jewish identity or religious allegiance of any kind.

—Jeffrey L. Sammons

**See also** Bartels, Adolf; Damascus Blood Libel; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Heine Monument Controversy; Hep-Hep Riots; Kraus, Karl; Shylock

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### Heine Monument Controversy

After the unification of Germany in 1871, monuments to inspirational figures of the past became important for defining national identity. Vigorous efforts beginning in the 1880s to erect a monument to Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) encountered moralistic, monarchist, and nationalistic opposition, to which accrued a rising tide of antisemitism. The issue generated recurrent scenes of political theater continuing into the late twentieth century. The most notorious of the endeavors, the Lorelei Fountain, intended for Heine's home city of Düsseldorf, was designed by a prominent monument specialist, Ernst Herter, whose fee was to have been paid by a fervent admirer of Heine, Empress Elisabeth of Austria. Although the project was supported by municipal government, the press, and majority public opinion in Düsseldorf, a minority of opponents forged an alliance with the Prussian government to thwart it; the empress, possibly as a result of pressure on Vienna from Berlin, withdrew her support. The project became a focus of

antisemitic agitation, although an effort to move the fountain to Mainz was combated also by local Jews, including the chief rabbi. After epic adventures, a German American singing society eventually took the fountain to what is now Joyce Kilmer Park in the Bronx, where its restoration was celebrated in June 1999, exactly 100 years after the failed attempt in Düsseldorf.

Several other contentious episodes followed. In 1891, Empress Elisabeth had a statue of a seated, contemplative Heine, by the Danish sculptor Louis Hasselriis, erected at her estate on the island of Corfu; when Kaiser Wilhelm II acquired the property in 1908, he had it removed. An effort by the son of Heine's publisher to donate the sculpture to Hamburg failed; it is now in a park in Toulon. A tireless antisemitic campaign did not succeed in preventing a sculpture dedicated to Heine from being erected in Frankfurt in 1913, although it was moved to a Jewish neighborhood. The Nazis destroyed all the memorials that had not been hidden except, curiously, Hasselriis's bust on Heine's grave in Montmartre Cemetery in Paris, dedicated by a Viennese male chorus in 1901.

Quarrels reemerged after World War II. In 1953, Düsseldorf acquired by gift for the newly named Heinrich Heine Avenue one of the familiar nudes of the fascist sympathizer Aristide Maillol; titled *Harmonie*, this piece was scorned in some quarters for its incongruity. Düsseldorf seemed to have put the matter to rest in 1981 with what was regarded as a more adequate representation of Heine, a prostrate figure with broken body parts sculpted by Bert Gerresheim. But in 1983, a bitter dispute was ignited when a pre-war work depicting Heine by a sculptor celebrated by the Nazi regime, Arno Breker, was erected on the island of Norderney. Another controversy arose over a life-size statue of Heine by the nationalist sculptor Hugo Lederer, originally erected in Hamburg in 1926 but destroyed by the Nazis; an abstracted version of this work was placed in front of the Heinrich-Heine-University of Düsseldorf, named for the poet in 1988 after a twenty-three-year conflict with the administration and faculty. Whether this dispute marks the end of monument controversies is difficult to predict.

—Jeffrey L. Sammons

**See also** Germany, Federal Republic of; Heine, Heinrich; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism

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## Henrici, Ernst (1854–1915)

Representing a radical racist, social reformist, and aggressively rowdy form of Jew-hatred (*Radauantisemitismus*), Ernst Henrici played only a short-lived role in the history of party-political antisemitism in the German Empire. He was born in Berlin, the seventh child of a retired soldier and fiscal official. With his special talent for languages and his extraordinary will and energy, he became a promising young scholar, writing a prize-winning essay at Berlin University in 1877 and earning his doctorate a year later with a thesis on medieval German literature. In July 1880, his study on Martin Luther's works took the even more prestigious prize of the Royal Prussian Academy, presented to him by the famous historian Theodor Mommsen. In the same year, dissatisfied with his life as a high school teacher and casual scholar, Henrici tried his luck in politics, first with the left-liberal Progressive Party and then, under the influence of his former teacher Bernhard Förster, within the new movement of antisemitism. In 1880, he founded a "liberal-minded antisemitic" association, which developed into the Soziale Reichspartei (Social Reich Party) in March 1881. Its program combined the demands of the Antisemites' Petition that Henrici had helped formulate, with social reformist planks such as the ten-hour working day and unemployment insurance, and chauvinist pleas for a more aggressive German colonial policy. The party failed by 1882.

Henrici was able to exert more influence, however, as a sensation-seeking antisemitic agitator in Berlin and the provinces. His inflammatory rhetoric and malicious ridicule of the supposed "racial traits" of Jews attracted mass audiences and provoked anti-Jewish disturbances on New Year's Eve in Berlin in 1880 and the burning of the synagogue and pogrom in

Neustettin during the spring and summer of 1881. Henrici's antisemitic rowdyism soon cost him his job. Within the antisemitic movement, the violent excesses of 1881 led to a split between politically conservative antisemites, such as Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker and Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, and radicals such as Henrici, who were seen as threatening to the existing order. Henrici became increasingly isolated. At the First International Antisemitic Congress in Dresden (in 1882), he demanded that all Jews be expelled from Germany. Stoecker countered that a plebiscite on the question of whether Jews or antisemites should be expelled certainly would be decided in the Jews' favor.

In 1884, Henrici cooperated in founding the anticonservative and social reformist Deutscher Antisemitenbund (German Antisemites' League), another quick failure. Soon thereafter, he left the political stage for good, in his own mind both the hero and the martyr of the antisemitic movement. He spent much of the remainder of his unsettled life as a colonial adventurer, planter, and engineer in Africa, Latin America, and the United States. After his return to Germany in 1910, he held a succession of jobs, including the editorship of the inconsequential antisemitic newspaper *Frankfurter Warte* (Frankfurt Guardian).

—Chrishard Hoffmann

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Berlin Movement; Förster, Bernhard; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Neustettin Pogrom; Stoecker, Adolf

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## Hentschel, Willibald (1858–1947)

Willibald Hentschel was one of the most eccentric but influential propagators of racial hygiene and rural romanticism in the Wilhelmian and Weimar eras. Closely associated with Theodor Fritsch, with whom he founded the antisemitic periodical *Hammer* in 1903, Hentschel developed several utopian schemes for renewing the German race through selective breeding and polygamy in agricultural communities. His notions of "blood and soil" inspired the founding

of the Artamanenbund after World War I, a rural work organization for young Germans that was absorbed into the Reichsnährstand (Reich Agriculture Corporation) under Hitler's minister of agriculture, Walter Darré, in 1933.

Hentschel studied biology under the Darwinian Ernst Haeckel at Jena and wrote a doctoral dissertation on the causes of hereditary variations. Having amassed sufficient wealth through a patent for the manufacture of indigo, he was able to devote most of his life to his publishing and political pursuits. In the 1890s, he served on the board of directors of Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg's antisemitic German Social Party. His two most influential books were *Varuna* (1901), a fanciful account of the origins of race from an "Aryan perspective," and *Mittgart* (1904), a proposal for breeding a new rural aristocracy on huge estates by settling 1,000 racially pure women and 100 men selected on the basis of athletic and military competition. The children resulting from these multiple temporary unions would leave the estates at the age of sixteen to replenish the declining racial stock in Germany's degenerate cities and provide superior soldiers for its armies. The scheme offended conventional religious sensibilities and also drew considerable criticism from other racial hygienists who deplored the dissolution of the family. The Artamanenbund, founded in 1923, was based on Hentschel's marginally more moderate postwar plan to re-Germanize the countryside and promote peasant-warrior values. Young volunteers were organized into rural work communities to displace migrant Polish workers on estates in the eastern part of the country and to open up new farmland for German colonization.

Hentschel collaborated with Fritsch in promoting political antisemitism. In 1904, the *Hammer* announced that *Varuna* contained the program of the journal and that acquaintance with this work would be required of all contributors. In *Varuna*, subtitled *On the Law of Ascending and Declining Life in the History of Peoples* in later editions, Hentschel warned that the Germanic race had become "Semitized" through racial mixing, contact with foreigners, industrialization, and the spread of alcohol and narcotics in the modern world. Commercialization, ur-

banization, and democracy were the deleterious consequences of this Semitism. Hentschel's immediate goal was to reverse the new Civil Code, adopted in 1900, which supposedly enshrined the "Roman-Jewish" institutions of real estate mortgage and mobile capital. He defined *Semitism* as everything that disjoined the heroic personality from its true nature. For him, Semitism stood not for a particular race (although Jews were its modern agents) but for an ethnic principle of moral and cultural degeneration that had corrupted the ancient Israelites and now threatened the Germanic race. According to Hentschel, ancient Greek and Roman civilizations had collapsed because they had been unable to mobilize effective antisemitic movements. Only a strong countermovement could prevent the triumph of Semitism all over the world. The urgent task for Germans was to overcome the Semitism within themselves, and racial hygiene was the means to this end.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Fritsch, Theodor; Imperial Hammer League; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Settlement *Heimland*; Social Darwinism

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## Hep-Hep Riots (1819)

In August and September 1819, a series of anti-Jewish riots spread across Germany and beyond. For the first time since the Middle Ages, Jewish communities in Germany were exposed to the threat of large-scale violent persecution. The ominous and enigmatic slogan of the 1819 rioters—Hep-Hep—was to serve as a battle cry for Jew-baiters throughout the nineteenth century.

The riots started on August 2, 1819, in the Bavarian town of Würzburg. Large crowds sys-

tematically attacked Jewish-owned shops and private homes and abused and chased Jewish passersby. Even after the Jewish inhabitants had fled the town, the riots continued for several days before they were quelled by the police and military. There were no casualties among Würzburg's Jews, but a rioter and a policeman lost their lives.

The Würzburg riots triggered a wave of anti-Jewish unrest that, within a few weeks, spread across Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and elsewhere in Germany. Severe riots occurred in a number of other major towns, including Frankfurt am Main, Heidelberg, Hamburg, and Danzig. In Heidelberg, the pillaging of the Jewish quarter went on for hours before it was finally stopped by a contingent of university students. In Danzig, a large crowd attacked two synagogues and several private homes on the Day of Atonement. In two Bavarian villages, the synagogues were demolished and the Torah scrolls destroyed. Elsewhere, Jewish villagers were threatened with arson attacks. In October 1819, a ritual murder allegation rekindled anti-Jewish disturbances in the Rhineland. Unrest spread beyond Germany to Alsace and to several Danish towns, most severely in Copenhagen and Odense.

The Hep-Hep riots occurred at a time of heightened political and social tension in Germany. On the eve of the repressive Carlsbad Decrees, the hunt for suspected demagogues was already under way, and rumors of revolutionary unrest were omnipresent. It was widely assumed by contemporaries that the anti-Jewish riots had been instigated by conspirators who hoped to use popular anti-Jewish bias to arouse general political unrest. Contributing to these suspicions were the swift and wide diffusion of the rioting, the uniformity of newspaper reports about incidents in places far apart, and the mysterious "Hep-Hep" slogan that rioters everywhere seemed to recognize as the starting signal. Much effort was devoted to deciphering this battle cry, which many believed contained a cryptic meaning whose decoding would reveal the identities of the instigators. The oft-repeated but erroneous assumption that the rioting in Würzburg had been initiated by university students is indicative of the conviction that the outbreaks were somehow re-

lated to political conspiracies and especially to revolutionary, nationalistic student activity.

The causes of the Hep-Hep riots are highly complex. The political frustrations of the years after the Congress of Vienna, the economic problems and social tensions that followed on the defeat of Napoleon, and the aftereffects of the famine of 1816 and 1817 may have facilitated the violent outbreaks against the Jews. However, more direct causes can be linked to the agitation for and against Jewish emancipation that peaked during these years. Liberals as well as Christian romantics participated in the acrimonious debates, together with journalists and playwrights. Anti-Jewish tracts written by university professors such as the historian Friedrich Rühs and the philosopher Jakob Fries were echoed by newspapers and even read out to people in taverns. For all their differences, most of the pamphlets, newspaper articles, and plays, as well as the public response they engendered, signified the emphatic rejection of Jewish emancipation.

The initial outbreaks of the Hep-Hep riots in Würzburg occurred just as the debate over Jewish emancipation in the Bavarian parliament had been concluded but before its outcome had been made public. At the same time, well-known Würzburg residents were conducting their own passionate arguments on the topic. Tellingly, the rioters in Würzburg chose targets primarily defined by these local debates over the legal status of the Jews in society and the civic community. Signs over Jewish-owned shops, first permitted in 1816, were systematically torn down by the rioters. Similarly, the riots in Frankfurt and in Hamburg began with Jewish pedestrians being chased away from public promenades and fashionable coffeehouses—places where Jews had been allowed only recently, occasioning much public rancor.

Despite some anti-Jewish restrictions temporarily imposed by authorities in Würzburg and elsewhere in response to the violent outbursts, the Hep-Hep riots did not have a lasting impact on the struggle for emancipation in Germany at large. Their long-term effects on the Jewish minority, however, are difficult to assess. Although the claim that the processes of acculturation among German Jews were manifestly accelerated

by the riots may be overstated, they certainly strengthened the quest for reorientation among many Jewish intellectuals.

—Stefan Rohrbacher

**See also** Alsace; Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Burschenschaften; Emancipation; Fries, Jakob Friedrich; Heine, Heinrich; Jewish Question; Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Levin

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## Herder, J. G. (1744–1803)

The German philosopher, theologian, and critic J. G. Herder had a particular interest in Jewish Scripture, which he read in Hebrew and passionately promoted in his own writings as the finest example of a national culture expressed through its poetry. Fullest understanding of Scripture, he argued, required that the reader have sympathetic awareness of the particular circumstances and experiences of its writers (*On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* 1782). The fundamental principle that each national culture develops organically as a distinctive entity and, as such, is intrinsically valuable underlies much of his thinking, including his condemnation of colonialist enterprises, his rejection of the notion that historical succession ought to be understood as a process of moral or cultural improvement, and his attack on state bureaucracies as artificial and inauthentic institutions that supplant the role properly belonging to organic national cultures. Taken in that context, Herder’s expressions of sympathy for Jews and Judaism have tra-

ditionally been assessed as a significant departure from the thinking of his Enlightenment contemporaries, whose commitment to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity was frequently tempered by ambivalence or open hostility toward Jews.

Recent scholarship, however, suggests that Herder’s perspective on Jews was itself more ambivalent than has generally been acknowledged. His writings on contemporary Jews occasionally had recourse to the standard vocabulary of *Juden-hass* (Jew-hatred). One particularly harsh passage appearing in the fourth volume of his masterwork, *Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humanity*, deploys the familiar imagery of Jews as parasites, sharp-practicing usurers who profited during the “barbaric centuries” of the Middle Ages by reinforcing Europeans’ self-defeating pride in their ignorance of commerce; Herder describes this effect as “a more irritating leprosy” than the real thing, which the Jews are also (erroneously, according to Herder) thought to have introduced to Europe. Paul Lawrence Rose has argued that Herder’s readiness to invoke such rhetoric, coupled with his view that Jewish populations ought to be restricted to such numbers as could be made useful to the “host” state, undermines his stature as a liberal humanitarian, putting him firmly in the camp of the statist conservatives.

Others have taken the position advanced by Bernhard Suphan, the nineteenth-century scholar who prepared the first and most comprehensive edition of Herder’s works. Suphan claimed that the numerous passages in Herder’s published works that were profoundly inconsistent with the rest of his thought reflected his need to mollify the authorities to whom he answered in his professional position as general superintendent and pastor of the court church for the Duchy of Saxony-Weimar. Indeed, Emil Adler found that comparison of the published version of *Ideas* with Herder’s manuscript revealed a dramatic reversal; the manuscript version of the passage made no mention of parasites or usury, arguing that the Jews, dispersed throughout Europe in the centuries after the fall of Rome—through their wealth, intelligence, orderliness, and industry—played and continue to play an in-

dispensable role in helping the European nations overcome the barbarism of the medieval era.

Even if Herder's manuscripts reveal a more consistently affirmative evaluation of Jews and Judaism than emerges from his published works, it must nevertheless be said that such suppressed sentiments are, by definition, irrelevant as a matter of historical reception. However, even at their most extreme, his passages of anti-Jewish rhetoric did not significantly expand on or deepen prejudices common at the time. Herder's most important contribution to the intellectual history of antisemitism was entirely unintended: his novel argument for the organic development of national cultures, which incorporated elements of geography, language, kinship, and historical continuity. Although Herder maintained (with occasional lapses) that no culture enjoyed a privileged position with respect to any other, his model of the organic national culture left Jews living in the Diaspora exposed, susceptible to charges that their culture was "inorganic" and therefore inauthentic. Herder's own attempts to overcome this difficulty and recover some claims for the legitimacy of Jewish culture were, in the end, not entirely convincing, which made them all the easier to reject when later generations of ardent German nationalists sought to apply his ideas to programs and policies he would certainly have abhorred.

—David Isadore Lieberman

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Kant, Immanuel; Michaelis, Johann David; Usury

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## Herzl, Theodor (1860–1904)

A Viennese writer and journalist, Theodor Herzl is best known as the founder of political Zionism.

Antisemitism played a central role in Herzl's "conversion" to Zionism. However, the conventional view of him as an assimilationist shocked by the antisemitism of the Dreyfus Affair overestimates the role of antisemitism in this change of orientation and underestimates the extent to which Herzl's Zionism arose from his own negative assessment of modern European Jewry. This critique had a surprising degree of affinity with antisemitic accusations about Jews, but it arose from the quite different source of the emancipation ideology of central European Jewry.

Born into a prosperous "assimilated" Jewish family in Budapest in 1860, Herzl moved to Vienna in 1878, where he studied law. In 1883, he resigned from his dueling fraternity, Albia, over an antisemitic incident. After a brief stint as a lawyer, he eventually gained success as a journalist, being appointed Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1891. While in Paris, reporting on the Panama Scandal and other scandals with a Jewish connection, he became increasingly concerned about the Jewish Question and antisemitism—but as much, if not more, back in Austria than in France.

He became more and more critical of other Jews, from an emancipatory perspective: Jews still suffered from "inner insecurity" and the social flaws of a pariah parvenu class, including an obsession with money. He was deeply ambivalent about antisemitism, seeing it as useful as a way of making Jews behave more soberly but also as a dire threat to real Jewish emancipation and integration into modern, European society. He therefore advocated various ways to combat antisemitism, including duels, mass conversion, and the support of universal suffrage and socialism. Many of these themes are evident in his play *Das Ghetto* (The Ghetto), written in late 1894, but his conclusion by then was that Jewish self-emancipation could not succeed in the "new ghetto" caused by the antisemitism of the surrounding non-Jewish society, combined with the survival of many negative aspects of preemancipatory life among Jews themselves.

After the degradation of Dreyfus in January 1895 and, more significantly, the victory of the antisemitic Christian Socials in municipal elections in Vienna in April, Herzl concluded that if the



A painting of Theodor Herzl, the Austro-Hungarian Jewish writer and founder of political Zionism.  
(Bettmann/Corbis)

Jewish problem could not be solved in Europe, it could be solved by removing the Jews from the European context. If a state for the Jews could be created somewhere else, perhaps (but not necessarily only) in Palestine, then the emancipatory goal of Jewish self-betterment, materially and morally, could be realized without the encumbrances of the past. After Jews had been transformed into a modern people, with "inner freedom" and a sense of honor, they could then rejoin the rest of modern humanity, not as individuals but as members of their own state. Meanwhile, the emigration of Jews would relieve the antisemitic pressure in Europe and save the advanced societies there from its threat. As visitors, Jews would be greeted as friends in countries where they had been despised as pariahs. This is the argument of *Der Judenstaat* (The State for the Jews), which Herzl wrote in 1895 and published in 1896. This is also the rationale behind Herzl's subsequent campaign to form the Zionist movement.

After 1895, Herzl continued to press the argument that Zionism was the answer to antisemitism, both in saving Jews from persecution (in Russia and Romania, for instance) and in removing the problem that had caused antisemitism in the first place. That problem was that Jews were, for him, a separate people from their host societies and thus were understandably considered foreign, which was the basis of antisemitism. This pariah status had also created a deformed type of Jew, dubbed "Mauschel" in a Herzl essay. In their own homeland, by contrast, Jews would be on their own turf like everyone else and would form a normal society, indeed a model modern society, with cooperatives in agriculture and industry but without the former obsession with money. They would also, most probably, speak German and sing Wagner arias, as he prophesied in his utopian novel *Altneuland* (Old-Newland). Antisemitism would vanish because there would no longer be any Jews in Europe to cause it, and the Jews in Palestine would exemplify precisely the healthy, self-possessed, honorable people that antisemites and critical liberal emancipationists such as Herzl had claimed were not to be found in Europe. The Arabs in Palestine would welcome the Jews, because they would bring economic prosperity.

Thus, antisemitism played a central role in Herzl's thinking. But it did so in a far less straightforward way than is usually thought.

—Steven Beller

**See also** Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Dreyfus Affair; Emancipation; Hungary; Jewish Question; *Ostjuden*; Romania; Russia, Imperial; Zionism

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## Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945)

As the leader of the SS, Heinrich Himmler wielded extraordinary power over the development, timing, and implementation of the Jewish

genocide. Himmler was steeped in every aspect of the radicalization of antisemitic policy during the National Socialist era. His control over the policing functions of the Nazi Party and the state (including the concentration camp system) made him one of the key officials who both formulated and enforced policies of oppression.

Himmler was born on October 7, 1900, the second son of Professor Gebhard and Anna Maria Himmler. Gebhard was the tutor for Prince Heinrich of Bavaria, a member of the royal Wittelsbach family, for whom Gebhard's son was named. After failing to become a military officer, Himmler took up agricultural studies in 1919 at the Technical College in Munich. He also developed his anticomunist and antisemitic worldview in these early and turmoil-filled years of the Weimar Republic. Through his contact with Ernst Röhm, he joined the Nazi Party in August 1923, in time to participate in the Beer Hall Putsch in November of that year. Thanks to Himmler's administrative abilities and dogged personal allegiance, Hitler made him Reichsführer SS in 1929, a job that entailed turning the SS into a disciplined unit that could balance and control the unruly and much more haphazardly recruited SA under Röhm. Himmler's work was tested in the Blood Purge of June 1934, when SS men summarily murdered Röhm and other top Storm troopers.

Himmler's influence continued to grow. In June 1936, Hitler appointed him as head of the German police. As both Reichsführer SS and head of the police, Himmler exercised unprecedented power in the party and state, including oversight of the developing concentration camps. He reorganized the camp system, expanded its facilities, and combined the process of punishment with an increased emphasis on forced labor. Having acquired authority over the concentration camps meant that he also controlled the institutions that might be called on to implement specific policies designed to rid Germany of its Jews.

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Himmler began to propose new ways (eventually including the use of gas) of eradicating not only German Jews but also other Jewish populations coming under German domination. In the early years of the war, the SS participated most actively

in killing operations by the Einsatzgruppen (mobile death squads) in the East. These murders lacked a system, however, even if the numbers of victims reached extreme proportions. In 1941, after the stunning initial military victories, Himmler worked toward a more totalizing plan with his subordinate, Reinhard Heydrich, and in consultation with Hitler. Himmler was crucial at every stage of the decision-making process, instrumental to its brutally successful culmination in the death camps of occupied Poland and in the near destruction of European Jews.

Himmler committed suicide on May 23, 1945, his third day of custody in the hands of Allied forces.

—Paul B. Jaskot

**See also** Eichmann, Adolf; Einsatzgruppen; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; National Socialist German Workers' Party

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## Hirschfeld, Magnus (1868–1935)

Magnus Hirschfeld, one of the founders of the German homosexual rights movement, worked not only to overturn legal restrictions against male homosexuality but also to educate the German public on modern theories related to all areas of sexuality. Hirschfeld believed that the dissemination of scientific research on sex would overturn long-held prejudices and myths concerning sexuality and lead to changes in the German Penal Code regarding homosexuality, women's rights, abortion, birth control, adultery, and illegitimacy. His numerous books and pamphlets on these topics made him one of the world's leading sexologists of the early twentieth century.

A physician by profession, Hirschfeld espoused the theory that homosexuality was not an illness but an inborn, naturally occurring sexual

variation, which he labeled the Third Sex. Though he later distanced himself from this notion, he continued in the firm belief that homosexuality was an innate predisposition and, as such, should not result in legal penalties. To this end, he founded Germany's first homosexual rights organization, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, in 1897, with the goal of repealing paragraph 175 of the Penal Code. That same year, Hirschfeld presented a petition to the Reichstag, signed by 6,000 prominent Germans, calling for the elimination of the law. His efforts led to the first Reichstag debate on homosexuality in 1905.

Despite his efforts, penalties for homosexual conduct were not eliminated in imperial Germany. In fact, Hirschfeld damaged both his and his movement's reputation before World War I by his participation in a well-publicized case, in which he claimed to know for certain that the defendant was homosexual without ever having met or spoken to him. The subsequent discrediting of his testimony made Hirschfeld a laughingstock to many. The fact that he was Jewish also linked the cause of gay rights with Judaism in the minds of many German conservatives of the time.

After the war, Hirschfeld continued his work with the committee, and in 1919, he founded the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin to study all aspects of sexuality and to provide counseling on sexual matters. Though Hirschfeld continued to work for homosexual rights, much of his time was taken up with the work of the institute and with a busy speaking schedule that took him all over Europe. Catcalls, rude remarks, and stink bombs frequently greeted his lectures, and in 1920, members of an antisemitic group beat him into unconsciousness and left him for dead.

Hirschfeld was forced out of the leadership of the committee in 1929 for promoting useless medicines and birth control products in exchange for kickbacks from their manufacturers. Others in the homosexual rights movement who believed that the Jewish Hirschfeld was an unsuitable leader and a political liability greeted his departure with relief. Hirschfeld then left on a two-year international speaking tour. While he was out of Germany, the National Socialists came to power, making his return impossible.

One of the first targets of Nazi demonstrators was Hirschfeld's institute, which, on May 8, 1933, was sacked; its 12,000-volume library was destroyed. Hirschfeld died in exile in France on his sixty-eighth birthday.

—James Kollenbroich

*See also* Homophobia; Masculinity; Weimar

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## Historians' Controversy

From 1985 to 1987, a debate among historians (*Historikerstreit*) and other public intellectuals took place in the pages of German newspapers and magazines unaccustomed to airing protracted scholarly arguments. The controversy centered around three issues: (1) the origins of the Holocaust, (2) the comparability of the Holocaust to other genocides, and (3) the desire of many Germans to begin treating the Nazi era as a remote period of history like any other. Three works by distinguished German historians initiated discussions, which then erupted into a public and often acrimonious debate.

First, in 1985, Martin Broszat argued in "Plea for a Historicization of National Socialism" that the time had come to "historicize" the Nazi past and to cease treating it as a special case, exempt from the customary methods and demands of historical scholarship. He urged that the study of the Third Reich be normalized by placing it fully within the broadest historical context. Just as historians of phenomena much further in the past could treat their subjects with objective distance and employ approaches such as comparative history, scholars of the Nazi dictatorship ought now begin to normalize the period from 1933 to 1945.

Second, in *Two Kinds of Demise* (1986), Andreas Hillgruber evoked the suffering of Germans on the eastern front in the last year of World War II, a subject not much attended to in scholarly circles and never coupled with the book's other essay concerning the demise of Europe's Jews.

Both in the length of his discussion and in the degree of empathy he expressed, Hillgruber clearly accorded primacy to the agony of the German soldiers fighting the advancing Soviet armies.

Third, Ernst Nolte published a series of essays in 1986, including “The Past That Will Not Pass,” and offered comparisons and outright linkages between the earlier mass murders perpetrated by Stalin and those of the Holocaust. In particular, Nolte partially explained the Holocaust as a defensive reaction by the Nazis to a perceived communist threat.

Social critic and philosopher Jürgen Habermas, joined, in turn, by several leading West German historians, responded to these and other works he believed trivialized the crimes of Nazi Germany. If the Holocaust’s uniqueness was not recognized and if it had been a genocide like any other, then German history and identity would have been freed from any further need to reflect on the lingering traits in German culture and society that might have helped cause the Holocaust. Habermas challenged the motivations of Hillgruber, Nolte, and other historians and authors who had rallied to their side. Seeking to normalize German history in order to allow Germans to have national pride again seemed too great a price to pay for too slight a good.

Ultimately at stake in the controversy were the shared civic values of the Federal Republic of Germany. Germans’ sense of their history was a key to these values. For Habermas and his allies in the Historikerstreit, the Nazi period could never be “normalized,” for such a retreat from active confrontation with Germany’s darkest chapter would likely mean a premature end to the country’s still incomplete journey toward full and unquestioning acceptance of the liberal democratic values of the West. Only with a sense of history that continued to treat the Nazi period as unresolved and something that every German had the duty to face continually, Habermas believed, could German culture permanently internalize the values of peace and democracy. Some on the other side, such as historian Michael Stürmer, responded that a country without a settled past was also one without identity and hence infinitely malleable and capable of abandoning its Cold War allies for dangerous adventures.

Overt antisemitism was rarely in evidence in any of the debates. Instead, critics of the new historiographical tendencies worried that relativizing the Holocaust and normalizing the Nazi era would lay the groundwork for a new generation that would ignore the Holocaust and be more receptive to blatant expressions of antisemitism. The Historikerstreit demonstrated that German society had not yet matured to the point where people could discuss antisemitism and the Holocaust dispassionately, free of both excessive defensiveness on the Right or overzealousness on the Left. The mentality that had prefigured the Holocaust was thus still very much of concern among Germans of the day, and questions about the level of antisemitism among German elites would therefore remain unresolved.

—Daniel Rogers

*See also* Germany, Federal Republic of  
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## Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945)

Adolf Hitler was born into a family of a man who had worked his way up in the Austrian customs service. His years of indifferent performance in school were followed by half a decade in Vienna, where, after his application to the arts academy was rejected, Hitler bummed around until leaving for Munich in 1913, hoping to escape military service. In those years and possibly in school before that time, Hitler absorbed some of the antisemitic currents in the Vienna environment, although there is evidence that he had good personal and business relations with individual Jews.

At the beginning of World War I, he volunteered for the Bavarian army. He served on the Western Front and was decorated and wounded, but—unusual for a soldier who survived years of heavy casualties—he was promoted no further than private first class. He continued to paint and make architectural drawings as he had in Vienna and Munich. When the war ended, he was in a

hospital, suffering from the effects of a poison gas attack. With his unit, like most of Germany's army, deep inside enemy territory, news of the military's acknowledgment of defeat came as a shattering blow to Hitler. This event would become a central element in his thinking. Germany, he believed, had not been defeated but had been stabbed in the back. Those who were trying to salvage what they could from defeat were, in fact, the authors of the collapse, and since the last legal restrictions on Jews in the German states were lifted, it was they who had brought on the defeat.

In the immediate postwar period, Hitler was first assigned to making indoctrination speeches and then to spying on local political movements. The first assignment gave him practice in public speaking; the second brought him to the political sect that eventually became the National Socialist Party. He used his oratorical talent to become the party's leader. By that time, Hitler's antisemitic views had become part of his core belief in the racial interpretation of history, and they were also a major theme of his oratory. Although he had attained a following, had received some financial support from the local military, and had sympathetic adherents in high social and government circles, a rash attempt to seize power in Munich failed ludicrously in November 1923.

While in jail for the coup, Hitler began to dictate the book *Mein Kampf*. In it, he outlined his view of history as a record of the struggle of races for living space (*Lebensraum*). In this struggle, the superior Germans would eventually dominate the globe, a point he made clear to his associates by 1927. The voters were not as enthusiastic as Hitler hoped when he resumed control of the party after his release from jail. The electoral defeat of May 1928 led him to dictate a second book, which he did not publish at the time for fear it would compete with *Mein Kampf*; nor did he publish it later because a year after writing it, he allied himself with the very people he had vehemently attacked in its pages. Hitler became part of their campaign against the Young Plan that was to settle Germany's reparations obligations and end military occupation of portions of the country five years early. The opponents of the Weimar Republic were terrified that the Young

Plan would be regarded as a great success and that it might help stabilize Germany; they saw in the Nazi Party a convenient ally. With new and powerful sponsors, Hitler was now able to appeal to ever more Germans; he drew increasing numbers of voters who liked his calls for a one-party state, wars to attain vast amounts of additional space for German settlement, and reversal of the emancipation of the Jews.

As leader of the party with the largest number of voters and masses of uniformed Storm troopers bullying opponents in the streets, Hitler was appointed chancellor by President Paul von Hindenburg on January 30, 1933. In the following months, he succeeded in persuading the president to suspend all constitutional liberties, in having parliament transfer legislative power to the cabinet, in abolishing all other political parties, and in establishing a terror apparatus that was publicized to overawe potential critics. Most important in view of his goals, a vast rearmament program was begun, and simultaneously, measures to discriminate against Jews and any individuals considered likely to have "racially deficient" children were put in place.

Because most of World War I had been fought outside Germany and investment had therefore gone into modernization rather than reconstruction and because all other combatants believed that one great war was more than enough for one century, Germany's rearmament provided the country with a head start over other countries. And since others had larger economies, Germany had an incentive to utilize its advantage while it lasted. Already in 1938, Hitler commented that he preferred war at age forty-nine than when he was older. In the same years that he pressed German armaments production, he pushed ever greater restrictions on Germany's Jews. His belief in the stab-in-the-back legend led him to favor expelling them before he began the first of his wars. They could always be killed later wherever they went, and a Germany without them and with only one party that he himself led was certain to win the wars he intended to fight.

In 1938, Hitler drew back from war at the last moment, an action he soon regretted and determined never to repeat. There would certainly be war in 1939. But as the annexation of Austria

and the fringe areas of Czechoslovakia had already shown, German expansion was certain to add more Jews to the country. In this context, the pogrom of November 1938 was a means of expediting their departure while more drastic measures were under consideration. Having decided on war, he uttered his famous prophecy that war would bring about the extermination of the Jews.

The war Hitler initiated developed into one that Germany eventually lost. But during that conflict, the persecution of Jews was exported into whatever lands German forces reached. Before the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, orders were given that all Jews in the newly occupied lands were to be murdered. As Hitler believed victory in the East was in sight and as he saw the German military cooperating rather than complaining, the killing program was extended to all parts of Europe under German control or influence. Hitler hoped that it could be extended to the whole globe.

The war did not develop as he hoped, but he continued to push the killing of Jews into its last days. Before he committed suicide along with the mistress he had just married, he insisted in his will that the Germans continue to follow racial policies, and he designated as his successor Adm. Karl Dönitz, who shared his ideology.

—*Gerhard L. Weinberg*

**See also** Einsatzgruppen; Emancipation; Gemlich Letter; German National People's Party; Hitler's "Prophecy"; Hitler's Speeches (Early); Hitler's *Table Talk*; Holocaust; Ludendorff, Erich; *Mein Kampf*; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939); Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Versailles Treaty; Weimar

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## Hitler's "Prophecy" (January 30, 1939)

In his speech to the German Reichstag on the sixth anniversary of being appointed chancellor,

Adolf Hitler included in a lengthy speech the following: "Once again I will be a prophet: should the international Jewry of finance succeed, both within and beyond Europe, in plunging mankind into yet another world war, then the result will not be Bolshevization of the earth and the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."

Several aspects of this statement deserve attention. First, at the time Hitler made this speech, he had already decided that it had been a terrible mistake to draw back from war in 1938 and that he would most certainly go to war in 1939. No one would be allowed to cheat him of war, as Neville Chamberlain had done the preceding year. And the murder of Jews would be an integral part of the war on which he had already decided.

His thinking about the Jews fits in with a second aspect of the prophecy. When he referred back to it in speeches in subsequent years, for example on January 30, 1941, and January 30, 1942—at a time when the systematic killing of Jews was under way—he claimed to have made this prophecy on September 1, 1939, the day the war began. The war on which he had decided was always in his mind to effect a demographic revolution on the globe, a revolution in which the systematic killing of all Jews was a central part. In an analogous fashion, he backdated his October 1939 written authorization for the mass killing of the handicapped, the so-called euthanasia program, to the same date, September 1, 1939. A public speech and a secret document were both deliberately moved to the date that Hitler had picked for the initiation of World War II.

A third significant facet of this portion of Hitler's speech is his choice of terminology. The German word he used for "annihilation" was *Vernichtung*. Shortly before, on January 21, 1939, he had used a form of the same word in describing the future of Germany's Jews to the foreign minister of Czechoslovakia: *Die Juden wurden bei uns vernichtet* (the Jews living here would be annihilated). And Hitler used the terminology once more when promising the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, in their lengthy meeting on November 28, 1941, that Germany's sole aim in the Middle East was the *Vernichtung*—the annihilation of all Jews living there; he made this pro-

nouncement after he had explained to his guest the systematic removal of Jews from Europe and his hope of accomplishing the same objective with Jews living “among non-European peoples.”

There are scholars who imagine that some event during the world conflict he unleashed led Hitler to implement a threat that was only theoretical when he first uttered it in public. Yet the contemporary evidence that his concept of eliminating the Jews was already worldwide in scope by November 1941 suggests otherwise. We do not know whether it had always been part of his view of global conquest. Implementation, of course, would depend on the course of the war.

—Gerhard L. Weinberg

**See also** Austria; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Mein Kampf*; National Socialist German Workers’ Party

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### Hitler’s Speeches (Early)

*But the power which has always started the greatest religious and political avalanches in history rolling has from time immemorial been the magic power of the spoken word, and that alone. Particularly the broad masses of the people can be moved only by the power of speech. And all great movements are popular movements, volcanic eruptions of human passions and emotional sentiments, stirred either by the cruel Goddess of Distress or by the firebrand of the word hurled among the masses; they are not the lemonade-like outpourings of literary aesthetes and drawing room heroes. (Mein Kampf, translated by Ralph Manheim [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943], 106–107.)*

When Hitler wrote this passage, he already had gathered enough experience speaking before mass gatherings to believe in his own powers as an orator and in the history-making potency of demagogic speech. His oratorical gifts moved the

“unknown corporal” of World War I, a man without formal education, money, or influential friends, into the spotlight of public life and then propelled him, in his own words, from “drummer” to “leader” of the fledgling National Socialist movement.

Beginning in September 1919, when he joined what was still the German Workers’ Party, Hitler advanced swiftly to become its indispensable star speaker, the one who could fill the halls in the turbulent postwar years. By late 1920, he had already addressed thirty mass meetings with audiences ranging from 800 to 2,500 listeners. In addition, he spoke to numerous inner-party gatherings. On the basis of hastily composed notes, he typically spoke for two hours, sometimes even longer.

Hitler preached the Nazi movement “gospel,” full of slogans that were vague on details but nonetheless clear on the basic message: all the misfortunes of the nation were the fault of Jews and Marxists! He played on the aggrieved sensibilities of the nation and promised national rebirth. Germany’s resurrection, however, depended on setting aside the divisiveness that had been purposely injected into German life by Jewry, Marxism, democracy, and other alien forces. The party’s melding of nationalism and socialism rejected the arrogance of class distinction that marred the Wilhelmine empire (whose downfall Hitler did not regret). National Socialism would, instead, take as its model the “community of the trenches” of World War I, a united “community of the race” (*Volksgemeinschaft*) embracing all social strata in a common struggle against the “yoke of Versailles.”

Because all history consisted of race struggle for Hitler, the combating of the Jews occupied a pivotal place in his outlook. His manic obsession and undisguised Jew-hatred were the hallmarks of nearly all his early speeches: “The effects of Jewry will never disappear and its poisoning of the nations will never end as long as the instigator, the Jew, has not been removed [*entfernt*] from our midst” (in Jäckel 1981). In the early years, this was Hitler’s basic credo; only after 1922 did anti-Marxism assume greater importance than naked Jew-hatred; the conquest of *Lebensraum* (living space) played scarcely any role in his speeches before 1927.

After the refounding of the party (on February 27, 1925), the Bavarian government banned Hitler from speaking before large audiences and for the next two years denied him his most effective weapon. The ban was adhered to by Prussia (until September 1928) and most of the other federal states, hampering Hitler politically and leaving him only the restricted venue of closed Nazi Party gatherings. But the “infamy” of the speaking ban also provided fertile propaganda opportunities for heroic self-stylization and the strengthening of Führer myth. The myth and its continuing elaboration functioned as the movement’s integrating force, compensated for its programmatic vagueness, and covered over its organizational flaws.

The exclusive focus on Hitler’s speech in a Nazi mass meeting was designed to proclaim a new political faith, one that aimed at conquering the audience through its emotions, rather than by appealing to its reason or engaging political opponents in rational debate. An important part of the experience was the cultic framework in which these events unfolded, the ever more refined and psychologically effective ritual of the “leader” bound to his “faithful band of followers.” The Hitler salute, mandated inside the party in 1926, gave symbolic physical expression to the relationship.

The Hitler cult remained fundamental to the movement, but after the election breakthrough of September 1930, the emphases of the party’s propaganda changed. Antisemitism, in Hitler’s post-1930 speeches, lost its central significance, to be replaced by the crumbling Weimar Republic’s economic and political-structural crisis. The transformation conformed to the Nazis’ new electoral strategy, as it now assumed the profile of a people’s protest party. However, this stratagem was sheer political opportunism. Hitler had not moderated his visionary goals. Neither was he prepared to abandon his commitments and grudges.

—Clemens Vollnhals

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Hitler, Adolf; Judeo-Bolshevism; National Socialist German Workers’ Party; Versailles Treaty; Weimar

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### **Hitler’s *Table Talk***

During lunch or dinner at Führer headquarters or at late-night tea parties, Hitler was in the habit of delivering monologues to his top-level military personnel or members of his most intimate circle. These free-wheeling commentaries were collected in the *Table Talk*. Presumably without Hitler’s knowledge, one of Martin Bormann’s adjutants recorded the contents of the talks, arranged them according to key terms, and afterwards compiled them into a longer memorandum. Most of these notes, which began on July 5, 1941, were written up by Heinrich Heim. Between March and July 1942, this task was taken over by Henry Picker. At the beginning of September 1942, a serious conflict between Hitler and his military leaders led to his growing withdrawal. The few entries from 1943 and 1944 were rendered by one of Bormann’s men and by Bormann himself. (From a source-critical point of view, the most reliable version of the *Table Talk* remains Werner Jochmann’s edition of 1980.)

Isolated from the German people in the closed and austere atmosphere of his headquarters, Hitler—physically in decline and frequently depressed as the war turned sour—used the round table as a forum in which he could lecture at length on his worldview, art, and politics. These occasions were also used to impart in a general way the “will of the Führer,” which Bormann then fleshed out from notes. Hitler expatiated on the military situation and made known his desires on further actions to be taken. He pronounced on a wide range of subjects, including the position of the churches under National Socialism and policies for occupied eastern Europe.

He aired his criticism of the administration of justice, the bureaucracy, and the old elites.

In larger gatherings, Hitler, the autodidact, impressed his listeners with his immense knowledge of and memory for detail, especially in military matters. Even though surrounded by confidants in the seclusion of his headquarters, Hitler—always deeply mistrustful of his generals—frequently remained vague about what he was planning next. He left no doubt, however, about his intentions regarding the ruthless suppression and exploitation of the conquered East. “The struggle for hegemony in the world will be decided in Europe by the possession of Russian space. He will make Europe the most invulnerable place in the world” (September 17–18, 1941). The annihilation of bolshevism, the war for *Lebensraum* (living space), and the elimination (*Ausrottung*) of Jewry were interrelated aims. Thus, in the presence of Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich, Hitler declared:

In front of the Reichstag I prophesied to Jewry that, in the event of war’s proving unavoidable, the Jew would disappear from Europe. This criminal race has on its conscience the two million dead of the World War, and [in this war] already hundreds of thousands more. Let nobody tell me that all the same we can’t park them in the Russian wastes! Who’s worrying about our troops? It’s not a bad thing, by the way, that it is believed we are exterminating the Jews. Terror is a good thing. The attempt to create a Jewish State will be a failure. (October 25, 1941)

Hitler was more likely to unburden himself in the more relaxed nocturnal gatherings than in the lunch or dinner sessions. In neither context, however, did he admit to doubts about the increasingly dire military situation. In general, there was little discussion of current political problems. The repeated invocation of “unshakable strength of will,” historic mission, and National Socialism’s heroic time of struggle was tantamount to self-hypnosis. The war, he reassured his intimates, would not be won by superior weaponry but by the most “unyielding re-

solve” and “fanatic will power.” Should the German nation not be up to the challenge, however, then the consequences would be Darwinian: it would vanish.

Surveying the *Table Talk*, which must be seen as the distillation of hours of monologue, one conclusion is clear. During the war, Hitler made no substantial changes to the fundamental ideological positions he had held in earlier years. Yet, as Joachim Fest aptly observed in his great biography, a “tightening of the intellectual horizon” had taken place. The Hitler of the *Table Talk* “fell back on the vehement and vulgar phrases of the beer-hall demagogue” (Fest 1974, 696–697).

—Clemens Vollnhals  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Churches under Nazism; Hitler, Adolf; Hitler’s “Prophecy”; Hitler’s Speeches(Early); Holocaust; *Mein Kampf*; Social Darwinism

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## Hlinka Guard

The Hlinka Guard (HG), a paramilitary unit of Andrej Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party (HSPP), was formally established on October 8, 1938, although the first units were already functioning in the previous summer. Its roots can be traced back to the early 1920s and the so-called Rodobrana, the strong-arm squads established to defend the party’s meetings.

The most important figure in the Rodobrana was Vojtech Tuka, a university law professor and editor of the party’s organ, *Slovák*. The organization was outlawed in 1923 and again in 1927 but suffered the worst blow in 1929, when Tuka was charged with treason and taken into custody.

The first commander of the HG was Karol

Sidor; he was followed by Alexander Mach in March 1939, with Karol Murgaš as his chief of staff. Tuka remained a powerful force in the background. On the local level, HSPP officials and army officers were in charge. Although the ideology of the HG has yet to be studied in detail, two of its tenets are clear: the call for a social revolution and the solving of the Jewish Question.

Because the majority faction of the HSPP under the guidance of President Jozef Tiso had no enthusiasm for any kind of revolution, aside from anti-Jewish measures, an inner-Slovak struggle for power began. In the summer of 1940, Berlin intervened in this contest by forcing a cabinet reshuffling. Mach became minister of interior and Tuka became prime minister, as well as minister of foreign affairs. Berlin also sent the SS man Viktor Nageler as an adviser for the HG, along with others. Nageler became embroiled in the power struggle with those attempting a coup against Tiso, which prompted the pro-Tiso governmental majority to try to deprive the Hlinka Guard of its power. In May 1942, Tiso named one of his own followers, Karol Danihel, to lead the HG, and in August of 1943, the HG was completely subordinated to party jurisdiction. Its membership dropped from 100,000 in 1939 to 56,000 by 1943. Nageler's followers, who were fascinated by the idea of a "New Europe," wrote for a journal called *Náš boj* (Our Fight), but this ideological tendency probably had no more than 3,500 adherents.

The Rodobrana and later the HG are often said to have represented Slovak fascism, even though the ideological coloring of these formations is far from clear. Further, although violence as a means of achieving political ends was embraced in theory, the degree to which it was actually practiced still needs to be clarified. As far as is now known, the HG was less violent than the German SA or the Romanian Iron Guard. Another open question pertains to the social background of the HG members. These issues have not been addressed largely because of stereotyped thinking concerning Slovakia during World War II. The state has been written off as a "clerical-fascist" regime, with the HG representing its most radical elements. Such a formulation is too general, however, and does not leave

much room for a nuanced analysis of a troubled history. Of this much, however, there is no doubt: the Hlinka Guard participated in the looting of Jewish property, prepared the deportation transports, and ran the Slovak camps.

—Tatjana Tönsmeyer

**See also** Croatia; Croatia, Holocaust in; Hungary; Iron Guard; Ljotić, Dimitrije; Romania; Slovakia, Holocaust in; Szalasi, Ferenc; Tiso, Jozef

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## Hlond, August (1881–1948)

August Hlond was named archbishop of Gniezno and Poznan in 1926, became a cardinal in the following year, and was primate of Poland between 1936 and 1948. Hlond had a reputation for being relatively liberal but held views that were standard in the Catholic Church at the time. In the 1936 pastoral letter "On Catholic Moral Principles," he devoted a section to the threat posed by the Jews. Writing in the midst of a wave of anti-Jewish violence, he accused the Jews of promoting freethinking, godlessness, pornography, prostitution, fraud, and usury and then added, "But—let us be fair. Not all Jews are like that." He continued by listing the virtues of some Jews and warned against Nazi "unconditional" antisemitism, adding, "It is permitted to love one's own nation more, but it is not permitted to hate anyone. Including Jews." He praised the economic boycott but stressed that violence and "slander" were not permitted. He ended by warning against "those who incite anti-Jewish violence" because "a good cause gains nothing from these ill-considered deeds. And the blood that sometimes flows is Polish blood." Hlond's letter was strongly criticized by Jewish leaders as an endorsement and rationalization of antisemitism, but it was defended by nationalists as evenhanded.

Once war broke out, Hlond made his way to Rome, where the Vatican radio broadcast his descriptions of the persecutions of Jews and the Polish clergy. In 1940, he moved to southern France and was imprisoned there in 1944 by the Gestapo. On his return to Poland in 1945, he was named archbishop of Warsaw.

In July 1946, Hlond was asked to condemn the Kielce pogrom. In his official statement, however, he would say only that the church always condemned murder, “whether committed against Jews or against Poles, and whether in Kielce or in other parts of the republic” (Gutman and Krakowski 1986, 373–374). The local clergy had tried to stop the pogrom, he added, but had been blocked by the authorities. During the war, Poles had risked their lives to help Jews; the Jews were to blame for the deterioration of relations by playing leading roles in the communist government and trying to impose an alien system on Poles. In the resulting political struggle, “unfortunately some Jews die, but also a far greater number of Poles” (373–374). His personal posture toward Jews was known from his prewar statements, and while exiled in France, he had personally helped many Jews. He hoped that the Jewish Question would find its just solution in the postwar world.

Hlond has been proposed for beatification, the first step toward sainthood.

—Steven Paulson

**See also** Jewish Question; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kielce Pogrom; Poland

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## Hobson, J. A. (1858–1940)

John A. Hobson was born on July 6, 1858, in Derby, England, where his family founded and owned the *Derbyshire Advertiser*, a Liberal newspaper. Educated locally and at Oxford, he taught at schools in Faversham and Exeter between 1880 and 1887. Then, basing himself in London, he worked in the University Extension movement for the next ten years. This London

period was crucial in his intellectual development and marked the beginning of his distinguished publishing career, with works such as *A Physiology of Industry* (1889, with A. F. Mummary), *Problems of Poverty* (1891), *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (1894), and *The Problem of the Unemployed* (1896).

These years also witnessed his first unfavorable observations on Jews. Jewish immigrants from Russian Poland, Hobson wrote in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* and especially in his *Problems of Poverty*, were “underselling the labor of the native poor.” He portrayed them as admirable in their “domestic morality,” but he believed their competition on the labor market seriously undermined the well-being of native workers. In view of these convictions, Hobson advocated the introduction of controls on immigration in the 1890s.

A decisive moment in his career came with the crisis in South Africa. The editor of the *Manchester Guardian* dispatched him there to report on the situation just prior to the outbreak of the Boer War. These experiences led to his *War in South Africa* (1900), *Psychology of Jingoism* (1901), and *Imperialism: A Study* (1902). Written in the heat of the controversy, Hobson’s work gained the attention of his contemporaries and established him as one of the country’s leading radical liberal intellectuals. His studies have continued to attract interest, and it is difficult even today to write on British imperialism without somewhere encountering Hobson’s ghost.

In his reflections on imperialism, he returned to a discussion of Jews. He viewed the South African War as inextricably linked to “Jew power.” He derided Johannesburg as the New Jerusalem and suggested Jewish financiers had unduly influenced the British government’s policy for their own ends. Parasites that produced nothing, they had sunk their “economic fangs in the carcass” of South Africa, and British policy had danced to their “diabolical tune” (in Holmes 1979, 67–68). This emphasis, less evident in his major work, *Imperialism*, than elsewhere in his writings on South Africa, achieved a wide currency in Britain, particularly among socialist groups.

Overall, his work rejected individualist economics and also the proletarian attack on such doctrines. He devoted his activity to securing a



*A Harlot's Progress*, plate 2: "Quarrels with her Jew Protector" by William Hogarth. In the scene, Moll is shown deliberately upsetting the silver tea table in order to distract the Jew, while her secret lover creeps undetected from the room. (Burstein Collection/Corbis)

reformed capitalism, with some public ownership but allowing scope for private enterprise while recognizing the importance of social reform and social justice. Hobson died in London on April 1, 1940.

—Colin Holmes

**See also** Boer War; Britain; Maxse, James Leopold; *Ostjuden*; Socialists on Antisemitism; Wells, H. G.

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## Hogarth, William (1697–1764)

William Hogarth was a painter and the most important English engraver of the eighteenth cen-

tury. His xenophobia is well known and manifested itself most famously in his painting *O the Roast Beef of Old England* (1748; Tate Gallery, London), in which, following his arrest as a spy while sketching in Calais, he satirized what he perceived as the impoverishment of the French under the yoke of the Catholic Church. Hogarth's title for the work echoed Richard Leveridge's popular ballad (ca. 1730). The illustration was shortly after issued as an engraved print, sometimes with the alternative title *Calais Gate*.

Hogarth's best-known representations of Jews appeared in two series—*A Harlot's Progress* (1732) and *An Election* (1754) (engravings in 1755–1758)—both of which were issued as prints and enjoyed a wide circulation. In the six plates of *A Harlot's Progress*, Hogarth depicted the



Hogarth's antithesis to the rich Jew is the peddler in plate 2: "Canvassing for Votes" in the four-part sequence titled *An Election*. Here, Hogarth depicted the figure of a Jewish hawker as one of a crowd, peddling his wares from a traveling box. (The Art Archive / Harper Collins Publishers)

undoing of Moll Hackabout, a once innocent country girl who, when she arrives in London, rapidly descends into prostitution. In plate 2, she has become the paid mistress of a wealthy Jew. In the scene, Moll is shown deliberately upsetting the silver tea table in order to distract the Jew, while her secret lover creeps undetected from the room. The motifs of outtricking a Jew (which shows some indebtedness to *The Merchant of Venice*) and of Jews as notoriously lascivious in their desire for Christian girls are common in antisemitic discourse. Their combination in *A Harlot's Progress* prompted the late eighteenth-century German commentator Georg Christoph Lichtenberg to describe Hogarth's Jew as simultaneously "a deceived deceiver" and "a wealthy Old Testament sinner" (Lichtenberg 1966, 16–17). The print was the inspiration for a number of pantomimic and operatic entertainments,

in which the stage Jew sometimes appeared with the appellation Beau Mordecai. The outline of the story was also echoed in innumerable pamphlets, poems, and novels of the period.

Hogarth's antithesis to the rich Jew is the peddler in plate 2, "Canvassing for Votes," in the four-part sequence entitled *An Election*, which was prompted by the artist's observation of widespread bribery to secure votes in the election of 1754. Here, Hogarth depicted as one of a crowd the figure of a Jewish hawker, peddling his wares from a traveling box that he supports with straps over his shoulders. He stands next to a candidate who is buying from him amatory favors for two young women leaning from a balcony. Among the items in the Jew's box is a crucifix, alluding to the supposed willingness of the Jews to sell Christ. Hogarth also has in mind the infamous Jew Bill of 1753, at which time it was put out that the



*An Election*, plate 1: “An Election Entertainment.” Engraving by William Hogarth, published in 1755. In this plate, a mob can be seen through the window, carrying an effigy with a placard stating “NO JEWS.” (Corbis)

Jews were preparing to take over the country. In plate 1 of *An Election*, “An Election Entertainment,” a mob can be seen through the window, carrying an effigy with a placard stating “NO JEWS.” At the time of the Jew Bill, a burlesque antisemitic ballad with the title “The Roast Pork of Old England” had been circulated, its name ironically echoing Hogarth’s earlier satire of the French. Hogarth’s peddler is among the earliest of at least 170 English prints depicting such figures, the most widely replicated of which is Francis Wheatley’s mezzotint of the Orange Seller in his *Cries of London* (1794). Biblical figures of Jews were also represented in a number of Hogarth’s works, including his only Old Testament painting, *Moses Brought to Pharaoh’s Daughter* (1746; Thomas Coram Foundation, London; engraved 1752), and *Paul before Felix* (1748, Lincoln’s Inn, London; engraved 1752).

—Frank Felsenstein

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Jew Bill

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## Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in

Contrary to frequently heard antisemitic claims, the conspicuous economic and creative presence of Jews in the film industry has not translated into Hollywood foisting a specifically Jewish agenda on the movie-going public. Anticipating such criticism and seeking acceptance in American society, the first generation of American Jewish filmmakers used the new medium to reflect their faith in the civic equality promised by their adopted homeland.

Prior to the 1920s, these individuals strongly contrasted the oppression Jews were experiencing in tsarist Russia with the freedoms they enjoyed in the United States. A series of pictures contained plots revolving around anti-Jewish pogroms that had swept through the Pale of Settlement between 1903 and 1905. Usually, the surviving characters found refuge and prosperity in the United States. Their children often merged into American society through intermarriage. Other films treated the infamous ritual murder trial of Mendel Beilis in 1911, using it as a foil to highlight the fairness of the U.S. judicial system. These films faithfully reflected the American public's revulsion over patent injustice.

In the same period, however, gentile filmmakers implicitly warned of the negative impact of Jewish immigration on American society by reviving traditional negative stereotypes of Jews and Judaism. Thomas Edison's series about a Jewish character named Cohen depicted him as cowardly, dishonest, greedy, and vengeful. D. W. Griffith's epic *Intolerance* (1916) emphasized how the Pharisees opposed Jesus. Only pressure from the Anti-Defamation League persuaded Griffith to cut a scene showing Jews instead of Roman soldiers crucifying Christ. The Anti-Defamation League urged audiences to boycott Cecil B. De Mille's *The King of Kings* (1927) because it charged the Jews with deicide. Several

scenes implicating Jews in the death of Jesus were deleted.

By the 1920s and 1930s, Jewish producers became reluctant to portray even foreign instances of antisemitism. The increase in anti-Jewish sentiment manifested itself in American isolationism, the Red Scare, the passage of restrictive immigration laws, and attempts to regulate the movie industry. Henry Ford popularized the canard of the international Jewish conspiracy seeking to destroy the American way of life by corrupting politicians, fomenting revolution, manipulating commerce, and undermining Christian morality through the libertinism glamorized by the mass media, particularly motion pictures.

Although Jewish producers owned four of the five major Hollywood studios, they tried to create films that appealed to mainstream audiences. When calls for film censorship accompanied a rise in popular antisemitism during the depression, the studios formed the Production Code Administration (PCA) in 1930, pledging "to maintain right moral standards," represent fairly "the history, institutions, prominent people, and citizenry of other nations," and not inflame "racial and religious prejudices." Producers were wary of funding movies that could be construed as defaming any minority group, religious denomination, or country. And films about antisemitism ran the risks of being charged with inciting it, jeopardizing relations with foreign countries that sanctioned it, or slandering groups that advocated it.

Consequently, movies from the 1930s minimized the role antisemitism played in depictions of anti-Jewish agitation. The script for *Black Legion* (1936) originally showed a group resembling the Ku Klux Klan recruiting a disgruntled factory worker who had lost a promotion to a Jewish coworker. Pressure from the PCA led to changing the Jewish character into a Pole and the antisemitic speeches of the group's leader into generic attacks on immigrants. *The Life of Émile Zola* (1937) chronicled the French novelist's crusade to free the unjustly convicted Jew Alfred Dreyfus, and the visual and verbal allusions in the film to Dreyfus's religious heritage were brief. PCA officials, however, expressed concern that the scene showing the burning of Zola's books to

protest his defense of Dreyfus might evoke parallels with Nazi Germany's book-burning rallies (in May 1933) and could be interpreted as criticism of that country. Similarly, *They Won't Forget* (1937), a fictionalized account of the Leo Frank trial, contended that Frank was framed because he was a northerner who recently had moved to the South. The movie omitted any reference to antisemitism as a motive for his initial conviction and eventual lynching.

As late as 1940, Charlie Chaplin's caricature of Hitler in *The Great Dictator* sparked an official German protest and a Senate hearing into whether Hollywood was pushing the United States into a war with Germany. Things changed with the U.S. entry into the European conflict, enabling the major studios to make films such as *To Be or Not To Be* (1942), *Address Unknown* (1944), and *The Seventh Cross* (1944), which dramatized the plight of the Jews under Nazi rule. The corollary to condemning the Third Reich's racism was idealizing American pluralism. Jewish characters were cast as loyal soldiers in *The Purple Heart* (1944), *Pride of the Marines* (1945), and several others. The only wartime film that touched on American antisemitism was *Mr. Skeffington* (1944). In that film, the Jewish title character successfully pursues the heroine, Fanny, but his rivals for her heart suspect him of flaunting his wealth to win her love. When Fanny later divorces him, he moves to Germany to run a business. After being sent to a concentration camp, the saintly Skeffington returns and remarries Fanny, even though her beauty has faded.

The revelations of the Holocaust prompted a spate of films aimed at combating domestic antisemitism, among them *Crossfire* (1947), *Open Secret* (1948), and *Prejudice* (1948). The most successful of these films was *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), in which a gentile investigative reporter is assigned to write an exposé on American antisemitism. Posing as a Jew, he discovers that otherwise decent people, even his fiancée, crack anti-Jewish jokes, refuse to hire Jews, or restrict where Jews can reside or vacation; when his son is beaten and taunted for ostensibly being Jewish, he realizes that antisemitic political movements are merely the tip of the iceberg. A survey of college students who saw the movie when it

came out indicated that it left most of them with a more favorable impression of Jews.

Although films about antisemitism as a contemporary American social problem continued to be produced until the late 1950s, the systematic discrimination experienced by African Americans soon displaced antisemitism on the cinematic agenda. The casting of *Pressure Point* (1962) demonstrates the point. The prison psychiatrist treating a neo-Nazi sociopath was changed from a Jew to an African American. Although his patient despised Jews and blacks alike, his antiblack racism took precedence over his antisemitism. *The Pawnbroker* (1965) drew an analogy between the gang violence and poverty plaguing blacks in Harlem and the liquidation of European Jewry under Nazism. Recent Hollywood depictions locate antisemitism in the European or American past. *School Ties* (1992), *Quiz Show* (1994), *Liberty Heights* (1999), and *Focus* (2001) exemplify this new perspective. Typically in today's films, antisemitism comprises one component of the racist ideology of white supremacist groups depicted in films such as *Betrayed* (1988) and *American History X* (1998). With exceptions including *Boardwalk* (1979) and *Get on the Bus* (1996), the issue of black antisemitism seems to be too controversial to tackle in feature films today.

—Lawrence Baron

**See also** Beilis Case; Book Burning; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Deicide; Dreyfus Affair; Film Propaganda, Nazi; Ford, Henry; Frank, Leo; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Ku Klux Klan; Pale of Settlement; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants; United States  
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## Holocaust

The role of antisemitism in producing the Holocaust remains an ongoing source of debate

among scholars. From 1933 to 1945, the Nazi regime persecuted, expelled, concentrated, and ultimately succeeded in physically eliminating most of Europe's Jewish population. There were also other victims of the Nazi regime—the physically and mentally disabled, homosexuals, asocials, Roma (Gypsies), Jehovah's Witnesses, and blacks—who were deemed enemies of the state and accused of embodying deviant biology, behaviors, and beliefs that were antithetical to the utopia of the promised Thousand-Year Reich. Jews were, however, the regime's primary victims, a stateless people targeted for their ethnicity, religion, and beliefs. The deliberately genocidal policy that destroyed almost 6 million Jews remains a devastating rupture in Jewish history and in the modern experience of crimes against humanity and mass atrocity.

The Nazi regime pursued the removal of Jews from European society with unmatched ideological fanaticism and bureaucratic meticulousness. Early explanations of the Nazi regime emphasized its racist ideology (see, for example, Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* [1954]), the role of Hitler as the principal architect of the regime of mass murder, and the supporting role of other high-level perpetrators. This approach was juxtaposed with heuristic studies. Hannah Arendt (*The Origins of Totalitarianism* [1958]) focused on European colonialism as the developing ground for twentieth-century regimes of state control and total domination of polity, society, economy, and culture. The denial of liberal principles and freedoms, submission of individuals to the state, elevated role of community, and charismatic leadership were all seen as central features of totalitarianism. Raul Hilberg (*The Destruction of the European Jews* [1961]) published an authoritative analysis of the bureaucratic foundations of the Nazi state. Inspired by Franz Neumann's *Behemoth* (1944), Hilberg used perpetrator documents to reconstruct a process of exclusion that was repeated in countries dominated or influenced by Nazi Germany: the identification, expropriation, concentration, and annihilation of Jews. This destruction process required individuals to implement and administer it, an involvement Hilberg labeled the "machinery of destruction." His suggestion that per-

secution could not be pursued without broad participation by the civil service, transport, and legal systems, among other departments, advanced a "normative" paradigm of the Holocaust's causality that distributed responsibility among elements of German society, beneath and beyond the high-level perpetrators prosecuted at the Nuremberg trials.

Hilberg thereby democratized explanations of the Holocaust. He removed the focus on individual agency and responsibility and gave the event's perpetrators anonymity and distance from the objects of their policy. Hilberg's paradigm exists alongside other explanations, such as totalitarianism and antisemitism, the latter of which has been radically challenged in Holocaust scholarship since the 1980s by the advent of the intentionalist/functionalist debate. This debate elucidates historiographical emphases between particularist and sociostructural explanations. Intentionalists, such as Lucy Dawidowicz (*The War against the Jews* [1975]) and Eberhard Jäckel (*Hitler in History* [1984]), insist that the destruction of the Jews was prophesied by Hitler long before his assumption of power in 1933 and that antisemitism, as explicated in his writings (*Mein Kampf* [1925]) and numerous speeches, was the primary sustaining agent of his ideology and *Weltanschauung* (worldview). Functionalists, by contrast, are less unanimous in their explanations of how the Holocaust originated or what Hitler's role in it was, although a telling point of agreement among them is the relegation of antisemitism as a significant motivating factor among perpetrators across occupations, ages, countries, and political orientations. Although functionalists acknowledge the role of the ideological elite around Hitler in authoring genocide, they emphasize that decision making did not follow a linear sequence or have central direction. Further, according to this view, the destruction of the Jews cannot be divorced from contingencies of war, general population resettlement policy, and territorial gains and losses.

Functionalists advance the metaphor of a twisted road to explain the protracted evolution of genocide. They refer to the inconsistencies of expropriations and expulsion policy in the prewar and early-war phases, the existence of Jews in

ghettos for indefinite time periods (especially in the Lodz ghetto, which survived for four years from 1940 to 1944), the widely varying methods and sites of killings, and the emergence of a decision to seek a European-wide Final Solution between July and December 1941.

Functionalists also contest the antisemitism thesis as embodied by the singular identity of Hitler's victims. If Hitler zealously pursued an antisemitic agenda, how does one explain the murderous assault on Gypsies or the handicapped, the latter group in the so-called T-4 euthanasia program that provided the training ground for technicians and experience in chemical methods of killing that would be used in the industrial destruction of Jews? Functionalists contend that the multiple identities of Hitler's victims reflect a wider political assault against groups deemed inferior and unworthy of life. Their argument refers not only to the prewar targeting of homosexuals, blacks, the disabled, and Jehovah's Witnesses, but also to the evolution of the Final Solution in the policy of ethnic cleansing directed toward ethnic Germans, Poles, and Jews between 1939 and 1941. Götz Aly, Susanne Heim, and others have argued that the unmitigated physical destruction of the Jews emerged not so much from antisemitic ideology as from the ambitious plans of Nazi demographic experts who advanced a ruthlessly utilitarian population policy in the "undeveloped" territory of eastern Europe. Aly (*Endlösung* [1995]) later modified his model of the "economic Final Solution" to suggest that it was the failure of these population plans that led to genocide. Yet however compelling, this "modernization" theory is inadequate when stretched to fit, for example, the face-to-face killing methods of the Einsatzgruppen in the East, the targeting and deportation of the tiny island community of Rhodes, and the May to August 1944 deportations of 400,000 Hungarians to Auschwitz.

Updating Hilberg's paradigm, the sociostructural, or "universalist," interpretation was also evident in *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989) by the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman. He argued that the Nazis reinvented centuries-old Jew-hatred as a modern form of racial contamination and disease infecting the German body politic

that needed urgent eradication. Bauman posited that "exterminatory antisemitism" emerged under the Nazis as a variant of traditional Christian anti-Judaism, and he hinged its legitimacy and practice on its modern birth and effective management: "Racism is a policy first, ideology second. Like all politics, it needs organization, managers and experts" (74). However, this argument fails to acknowledge that modernity had no monopoly on mass killing and that other comparatively modern European states did not produce genocides despite the existence of more virulent strains of antisemitism within them.

If Bauman premised the success of exterminatory antisemitism on bureaucratically managed racism, Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (*Hitler's Willing Executioners* [1996]) returned antisemitism to its "primitive" roots, alleging that a particular strain of it had been latent in German society since the nineteenth century but was finally unleashed under Hitler into a collective national project based on the elimination of Jews. Goldhagen's book was read by many as a reply to Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men* (1992), a study based on postwar interrogations of Reserve Police Battalion 101 personnel and their killing activities in Josefow, Poland. Browning concluded that these men participated in mass murder not because of a preexisting ideological commitment to Nazism but rather because of their immersion in a social culture of conformism, careerism, and opportunism. Using the same documents but rejecting the Browning thesis, Goldhagen returned the Holocaust to the territory of comfortable mono-causal explanations characteristic of early postwar histories. Scholars resoundingly criticized his book for its dogged insistence on antisemitism as a singular explanation and for confining its expression to "ordinary Germans," suggesting that Goldhagen denied that there were non-German perpetrators, that other segments of German society were also infected by years of ideological indoctrination, and that Germans targeted victims other than Jews. Saul Friedländer (*Nazi Germany and the Jews* [1997]) provided an additional interpretation of causality that he labeled "redemptive" antisemitism. Friedländer argued that Hitler was driven by "ideological obsessions that were anything but the calculated devices of a

demagogue” (3). Although derived from preexisting elements of Christian anti-Judaism and racial antisemitism, redemptive antisemitism was different. Friedländer fused the religious ideal of redemption through destruction with the Nazi fear of racial degeneration from miscegenation, a fear related to the experience of European colonial racism.

A final point of contest between intentionalists and functionalists concerns the belief systems, morality, and values of individual participants in the Final Solution, who, whether by remotely bureaucratic or face-to-face killing, have been represented as ostensibly nonideological. To what extent can antisemitism be adduced from the bureaucratic management of killing and a range of inconsistent responses, embracing passive acquiescence, complicity, and conformity among segments of the German population? To what degree can such behaviors be declared “representative” of a normative attitude toward persecution and destruction?

As an ideology and explanatory model, antisemitism offers several interpretive dilemmas that become even more problematic when seeking links between its presence in Christian thought, its foundation in nineteenth-century anthropological and scientific discourse, its pre-1939 manifestations, and its viability as a causal paradigm of the Holocaust. There is no direct proof that one type or tradition of antisemitism conclusively produced the Nazi genocide of Jews. But the powerful influence of the many strains of antisemitism, it can be persuasively argued, helped produce the cultures and instances of routinized intolerance and persecution that the Nazi regime absolutely required in order to carry out the dehumanization and mass murder of Jews on such a comprehensive scale across Europe. How else can we explain the active and willing participation of countless individuals or the passivity of millions of bystanders?

Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the exact dynamic or relationship between antisemitism and the Holocaust, despite decades of earnest scholarly research and patient thought, continues to elude satisfactory or satisfying resolution.

—Simone Gigliotti

**See also** Commissar Order; Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Degeneration; Einsatzgruppen; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Hitler’s Speeches (Early); Hungary, Holocaust in; Jehovah’s Witnesses; *Mein Kampf*; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Order Police; Poland; Wannsee Conference

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### Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism

The attempt to obfuscate the reality of the Final Solution and the events surrounding it—the organized destruction of approximately 6 million Jews at the hands of the Germans and their collaborators during World War II—began shortly after the conclusion of the war, primarily in France and the United States. The deniers came from both the extreme Right and the radical Left. In the late 1940s, the French fascist Maurice Bardèche and the former socialist and inmate of the Buchenwald and Dora camps Paul Rassinier challenged the accepted belief that Jews had been systematically destroyed in the death camps. Historians David Hoggan and Harry Elmer Barnes were instrumental in boosting the development of denial literature in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s.

The allegations of the first deniers were gradually absorbed by the European and U.S. extreme Right as principal elements of their ideology and antisemitic propaganda. In 1974, a twenty-eight-page booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last* was published in the United Kingdom by Richard E. Harwood (also known as Richard Verrall), a leading activist of the racist National Front. It was sent to all members of Parliament and to many public figures, including the foremost members of the Jew-

ish community. Another influential booklet denying the Holocaust, *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (The Auschwitz Lie), was published in West Germany in 1973 by former SS man Thies Christophersen. Christophersen claimed that he had neither seen nor heard of any gassing activity when he had served near Auschwitz and visited Birkenau. Considered the first radical German Holocaust denial publication, his booklet had a powerful influence on extreme rightists in the country. It alleged that the claim of mass extermination was nothing more than a Jewish fabrication. The term *Auschwitz Lie* has become the shorthand designation for denial of the Holocaust in Germany and the rest of the world.

The full flowering of the phenomenon in West Germany occurred in the 1970s, with the broadcast of the television miniseries *Holocaust* (1978) providing unexpected additional stimulus to the movement. One prominent German denier was former judge Wilhelm Stäglich, who published *Der Auschwitz-Mythos* (The Auschwitz Myth) in 1979, which was disseminated together with Christophersen's booklet. Meanwhile, a milestone in U.S. Holocaust denial literature was reached with *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur R. Butz, a professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University whose right to academic freedom was defended by members of his faculty.

Mutual support and links among those who claimed that the idea of the total destruction of European Jewry had been invented and cultivated only after the war began to consolidate in the 1960s and 1970s, strengthened at conferences held in the United States and Europe in the 1980s. In the United States, Willis Carto's well-funded antisemitic Liberty Lobby established the Institute for Historical Review in California (in 1979), which staged annual conferences of U.S. and European deniers and launched the *Journal of Historical Review*, a periodical that soon became the favored venue for World War II and Holocaust "revisionism."

Holocaust denial literature can be divided into two categories: (1) vulgar, blatantly antisemitic publications that often include caricatures and even pornographic materials, such as the leaflets of the Swede Dietlieb Feldere, and (2) pseudoa-

cademic publications that display full scholarly apparatus in an attempt to prove the familiar thesis. Butz, French revisionist Robert Faurisson, British author David Irving, and others do not deny that Jews were persecuted, and they admit that a large number of them—tens or perhaps even hundreds of thousands or, according to Butz, probably even 1 million—were shot or died as a result of maltreatment, disease, air raids, and hunger. The deniers do, however, uniformly reject the historicity of systematic, industrialized extermination.

Holocaust denial evolved as part of a more general revisionist thesis that denied the distinct character of Nazi Germany, a complex of theories that appealed to a range of extremists, including American isolationists such as Barnes, French leftists such as Rassinier and his spiritual heirs in the radical left-wing publishing house *La Vieille taupe* (The Old Mole), and rightist authors such as Irving. Denial of the systematic machinery of destruction was intended to support another of their major projects, the relativizing of German wartime atrocities. By adopting the Holocaust denial theory, they could argue that German violence against civilian populations, including local massacres of Jews, was morally equivalent to the atrocities of the Allies. Neo-Nazis and their sympathizers on the extreme Right hoped that by denying the Final Solution, they could free the Nazi regime from its satanic stigma and obliterate any moral distinction between the Axis powers and the Allies. European authors associated with the extreme Left, however, sought to prove that when it came to war crimes, there was no difference between Nazi Germany—allegedly a product of the capitalist system—the liberal and democratic West, and the Soviet Union.

These assumptions were based on the following claims:

- The Jews had invented or used "wartime propaganda fantasies" about their systematic extermination to manipulate the world's guilt feelings in order to extort money and to further Zionist and Israeli goals.
- Both Britain and the United States had been pushed into the war by the Jews; the

“hoax” was inflated so that it might serve as a “moral alibi” for the disastrous decision to confront Germany to the bitter end.

- The Jews who allegedly perished during the war found refuge in the Soviet Union. Statistical projections from before and after the war prove that 6 million Jews could not possibly have died.
- The fact that no written order by Hitler to exterminate the Jews was ever found is a clear indication that no such operation was planned or carried out.
- The code words found in Nazi documents, such as the term *special treatment* (*Sonderbehandlung*), have been misinterpreted to signify “extermination.”
- Evidence from the Nuremberg tribunals and other postwar trials is unreliable. Some of the defenders were tortured, and others, subjected since the end of the war to “Holocaust propaganda,” began to believe in the truth of the Final Solution.
- Survivors’ recollections are unreliable. “Regular” historians, too, have confirmed that testimonies about gas chambers in camps such as Dachau and Buchenwald or about soap made from human fat are merely myths. Like Nazi criminals, survivors were also brainwashed by prolonged exposure to propaganda.
- The gas chambers in Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek were never used for mass exterminations but only as delousing facilities. (This claim was proven “scientifically” by the *Leuchter Report*, published in 1988 by Fred Leuchter, whose fraudulent credentials were exposed in a Canadian court and in the 1992 *Rudolf Gutachten* [Rudolf Report] by Germar Rudolf, a German chemist and an employee of the Max Planck Institute [who was dismissed for using its name to promote his theory]).

Holocaust denial reached a peak at the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s, attaining considerable notoriety when David Irving, the well-known World War II historian, joined the ranks of the deniers. Sowing doubt about the veracity

of the Holocaust remained their goal, and they achieved a fair degree of success in disseminating their views, taking advantage of the gullible and the well-intentioned, who saw the issue as one of free speech rather than the willful distortion of history. In the United States, deniers became active on college campuses, advertising in student newspapers. In European countries such as Sweden and France, thousands of leaflets denying the Holocaust were distributed in high schools and universities, sometimes in joint ventures of the radical Right and Left. The movement was also able to reach beyond its normal European-U.S. orbit, establishing links to the Muslim world and Arab propagandists through the activities of the Sweden-based Radio Islam, headed by Moroccan-born Ahmed Rami. Following the collapse of the communist regimes in the early 1990s, Holocaust denial found new audiences among the nationalist parties and groups in these countries, mainly as a way to rehabilitate World War II leaders who had collaborated with Nazi Germany and implemented the Final Solution.

In the face of increased denial activities and the potential threat they posed as a neo-Nazi and antisemitic tool, Jewish organizations and communities as well as human rights groups launched an effective campaign against Holocaust denial. Several European countries, among them Belgium, Austria, Germany, France, and Spain, made denial of the Holocaust a punishable offense. In other countries, such as Canada, Australia, and South Africa, Jewish communities successfully opposed lecture tours by deniers. Internal dissension within the Institute for Historical Review, which had become the principal international forum for Holocaust denial in the 1980s and early 1990s, also contributed to the decline of denial activities and discussion. The antidenial campaign culminated in 2000 when a British court of law ruled against David Irving in the libel suit he had brought against historian Deborah Lipstadt, determining that he was a sham historian who misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence.

Nevertheless, as Holocaust denial waned, another no less disturbing aspect of Holocaust distortion gained prominence—the relativization of the Holocaust, meaning the rejection of its his-

torical uniqueness. Espoused in the 1980s, mainly by conservative historians such as Ernst Nolte, who compared the Holocaust to Stalin's atrocities and mass killings, relativism became popular in the 1990s and at the beginning of the new century with many of the same people who had subscribed to the tenets of denial and for many of the same motives. It appeared as one weapon to be used in campaigns against Israel, and, perceived as a less radical form of denial, it occasionally penetrated the mainstream, particularly in Europe. The word *holocaust*, written with a lowercase *h*, emphasized that there was nothing unique about the genocide of the Jews; it was only one among many holocausts. Israel was described as a Nazi state that used Nazi methods against the Palestinians. Thus, relativization of the Holocaust led to its banalization and to the distortion of its true historical significance.

—Roni Stauber

**See also** Auschwitz Lie; Bardèche, Maurice; Carto, Willis; Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Fascist Intellectuals; Faurisson, Robert; Germany, Federal Republic of; Historians' Controversy; Institute for Historical Review; Internet; Irving, David; *Leuchter Report*; Militia Movement; New Left; Sweden; Zündel, Ernst

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## Homophobia

Until the last half of the nineteenth century, homosexuality was viewed solely as a moral failing

on the part of an individual. With the scientific study of sexuality that began at that time, scientific and medical circles came to see homosexuality as a congenital degenerative condition. To many, this affliction posed a danger in that its spread could seriously damage "decent" society. In the minds of many antisemites at the turn of the twentieth century, the peril posed by homosexuals melded with that posed by Jews: both were seen as degenerate groups working toward the destruction of Christian society. More important, they believed that the cause of gay rights was one of the tools used by Jews to effect this downfall. Therefore, the fight against homosexuals was part of the fight against the Jews and vice versa.

Antisemites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries readily seized on what appeared to be incontrovertible proof of the connection between homosexuals and Jews. Most of the world's leading sexologists at the time, many of whom were Jewish—such as Marc Andre Raffalovich, who wrote the foremost attack on the French medical establishment's view of homosexuals as effeminate degenerates—advocated equal rights for homosexuals based on the inborn nature of their condition.

The connection between antisemitism and homophobia can be seen most clearly in Germany. Magnus Hirschfeld, the founder of that country's first homosexual rights group, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, was a Jewish doctor. His continuous and very public advocacy of equal rights for homosexual men at the beginning of the twentieth century united the concepts of Jew and homosexual rights in the minds of many Germans. Hirschfeld's lectures were disrupted by opponents, and he often faced physical attack. In 1920, he was beaten and left for dead by members of an antisemitic group. The National Socialists adamantly opposed gay rights, and their ire in this regard was mainly directed against the Jewish Hirschfeld rather than other equal rights advocates. Even within the German homosexual rights movement, Hirschfeld faced repeated antisemitic attacks from rival groups. When he stepped down as chairman of the committee in 1929, his departure was cheered because there was no longer a Jewish face on the movement.

The connection between Jews and homosexuals continues today among many antisemitic organizations. White nationalist groups in the United States believe that what they see as a proliferation of homosexual characters in television programs and movies is a direct attempt by Jews who use their stranglehold on the media to destroy white Christian society by making degenerate characters appear normal and acceptable. These groups advocate suppressing homosexuals as one of the best means of defeating the “Jewish threat.”

—James Kollenbroich

**See also** Hirschfeld, Magnus; Masculinity; United States

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## Horthy, Miklós (1868–1957)

Adm. Miklós Horthy, son of a Calvinist Hungarian nobleman, entered the Habsburg naval academy in 1882, became aide-de-camp to Emperor Franz Joseph in 1909, and concluded his World War I service as commander in chief of the Austro-Hungarian navy. During Hungary's counterrevolution between 1919 and 1920, he commanded the White (anticommunist) militia and instituted a policy of “national purification,” involving widespread atrocities and the murder of 5,000 to 6,000 perceived traitors, mainly Jews.

In March 1920, Horthy's reputation as a patriot, decisive military commander, and stalwart anticommunist led parliament to appoint him regent of Hungary, making him the head of state with powers similar to those of the recently deposed emperor. Under Horthy in September 1920, Hungary introduced the *numerus clausus*, limiting Jewish enrollments in institutions of higher education, the first major antisemitic legislation enacted in postwar Europe; the First and Second Jewish Laws (May 1938 and May 1939, respectively), statutes restricting Jews' civil, business, and professional rights; and the Third Jewish Law (August 1941), undisguised racialist leg-

islation based on Germany's infamous Nuremberg Laws.

By late 1941, Admiral Horthy harbored doubts about an ultimate German victory. In March 1942, therefore, he dismissed his pro-German prime minister, replacing him with the anti-Nazi moderate Miklós Kallay. The Horthy-Kallay compact aimed to keep Hungary free of both German and Soviet domination. Hiding behind Kallay's initial pro-German public rhetoric but increasingly influenced by Germany's deteriorating military situation, Horthy approved a secret provisional armistice with Great Britain in September 1943.

Despite proclaiming himself a lifelong antisemite fighting tirelessly against Jewish power and influence, the patrician Horthy operated on the prejudices of his class rather than on an ideologically based antisemitism. He had contempt for the Nazi riffraff controlling Germany—proving his mettle in April 1943 in a bellicose confrontation with Hitler. Rejecting Hitler's furious onslaughts on Kallay's “defeatism,” Horthy vigorously defended his prime minister and rebuffed Hitler's demands that the Jewish Question in Hungary be resolved by German methods. Summoned again by an enraged Hitler in mid-March 1944, Horthy capitulated to the German military occupation of Hungary.

In spite of his initial reservations, Horthy remained head of state, a decision that bestowed a facade of political legitimacy on the new pro-Nazi puppet regime. Moreover, his withdrawal from the executive aspects of public life removed a serious obstacle to the Germans' implementation of the Final Solution in Hungary. Beginning in mid-May 1944, under Adolf Eichmann's expert direction, 450,000 Hungarian provincial Jews—mainly the poor, unskilled, and Orthodox people that the callous Horthy considered parasitic—were deported to Auschwitz in the space of seven weeks. Responding to local and international pressure, however, Horthy courageously banned further deportations on July 7, 1944. His reemergence from political hibernation and his subsequent support for the Jewish community and its leaders helped ensure the survival of Budapest's acculturated and economically vital community. These were Jews he considered pro-

ductive and essential for Hungary's future development. A German-led coup deposed Horthy on October 15, 1944, ironically on the same day this lifelong and militant anticommunist proclaimed an armistice with the USSR.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Eichmann, Adolf; Hungary; Hungary, Holocaust in; Kallay, Miklós; *Numerus Clausus* (Hungary); Nuremberg Laws; Szalasi, Ferenc; White Terror

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## Höss, Rudolf (1901–1947)

Rudolf Höss was born into a merchant family in Baden-Baden on November 25, 1901. His father, described as "fanatically religious and militarily strict," made a solemn vow that his son would become a Catholic priest (in Deselaers 2001, 39–40). At age fifteen, Rudolf ran away from home so he could take part in World War I. At eighteen, he returned, a much decorated noncommissioned officer (NCO) but also an orphan. He cut the ties with his childhood milieu: "I found a home again and a sense of security in the comradeship of my fellows," he wrote in his autobiography (Höss 1959, 33). He fought with the Freikorps Rossbach on several fronts until this freebooter paramilitary group was disbanded. He left the church in 1922, met Hitler in 1923, and joined the Nazi Party.

The next year, he participated in a vigilante murder and was apprehended, tried, and sentenced to ten years in solitary confinement. After his release from prison in 1928, he joined the "blood and soil" Artamanen League, becoming one of its leaders. In this capacity, he got to know Heinrich Himmler, who after 1933 made Höss part of his plans to expand the power and influence of the SS. Höss began his SS apprenticeship in the Dachau concentration camp, then rose to

vice-commandant of Sachsenhausen; following the attack on Poland in 1939, he received the commission to build a new concentration camp in Auschwitz.

The conversion of Auschwitz for the dual purposes of exploiting inmate labor and exterminating "enemies of the state" came to represent, according to Höss, his paramount mission in the war. In 1941, Himmler ordered him to step up preparations for the mass murder of Jews. "The problem itself, the extermination (*Ausrottung*) of Jewry, was nothing new," he confided to a psychologist who questioned him during the Nuremberg trials, "only that I should be the one to carry it out, gave me some initial concern" (Gilbert 1961, 247). Höss wrote in his autobiography that he carried out the will of Himmler by creating "the largest installation for the annihilation of human beings of all time" (Höss 1959, 135). From May through July 1944, he supervised Aktion Höss, the murder of approximately 400,000 Hungarian Jews. When asked at his trial in 1947 if he ever had qualms of conscience, he answered: "Later, yes, when the large transports arrived, when one, day in and day out, had to destroy the women . . ." (in Deselaers 2001, 184). However, he stifled his inner doubts.

After the downfall of the Third Reich, Höss went underground but was arrested in March 1946. He was one of the few SS men not to have denied his guilt. After testifying at the Nuremberg tribunal, he was delivered to Poland to stand trial himself. In prison, he wrote in his autobiography: "I remain now, as before, philosophically a National Socialist" (Höss 1959, 166). But later, in his last letter to his wife, he confided that the ideology and the deeds it resulted in were completely wrong. He reentered the Catholic Church and confessed his guilt. He was condemned to death in March 1947. The sentence was carried out on April 7, at the former Auschwitz death camp.

—Manfred Deselaers  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Hentschel, Willibald; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Weimar

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## Host Desecration

When the doctrine of transubstantiation was raised to a central sacrament of the medieval church at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the stage was set for a harsh reaction to any objections to or alleged profanations of the host wafer. Heretics within the church had long been derided and attacked for their opposition to the belief that the Eucharist, after consecration, was the actual body of Jesus. But special animus was reserved for Jews, who were alleged to have stolen or purchased and then stabbed, “tortured,” and burned the host. Jews were accused of attacking the very body of Jesus, reenacting the Crucifixion through the host. Guilty of violent acts against both Jesus and Christianity, Jews were also deemed duplicitous, for while they publicly denied the divinity of Jesus, they secretly believed in the power of Christ and central church doctrines. Why else would they defile the host?

Allegations of host desecration first occurred during the thirteenth century, with the earliest instance recorded in Belitz, near Berlin, in 1243. The charge was repeated across Europe well into the nineteenth century. Among the central episodes were those in Paris in 1290, in Degendorf in Bavaria in 1337 and 1338, and at Knoblauch near Berlin in 1510. Host desecration accusations frequently resulted in literary narratives and artistic representations that demonized Jews. The tales and representations often stressed that the host possessed powerful and magical qualities and that it would defend itself against the attacks. As a matter of course, literary accounts noted the persecution, execution, or expulsion of the guilty Jews from the region of their crimes. Sites of pilgrimage for Christians were often established in these places.

According to a chronicle of the Bavarian

dukes of 1338: “Jews cut up the Catholic host each in their synagogue and amongst other mockeries, pierced it with sharp thorns until it bled. Therefore, around the feast of St. Michael in all the towns of Bavaria and Austria except for Regensburg and Vienna they were miserably and cruelly killed by poor folk” (Rubin 1999, 36).

According to some scholars, allegations of host desecration represented one side of a two-pronged attack on medieval Jewry—the other being charges of ritual murder. Together, they marked a dramatic increase in popular anti-Jewish sentiment in the thirteenth century, stigmatizing Jews as the condign enemies of Christians and Christianity.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Deicide; Iconography, Christian; Innocent III, Pope; Lateran Council, Fourth; Middle Ages, High; Middle Ages, Late; Ritual Murder (Medieval)

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## Hugenberg, Alfred (1865–1951)

A leading nationalist politician, Alfred Hugenberg controlled a vast media empire in Germany. A tenacious opponent of the Weimar Republic and noted antisemite, he was a leading figure on the right wing of the German National People’s Party, or Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP). Hugenberg, his party, and his chain of newspapers were relentless in their attacks on the legitimacy of the republic and were instrumental in bringing Adolf Hitler to power.

Born in Hanover on June 19, 1865, Hugenberg was politically influential even before World War I. In 1890, he was among the founders of the Pan-German League, a powerful right-wing interest group that promoted German racism and extreme nationalism. From 1909 to 1918, he was

chairman of the Krupp Corporation, one of Europe's largest arms manufacturers. In 1914, he founded the Scherl conglomerate, consisting of numerous newspapers and other media outlets, which he used as propaganda weapons in support of his country's war effort. A staunch supporter of a Hohenzollern restoration, he opposed the establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1918.

Hugenberg's concern flourished under the republic, and he became his country's leading media mogul, adding Ufa, Germany's largest film studio, to his string of newspapers in 1927. The following year, he led a revolt against the moderate wing of the DNVP, became the party chairman, and led the organization in an increasingly antisemitic and antidemocratic direction. Accumulating vast wealth, he used his resources in support of right-wing causes, most famously bankrolling the 1929 campaign against the Young Plan, under which Germany agreed to a revised schedule of reparations payments imposed after World War I. As a result of these actions, his party drew closer to the Nazis, although Hugenberg objected to what he saw as the socialist elements of Hitler's program. Ultimately, he found the prospect of a Hitler government preferable to what he considered the chaos engendered by the Weimar Republic and the greater threat from the Left. In January 1933, when Hitler became chancellor, Hugenberg agreed to serve as economics minister in his cabinet. He was among those on the German Right who believed that Hitler could be manipulated for the benefit of traditional German nationalism. His party allied itself with the National Socialists following the March 1933 elections, providing Hitler with the slim majority the Nazi leader needed to legitimize his new government. Hugenberg soon discovered, however, that efforts to cooperate with the Hitler regime were futile, and on June 26, 1933, he resigned from the finance ministry and then retired into political obscurity.

Following Germany's defeat in World War II, Hugenberg underwent de-Nazification proceedings. He was classified as a "fellow traveler" of the Nazis but received no punishment. Alfred Hugenberg died on March 12, 1951, at the age of eighty-five.

—*Russel Lemmons*

**See also** Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; German National People's Party; Hitler, Adolf; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Pan-German League; Weimar

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## Hugh of Lincoln

Little St. Hugh of Lincoln (d. 1255), along with St. Simon of Trent (d. 1475), is one of the most famous purported victims of ritual murder. Much of his renown stems from having been mentioned in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and from the many surviving medieval ballads that tell versions of his story. (The boy martyr should not be confused with the more famous St. Hugh, Hugh of Avalon, who was bishop of Lincoln from 1181 to 1200.) The Prioress in the *Canterbury Tales* says that Hugh was killed "but a little while ago," although he died in 1255, more than a century before Chaucer wrote. According to the legend, he was lured by Jews of Lincoln while playing with a Jewish friend, then tortured and sacrificed. His body was tossed in a well or privy, where it was discovered a month later. The evidence came entirely from confessions produced under torture.

Jews had been gathering in Lincoln to celebrate the wedding of Belasset, daughter of one of the leading families of the area at a time of growing anti-Jewish hostility. In the previous decade, the Jews of England had been taxed so severely that by 1255 they made a formal request to leave the kingdom, but they were still too valuable an asset to be allowed to do so. The same year, Aaron of York, once the richest Jew in England, was declared bankrupt, prompting the king to mortgage the Jewish community to his brother, Richard of Cornwall. Twenty years later, the same Belasset was executed as part of an alleged Jewish conspiracy to clip coins.

King Henry III had written that he had no knowledge of the ritual murder accusation against the Jews (in 1235), but when he arrived in Lincoln in the summer of 1255 and heard from his official John of Lexington of rumors circulating in the city, he ordered one Jew tortured

until he confessed and then had him executed; another eighteen were taken to London, where they were also executed. John of Lexington was trained as a churchman and had close family connections to the Lincoln minster. He helped spread the story of Hugh and confirmed that his body was buried in a place of honor in the south choir of the church.

Henry III's successor, King Edward I, eagerly supported the cult and ordered a shrine built to commemorate the boy, using the same royal masons who had constructed memorials for Queen Eleanor. Lincoln's memorial to Hugh was built just after the Jews were expelled from England in 1290 as part of the royal propaganda to emphasize Edward's Christian piety.

Hugh's story survives in annals, in the works of Matthew of Paris, and in the Anglo-Norman ballad of "Sir Hugh or the Jew's Daughter," which served to keep his name alive in the popular imagination. Little Hugh's story was widely known, but he was never canonized, and his feast day of August 27 was rarely observed. After the early fourteenth century, his cult faded, and the cathedral shrine was probably destroyed in the middle of the seventeenth century. Interest was revived in the early twentieth century, however, when a Lincoln homeowner created a fake well, printed advertising brochures, sold postcards, and charged an entrance fee to see the site where Little Hugh allegedly drowned. The hoax was exposed a couple of decades later.

—Emily Rose

**See also** Coin Clipping; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Middle Ages, High; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Simon of Trent; Sorcery/Magic; William of Norwich

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## Hungary (1848–1944)

Prior to the failed revolution of 1848, widespread restrictions severely limited Hungarian Jews' social, professional, and business activities. The subsequent gradual elimination of discriminatory measures generated an extended mass movement into Hungary of mainly east European Orthodox Jews, attracted by superior socioeconomic opportunities and the absence of government persecution. Through this influx in the period between 1850 and 1869, Hungary's Jewish population soared from 350,000 to 542,000—an increase of over 50 percent in less than a generation.

The emancipation era between 1867 and 1918, often called the Golden Age of Hungarian Jewry, saw a massive expansion of Jewish involvement in the social, cultural, and economic affairs of the nation. Besides traditional commercial activities, such as wholesale and retail trade, Jews established banks, factories, and heavy industries; developed large rural estates; and became a force in the free professions.

Despite their semifeastal mentality, governments during the emancipation era adopted relatively progressive attitudes toward Jews largely to promote the growth of Hungary's economy. Jews comprised about 5 percent of the population (about 900,000 of the 18 million inhabitants in 1910); by classifying them "Magyars of the Israelite Faith," the percentage of Magyars (ethnic Hungarians) in the ethnically heterogeneous kingdom was boosted from a minority position (49 percent) to a slight majority status (54 percent). This statistical sleight of hand thus enabled ethnic Hungarians to retain their primacy in state and society, conferring a facade of political legitimacy on Hungary's notoriously chauvinistic, Magyar-dominated governments.

Jews thrived in this situation. By World War I, they comprised 60 percent of merchants, 50 percent of medical practitioners, 45 percent of lawyers, 40 percent of journalists, and 25 percent of those professionally engaged in the arts. In contrast, an unwritten agreement excluded most Jewish applicants from positions in the civil service, these being reserved largely for the sons of impoverished gentry.

In less than two generations, Hungarian Jews

had become distinctly middle class, particularly in the capital. By the twentieth century, because voting rights were dependent on educational and financial qualifications, Jews comprised nearly one-half of Budapest's electorate even though they constituted only one-quarter of its inhabitants. Although acceptable to Hungary's "progressive" nationalists, whose focus was on the Jews' critical contributions to Hungary's rapid development, the newly emerging ethnic, or "racial," nationalists considered that Jews fostered economic exploitation, urban decadence, and erosion of the country's Christian heritage. These new nationalists, in contrast to their "progressive" opponents, thought it illegitimate for the Jewish 5 percent of the population to own so large a portion of the country's banks, factories, and mines and to predominate in the free professions, commerce, and the press.

Notwithstanding such antagonism, it was the 1867–1918 emancipation era that generated and then consolidated the cultural, economic, and political symbiosis between Hungarian Jewry and their patrons, the country's "progressive" establishment. As a mark of government recognition, Jews received an estimated 20 percent of Hungarian ennoblements.

Despite several antisemitic episodes before World War I—the infamous 1882–1884 Tiszaeszlar blood libel resonated throughout the civilized world—Judaism was proclaimed an officially recognized religion, equal in rights to the Christian denominations, in October 1895. This legislation was enacted in the face of strong opposition from the Catholic Church, the déclassé gentry, and those whose position had declined through the growth of industrialization, capitalism, and liberalism. All of these modern developments were considered by Judeophobes to be elements of a Jewish conspiracy to undermine traditional Hungarian values. Until 1914, the foremost proponents of antisemitism were the Catholic Peoples' Party and certain minorities—particularly the Slovaks—who resented the Jews' alignment with the Magyar regime's repressive and hegemonic policies toward Hungary's numerous ethnic minorities.

Although Hungarian Jews, especially the Neolog (cautiously progressive in religious practice)

majority living in the large urban centers, were highly acculturated, many provincial Orthodox communities maintained their otherworldly lifestyle and attitudes. Yet the great majority of Hungary's Jews were firmly pro-Magyar and convinced Hungarian nationalists. Thus, even though Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, was born in Budapest, his movement failed to achieve popularity in Hungary.

During World War I, Jews went to war, and 10,000 of them died in battle. Nevertheless, popular opinion increasingly viewed Jews in general as unpatriotic shirkers and profiteers. As the conflict raged, waves of ultra-Orthodox Jews fled to Hungary, trying to escape the fighting, as well as intensified tsarist oppression. The influx of these impoverished, distinctly alien refugees further inflamed the country's growing anti-Jewish sentiment.

With the end of the war, the victorious Allies subjected the defeated Central Powers to substantial geopolitical restructuring. As a defeated combatant, Hungary was forced to accept a punitive peace settlement, the Treaty of Trianon (June 1920), by which it lost two-thirds of its territory, 60 percent of the prewar population, one-third of its Magyar inhabitants, and enormous amounts of economic assets and infrastructure. Although the absolute number of Jews in Hungary declined by half to approximately 470,000, the relative number remained more or less constant at about 5 percent of the total population. The transfer of many provincial centers of Orthodoxy to newly created neighboring states increased the Neolog proportion to two-thirds of the community. As a result of Trianon, about half of Hungary's Jews lived in Budapest.

Trianon also transformed Hungary into an ethnically homogeneous nation, with Magyars now comprising some 90 percent of the postwar population. With the elimination of internal ethnic conflict, Jews ceased being a useful consolidating factor for the ruling Magyars and consequently became vulnerable to political exploitation, particularly scapegoating.

As with Germany, Hungary's military debacle of 1918 caused economic chaos, political turmoil, and a general revulsion against the Allies and their unilateral transformation of the nation

into a mere “rump state.” In March 1919, following a brief Center-Left coalition, Bela Kun, a Bolshevik of Jewish origin, formed a radical socialist regime, which, despite its initial popularity, quickly provoked a “White” counterreaction that advocated xenophobic policies of “national purification and regeneration.” Even though Kun’s Soviet regime collapsed within six months and even though the predominantly middle-class Jewish community suffered proportionately greater material losses than the population in general, the presence of thirty-two members of Jewish origin among Kun’s forty-five commissars fed a virulent and effective antisemitic campaign by the White junta. Henceforth, popular opinion regarded Hungarian Jewry as synonymous with Kun’s Soviet regime; Jews were reviled as the spiritual and financial advocates of Communist revolution.

Adm. Miklós Horthy, supremo of the 12,000-strong White militia, unleashed a reign of terror during which 5,000 to 6,000 Jews, left-wingers, and sundry other perceived traitors to “Christian” Hungary were murdered in cold blood. On March 1, 1920, an overwhelming majority of the Hungarian parliament appointed Horthy regent of the nation—in effect, the head of state. In September 1920, parliament passed the first major anti-Jewish statute in postwar Europe, the *Numerus Clausus* Law. Although its stipulations were somewhat ameliorated during the 1920s, the law limiting Jewish enrollments in institutions of higher education was not repealed.

The Great Depression and a growing, more active radical Right—both within and outside the parliament—increased pressure on the Jews. On June 17, 1933, Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös, a veteran antisemite and prominent participant in the White Terror that suppressed the Kun regime, became the first foreign premier to visit Germany’s new chancellor, Adolf Hitler. Subsequently, in both foreign and domestic policies and in economic relations, Hungary became progressively more enmeshed with Nazi Germany. This tilt to the Reich was based on both ideology and Hungary’s fervent hope of regaining land lost by the Treaty of Trianon. Germany, expanding its power in the march toward hegemony, reinforced the new policies by ensuring

that Hungary regained some of the longed-for areas. Acquisition of these territories transferred to Hungary nearly 320,000 (mainly Orthodox) Jews: 146,000 from Slovakia, following the 1938 Munich Agreement; 164,000 from northern Transylvania (Romania), by means of the German-Italian arbitration of August 1940; and 14,000 from northwest Yugoslavia in April 1941. A subsequent national census indicated Hungary’s Jewish population had increased from 470,000 in 1920 to 825,000 in 1941. The latter figure included 100,000 converts to Christianity, of whom about two-thirds resided in Budapest.

Encouraged by its German mentor and local ultrarightist agitation, Hungary progressively adopted aspects of the Reich’s extreme anti-Jewish agenda. Thus, in May 1938, in an attempt to appease both Hitler and his followers in Hungary, the parliament overwhelmingly approved the First Jewish Law. Innocuously entitled “For a More Effective Safeguard of Equilibrium in Social and Economic Life,” the statute limited Jewish involvement to 20 percent of the participants in each of a wide range of business and professional activities. The law expanded the definition of a Jew to include those who had converted to Christianity after the downfall of Kun’s Soviet regime in August 1919.

A radical extension, the Second Jewish Law, was enacted in May 1939. More realistically entitled “The Law for Restricting the Place of the Jews in Public Life and in the Economy,” it reduced Jewish business and professional involvement to 6 percent of all participants, potentially depriving as many as 200,000 people of their livelihoods. Shortly thereafter, Jews were banned from military service and conscripted into segregated Jewish Labor Service brigades, often commanded by sadistic, antisemitic army officers. To compensate those financially ravaged by institutional discrimination, Jewish leaders developed a comprehensive and widespread communal welfare system that later proved vital for Jews in their struggle to survive the German occupation. With poetic justice, the instigator of the Second Jewish Law, Prime Minister Bela Imredy, was forced to resign when he was unable to refute accusations regarding his distant Jewish ancestry.

Notwithstanding the restrictions placed on

Jewish business activities and civil liberties, the Second Jewish Law still permitted a Jewish presence—although substantially curtailed—within the Hungarian state. The government withheld radical Right demands for Jews to be expelled entirely from Hungary's socioeconomic structure. Facilitating this resistance was the relative parliamentary weakness of pro-Nazi groups, foremost of which was Ferenc Szalasi's Niyilas (Arrow Cross) Party, which secured just 49 of 260 seats in the openly corrupt, government-manipulated elections of 1939.

The government's escalating anti-Jewish policies failed to satisfy the ultra-Right's antisemitic fanaticism. Shortly after abandoning its non-combatant status by joining its German ally in attacking the USSR in June 1941, the regime sought to preempt further pro-Nazi agitation at home by introducing the Third Jewish Law. Officially termed the Race Protection Act of August 1941, the legislation, based on the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, segregated Jewry by designating the community as "racially subversive." To prove its antisemitic bona fides, the government arrested 30,000 "alien" Jews. (A Jew born in Hungary, it should be noted, was not automatically entitled to citizenship.) Some 20,000 of those arrested were swiftly deported to Kamenets-Podolsk in the German-occupied Ukraine. At the end of August 1941, the Germans and their collaborators murdered the large majority of deportees. This action constituted the first five-figure massacre of Jews in the Holocaust.

In March 1942, Horthy, already having begun to doubt an Axis victory, dismissed his pro-German prime minister, Laszlo Bardossy, and replaced him with his pragmatic ally Miklós Kallay. Apparently adhering to his predecessor's policies, Kallay authorized another major anti-Jewish statute in June 1942 when parliament, without debate and with support from the Christian churches, abolished the official status and constitutional equality of the Jewish religion, thus slashing the government's financial support for the community. With the tide of war turning against the Axis powers, Kallay, supported by Horthy, attempted a gradual withdrawal from the German alliance. Notwithstanding Hitler's personal hostility and intense domestic pressure,

Kallay rebuffed repeated German directions for Hungary to mark all Jews with a yellow star, confine them in ghettos, and deport them to the East. Tragically, Kallay's evident noncompliance reinforced Hungarian Jewry's collective perception of residing in an island sanctuary, insulated from the brutal treatment Jews received elsewhere in Nazi-dominated Europe.

In the period between 1918 and 1944, the overwhelming response of Hungarian Jewry to persecution could be described as one of passive legality. Considering antisemitic sentiment a transient phenomenon, the community's leadership rejected the formation of a specifically Jewish political party and remained steadfastly wedded to traditional measures, such as issuing increasingly emotional appeals for justice and fraternity. Similarly, ordinary Jews responded by reaffirming their traditional and heartfelt loyalty to Hungary, reminding their non-Jewish neighbors of the massive and diverse contributions made by "Magyars of the Israelite Faith" to their common homeland in both war and peace. To casual observers, the political consciousness of Hungarian Jews, developed and then fixated during the emancipation era that ended in 1918, appeared impervious to the menace of the Third Reich and its local allies. Hungarian Jews and their leaders seemed helpless to counter their ever more desperate circumstances.

On March 17, 1944, Horthy was summoned to Austria to consult with Hitler. Two days later, German forces occupied Hungary without resistance. On the brink of Germany's inevitable, catastrophic defeat by the Allies, Hitler was now in position to wage merciless war against the defenseless Jews of Hungary.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Austria; Croatia; Emancipation; Herzl, Theodor; Horthy, Miklós; Hungary, Holocaust in; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kallay, Miklós; *Numerus Clausus* (Hungary); *Ostjuden*; Russia, Imperial; Slovakia, Holocaust in; Szalasi, Ferenc; Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder; Versailles Treaty; White Terror; Yellow Star  
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## Hungary, Holocaust in

Motivated by political, economic, and military self-interest, Germany invaded its Hungarian ally on March 19, 1944, and was welcomed with considerable enthusiasm. Despite initial doubts, Hungary's powerful head of state, Adm. Miklós Horthy, decided to remain in office; his decision maintained the appearance of constitutional continuity and hence political legitimacy for the new German-imposed puppet government. In the period from March 19 to July 6, Hungary's freedom to maneuver, especially in foreign affairs and Jewish policy, was terminated; the anti-Nazi prime minister, Miklós Kállay, was replaced by a notorious pro-Nazi, Gen. Dome Sztojay, the former ambassador to Germany. Horthy withdrew almost entirely from public life. Sztojay's effusively collaborationist regime granted Germany carte blanche to "solve" the Jewish Question in Hungary. With few exceptions, the Hungarian bureaucracy implemented SS policy toward Jews with what the Germans themselves described as "Asiatic brutality."

In line with their Final Solution strategy, the occupiers immediately seized 3,000 Jewish hostages to ensure the compliant behavior of Jewish leaders and their community. Jews were banned from traveling without permission, and strict censorship allowed the SS to control the flow of information. The Germans established the Jewish Council (*Zsidó Tanacs*) and made it responsible for conveying their orders to the Jewish community. The last measure was in accord with the Nazis' policy of forcing Jews, wherever possible, to participate in their own destruction.

On March 29, 1944, Jews were physically branded by being compelled to wear a 10-centimeter yellow star on their outer garment. Fol-

lowing their financial expropriation and loss of civil liberties, provincial Jews began to be herded into regional ghettos in mid-April; such establishments were often located near railway sidings at large factories, brickworks, distilleries, and other unhealthy sites. As a rule, these regional ghettos existed from three to seven weeks in near-total isolation and were therefore easily manipulated by the Germans, who were by then masters in the arts of manipulation, expropriation, disinformation, and crowd control. Typically, Jews were reassured that their "resettlement in the East" was for work purposes only, with women, children, and the elderly being transported so as to avoid the trauma of family separation.

Mass deportations to Auschwitz commenced on May 15, 1944, starting with Jews in north-eastern Hungary and continuing with the sequential evacuation of individual provinces. Crucial in this process was the Interior Ministry and its much-feared *gendarmerie* (paramilitary police). Thoroughly brutalized, physically and psychologically, by these often sadistic collaborators, the ghetto inhabitants boarded the cattle cars without offering much resistance. On average, four trains per day carried between 10,000 and 12,000 Jews to Auschwitz, deporting 450,000 provincial Jews in the seven weeks from May 15 to July 6, 1944. In the whole history of the Final Solution, the Nazis had never approached this level of efficiency. Yet there were life-saving incongruities as well. Male Jews conscripted into the cruel Jewish Labor Service brigades by Hungary's pro-German military were spared Auschwitz.

Perhaps a great many more lives could have been saved. Even before the deportations began, Lt. Col. Adolf Eichmann, the SS officer in charge of the Final Solution in Hungary, revealed in the so-called Blood for Trucks proposal that Germany would release Hungary's Jews in exchange for badly needed commodities, including 10,000 army trucks for use on the eastern front. After desultory consideration until mid-July, by which time Hungary's provincial Jews had already been deported, the Allies—fully aware of the fate awaiting Jews trapped within Nazi territory—unanimously rejected the German overture. They proved equally impervious to heart-rending pleas from international Jewish leaders to save

Hungarian Jewry or at least to slow its destruction by either feigning to negotiate with the Germans over their extraordinary offer or bombing the Hungary-to-Auschwitz railway line and destroying the death camp's gas chambers and crematoria.

No longer able to wait on the Allies, local Zionist leaders managed to convince Eichmann's ultimate superior, Heinrich Himmler, that Western cooperation depended on proof of Germany's willingness to release Jews. Accordingly, a train known as the "Kasztner Transport" left Budapest on June 30, with 1,700 Hungarian Jews who, after several months in the "privileged" section of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, eventually reached safety in neutral Switzerland.

On July 7, 1944, Admiral Horthy, subjected to growing international pressure and increasingly anxious at the prospect of an Axis defeat, emerged from fourteen weeks of political inactivity to challenge German hegemony in Hungary. Germany's continual military reverses presented Horthy with an opportunity to regain some degree of independence. Evidence of this came with his successful banning of further deportation of Jews to Auschwitz. Although this bold act occurred after the Germans had declared the provinces to be *judenrein* (totally "cleansed" of Jews), the measure saved Budapest's Jews from deportation. In August, Horthy dismissed the German-imposed puppet regime, appointed a trusted non-Nazi general as prime minister, and began secret negotiations with the Soviet Union, whose military forces were fast approaching.

The second phase of the occupation (July 7 to October 15) had begun, and conditions improved substantially for Hungary's surviving Jews, now overwhelmingly concentrated in Budapest. Jewish Council leaders regained access to Horthy and used their influence to strengthen his resolve that, despite Hitler's intense pressure, the ban on further deportations would be maintained. Moreover, significant support was provided by some neutral diplomats in Budapest, particularly the Swiss consul Carl Lutz and the Swedish consul Raoul Wallenberg, both of whom safeguarded Jews through the (necessarily limited) distribution of legally dubious "protective passports" (*Schutzpasse*).

Many have questioned whether Hungary's Jewish leaders did enough to defend their community once they realized that deportation meant extermination. Among civilized communities, the attempt to avoid catastrophe by capitulating to overwhelming force is hardly unknown in history, nor is it regarded as necessarily dishonorable or cowardly. As in every country crushed by Nazi Germany, Hungary's Jewish leaders surrendered to the initial realities confronting their community. Tragically, Hungary collaborated in full with the iron-fisted occupiers and their Final Solution; the Jews were already in a stage of impoverishment, thanks to previous Hungarian actions. Their social, political, and military isolation was nearly total; the churches were virtually silent, attentive only to the spiritual needs of Jewish converts. Finally, the core of any possible armed resistance—male Jews of military age—had already been forced into labor service brigades.

Nonetheless, during the occupation's second phase, Jewish physical resistance began in earnest, largely initiated and implemented by the underground Zionist youth movements, known collectively as *Halutzim* (pioneers). These groups, with a membership of only a few hundred fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds, established networks that eventually smuggled between 5,000 and 7,000 Jews across Hungary's borders, mainly to the relative safety of Romania. Furthermore, from June 1944 onward, the *Halutzim* printed and distributed gratis to tens of thousands of Jews all sorts of false identity papers. These documents enabled a wide cross section of the Jewish community to discard the compulsory yellow star and live under a relatively secure Christian Identity. In particular, during the brutal and chaotic third phase of occupation—the Szalasi era from October 16, 1944, to January 17, 1945—such false papers helped save thousands of Budapest Jews from Eichmann's winter death marches, the inhuman deportation of 80,000 Jews for forced labor on Vienna's fortifications. The Zionist youths' false document scheme was a mass rescue operation, a Jewish endeavor to evade the Final Solution unmatched anywhere within German-occupied territory.

Meanwhile, the Jewish Council, though officially rejecting "illegal" activities in an effort to

preserve the 3,000 Jewish hostages imprisoned by the Germans, also engaged selectively in covert attempts to subvert the Final Solution. The council's paramount effort was a unique scheme, far greater in scale than anything undertaken by Jews elsewhere in Nazi Europe. Samuel Stern, head of the council, entered into a secret agreement with the noncommunist Hungarian Independence Front to help defend Horthy's proposed armistice by arming 25,000 Jewish Labor Service conscripts. The occupation's second phase ended, and the bold scheme came to nothing when Horthy himself was deposed by a German putsch on October 15, the day he announced on Radio Hungary his armistice with the USSR.

In the third phase of occupation, Horthy's replacement, Ferenc Szalasi, the brutal leader of the Hungarian pro-Nazi Nyilas (Arrow Cross) Party, ignored the Jewish Council's appeals for justice and humanity. The council did what it could under tremendous difficulties, managing to ameliorate the increasingly desperate circumstances of Budapest Jews by establishing public kitchens, collaborating with the few neutral diplomats remaining in Budapest, and utilizing false documents on behalf of its besieged constituency.

After a complete encirclement by Soviet forces, a destructive siege of Budapest began on December 24, 1944. The two recently established ghettos—the noncontiguous "International Ghetto" containing 30,000 recipients of (mainly false) documents and the walled "Common Ghetto" holding 70,000 Jews without foreign documents—were liberated by the Red Army on January 17, 1945. The same day, the U.S.-recruited Swedish consul Raoul Wallenberg disappeared forever into Soviet custody. On liberation, thanks to the efforts described here, over 120,000 Jews had survived in Budapest, more than in any other city occupied by the Germans. Yet this achievement cannot obscure the poignant counterreality: that Hungary's Jewish community, the last national Jewry to remain intact, had become the last to be destroyed by Nazi Germany and its Hungarian collaborators.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** "Blood for Trucks"; Eichmann, Adolf; Holocaust; Horthy, Miklós; Hungary; Kallay, Miklós; Szalasi, Ferenc; Yellow Star; Zionism

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## Hungary, Pogroms in (1946)

The Hungarian pogroms of 1946, unlike those that occurred in Poland at the same time, claimed only a handful of victims. The wave of violence was also short-lived, giving way to the return of political and economic stability. Yet the pogroms are significant for what they reveal about the society and politics of the time.

Although there were anti-Jewish demonstrations and attacks on individual Jews in at least a dozen places in 1946, the bloodiest and worst manifestation took place in Kunmadaras in May and in Miskolc in July. The Kunmadaras affair included the ancient anti-Jewish calumny of blood libel, which many, especially among the uneducated peasantry, still took on faith. The rumor spread in Kunmadaras that Jews made sausage out of Christian children and that several Christian children had mysteriously disappeared from the nearby town of Karcag. The pogrom against the town's seventy-three Jews, the remnant that had survived the Holocaust, began only when the police arrested a popular figure, who was also a former Nazi-collaborator, and attempted to transfer him to Karcag. The crowd attacked local Jews, killing two and wounding fifteen.

The situation was different in Miskolc, an industrial town, where the working class was in particularly dire straits. The ruling Communists

crudely used local grievances for their own political purposes, sending prominent Communist leaders to harangue the workers on the evils of capitalism. The local Communist organization was aware of the antisemitic mood, but instead of attempting to combat that mood, it decided to remove party functionaries who came from the Jewish bourgeoisie. Violence broke out shortly afterward. News spread that three “speculators” had been arrested and that they were being moved to an internment camp outside the city. The crowds, probably tipped off in advance, intercepted the unfortunate men and killed one, wounded another, and let the third escape. He alone was not Jewish. After the tragic events were allowed to unfold, the police arrested some of the participants in the lynching. However, crowds again gathered, attacked the police station where the men were held, and lynched the Jewish Communist police lieutenant.

There are at least two explanations for this grassroots antisemitic violence. First, the power of Nazi propaganda obviously outlived Hitler, helping to convince many Hungarians who had collaborated with Nazism and many others who had passively witnessed the evil that Jews had deserved their fate: they were, in fact, an alien, subversive, and parasitical people. A second explanation for the wave of antisemitic outbursts had to do with the radically altered situation of Hungarian Jews as a result of Stalinization. In the minds of a great majority of Hungarians, Jews and Communists came to be identified as synonymous, undermining the credibility of both. The majority of Jews were not Communists, and the majority of Communists were not Jewish, but Jews, who welcomed the Red Army as liberators, were disproportionately represented in the party and also in the political police. The four most prominent and powerful leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party were Jewish.

The myth of Judeo-Bolshevism would predict that such a situation should have produced a “paradise for Jews.” But on the contrary, postwar Hungary offers the clearest example of how Stalinists of Jewish descent employed antisemitism in an entirely self-serving fashion. The popular identification of Jews with Communists threatened to paralyze the party. Thus, leaders desper-

ately sought allies with indisputably Hungarian credentials, even going so far as to recruit low-ranking members of the Hungarian Nazi Party (Nyilaskeresztes Part).

For the series of pogroms that took place in 1946, the Communist Party deserves considerable blame. Although they were not the creators of Hungarian antisemitism, the Communists nonetheless exploited and legitimized it. As a prelude to the violence, the party press attacked small traders as speculators, knowing that the common folk regarded them as Jews. It published posters in which the “enemy”—the capitalist, the speculator—spotted recognizably Semitic features. The disturbances in Ozd, in February 1946, showed that the government’s own antisemitism was not lost on ordinary people. Neither could it be contained to serve the Communists’ limited purposes. What started as a protest at the murder of a Communist leader (a well-known antisemite) turned into something different. Workers and miners took the opportunity to demonstrate against Communists and Jews and looted Jewish-owned stores and apartments. When the police arrested some of the looters, the masses became increasingly incensed and maintained that there could be no solution to the social and political problems until Hungary got rid of the Jews.

—Peter Kenez

*See also* Hungary; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kielce Pogrom; Poland; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Stalinization of Eastern Europe  
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## Hungary, Post-Soviet

Hungary today has approximately 80,000 Jews. However, for one reason or another, many choose not to reveal themselves as Jewish to the census takers. So, perhaps 80,000 understates the actual number. As time passes, the number will decrease because the Jewish birthrate is very low, far below what would be needed to replace losses from death or emigration.

Today in Hungary, Jews live almost exclusively in Budapest. The Nazis destroyed a far greater proportion of the provincial Jews, and

those few who returned after the war to the small towns eventually left the countryside for the West, for Israel, or for the capital. Whatever their precise number, it is clear that outside the former Soviet Union, Hungary now has the largest population of Jews in Eastern and Central Europe. By any objective measure, Jews represent what might be viewed as a privileged minority: they are overrepresented in business, the professions, cultural life, and politics. Even the right-wing Small Holders' Party has some prominent Jewish politicians, and with one major exception, no political party is explicitly antisemitic. There are excellent Jewish periodicals, a Jewish publishing house, and Jewish schools supported by international funding. Unlike post-Soviet Russia, where pogroms are at least conceivable, such events seem remote possibilities in Hungary. It would be difficult to show that Jews face discrimination in any aspect of national life.

And yet, antisemitism is a significant force in contemporary Hungary. Although it is difficult to gauge the extent of popular antisemitism, it is fair to say that old stereotypes do not easily fade away. Now that the press is free, the ugly voices that had been repressed during the Communist era are again freely heard. As before, antisemites blame Jews both for playing dominant roles in the establishment of the Communist regime and also for unduly benefiting from the collapse of that regime by becoming the most successful members of the emerging capitalist class. Jewish graves have been desecrated repeatedly, even in the countryside, where there are no Jews still living.

The political home of antisemites is the ferociously antisemitic party, the extreme right-wing Magyar Igazság es Élet Pártja (Party of Hungarian Truth and Life [MIEP]). The very choice of name is revealing: the Party of Hungarian Life was a fascist, pro-Nazi party during World War II. MIEP can be classified as one of the many xenophobic, nationalist parties active presently in several European countries. The party got just over 5 percent of the vote in the national elections of 1998, which was enough to gain parliamentary representation. However, in the last elections, its vote total fell under 5 percent, disqualifying its candidates from taking their seats in the current parliament.

In one important way, however, MIEP is different from other right-wing extremist parties: it is pathologically preoccupied with Jews. In other European countries where the extreme Right is strong, the main attraction of these forces is anti-immigrant xenophobia. Jews are just one of the threats to their concept of nationhood and not even the most important one. The situation is different in Hungary. The problem of nonwhite immigration is relatively minor. Hungary is more or less ethnically homogeneous, if one discounts the significant social and ethnic problems posed by approximately 500,000 Gypsies. Hence, Jews get the lion's share of MIEP's attention. István Csurka, the charismatic founder and leader of the party, is a talented writer who even in the 1970s, when he was an artist in good standing with the relatively moderate Hungarian communist regime, did not hide his antisemitism. As is common with parties of this type, MIEP's antisemitic propaganda connects Jews with all sorts of trends that the extreme Right disapproves of. As nationalists, extreme rightists are foes of globalization, and in their view, Jews are behind this trend. MIEP politicians regularly talk about a New York–Tel Aviv axis. They attribute enormous power to the Mossad, the Israeli secret service, in influencing international events. In their conspiratorial view, it is the Jews who want to destroy national culture, undermine national traditions, and besmirch Hungary's good name. For example, when France gave asylum to some Hungarian Roma, implying that in the country of their birth they suffered discrimination, MIEP blamed the Jews for undermining the reputation of Hungary abroad. The party's periodical, *Forum*, is preoccupied with Israeli politics and habitually describes the Israeli government as fascist.

MIEP is a significant political force, and it cannot be dismissed as a movement of the old, the uneducated, or those who have been victimized by the postcommunist economic and political changes. Its major electoral support comes not from the politically less sophisticated countryside but from the most affluent districts of Budapest. In terms of antisemitism, MIEP has had an effect beyond what its vote would suggest. The leading party in the previous govern-

ment, the Fidez (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége, or Alliance of Young Democrats), which in 2002 was engaged in a bitter and ultimately unsuccessful campaign, moved to the Right in order to attract MIEP voters. Mainstream politicians, such as Victor Orbán, the former premier, have regularly appeared on extreme rightist broadcasts, giving them respectability they are unable to get on their own. László Kövér, perhaps the second-most powerful Fidez politician, talks about a “Jewish problem” in Hungary, rather than an antisemitic problem. Maria Smidt, a historian and adviser to Orbán, trivializes the Holocaust, suggesting—remarkably for a historian—that the extermination of the Jews was not a German war aim.

Fidez, in attempting to use nationalism for its own electoral advantage by reconfiguring history, is rehabilitating the conservative, feudal, antisemitic interwar regime of Miklós Horthy. The nationalist Right is making heroes out of politicians of the World War II era who collaborated with the Nazis and were responsible for untold human suffering. For example, a plaque has been placed in the military history museum in memory of the Hungarian gendarmes, an organization whose record in the Holocaust, mutatis mutandis, can be compared to that of the SS. It is not surprising that the exclusivist nationalism that is popular in many circles makes Jews feel uncomfortable in contemporary Hungary.

—Peter Kenez

*See also* Horthy, Miklós; Hungary; Hungary, Holocaust in  
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### **Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-(1895–1974)**

The leading figure of Palestinian nationalism prior to the establishment of the state of Israel, Muhammad Amin al-Hussaini developed a virulent antisemitism as a corollary of his anti-Zionism. He took a leading role in the violent anti-Zionist riots in Jerusalem in 1920 and had to flee to Damascus. He was sentenced to prison in absentia but was pardoned the following year

on assuring British High Commissioner Herbert Samuel that he and his distinguished family would help keep the peace in the Arab sector. He was appointed mufti (chief Muslim legal authority) and thereafter president of the Supreme Muslim Council. The latter position gave him budgetary control over most Islamic public institutions. Already during the 1920s, the Mufti began casting Palestinian Arab opposition to Zionism in terms of a struggle between Islam and the Jews. He accused the Jews of attempting to usurp and dominate the Muslim sacred precincts in Jerusalem. It is open to debate whether he took part in planning the so-called Wailing Wall riots of August 1929, but at the very least, he helped incite them. The riots broke out in the wake of a perennial dispute over Jewish prayer at the Western (Wailing) Wall of the Temple Mount. The rioters massacred 129 Jews and injured over 300 more, most of them defenseless members of the old religious communities in Hebron and Safed.

Throughout the 1930s, the Mufti endeavored to foster anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish sentiments throughout the Arab and Islamic world by calling for solidarity in the defense of Arab Palestine and its Islamic holy places. In December 1931, he convened the World Islamic Conference in Jerusalem. Among the resolutions adopted were a number calling for the defense of the Holy Land against the *Jews* (not just Zionist Jews). After the conference, the Mufti actively disseminated anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist (frequently antisemitic) propaganda materials through organizations such as the Young Men’s Muslim Associations, the Muslim Brotherhood, and nationalist groups all over the Muslim world.

Like other Arab nationalists, the Mufti viewed Hitler as an ally against both Anglo-French imperialism and Jewish Zionism. Shortly after Hitler’s appointment as chancellor in 1933, the Mufti met with the German consul in Jerusalem. In 1937, he was dismissed from office by the mandatory authorities for his role as a leader in the Arab general strike, which broke out in 1936 and soon erupted into outright rebellion. He fled to Lebanon and thence to Iraq in 1940, where he became active in extremist Arab nationalist circles and in anti-Jewish agitation. He helped plan the

coup that brought the pro-Axis government of Rashid Ali to power in 1941 and was in close contact with the German ambassador. He fled, once again, with the regime's leaders on May 29, 1941, as British troops closed in on Baghdad. The pogrom, known as the Farhud, that followed two days later had apparently already been planned. The Mufti eventually reached Berlin, meeting with Mussolini in Rome on the way. In Berlin, after conferring with Hitler, he stayed on to work for the German war effort. His radio broadcasts called on Arabs and Muslims to "Kill the Jews wherever you find them, for the love of God, history, and religion." He also helped to recruit Muslim volunteers from the Balkans and Soviet Muslim territories into special units in the German armed forces. One of these units of Bosnian Waffen-SS played a role in the destruction of Yugoslavian Jewry.

Captured by the French at the war's end, the

Mufti again escaped and moved between Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus, where he helped direct Arab opposition to the partition of Palestine. After the Palestinian and Arab failure to destroy the nascent state of Israel and to establish a Palestinian state, the Mufti gradually lost all political influence and lived out his life as a religious scholar in Cairo and Beirut.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Arafat, Yasir; Farhud; Hamas; Islam and the Jews; Muslim Brotherhood; Zionism

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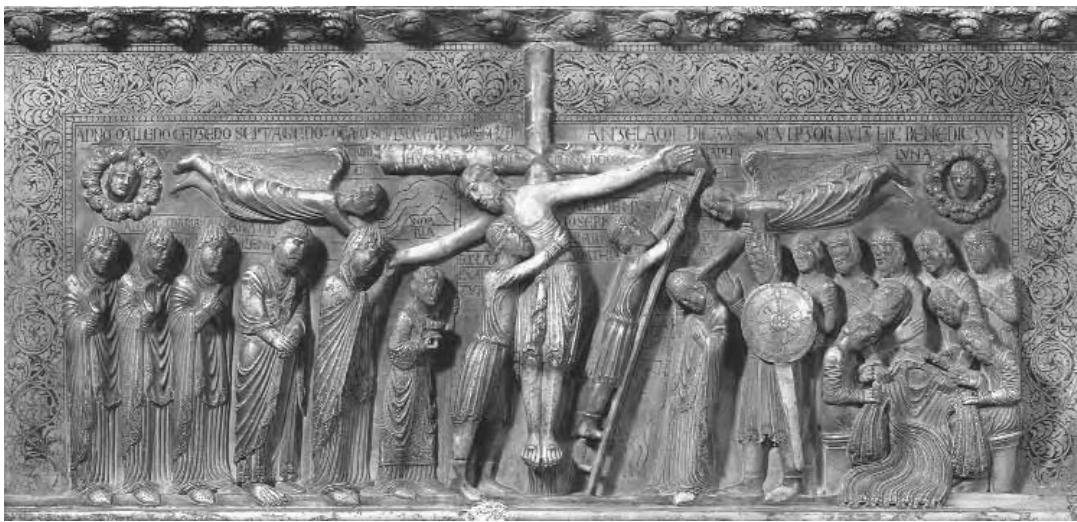
# I

## Iconography, Christian

The graphic representation of Jews in Christian art has for centuries exercised a determining influence on the perception of Jews. (“Christian art” here refers to images with explicit Christian content employed in a religious context.) It has helped shape the way Judaism is imagined, giving graphic expression to the images of Jewry found in literary and polemical texts. This is most readily seen in the artistic renderings of biblical themes. The artist’s attempt to illustrate a biblical story often went beyond the literal text and revealed instead a personal interpretation or that of the patron. Art, therefore, can tell us important things about the history of antisemitism. It can document the developments taking place in politics and society.

Tracing the popular Ecclesia et Synagoga (church and synagogue) motif over time reveals

the increasingly pronounced negative valuation of Judaism. During the Carolingian era, two royal ladies placed in opposition recalled the common theological ground shared by Christianity and Judaism. But with the passage of time, the depiction of Synagoga became ever more unsympathetic, ever more disparaging. Thus, Benedetto Antelami’s marble relief of the Deposition from the Cross illustrates an angel robbing Synagoga of all her dignity, an apt representation of the worsening situation of European Jewry in the twelfth century. A similar decline can be traced in artistic interpretations of the Passion narratives. From late antiquity through the Carolingian period, graphic illustrations of the Passion were without a Jewish presence. A mid-fourth-century sarcophagus from the catacomb of Domitilla shows the Passion as a Roman affair. Even Pilate’s interrogation lacks



Benedetto Antelami’s marble relief of the Deposition from the Cross illustrates an angel robbing Synagoga of all her dignity, an apt representation of the worsening situation of European Jewry in the twelfth century. (Scala /Art Resource, New York)



Following the anti-Jewish tendencies of literary texts, depictions of Jews, such as this scene from the Naumburg Cathedral, often made them recognizable by their “Jew hats” or other prescribed identifying markers. (Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY)

the obligatory Jewish accusers. From the eleventh century, however, the image began to alter. Following the anti-Jewish tendencies of literary texts, the perpetrators were now Jews, often made recognizable by their “Jew hats” or other prescribed identifying markers.

Illustrations of the Crucifixion, in which Jews were seen as actors, were influenced by the reading of literary texts. However, a change in the relationship of text and image gradually became noticeable, with the image becoming the dominant element. The obscure comments in the New Testament, under the powerful influence of graphic representation, acquired a clarity not to be found in the text. Art supplanted text in the determining of reality. Moreover, because the images were of the moment and unambiguous, they impacted contemporary Jews negatively. The portrayal of Judas, the betrayer of Jesus, as a Jewish money-lender (from the Naumburg Cathedral), was one

such contemporary adaptation of the past. Representing Jews as cruel and brutal strengthened the impulse to treat them unjustly, inhumanely, and even criminally. It legitimated such misdeeds and paved the way for new ones.

Depictions of Jews underwent historical development. Absent from the literary sources of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages and also missing in the arts was a specific Jewish type. In neither literature nor art was it claimed that Jews had recognizable physical appearances, facial expressions, or gestures that distinguished them from others. Difference was solely related to religious and social practices. The so-called Jewish type came into existence as a construct of Jew-hatred, which maintained that Jews should first be isolated through physical markings and then forced into a special inferior status. The contention that Jews could be distinguished from others by their pale skin, hooked noses, and other

features developed parallel to efforts to make them readily identifiable through physical symbols. As with other forms of prejudice, Christian anti-Judaism did not rest on empirical reality but rather constructed the reality of “the Jew” to fit its needs. Graphic representations accepted this construct and lent it its own reality. Thus, Christian iconography confirmed the prejudice out of which it grew. Illuminating in this respect were the depictions of the ritual murder legend in direct imitation of the Passion illustrations. The type already existed; it needed only to be adapted to a new context. The long tradition of iconographic representation made such connections credible, as in the combined rendering of a ritual murder with the *Judensau* (Jew’s pig; see entry on *Judensau* for illustration).

Without oversimplifying the historical connection, it is nevertheless difficult to deny that Christian graphic materials readied many of the themes to be found in modern antisemitism and also palpably influenced their expression. Aside from the “Jew as murderer” motif, modern antisemites could draw on traditional iconographic associations of Jews with demons, Satan, and the Antichrist. A central reference point for this particular trope was the interpretation of the biblical story of the Adoration of the Golden Calf. Christian authors from late antiquity found in Exodus 32 indisputable proof of the enduring inclination of Jews to abandon their faith and to venerate demons. Such traditional modes of interpretation established the Jewish fascination with the demonic and later produced one of the vilest of antisemitic images, the *Judensau*, in which the pig served as a symbol of satanic evil.

Overtly anti-Jewish iconography is, however, only one side of an artistic tradition which contains many additional elements that produce and foster hatred of Jews. More subtle anti-Jewish messages can be conveyed, for example, by the portrayal of them in “Oriental” garb, the Turkish costumes featured in numerous medieval paintings. Even conceding that artists merely wanted to provide local color, the effect on viewers was to associate Jews with Turks. Jews dwelling in Christian lands were thus linked to a deadly enemy, and dread of “the terrible Turk” merged with dread of Jews. The Jews of Europe

were made into strangers and enemies who might easily betray what, ironically, their Christian neighbors denied them, the homeland.

In the history of antisemitism, the calumny concerning the treachery of the alien Jews is a particularly stubborn theme and one that is constantly reanimated in the literature and in the arts. Christian iconography has been especially influential in portraying Jews as aliens, either by placing them outside society or by not representing them at all. Very few Western paintings make explicit the Jewishness of central figures. Perhaps eight medieval illustrations of the Supper at Emmaus portray Jesus wearing the Jew’s hat. There are a few pictures of Saint Joseph wearing the hat, as well. Aside from Rembrandt’s paintings of identifiable Jews, Raphael’s *Betrothal of Mary* (1504) can also be mentioned. These few examples stand out by way of exception, however, and probably had little effect on the cultural perceptions of Europeans with regard to Jewish subjects. Much more common was the alienation of Jewish figures from their Jewish contexts, as was typical with Moses, the Prophets, Jesus, Mary, and the Apostles. However, the enemies of these figures—the Pharisees, priests, and torturers—were presented as Jews.

The art of the Renaissance left historical Jewry even further behind. Biblical genres were chosen in order to represent the perfection of the human form. Biblical events were “antiqued,” as, for example, Michelangelo’s sculpture *David*, which presents an uncircumcised king of Israel. The artistic tradition that interpreted biblical subjects was molded by a Christian iconography that either depicted Jewry in a negative light or ignored it altogether. The visual experience of these artistic formulations influenced viewers’ judgments regarding Jews, at least latently and often overtly, in a negative way. Christian iconography obscured rather than highlighted the commonalities that existed among Christians and Jews. Western Christian art appropriated the portrayal of biblical subject matter and laid claim to sole possession of Holy Scripture. European Christian art helped estrange and alienate Jews and Judaism from the Western cultural tradition.

—Rainer Kampling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antichrist; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Gospels; *Judensau*; Lateran Council, Fourth; Pork; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Yellow Badge; Yellow Star

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### **If I Were the Kaiser (1912)**

Published under the pseudonym Daniel Frymann in 1912, Heinrich Class's *If I Were the Kaiser (Wenn ich der Kaiser wär)* was a systematic expression of the ideological program of the Pan-German League. It laid out a series of radical reforms, regarded as necessary by German extreme nationalists, to save the empire from catastrophe.

In what amounted to a manifesto, Class decried the socialist victory in the Reichstag elections of 1912 as evidence of a much more significant crisis in German society. Jews, he warned, had infiltrated German society and constructed a powerful alliance of enemies of the state, including socialists, national minorities, the Catholic Center Party, and the left-liberal Progressive Party, which was dedicated to subverting German society and the German national community from within. Although the charges presented in *If I Were the Kaiser* were familiar, Class's solutions were more startling and original. He called

for the constitutional reform of the political system, whereby universal and equal suffrage would be replaced by a class or plural voting franchise. The new system would ensure that representatives elected to parliament would have the appropriate—that is to say, upper-middle-class—education, wealth, and culture to speak and act in the name of the nation. From this elite, a select few would serve as advisers to the emperor and to the nation as a whole. *If I Were the Kaiser* also detailed a number of specific remedies to address the "threats" posed by social democracy, Jews, and the national minorities living in Germany. Class called for a new law outlawing socialist and anarchist assemblies, organizations, and publications; all socialist and anarchist activists were to be expelled from the country. National holidays and festivals were to fill the gap left by the suppression of social democracy in the lives of workers. Class also called for the censorship of all newspapers, except for the "national press," whose loyalty was assured.

Most significantly and most ominously, Class's book called for the eradication of "Jewish influence" in German society. Germany's borders were to be closed to Jewish immigration, and all foreign Jews were to be expelled, "to the last man." German Jews, moreover, were to be stripped of their civil rights and governed according to an "Aliens' Law." Jews would not be allowed to serve in public office, in the military, or in the professions and would be barred from owning rural property. They would also be required to pay double the taxes of Germans, "as compensation for the protection Jews enjoy as foreigners." Similar measures, including expropriation and draconian language laws, were proposed for the resident Polish, French, and Danish minorities. Foreshadowing the brutal population transfers later carried out by the Third Reich, Class wanted all non-German aliens to be expelled and to make up for these lost numbers by encouraging the return of ethnic Germans from abroad. Finally—and again prefiguring later events—he demanded forceful German expansion to the East.

The Pan-German League subsidized the publication of *If I Were the Kaiser*, and its local chapters distributed 20,000 to 25,000 copies before the

outbreak of World War I. The Nazis later took up many of Class's recommendations in their own ideological program, although distancing themselves from his upper-middle-class milieu.

—Elizabeth A. Drummond

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Class, Heinrich; Nazi Party Program; Pan-German League

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## Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.)

Although economic concerns most often dictated the direction of federal immigration and naturalization laws, Congress also used its legislative authority to control the racial, ethnic, and religious makeup of American society. For Jews, that meant the creation of a national origins quota system designed to limit the immigration of eastern Europeans and preserve what contemporaries termed a purer Anglo-Saxon genetic stock. In the late 1930s, these restrictive quotas prevented most European Jewish refugees from gaining admission to the United States. The government did not reassess the national origins system until Lyndon Johnson's Great Society in the mid-1960s.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century U.S. immigration and naturalization laws discouraged or even prevented a variety of American peoples, including American Indians, African Americans, Chinese Americans, and Japanese Americans, from achieving full civil equality. By the turn of the twentieth century, Congress began investigating ways to limit the immigration of peoples from southern and eastern Europe, which included most Jews. In 1907, the year that marked the greatest influx of Jews into the United States, Congress created the Dillingham Committee, charged with the responsibility of studying immigration patterns and recommending legislative

changes. Rooted in the belief that immigrants from southern and eastern Europe possessed inferior genetic stock, the Dillingham Committee recommended that Congress institute a literacy test as a means to limit the number of "undesirable" arrivals. In 1911, 1913, 1915, and 1917, the literacy test passed Congress only to be vetoed by the chief executive. When xenophobic sentiment spiked after U.S. entry into World War I, Congress overturned President Woodrow Wilson's veto and instituted a literacy test for all European immigrants.

High literacy rates among the immigrants inspired Congress to reexamine the question in a December 1920 emergency session. The nativists' initial call for a one-year immigration moratorium ended in a compromise agreement, creating a national origins quota system that would limit the number of new arrivals to 3 percent of their group's representation in the 1910 census.

Three years later, the U.S. Congress reevaluated the 1921 law. Influenced by even greater xenophobic sentiment, Congress reduced the national origins quota from 3 percent to 2 percent and abandoned the 1910 census in favor of the 1890 count. By basing quota calculations on the earlier census, Congress sought to limit eastern European Jewish immigrants (as well as immigrants from other countries deemed unsuitable for Americanization). Because most Jews immigrated after 1890 and before 1910, the net effect of the 1924 Immigration Law was an almost total cessation of Jewish immigration to the United States.

The restrictive quotas established in 1921 and 1924 compounded the immigration challenges of Jews seeking asylum from the Nazis during the 1930s and 1940s. Even as the federal government expanded the number of available quota spots for Jewish refugees, it rarely issued visas for more than 10 percent of the allowable numbers. It was not until the postwar era, with the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, that restrictions on Jewish immigration eased. President Lyndon Johnson offered the first major overhaul of the structure of exclusion when he signed the Immigration Act of 1965, a Great Society program that reversed a century-old restriction against

Asian immigrants and eased the national origins-based discrimination of the earlier laws.

—Marc Dollinger

*See also* Eugenics; *Ostjuden*; *Passing of the Great Race*; Racism, Scientific; United States

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## Imperial Hammer League

Beginning in 1905, the staff and readers of Theodor Fritsch's *Hammer: Journal of the German Way* banded together in local "Hammer communities" or "Hammer alliances." In December 1907, Fritsch declared to his readers that he intended to establish a strong, tightly knit organization. At about that time, he and Willibald Hentschel reactivated their German Renewal Community, the goal of which was the creation of racial, life-reforming settlements. Hammer communities of anywhere from ten to thirty members took root in Berlin, Bochum, Breslau, Charlottenburg, Chemnitz, Danzig, Dresden, Duisburg, Frankfurt am Main, Fürstenwalde, Grossröhrsdorf, Hamburg, Hanover, Leipzig, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Stettin, Stuttgart, Weissenfels, Zeitz, and Vienna. They held regular public readings or lectures, recruited new members, and sold Fritsch's "Hammer-Pamphlets" and other publications. Typically, members belonged to one or more racist (*völkisch*), antisemitic organizations, such as the Pan-German League, the German National White Collar Employees Association, the German League, or the Young German League. The effectiveness of the local communities as conduits for antisemitic propaganda varied according to the personality of the individual head man (*Obmann*) and the dedication of the membership. Although the organization never had much direct effect on German politics, it contributed significantly to the diffusion of racist and antisemitic attitudes in the public sphere.

On May 24, 1912, in the wake of the Reich-

stag election and the antisemitic revival it engendered, the Imperial Hammer League (Reichshammerbund) was established in Leipzig to serve as the umbrella organization for the existing Hammer communities. The first *Bundeswart* (league overseer) was the former cavalry captain and lawyer Karl August Hellwig (1855–1914). Fritsch, the honorary overseer, authored the constitution of the organization, which he conceived of as a rallying point for the antisemitic movement. Although open to all parties and social strata, the league, in fact, spoke most effectively to the lower middle class. The bylaws of the organization called on members to "profess their German blood and German ethos," to shun contact with Jews and their businesses, and to promise the same for their dependents. Fritsch's *Hammer* served as the official organ and periodically sent out questionnaires to gather information. On the basis of one such polling at the end of 1919, the league claimed a membership of 5,000. But this number was almost certainly an exaggeration. More probably, the organization had no more than 3,000 members.

The ideological activists and leadership of the Imperial Hammer League reached out to other like-minded groups, striving to overcome the antisemitic movement's notorious tendency toward schism, personal rivalry, and political ineffectiveness. From the start, the league paid special attention to the German youth movement. Representatives attended the national congress of Free German Youth in October 1913, distributing antisemitic pamphlets. In the spring of 1914, free copies of the *Hammer* were sent to 700 leading figures in the youth movement.

After Hellwig's sudden death in June 1914, the businessman Alfred Roth took over as leader. At the end of the war, Roth used his position in the league to work for the creation of a powerful racist and antisemitic central body. With the blessing of Fritsch, who had called for such an "offensive and defensive alliance" as early as 1913 and whose *Hammer* now got a significant boost in subscribers, the German Racial League for Defense and Defiance (Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutz-Bund) absorbed the Imperial Hammer League. On April 1, 1920, the league ceased to exist as an independent organization.

After the murder of the Jewish foreign minister Walther Rathenau in 1922 and the resulting dissolution of the League for Defense and Defiance, there were fitful attempts to revive the Imperial Hammer League, based on the continuing existence of local chapters and Hammer reading circles. Fritsch's interests lay elsewhere by that time, however, and an effective organization could not be refashioned. Many of the former members of the league eventually made their way into the Nazi Party.

—Christoph Knüppel  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Fritsch, Theodor; German National White Collar Employees Association; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Germanic Order; Hentschel, Willibald; Lange, Friedrich; Pan-German League; Rathenau, Walther; Roth, Alfred; Settlement *Heimland*; Youth Movement

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## Infamous Decree (1808)

One of three decrees pertaining to the Jews of the French Empire issued by Emperor Napoleon I on March 17, 1808, the so-called Infamous Decree forbade Jews to borrow or lend money for a period of ten years. The decree came as a response to the publication of a number of pamphlets in Alsace demanding that the Jews, described as antisocial usurers, be stripped of the citizenship they had won in 1791 and expelled from the realm. The decree was meant to end Jewish moneylending, long a source of prejudice, hatred, and violence against the Jews of the region, as part of Napoleon's program to reform the Jews "so that there will no longer be any difference between them and the other citizens of the Empire" (article 18). The decree explicitly exempted the Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux and

the Landes region from its provisions because they, unlike the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine, had not "provoked any complaint, nor had they participated in any illicit trade" (article 19). Jews of Alsace and Lorraine, it should be noted, were heavily concentrated in commercial trades because until the Revolution, legal disabilities had prevented them from doing much else.

Other than lifting the 1806 temporary suspension on repayment of debts to Jewish creditors, the terms of the decree were unequivocally harsh. The edict annulled all debts to Jews that had been contracted by minors, married women, soldiers, and military officers without the consent of their legal trustees or superiors. It suspended payment on all debts to Jewish creditors unless they could prove that they had indeed lent the money to the debtor, a difficult task given the lending practices of the day and the high rate of illiteracy among French peasants. The decree fixed the legal rate of interest at 5 percent; debts previously contracted at a higher rate were annulled as "usurious." Further, it forbade Jews the right to borrow money, including mortgages, unless they had received special permission from the local prefecture, for which they would have to furnish proof that they had not "engaged in any illicit commerce."

The decree also strictly limited Jewish migration. Jews would not be allowed to immigrate to Alsace, nor could Jews not currently resident in the French Empire immigrate there unless they proved their intention to practice agriculture. Finally, the decree forbade Jews the right possessed by all other French citizens to send a paid replacement for military conscription, a measure that would create many problems for religiously observant Jews. The effect of this decree on the economic well-being of the Jews of Alsace and Lorraine was momentous, driving many who had previously depended on commerce and moneylending into dire poverty. Jewish leaders immediately condemned the decree and campaigned against it for the entire period of its application. With help from members of the emerging liberal camp in the Chamber of Deputies, the decree was not renewed when it expired in 1818.

—Lisa Moses Leff

**See also** Alsace; France; Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste; Usury

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## Innocent III (1160/61–1216)

Born Lotario dei Conti di Segni in 1160 or 1161, Innocent III became one of the most influential popes in the history of the Latin Christian Church. Following his early clerical training in Rome, Innocent was one of the first popes to study at the schools (soon to become the university) of Paris. He served as a member of the papal curia from 1187 and was elected pope in 1198 at the age of thirty-six or thirty-seven. He frequently stated that the two aims of his pontificate were the reform of Christian society and the recovery of the Holy Land, most of the latter lost to Latin Christians since the victory of Saladin at Hattin in 1187. Innocent launched two crusades, both failures, and was preparing yet another (which later became the Fifth Crusade) when he died in 1216. In terms of the reform of Christian society, he patronized a number of new religious pastoral movements, the early Franciscan order being the best known of them; he vigorously enforced criminal sanctions against clergy guilty of misdeeds, opposed secular rulers and heretics, and, most spectacularly, convened the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215. Innocent's ideas about Jews and Judaism, themselves the subject of a large and contentious scholarly literature, must be understood in terms of both his pastoral concerns for the whole of contemporary Christian society and his concept of papal authority in the world.

At the outset of his pontificate, Innocent subscribed to—and reissued—the conventional papal statement concerning the rights of Jews, the *Constitutio pro Judeis*; this permitted Jews protection of their rights to security and their religious practices but prohibited them from enjoying any rights beyond these, particularly any activities that might appear to threaten the stability of Christian society, including, of course,

actions considered insulting or injurious to Christianity, illegitimate exercise of power over Christians, and attempts to convert Christians. In this respect, however, Innocent's sharp perception of Jews as hostile and dangerous to Christian society dominated his reissuing of the papal privilege. His later correspondence also showed him far more hostile and less energetic in protecting Jews than many of his predecessors had been.

Twenty-nine of Innocent's letters, most of these directed to powerful spiritual and temporal rulers, deal with Jewish issues, and these, too, illustrate the extent to which he invoked traditional ecclesiastical positions while reacting forcefully and with considerable hostility toward contemporary perceptions of Judaism. Innocent's letters repeat—but with increased emphasis—the themes of Jewish guilt for the Crucifixion of Christ, the comparison of Jews to the murderer and condemned wanderer Cain, Jewish blasphemies against Christian truth, and the perceived dangers of Jewish moneylending in a new economy, which he perceived exclusively in moral terms.

Much of Innocent's attitude toward Jews reflected contemporary heightened fears of Jewish hostility toward Christians. These suspicions were summed up in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, which enacted into law the developments in theology and canon law that had been developed in the schools during the twelfth century and shaped the Latin Christian Church for the next three centuries. Canons 67–70 of IV Lateran sternly regulate Jewish moneylending (67), prescribe distinctive Jewish dress (68), forbid Jews to appear in public on certain Christian holy days (68), criminalize Jewish expressions deriding Jesus (68), prohibit Jews from holding public offices and therefore exercising power over Christians (69), and prohibit Jewish converts to Christianity from continuing to use Jewish rites (70). The inclusion of these canons, traditional as some of them were, in the influential pronouncements of IV Lateran marks, if it does not create, the decline of the European Jewish community in an increasingly articulated and legally defined Christian Europe.

—Edward Peters

**See also** Crusades; Deicide; Franciscan Order; Lateran Council, Fourth; Middle Ages, High; Usury; Yellow Badge

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## Inquisition

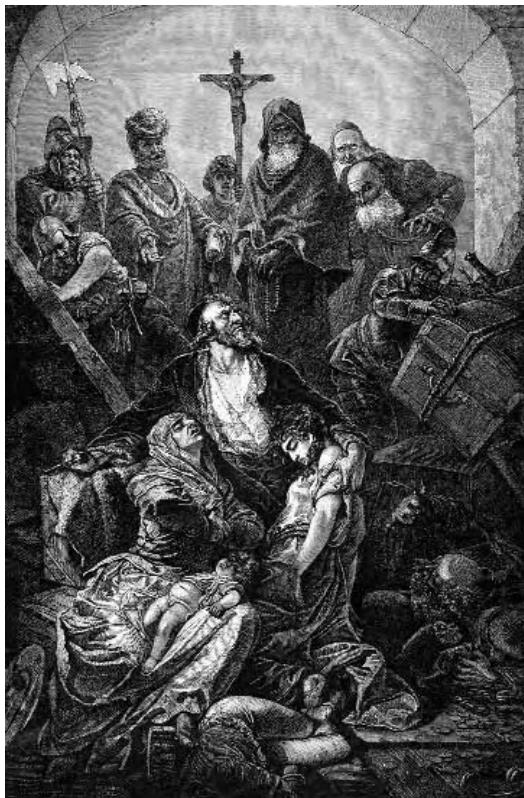
The Latin term *inquisitio* had as one of its meanings a legal procedure in which a single magistrate supervised all stages of a case, from investigation to sentencing. When Roman law began to influence jurists and legislators in western Europe in the twelfth century, the *inquisitio* began to be used in many instances in place of the older procedure of private accusation. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) introduced the procedure into courts of the Latin Christian Church, first in the cases of clerics who had committed grave offenses. Innocent and subsequent thirteenth-century popes also approved the use of the procedure in the investigation of heterodox beliefs and created the specific office of the *inquisitor hereticae pravitatis* (inquisitor of heretical depravity), a papal judge subdelegate specializing in the discovery and examination of heretics. The office was usually entrusted to members of the Dominican or Franciscan orders.

Until the mid-thirteenth century, there had been very little ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Jews and then usually in cases of relapse into Judaism after conversion to Christianity. Between 1239 and 1242, however, Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) commanded an investigation and later a burning of the Talmud. He and his successors asserted ecclesiastical jurisdiction over what they considered Jewish heresies against the

Christian understanding of Jewish Scripture and over cases of rabbinical failure to discipline moral offenses in the Jewish community. Canon lawyers gradually expanded claims of ecclesiastical authority over Jews—but not always or often by inquisitors of heretical depravity.

In 1267, Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) issued the bull *Turbato corde*, which dealt with both converts to Christianity from Judaism who had reverted to Judaism and hence apostatized and Jews who had urged or assisted in the reversion. Later versions added born Christians who converted to Judaism and Jews who retained unexpurgated copies of the Talmud. In 1391, a wave of riots in the Iberian Peninsula caused many Jews to convert to Christianity, and over the next several generations, these New Christians, or *conversos*, came to be perceived as a uniquely Iberian problem, one that centered on suspicions that the *conversos* had remained crypto-Jews and that unbaptized Jews both supported them and attempted to revert them to Judaism. In 1478, Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) permitted the rulers of Castile and Aragon to appoint two inquisitors to investigate the problem, and in 1482, seven more inquisitors were appointed, including the Dominican Tomás de Torquemada, who became inquisitor general in Castile and Aragon; he wrote the first handbook of Spanish inquisitorial regulations, the *Instrucciones*, which was later supplemented by his successors. In 1483, the new Spanish Inquisition was formally made a council of state, the Council of the Supreme and General Inquisition.

From 1478 to 1530, the Spanish Inquisition concentrated on various aspects of the problem of Judaizing, including blasphemy. The council (*La Suprema*) was the first institutionalized inquisition, issuing its own rules, assuming operational and jurisdictional control over all other inquisitorial tribunals, requiring reports from them, and supervising their activities. With the expulsion of all unbaptized Jews from Spain in 1492, the Spanish Inquisition could focus on *conversos* and *converso* families and other offenses that came within its purview. By the mid-sixteenth century, there were over twenty inquisitorial tribunals in Spain and the Spanish dependencies, including the Americas. Each tribunal included two in-



The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 by command of the Inquisition. Undated engraving. (Bettmann/Corbis)

quisitors, a legal official, a constable, a *fiscal* (prosecutor), and a network of familiars, especially privileged lay assistants. Particularly important are the archives meticulously kept by all tribunals, containing detailed accounts of the lives, possessions, relationships, investigations, trials, and sentences of thousands of individuals. Although investigations and trials were secret, sentences were read publicly in a ceremony called an *auto-da-fé* (act of faith).

Between 1534 and 1540, an inquisition was instituted in neighboring Portugal, which focused longer on Judaizing than did the Spanish Inquisition. In 1561, the Portuguese established an inquisition at Goa, in India. The two inquisitions survived into the nineteenth century, the Portuguese office being abolished in 1821 and the Spanish in 1834.

In 1542, Pope Paul III (1534–1549) estab-

lished an inquisition in Rome for the Papal States and nominally over Catholic Europe. In 1588, when the papal government was divided into fifteen congregations, the Inquisition became the Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, or Holy Office. In 1908, Pius X (1903–1914) renamed it the Congregation of the Holy Office, merging it with the Congregation of the Index (established in 1571). In 1965, Paul VI (1963–1978) renamed it again as the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, abolishing the Index in 1966. The Roman Inquisition, under its several names, dealt with Jews far less frequently than those of Spain and Portugal. Much more active in this regard was the Inquisition of Venice, established in 1571, which survived until 1797.

Following the reformations of the sixteenth century and the concerns of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church to discipline both clergy and laity, the concerns of inquisitorial tribunals with Jews and even conversos gradually declined during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

—Edward Peters

**See also** *Auto-da-fé*; Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Innocent III; Papacy, Modern; Raymund of Peñafort; Spain, Riots of 1391; Talmud Trials; Torquemada, Tomás de

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#### Institute for Historical Review (IHR)

The principal international forum for Holocaust denial in the 1980s and early 1990s, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) was founded in California in 1979 by Willis A. Carto, head of the extreme right-wing and antisemitic Liberty Lobby. During the 1980s and early 1990s, the

IHR sponsored annual conferences that became the main forum for Holocaust deniers worldwide. The lectures delivered at these conferences were published in the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* (JHR). In addition, the IHR produced audio- and videotapes and distributed a variety of books and pamphlets. Underlining the academic tone of its publication and conferences, the IHR sought to present itself as a legitimate historical institute. It claimed to establish a new school in the historiography of World War II and the Holocaust—the “revisionist approach”—which, it alleged, had succeeded in undermining the accepted narrative about the extermination of European Jewry.

Deniers from numerous countries were drawn to the IHR, one of the few venues that could afford them a degree of public exposure. Regular lecturers included Robert Faurisson and Henri Roques from France; the German Canadian Ernst Zündel; the British author David Irving; Dietlieb Felderer and the Moroccan-born Ahmed Rami from Sweden; Carlo Mattogno from Italy; Fredrick Toben from Australia; Jürgen Graf from Switzerland; and the Americans Arthur Butz, Mark Weber, Greg Raven, and Bradley Smith. Among the participants were Nazi fugitives such as Otto Ernst Remer and leading white supremacists and neo-Nazi activists such as David Duke and Ewald Althans.

From the outset, the IHR was beset by internal dissension, mainly between Carto and senior IHR staffers. The latter described Carto as a dictator who censored articles according to whim. No less important for both sides was the controversy over a \$10 million inheritance left to the IHR by Jean Farrell, the granddaughter of Thomas A. Edison. In September 1993, the IHR editorial staff and the board of directors voted to terminate the IHR's association with Carto. This decision led to a prolonged litigation process, during which Carto established a rival “revisionist” journal, the *Barnes Review*. In 1996, a California court ruled against him and awarded the IHR's parent corporation, the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, \$6 million. The appeals process continued until mid-2001, when the Liberty Lobby was denied bankruptcy protection and forced to liquidate assets and pay damages to the IHR.

The IHR never fully recovered from its internal squabbling. In May 2000, it held its first conference since 1992, but a year later, it was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to organize a Holocaust denial gathering in Beirut, Lebanon. It continues to play a role in Holocaust denial, *inter alia*, by expanding its archive of articles from the JHR on its website; new issues of the journal, however, have grown increasingly sporadic, and no new IHR conferences had been held or announced as of early 2005. If in the 1980s and early 1990s the IHR acted as the nexus of most Holocaust denial activity worldwide, by 2000 it had become merely another component in a loose federation of independent deniers with their own websites and narrowing range of activities.

—Roni Stauber

**See also** Duke, David; Faurisson, Robert; Holocaust; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Internet; Irving, David; Zündel, Ernst

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## Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Church Life

The Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Church Life (Institut zur Erforschung und Beseitigung des jüdischen Einflusses im deutschen kirchlichen Leben) was a center of anti-Jewish, theological scholarship and activism in Nazi Germany from 1939 until the end of the war. Headquartered in Eisenach, the institute was under the academic leadership of Walter Grundmann, professor of New Testament and *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) theology at the University of Jena. Siegfried Lefler, a founder of the Deutsche Christen (German Christians) movement and subsequently head of its Thuringian wing, served as official di-

rector. A 1941 institute publication described the de-Judaization of the church as an “in-escapable and decisive duty,” central to the survival of Christianity.

In keeping with its “de-Judaizing” mandate, the institute produced and disseminated new versions of Scripture, revised hymnals, liturgical guides, collections of devotions, and other materials, all purged of evidence of Christianity’s Jewish roots. For example, *Die Botschaft Gottes* (The Message of God), a compilation of the synoptic Gospels, appeared in December 1939. It avoided the word *Jew*, opting instead to present Jesus in a geographic and historical vacuum and to reduce Christianity to a collection of familiar sayings. Within six months, the institute sold 200,000 copies. A year later, the new hymnal, *Grosser Gott, wir loben Dich!* (Holy God, We Praise Thy Name!) was released after an institute committee reviewed over 2,000 songs for Jewish content, dogmatism, and “tastelessness.” The result included new material and familiar hymns from which words such as *Hallelujah* and *Hosanna*, along with references to the Old Testament and Jesus’ Jewish lineage, had been expunged. The institute also organized conferences and gatherings for pastors, academic theologians, and other church people in various parts of Germany and engaged in outreach abroad. Funding came from individuals and groups in the “circle of supporters,” central organs of the Protestant church, and regional Protestant church governments. Moreover, the institute claimed the backing of important National Socialist Party offices, although Nazi authorities kept their distance.

The institute enjoyed broad support beyond Deutsche Christen circles. High-ranking church officials cooperated with its efforts; and many unaffiliated theologians, students, and laypeople participated in its activities. Even most members of the Confessing Church (Bekennende Kirche), who criticized the institute’s rewriting of traditional Christian texts, accepted its underlying premise: that Christianity stood in sharp, “unbridgeable” opposition to Judaism. During the war years, the propaganda and practices of the Nazi regime provided another kind of credibility to the institute and its work. Persecution and, beginning in 1941, the expulsion of Jews and peo-

ple defined as Jews from Germany gave new meaning to attempts to destroy so-called Jewish influence on the religious front. Interpretations of the war as a struggle against “international Jewry” lent urgency to the institute’s claims to be part of a mortal combat against an ancient foe. Representatives of the institute played up their contribution to the anti-Jewish cause, although after the collapse of Nazi Germany, many claimed they had only sought to defend the church against anti-Christian hostilities. The myth that the institute was not a collaborator with Nazi antisemitism but an effort to protect the church from neopagan assault persists in some historical accounts. As Susannah Heschel in particular has shown, however, that notion cannot withstand scrutiny of the archival record.

—Doris L. Bergen

*See also* Churches under Nazism; *Deutsche Christen*; Gospels; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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**Internet**

The Internet has been a boon for antisemites, who have used it since its inception to communicate with one another and disseminate their beliefs. They have embraced every aspect of Internet technology, from simple text-based websites to sophisticated Flash videos and streaming multimedia. Virtual bulletin boards allow antisemites to post their thoughts online, share their ideas, and set up meetings, private E-mail lists, and public listservs at minimal cost. Small groups or even individuals can now hide behind impressive websites and “compete” with more established groups. Conferences devoted to an-

tisemitism, which in the past would not have had audiences beyond the basements in which they were held, are now being webcast around the globe, accessible to anyone with an Internet connection.

Although no reliable estimates of the number of websites containing antisemitic material exist, a Google keyword search for *Jews* or *Israel* immediately reveals the existence of an astonishing number of them. Virtually every major extremist and racist group based in the United States has some form of Internet presence, and many groups based overseas utilize servers located within the United States to circumvent local laws prohibiting racist, extremist, and antisemitic content. Antisemitic and anti-Western terrorist groups increasingly utilize the Internet to recruit new members, share technical expertise, and post videos of their successes. Although many terrorist groups have recently found Internet providers in the United States to be less willing to host their antisemitic and violence-promoting materials, they continue to find them in less regulated corners of the globe.

The use of the Internet by antisemites has affected the nature of antisemitism itself. The free exchange of ideas afforded by the Internet has promoted cross-fertilization of antisemitic ideologies. Holocaust denial, for example, has migrated from its traditional home among neo-Nazis and Hitler apologists to the websites of radical anti-Israel groups, White Power advocates, and left-wing organizations as well. By allowing instant communication of even the most bizarre theories, the Internet has also contributed to the rise of a conspiratorial mind-set that frequently sees the hidden hand of Jews, Zionists, or “Mossad agents” behind world events.

The comingling of anti-Israel/Zionist rhetoric with antisemitism has led to an increase in expressions of antisemitism in forums and events targeting Israeli political decisions. The co-opting of antisemitic images and ideas and the conflating of Jews with the state of Israel, so common in the virtual world of the Internet, is becoming more popular in the “real world,” too.

The antisemitic materials that are shared online often spread to a variety of lists and sites—including those that are not antisemitic in na-

ture. The pervasiveness and persistence of antisemitic materials on the Internet and the speed with which they can be posted online, downloaded, and reused by anyone anywhere pose daunting new tasks for those who would combat this old evil.

—Aryeh Tuchman

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Anti-Zionism; Australia; Carto, Willis; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Irving, David; Militia Movement; Nazi Rock; Neo-Nazism, German; New Age; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; White Power Movement; Zündel, Ernst

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## Invocation, The Great

“The Great Invocation,” the poetic New Age prayer for world peace and oneness, was formulated by occultist Alice A. Bailey (in a final version in 1945) but is considered by New Age disciples to have been authored by the “Hierarchy of Ascended Masters,” a pantheon of divine spirits. Seen as a major tool for world “transformation” and preparation to receive New Age teaching, the original English prayer has been translated into over fifty languages and is distributed chiefly by World Goodwill, a subsidiary of Lucis Trust, the custodian of Bailey’s writings and a prominent nongovernmental organization member at the United Nations. Promoters promise “transforming life changes” to all who recite the invocation, even if they do not understand its meaning. The esoteric wording is ambiguous enough to be adapted to any religious belief, but to receive the benefits, it must be faithfully recited with no changes whatsoever.

This restriction springs from the New Age belief that the invocation is a divine formula that releases spiritual power when recited, independent of conscious intent. According to this view, the masses being encouraged to utter the invocation without comprehension are generating occultic energy, to be harnessed by the “Masters” for establishing their divine rule on earth. To initiates,

the invocation is not left to ambiguity but is interpreted in at least three specific ways, depending on one's spiritual development. In contrast, the uninitiated are allowed to interpret it as they will, since all "true" meaning is beyond their understanding. This deception, Bailey wrote, "is for them, entirely good and helpful" (Bailey 1972, 165; as dictated by her Tibetan master, Djwahl Kuhl).

Among the decoded messages are two lines that directly concern the Jews: "Let the Plan of Love and Light work out. And may it seal the door where evil dwells." This Plan, accepted as authored by the Hierarchy, places high priority on removing all Jewish presence and influence from human consciousness, a goal to be achieved by eliminating Judaism. The strength and longevity of this Jewish influence is attributed to a negative occultic energy that has its source in "the Dark Force," a repository of cosmic Evil. To "seal the door" where this evil "dwells" refers to neutralizing the human "tools" of that Force who have enabled it to enter human consciousness. Bailey conclusively identified these human agents by citing their chief offense against humanity: plunging the world into monotheism. She was confident that this "door where evil dwells" would eventually be sealed "through the sheer weight of public opinion and through right human desire. Nothing can possibly stop it" (Lucis Trust 1997–2004).

—Hannah Newman

*See also* Bailey, Alice A.; Jewish Force; "The Plan" of the Hierarchy

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## Iranian Revolution

On January 16, 1979, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi fled Iran after more than three months of crippling strikes and mass demonstrations against his rule. This was the culmination of years of

widespread popular discontent and violent agitation by the Shi'ite religious establishment inspired by the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini. On February 1, Khomeini returned to Tehran to a welcome by millions, and ten days later, he successfully led a rebellion that brought down the interim government and the last vestiges of the Pahlavi establishment. A reign of terror soon broke out, with summary trials of former officials before revolutionary tribunals followed immediately by executions. Among the 600 people executed over the first six months of the revolution were a number of Jews, including Habib Elghanian, the former head of the Anjoman Kalimian, the umbrella organization of Iranian Jewry. Although Jews were not singled out as a group for retribution in the way that the Bahá'ís were, several hundred Jews were jailed during this period, and the community was thoroughly demoralized. Most Jews were dismissed from their positions in the public sector, including government offices and the universities. Under the shah's secular, modernizing, but despotic regime, Jews and other non-Muslim minorities had prospered, and wealthy individuals enjoyed close relations with the governing elite. As far back as the 1960s, Khomeini had railed against the shah for giving high offices to Bahá'ís, whom he accused of being Zionist agents, and for having relations with Israel and thus giving the Sunni Arabs the impression that "we Shi'ites are really Jews."

With the establishment of the Islamic Republic in April 1979, Jews together with Christians and Zoroastrians were recognized as tolerated minorities (*dhimmis*), with complete freedom of religion. The new constitution stated that the government and all Muslims were obligated "to deal with non-Muslims on the basis of justice and goodwill," with the qualification that "this applies only to those who are not anti-Islamic and have not conspired against Iran." This last clause was sufficiently vague to be used to harass Jews who had families or other ties in Israel, and as late as 2000, Jews were being tried on such charges. The sentencing in Shiraz that year of ten Jews to prison terms ranging from two to eight years on such trumped-up charges led to an international outcry that resulted in all being released on clemency within two years.

Jews were by no means the only ones terrorized by the revolutionary committees, the Republican Guards, and the various paramilitary groups that ran rampant during the Islamic Revolution. Once the Islamic Republic was established, Jews were allowed a parliamentary representative like the other dhimmi communities. Like all non-Muslims, their communal institutions were subject to close government scrutiny and, in the case of schools, interference and control. Unlike Muslims, Jews traveling abroad usually had to leave some family members behind, and they were not allowed multiple exit permits. Official anti-Zionist rhetoric frequently blurred, as so often in the Muslim world, into anti-Jewish invective, which has left the community in a state of perpetual anxiety.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism; Khomeini, Ayatollah

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## Iron Guard

Founded in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu under the name Legion of the Archangel Michael, the Iron Guard was a Romanian fascist organization. The 16 percent of the vote it received in the parliamentary elections of December 1937 made it the country's third-largest party. Mounting political conflicts, however, led King Carol II to assume dictatorial power in February 1938, after which the guard was systematically pursued and its leader murdered. Territorial losses in the summer of 1940 and the unwarranted confidence in broad German support prompted the guard to make a new beginning. The National Legionnaire State, declared on September 14, 1940, divided governmental

functions between the military under Ion Antonescu and the legion under its new leader, Horia Sima, but neither side was willing to cooperate. In January 1941, the legion attempted a coup d'état. With Hitler's approval—he was preparing to invade the Soviet Union and required the services of the Romanian army—the legion was smashed once and for all.

The Legion of the Archangel Michael was a phenomenon of the era of European fascism, but it also took shape around specific structural fault lines in Romania between 1918 and 1939. Among these were the country's precipitous democratization and the difficult integration of territories that had recently been under foreign domination. Coexistence with a variety of conspicuously differing ethnic groups, including a large and poorly integrated Jewish minority (4.5 percent of the population), was a source of increasing tension after World War I. A precarious international position, a surplus of university-educated young men, and an agricultural crisis worked together to destabilize Romanian social and political life.

The Guardian of National Consciousness, a group founded in Iassy between 1919 and 1920, combining nationalism, socialism, and secularized Christianity with paramilitary shock-troop tactics, was one of the legion's precursors. Another was the antisemitic student movement of the 1920s. The legion built on traditional Romanian nationalism, transforming it after the war into a specifically Romanian form of fascism. Its hallmarks were a version of Orthodox Christianity suited to its politics and an emphasis on peasant-agrarian values and symbols. Seizing on many Romanians' reservations concerning the urban lifestyle of Jews as well as their linguistic-cultural dissimilarity, legionnaire antisemitism constructed a politically and religiously structured message of abhorrence for "foreigners" and "traitors." The acts of violence that emanated from this generalized hatred were at first aimed against middle-class political figures who resisted the guard and against "traitors" from within its own ranks. Later, many Jews fell victim to the excesses of legionnaires.

In 1930, after Codreanu's "conquest" of Bessarabia failed, he embraced the strategy of le-

gality. The tactical reorientation led to the first sizable increase in membership—6,000 by the end of 1930, 28,000 by December 1933, and approximately 270,000 by late 1937. The legion benefited from the political turmoil caused by the sudden return of King Carol from exile. It exploited the dislocations caused by the Great Depression and the grievances engendered by a policy of forced industrialization (in 1934). Its core constituency came from socially ambitious and youthful elements of the middle classes who had been denied what they regarded as their appropriate places in state employment. The “dispossessed” rebelled against the “older generation,” flaunting their fascist activism. Their protest against social inequities appealed to ever broader sections of the population, especially as the larger parties failed to live up to expectations. The legion developed into a party of general protest. But its propensity for violence and negatively defined aims militated against the retention of voters and members. When King Carol’s dictatorship began active repression of the legion, it turned from a mass movement into a collection of terroristic cells.

—Armin Heinen

**See also** Antonescu, Ion; Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Romania; Romania, Holocaust in; Szalasi, Ferenc

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## Irving, David (1938– )

Unlike other authors whose primary interest is the attempt to distort or deny the Holocaust, the British author David Irving came to the question of the Final Solution by an indirect path, as part of his revisionist writing on World War II, which he began publishing in the 1960s. He argued against postwar historiography’s portrayal of Germany, in general, and Hitler’s demonic

image, in particular. However, until the late 1980s, Irving refrained from explicitly denying the extermination of the Jews. His involvement in the discussion of the Final Solution began only at the end of the 1970s, after he had published *Hitler’s War*, his most successful book, in which he depicted Hitler as a realistic and fair-minded leader. Irving claimed in this work that Hitler never gave any orders to exterminate the Jews. He further maintained that the genocide of European Jewry began as a consequence of local decisions, which received the support of SS supreme commanders Reinhard Heydrich and, eventually, Heinrich Himmler, without Hitler’s approval or even knowledge.

In response, historians such as Gerald Fleming and Martin Broszat demonstrated that Irving had omitted important evidence and that he had misused, manipulated, and even altered documents to support his theory. For some leading Holocaust deniers, including Robert Faurisson, however, Irving did not go far enough because he did not forthrightly deny the Holocaust. Nevertheless, Irving’s attitude toward Hitler as a “fair-minded” leader, as well as his “balanced” approach toward the role of Germany in the outbreak of World War II, made him popular among right-wing extremists and neo-Nazis, particularly in Germany. It may be assumed that Irving owed his unique status among wide circles on the extreme Right to his evident success as a writer. His books were put out by reputable publishers; *Hitler’s War* gave him worldwide publicity and a degree of legitimacy. In contrast to the claims of fringe neo-Nazi and Holocaust denial writers, the thesis put forward by Irving, although widely criticized, became part of mainstream historians’ debate on the genesis of the Final Solution. Moreover, even some of his strongest critics, such as Martin Broszat, conceded that he had managed to find several remarkable and hitherto unknown documents on the National Socialist period.

Until 1988, Irving avoided lending his explicit support to the deniers of the Holocaust. The event that caused him to cross that line was the publication of the *Leuchter Report*, which “scientifically proved” that the facilities in Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek were incapable of mass



Professor Deborah Lipstadt (left) is congratulated by Holocaust survivor Martin Hecht as she leaves the High Court in central London, April 11, 2000. British historian David Irving lost his libel action against Lipstadt and her publishers, Penguin Books. (Reuters/Corbis)

annihilation. Irving readily accepted this bogus evidence because Holocaust denial, after all, fit well with his general view of World War II. He could now “explain” his claim in *Hitler’s War*: Hitler had no knowledge of the Final Solution because there was no planned, systematic operation to exterminate European Jewry. In October 1992, Irving chose to present his thesis at the eleventh conference of the Institute for Historical Review. While denying the existence of homicidal gas chambers, he conceded that there was sufficient evidence to prove the mass murder of Jews by firing squads in the German-occupied territories of the Soviet Union. These killings, he continued to claim, were carried out without Hitler’s knowledge.

During the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, more than any of the revisionists or deniers, Irving toured the world to promote his ideas. Time and again, he succeeded in gaining

media attention. In response, Jewish antidefamation organizations and antifascist groups conducted a legal and public counterattack to impede Irving’s lecture tours, considerably damaging his ability to sell books and promote his theories. Irving, no longer able to publish with the respected Macmillan or Viking Press, was reduced to working with small, unknown publishing houses associated with the extreme Right. In an attempt to end this obstruction, imposed on him by what he branded a “world Jewish conspiracy,” he sued the American Jewish historian Deborah Lipstadt for discrediting him as a historian. After a trial in which Irving appeared as his own counsel and was confronted by the expert testimony of several well-known historians, High Court Judge Charles Gray ruled against Irving in April 2000, determining that he was indeed a sham historian who misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence for his own ide-

ological reasons and that he was an active Holocaust denier, an antisemite, and a racist. (See “Irving vs. Lipstadt” at <http://www.hdot.org/ieindex.html>).

This verdict ended a protracted process during which Irving’s ideological convictions drew him step by step toward the fringes of the extreme Right.

—Roni Stauber

**See also** Faurisson, Robert; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Institute for Historical Review; *Leuchter Report*; Neo-Nazism, German

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## Islam and the Jews

Islam is a religion with a corpus of doctrines, beliefs, and practices that evolved over 1,400 years and has been subject to widely varying manifestations and interpretations. It is also a body politic, united at its beginning but more divided over time. It is, as well, a civilization that despite local and regional differences has significant elements of unity amid the variety. A historical survey of Islamic attitudes toward and treatment of Jews must therefore take into account this tripartite nature of what the term *Islam* comprises. As in the case of Christianity, the relationship between Judaism and Islam goes back to the very founding of the new faith. Jews figured into the Muslims’ theological worldview, and Jews lived as a subject population under Muslim rule, sometimes under better, sometimes under worse conditions.

A number of fundamental notions in Islam about Jews and Judaism have their origins in the Koran, just as certain basic attitudes are

grounded in the New Testament in Christianity. But because Islam did not begin as a sect within Judaism or claim to be *verus Israel* (the true Israel), as did Christianity, Muslim Scripture and later theological writings (with the exception of the *Sira*, the canonical biography of the Prophet Mohammed) do not exhibit anything comparable to the overwhelming preoccupation with the Jews that one finds in the New Testament, patristic literature, and later Christian theological writings.

Despite the traditions that Mohammed had met Jews prior to his theophany, there is no specific mention of *Yahud* (Jews) or Christians either in the koranic verses dating from the Meccan period (ca. 610–622). However, there are numerous references to the Children of Israel, who are mentioned as the recipients of earlier divine revelation. Moses is the archetypical prophet, and the Israelites are depicted as recipients of God’s favor. Though most of the references are to the biblical Children of Israel, a few clearly are to contemporary Jews (for example, Suras 26:197 and 17:101), who are invoked as witnesses who can corroborate Mohammed’s message. In the koranic verses from the Medinese period (622–632), the term *Jews* and phrase *those who are Jewish* appear juxtaposed to the term *Children of Israel* and reflect a radical change in the Arabian prophet’s attitude as a result of the contradictions, mockery, and rejection he encountered from the Jewish scholars in Medina. Whereas the term *Children of Israel* appears throughout the Koran in both positive and negative contexts, the designation *Jews* is most frequently negative. Jews are associated with strife. They alone believe that they are loved by God and will attain salvation. They pervert words and blaspheme. They are usurers and corrupters. They have tampered with the texts of the Scriptures. They are the Muslims’ worst enemies and, along with the pagans, are untrustworthy and ought not to be taken as friends. They are fated for a painful doom.

These negative depictions of Jews were expanded and amplified in the early Islamic hagiographic literature on the life of Mohammed and his companions and in works of koranic exegesis. In these texts, the conflict with the Jews of Medina takes on epic proportions, and the Jews ap-

pear as villainous caricatures—malicious, deceitful, but totally lacking in resolve. Though wicked and treacherous, they never appear as terribly effete. They have none of the demonic qualities attributed to them in medieval Christian literature. Their ignominy stands in stark contrast to Muslim heroism and conforms to the koranic image of “wretchedness and baseness stamped upon them” (Sura 2:61). In the canon of statements and practices attributed to Mohammed, known as the Hadith, Jews are most frequently mentioned in traditions that emphasize the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims or that express disapproval of non-Muslim practices. In the small proportion of traditions where Jews are mentioned in a positive or neutral light, the term *Children of Israel* is more likely to be used. Because of the more negative connotation of the word *Jews* as opposed to *Children of Israel*, the latter tended to become the polite usage in Arabic when referring to Jews (in a semantic parallel to early modern French usage of *israélite* as a more polite term for *juif*).

A number of legal and social factors mitigated the potentially baneful force of these anti-Jewish stereotypes. Primary among these was that despite Mohammed’s evolving hostility toward Jews and Christians, he never questioned the basic validity of their religion. They were only to be fought against until they submitted to Muslim rule as humble tribute bearers in accordance with the clear koranic injunction of Sura 9:29. As long as they accepted their status, they were not only to be tolerated, they were also to be entitled to the protection of the *Umma*, the Muslim commonwealth. Their legal status was that of *dhimmis* (protected persons). The *jizya* tribute, which became a poll tax in the caliphal empire, was considered the payment for this protection. The second factor that mitigated the harmful effects of anti-Jewish prejudices was that Islamic law prescribed one and the same legal role for Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians in the Muslim state. That the Jews shared their inferior status with these far more numerous and hence more conspicuous religious communities diffused some of the anti-Jewish sentiments within a broader anti-dhimi context.

The terms of this inferior status were summa-

rized in a theoretical treaty between the dhimmis and Muslims known as the Pact of Umar, attributed to the second caliph Umar I (r. 634–644) but probably redacted under Umar II (r. 717–720). Many of its provisions and restrictions were only elaborated over the centuries. In return for their lives and property, freedom of economic endeavor, and the right to worship discreetly, dhimmis had to pay the *jizya* and property tax. They were to conduct themselves with the demeanor of humble subjects, never to carry arms, strike a Muslim, ride horses, or use normal saddles on their mounts. They were not to hold public religious processions, pray too loudly, or proselytize. They had to wear distinguishing clothing, which eventually led to special badges, specifically dyed outer garments, and a host of other sartorial regulations; these rules could dictate sleeve length, size, and type of headgear or footwear. In other words, they were to be permanent aliens within the Islamic polity. Many of these restrictions and their highly ramified refinements were probably inspired by the discriminatory legislation against Jews that was already in force in the Byzantine provinces conquered by the Muslims. The legal and social disabilities of the Jews and other tolerated non-Muslims were not uniformly enforced in all places and all times. During periods of economic prosperity and political and social stability, such as from the ninth to the twelfth centuries and the late fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the interpretation and application of the system tended to be more liberal. Conversely, in times of stress, the discriminatory laws tended to be harsher and more restrictive as was particularly true in late medieval and early modern times in areas such as northwest Africa and Yemen, where the indigenous Christian population had disappeared and Jews were the only remaining dhimmis. Jews in these lands became increasingly confined to ghettolike quarters, such as the *mellah* in Morocco, the *hara* in Tunisia, and *qa'a* in Yemen. They also became subject to onerous and humiliating corvée labor and general social opprobrium. Even in lands where there was still a native Christian presence, Jews suffered from the growing animus toward non-Muslims. Sometime during the thirteenth or fourteenth century, a

humiliating Jews' oath was introduced in Mamluke Egypt and Syria. The degrading, even ludicrous text in tone and intent is reminiscent of the notorious oath *More Judaico* in Europe.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the majority of the world's Jews lived in the Islamic world, and outbreaks of violence against them were relatively rare. Such violence often occurred when a Jew was perceived to have egregiously transgressed the boundaries of proper conduct by rising too high in the bureaucracy. The Zirid Jewish vizier Je-hoseph Ibn Naghrela was killed by a mob in Grenada in 1066, and the entire Jewish community was sacked. A similar fate befell the vizier Harun Ibn Batash and the Jews of Merinid Fez in 1464. Anti-Jewish rioting only became a more frequent phenomenon in the twentieth century in the Arab parts of the Muslim world, with the anti-Jewish sentiments generated by Zionism and European colonialism. Forced conversions and mass exiles were even more rare than pogroms throughout Islamic history. This situation was in keeping with the clear koranic injunction that "there is no compulsion with regard to religion" (Sura 2:256). The few notable exceptions took place primarily under heterodox Muslim rule, for example, under the Almohades in North Africa and Spain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in Shi'ite Yemen during the twelfth century, and in the Shi'ite holy city of Mashhad, Persia, in the nineteenth century.

In the twentieth and early twenty-first century, militant Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya, Hamas, and most recently al-Qa'ida have culled the most hostile pronouncement against Jews from Muslim traditional sources and have given them a centrality in their own doctrines and teachings. Sometimes these traditional texts have been joined with antisemitic canards, such as the Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world and the blood libel, borrowed from the European repertoire to inspire a holy war, not just against Israel, but against the West.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Arab Antisemitic Literature; Ghetto; Hamas; Islamic Diaspora; Islamic Fundamentalism; Mohammed; Muslim Brotherhood; Usury; Zionism

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### Islamic Diaspora

For most of the past 1,400 years, no significant numbers of Muslims lived outside the *Dar al-Islam* (the lands under Islamic dominion). However, during the latter half of the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first, large numbers of Muslims have migrated to Western Europe and the Americas in search of a better life. Antisemitism has made major inroads in many of these diaspora communities even as it has in the Islamic heartlands, and in Europe in particular, Islamic fundamentalist preachers and some intellectuals have engaged in antisemitic agitation, and Muslim youth appear to have become the prime perpetrators of violence against Jewish property and persons. Arab satellite television stations and Islamist websites and publications have conflated anti-Zionism and anti-Americanism with antisemitism. Though far less ubiquitous and massive, Muslim student groups and organizations have used blatant anti-Jewish rhetoric publicly and disseminated Jew-baiting propaganda even in the United States and Canada.

In Europe, more than 15 million Muslim immigrants and their descendants have provided a necessary pool of unskilled labor to do the menial work that Europeans no longer wish to perform. They tend to live in urban slums and the large public housing projects on the outskirts of cities. Throughout Western Europe, the Muslim population forms an underclass that is poorly assimilated and often highly alienated from the native majority. In France, Muslim immigrants who mainly come from the former French colonies in North and West Africa comprise between 8 and 10 percent of the total metropolitan population. Spain, Belgium, and the Netherlands also have large North African populations; in

Germany, the majority of Muslims are of Turkish extraction. In all of these countries and in the rest of Western Europe, there are also considerable numbers of university students from Arab countries.

Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, most antisemitic propaganda and activity in Europe came from the indigenous extreme Right—skinheads, neo-Nazis, Le Pen's National Front, and other such groups. Following the outbreak of the second intifada in the Palestinian territories in September 2000, there was a precipitous rise in antisemitic threats and violence in Western Europe. The French Ministry of the Interior recorded only 60 threats and 9 incidents for all of 1999, but it recorded 603 threats and 116 acts of violence in 2000, most occurring in the last months of that year, and these statistics are considerably lower than those of Jewish and outside monitoring organizations. According to the Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism, Germany had 1,378 incidents in 2000 and early 2001 and the United Kingdom 405. The American Lawyers Committee for Human Rights noted that in the two years following September 11, 2001, approximately 2,000 antisemitic incidents occurred in Belgium. On December 5, 2001, Chief Rabbi Albert Gigi was assaulted in Brussels by a group of Arabic-speaking youths. In January 2003, a reform rabbi and peace activist, Gabriel Farhi, was stabbed at his synagogue in Paris by a masked youth who shouted "*Allahu akbar*." Arson against synagogues, Jewish schools, and property became particularly widespread in France during the years 2000 through 2003.

Muslim youth in Europe have much greater access to the Internet than their coreligionists in the Islamic world. In addition to the many right-wing websites, there are numerous Islamist sites propagating antisemitic material, including *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and works of Holocaust denial. Islamist sites frequently link with antiglobalist and anti-American extreme left-wing sites and (since 2000) the European extreme Right. Among the eighty-two racist and antisemitic websites originating in Belgium, for example, one that belongs to the Arabian-European League, headed by Dyab Abou Jahjah, was

cited in a complaint to the European Union (EU) Center for Equal Opportunity and Combating Racism in June 2003. The radical Islamist Hizb ut-Tahrir (Party of Liberation) maintains web pages in several European languages. It brands Jews as "a slanderous people" and incites Muslims to "kill them wherever you find them."

The widespread sympathy for the Palestinian cause and a growing hostility toward Israel among members of the European intellectual and governing elites have provided fuel to the antisemitic tendencies in the Islamic diaspora. Anti-Israel political demonstrations frequently include blatantly antisemitic placards and catcalls. Furthermore, the stubborn refusal of European governments to recognize, condemn, and take strong action against the problem during the first three years of the intifada exacerbated the phenomenon. The Socialist government of Lionel Jospin in France, for example, continually dismissed the problem of violence against Jewish persons and property as one of generalized delinquency. After the victory of the Center-Right government in the spring of 2002, the new minister of the interior, Nicholas Sarkozy, confronted the problem forthrightly and cracked down on it. A few progressive Muslim leaders, such as Soheib Bencheikh, the Mufti of Marseilles, have strongly condemned both Islamic fundamentalism and antisemitism, but their voices are in the minority. In 2003, the leaders of the EU noted the problem and issued an official statement of "deep concern." However, at the same time, the EU tried to suppress a report that it had itself commissioned because it showed that Muslims and pro-Palestinian groups were strongly linked to the current wave of European antisemitism—politically, a highly sensitive contention.

Although less numerous, frequently less vocal in public, and, with a few notable exceptions, less violent than their coreligionists in Europe, there is a sizable Islamic diaspora population in the United States and Canada, with estimates ranging from as low as 1.8 to as high as 7 million people. As in Europe, antisemitism is propagated in the North American Islamic diaspora by fundamentalist preachers, often with a Wahhabi or Muslim Brotherhood background. Islamist publications also propagate anti-Jewish canards. For

example, Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine's book *Winning the World for Islam*, which contains a lengthy diatribe against the international Jewish conspiracy, is published in English by an Islamic fundamentalist printing house in Iowa. A variety of groups, some clandestine, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, and some operating openly, such as Muslim and Arab student associations on university campuses, are also propagators of antisemitism. Islamic student groups at anti-Israel demonstrations at the University of California–Berkeley and University of California–San Diego disseminated flyers with maliciously fabricated quotations from the Talmud such as "A gentile girl who is three years old can be violated" and "When the Messiah comes, every Jew will have 2800 slaves." The Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA) distributes a pamphlet entitled *America's Greatest Enemy: The Jew!* and the book entitled *The Struggle for Existence between the Quran and the Talmud*.

Public anger aroused by the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., have caused Islamist militants to mute antisemitic rhetoric in public except on a few college campuses where they have leftist and Third World activist allies.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Arab Antisemitic Literature; Hamas; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism; Le Pen, Jean-Marie; Netherlands in the Twentieth Century; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Talmud

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## **Islamic Fundamentalism**

The term *Islamic fundamentalism* is popularly used in the West to denote a number of radical, militant, revivalist movements within the contemporary Muslim world. The groups are also referred to as *Islamists*, a loanword from French. The other French designation, *intégristes*, has not caught on in English. Although these movements represent both the Sunni (for example, Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qa'ida, al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya, Hamas) and Shi'ite (for example, Khomeinism and Hezbollah) branches of Islam and hold a wide variety of views and doctrines, they share a rejection of Western secularism and the utopian goal of establishing a society that is completely Islamic in culture and totally governed by Islamic law in its pure form, first in their own countries and eventually throughout the entire world. They also tend to see the world as a Manichaean dichotomy between good and evil. Virtually all contemporary Islamists also embrace a number of antisemitic beliefs among their principal tenets.

The most common antisemitic notion among the broad spectrum of Islamic fundamentalists is that of a universal Jewish conspiracy as depicted in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Ayatollah Khomeini wrote in his *The Trusteeship of the Jurisconsult* that the true aim of the Jews "is to establish a world Jewish government." Even a relatively moderate Islamist, such as Rached Ghannouchi, the leader of the Tunisian Nahda movement, argues that there are among Jews "good people" (namely, those opposed to Zionism) and that not all are "polytheists." Nevertheless, he claims that Zionists want to inherit both the *Umma* (Muslim community) and the West and dominate the entire world, replace Washington with Jerusalem as the center of power, and destroy all humanist principles underlying civilization. For Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine, leader of the Moroccan Jami 'at al-'Adl wa 'l-Ihsan (Justice and Charity Group), who is also considered a relative moderate, Jews are the embodiment of evil and all that plagues the modern world. Zionism and Jewry are synonymous. Jewish Hollywood is an accomplice in the Zionist world conspiracy. Yassine's book *Winning the World for Islam* contains a lengthy antisemitic di-

atribe and is translated into several languages, including English and French. For the Muslim Brotherhood, Jewry is the first and most pernicious of the four great evils to be combated. The others are “the Crusade,” or Christian imperialism, communism, and secularism. An article from the October 1980 children’s supplement of the brotherhood’s magazine *al-Da’wa* (The Call) quotes a supposed Jewish book (the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) in which it is written, “We Jews are the masters of the world, its corrupters, the fomenters of sedition, its executioners!” The article calls on young Muslims to “annihilate their existence.” Osama Bin Laden, in his 1998 “Declaration of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders,” always placed Jewry at the top of the list of enemies to be confronted by holy war.

What sets most Islamists apart from traditional Islam is their adoption of an antisemitic worldview in which the fantasies of the *Protocols* are justified by proof texts from the Koran and the Hadith. This view, its theological justifica-

tion, and indeed a great deal of the overall social and geopolitical analysis of Islamic fundamentalists owe much to widely disseminated writings of the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb, the philosopher of the Muslim Brotherhood, who was hanged by Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1966.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Arab Antisemitic Literature; Hamas; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Diaspora; Khomeini, Ayatollah; Muslim Brotherhood; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Zionism

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# J

## J Stamp

In late September 1938, German authorities began stamping a *J* in the passports of all German Jews. The decision to employ the stamp, supplementing the name change required under Nazi law for all Jews, followed negotiations with the Swiss government. Use of the J Stamp can be traced back to 1910, when it occasionally appeared on Swiss federal visa applications for Jews seeking residence rights. A stamp in the shape of a Star of David was also in use around 1919. Recently, it has been shown that the Swiss canton of Vaud made use of an identifying J Stamp, independently of Swiss federal authorities, to identify German Jews on its territory as early as 1937. Thus far, no evidence has come to light that other cantons followed this practice. By early 1938, some Swiss documents used "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" as routine identifications.

With the Nazi takeover of Austria on March 12, 1938, a refugee crisis erupted all over Europe as thousands sought to escape persecution. Members of Switzerland's Federal Council (the country's executive body) were worried that they could not deal with numbers much beyond the 5,000 or so refugees they had received since 1933, and on the recommendation of Heinrich Rothmund, the chief of the Swiss Federal Police, they implemented a visa requirement for all Austrians on March 28, 1938. In the meantime, concern over the acceleration of the "Aryanization" process, as well as the new immigration restrictions imposed around Europe, prompted the July 1938 convening of the Evian Conference to discuss a response to the Nazi persecutions. The failure of the conference, combined with the increase in refugees entering Switzerland from that point on, prompted the Federal Council to pass a decree on August 19: refugees without visas

were to be turned back, especially Jews or anyone suspected of being Jewish.

In addition, as Germans began replacing Austrian passports with their own in April 1938, the Swiss became anxious that their measures would be fruitless. Rothmund hoped that, barring a universal visa requirement, which he favored, there would be means to distinguish "non-Aryans" and allow visa requirements to be imposed. In August 1938, the Swiss legation in Berlin passed on the suggestion to German authorities and threatened to reintroduce visa requirements for all Germans (these had been lifted in 1926). In early September, the German Foreign Office proposed to identify Jews by underlining their first names in red ink, instead of the normal black ink used in other German passports. However, because the red might be covered with a black line, the alternative marking of a *J* approximately 2 centimeters high on the first page of the passport became the standard practice. Rothmund negotiated an agreement in Berlin on September 29, 1938. The principle of reciprocity also affected Swiss Jews traveling to Germany, although without a special marking in their passports. The Federal Council adopted the protocol by unpublished decree on October 4, 1938. In the meantime, some other countries, including Sweden, moved to require identifying marks on passports, and others passed legislation designed to slow the flow of Jewish refugees into their lands. When Paul Grüninger, chief of police for the canton of St. Gallen, resisted these measures and took action to let Jews in, he was subjected to legal reprisals.

In summary, although the Swiss requirement of a J Stamp fell in line with other nations' rejection of Jewish refugees, it was unique in that it actually affected a change in German administrative practices.

—Guillaume de Syon

**See also** Aryanization; Evian Conference; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Switzerland; Yellow Star

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## Japan

Antisemitism in Japan combines Japan's centuries-old ambivalence toward foreigners with ideas about Jews imported from Europe. In the early nineteenth century, as Western nations began to impinge on the Japanese world, Japanese xenophobia was reformulated to deal with the threat. In 1825, the nativist thinker Seishisai Aizawa published his *New Theses*, arguing that Japan was in mortal danger of cultural subversion by adherents of the "occult religion" Christianity. Pointing to the fate of colonized Asian nations, Aizawa argued that Christians were out to destroy Japan, that trade and finance were among their weapons, and that teachings of brotherhood and charitable acts were mere tactics. Aizawa's ideas provided the groundwork for subsequent conspiracy theories about Jews.

Knowledge of Jews arrived in Japan through the medium of Western literature. In 1885, *The Merchant of Venice* became the first play by Shakespeare produced in Japan, and Shylock came to epitomize Jews in the Japanese imagination. *The Merchant of Venice* was used to teach Shakespeare in public schools throughout most of the twentieth century. The image of Jews as unscrupulous moneylenders was reinforced by Western dictionaries and encyclopedias that contained derogatory definitions of Jews as usurers and racial aliens.

The Bible was another major source of Japanese knowledge and imagery of Jews. The first modern translation of the New Testament appeared in 1880, and the reputation of Jews as obdurate, benighted, and diabolical spread with it.

Japanese Christians simultaneously became aware of Jews as God's original elect, however, and some of them, perhaps influenced by British Israelism, began to identify with Jews. Their motivation was to establish parity with Western Christianity and combat the cultural chauvinism of Western missionaries by claiming special access to Christianity's source. Yoshirō Saeki (1871–1965), a specialist in Nestorian Christianity at Tokyo University, and Zen'ichirō Oyabe (1867–1941), who studied at Howard University and received a doctorate from the Yale Divinity School, theorized that the Japanese were descendants of lost Israelite tribes who had landed in Japan in ancient times. In the late 1920s, under the pressure of increasing nationalism, Shōgun Sakai (1870–1939) modified this "common ancestry theory," arguing that the Japanese were the original Jews and that those foreigners who called themselves Jews were either their descendants or counterfeits.

The identification of Jews as conspirators against Japan came during the Siberian intervention (1918–1922), when as many as 72,000 Japanese troops were dispatched in an attempt to reverse the Russian Revolution. Japanese soldiers came into contact with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which they took back to Japan, using its depiction of a diabolical plot to explain the failure of their mission. The first complete translation of the *Protocols* was performed by Norihiro Yasue (1888–1950), who had been stationed in Siberia as a language officer and who became one of Japan's leading "Jewish experts" during World War II. The *Protocols*' theory of an international Jewish conspiracy to control the world was readily accepted in Japan, where suspicions of an "occult religious conspiracy" already circulated.

When Nazism arrived in Japan in the 1930s and Japan allied itself with Germany, antisemitism was transformed from a minority preoccupation to a respectable creed. During the war, the idea that the Jews were one of the threatening forces arrayed against Japan was widely accepted. The Foreign Ministry funded the antisemitic Association for International Politics and Economics, which conducted "scholarly" research on Jewish subjects, and accusations of pro-Jewish leanings were used by the government to persecute dissidents.

Even while this was going on, however, the Japanese allowed more than 20,000 Jewish refugees to find sanctuary in Shanghai, which Japan had occupied in 1937. Several thousand of these Jews arrived with visas issued, against government orders, by Chiune Sugihara, acting Japanese consul in Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania, from late 1939 to August 1940. The Japanese resisted pressure from their German allies to exterminate the Jews, and Jewish life flourished in Shanghai.

Immediately after the war, “Jewish experts” such as Koreshige Inuzuka, who had been responsible for the Jews in Shanghai from 1939 to 1942 and who had proposed settling Jews in Manchuria for the benefit of the Japanese Empire (the Fugu Plan), fell temporarily out of favor. Then, with the advent of the Cold War, the Occupation “reversed course,” rehabilitating many of those nationalists whom it had formerly purged. Inuzuka reinvented himself as a “friend of the Jews,” and as head of the Japan-Israel Association and other organizations, he worked to promote Japanese-Jewish relations.

The most significant event of the immediate postwar period was the 1952 publication of Anne Frank’s *Diary of a Young Girl*. Along with *The Merchant of Venice* and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Anne Frank’s *Diary* would define Jews for the Japanese. Anne Frank came to represent all the innocent victims of war, and the Japanese, who were beginning to regard themselves increasingly as the victims rather than as the perpetrators of the war, identified with the young author and the Jewish experience. Reading the *Diary* became a rite of passage for adolescent Japanese girls. The book became such a fixture that the first sanitary napkin designed specifically for Japanese women was named “Anne’s Day” after a passage in the *Diary* where Anne describes her first menstrual period.

Japan established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1952, when the Occupation ended and Japan regained its sovereignty. Relations with Israel have never been interrupted, but after the 1973 Yom Kippur War and in the aftermath of that year’s Arab oil embargo, Japan, which depends heavily on the Middle East for its oil, adopted a pro-Arab foreign policy and became

critical of the Jewish state. This government stance coincided with and was bolstered by leftist politicians and intellectuals, who were ideologically anti-Zionist and sympathetic to the Palestinians. Tokyo University professor Yūzō Itagaki was the most prominent member of this group. Though most left-wing criticism of Israel was responsible, it occasionally took a violent form, as when three terrorists belonging to the Japanese Red Army attacked disembarking passengers in Lod Airport outside Tel Aviv on May 30, 1972, killing twenty-four and wounding seventy-six. In other cases, left-wing writers have taken positions indistinguishable from right-wing antisemites, such as the journalist Takashi Hirose, who argued that the 1989 crash in the Japanese stock market was caused by an international Jewish cabal.

The Left’s denial of Jewish peoplehood and depiction of Israel as the artificial product of a global imperialist conspiracy helped lay the basis for the recrudescence of antisemitism in the 1980s. Masami Uno, a fundamentalist Christian minister, ignited a “Jewish book boom” in 1986 with two best-sellers, *If You Understand the Jews, You Will Understand the World* and *If You Understand the Jews, You Will Understand Japan*, which revived the canard that an international Jewish conspiracy controlled the world and was out to destroy Japan. Bookstores set up “Jewish corners” to accommodate the ensuing flood of books based on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, including works by prominent academics and legislators. Revisionist views of the Asia-Pacific War encouraged by the conservative prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and the economic dissatisfaction of many Japanese who felt left out of Japan’s economic boom were factors behind the trend.

Despite international outrage, antisemitic books continued to be published into the 1990s and were not without real-world effects. Although it garnered only 0.03 percent of the vote, the overtly antisemitic Global Restoration Party (Chikyū ishin tō) fielded candidates in the 1992 Upper House Diet election in Tokyo, Osaka-Kobe, and Gumma prefecture. In 1993, the League of National Socialists (Kokka Shakaishugisha Dōmei) posted thousands of xenophobic, swastika-emblazoned handbills

around Tokyo each week, denouncing “diabolical Judaism” and calling for the expulsion of foreigners. Finally, in March 1995, the pseudo-Buddhist Aum Shinrikyō (Pure Truth) religious cult, which imagined itself under attack by Jews, Freemasons, and other conspirators, released sarin gas on the Tokyo subway, killing 12 and injuring more than 5,000 in an effort to precipitate Armageddon.

Since 1995, antisemitism has gradually receded from public view. The most significant reason for this was the disrepute into which conspiracy theories fell following the Aum terrorist attack. The activism of American Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Committee’s Pacific Rim Institute and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which worked with Japanese government officials and publishers to discourage antisemitic publishing, has also been important. Particularly effective and controversial was the Wiesenthal Center’s call for an advertising boycott of *Marco Polo*, a glossy men’s magazine that had published a Holocaust-denying article in January 1995. The action brought about the magazine’s closure and the public humiliation of its publisher. Finally, the continuing decline of left-wing political influence has led to a marginalization of ideological anti-Zionism. Whether antisemitism will remain dormant in the future as Japan struggles with a declining population and increasing numbers of immigrants remains to be seen.

—David G. Goodman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Freemasonry; Fugu Plan; Gospels; Judeo-Bolshevism; Nazi Research on the Jewish Question; Philosemitism; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Shylock; Usury

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## Jedwabne

A town of some 2,000 people in northeastern Poland, Jedwabne was occupied by Soviet forces in 1939. During the Soviet occupation, a unit of the Polish underground operating in the forest near Jedwabne was betrayed, and 250 people were arrested or killed in the subsequent

shootout. The Polish townspeople accused the town’s 1,600 Jews of pro-Soviet sympathies and erroneously blamed them for the betrayal. When German troops occupied the town on June 27, 1941, they were greeted as liberators by some of the townspeople, and there were spontaneous attacks on the Jews. On July 9, a small German police detachment arrived and met with the mayor and town council; it was agreed that the townspeople would be given a free hand to take revenge on the Jews. The following day started with scattered acts of random violence, after which town councillors, accompanied by German police, went from house to house to recruit townspeople. The Jews were then driven from their homes and assembled in the marketplace, where they were surrounded by a Polish crowd. A group of Jewish men were forced to break up a statue of Lenin and carry the pieces, in a procession with the town rabbi at its head, to a barn on the outskirts of the town. There, they were forced to dig a trench and bury the statue, after which they were killed. The remaining Jews were then also herded into the barn and shut inside; the barn was doused with gasoline and set afire. Apart from a handful of Jews who had managed to escape and find hiding places with Polish families, all the Jews died in the fire. According to Polish eyewitnesses, German participation in the events at the marketplace and barn was limited to taking pictures.

Similar occurrences took place in Radziłów, Wizna, and several other towns in the Jedwabne area. These events were probably part of the Germans’ “self-cleaning action,” aimed at encouraging east European populations to carry out pogroms. Most remained unresponsive to German pressure, however.

Twenty-two perpetrators were tried by the Polish Communist authorities in 1949 and one more in 1953. Twelve were convicted. One received a death sentence, later commuted; the longest term actually served was seven years. Subsequently, the massacre was officially ascribed to the Germans.

The matter was reopened by the publication of Jan T. Gross’s book *Sasiedzi* (Neighbors) in 2000. The Polish Institute of National Memory (IPN) undertook an investigation, in the face of



Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski lays a wreath by the monument in Jedwabne, Poland, July 10, 2001. Kwaśniewski apologized for the massacre of hundreds of Jews by their neighbors sixty years ago. (Reuters/Corbis)

the raging controversy occasioned by the book. Subsequently, the president of Poland, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, officially accepted responsibility on behalf of his nation, and the primate of Poland, Cardinal Józef Glemp, publicly apologized on behalf of Catholics. However, he accompanied his remarks with the hope that the Jews would also “get around to apologizing” for their alleged role in imposing communism in Poland. A ceremony was held in Jedwabne on July 10, 2001, the sixtieth anniversary of the massacre, attended by Kwaśniewski but not by any representative of the church and boycotted by the townspeople under the leadership of the parish priest. A new plaque was dedicated at the site to replace the old one, which had blamed the

Germans but, as a response to political pressure, did not identify the perpetrators. The IPN’s final report appeared in November 2002. It substantially bore out Gross’s allegations.

—Steven Paulsson

**See also** Judeo-Bolshevism; Poland; Poland since 1989; Stalinization of Eastern Europe

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## Jehovah's Witnesses

A millenarian Christian community known for its ubiquitous door-to-door ministry, Jehovah's Witnesses called themselves Bible Students until 1931. The religion traces its modern roots to a Bible study group established in 1870 in Allegheny, Pennsylvania. The group, led by Charles Taze Russell (1852–1916), sought a restoration of original Christian belief and practice and held for the inerrancy of Scripture. In 1879, Russell founded the journal *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence* (now *The Watchtower Announcing Jehovah's Kingdom*), which set forth the developing beliefs of the Bible Students and, later, Jehovah's Witnesses. The journal challenged established churches on such doctrines as the Trinity, clergy-laity divisions, hellfire, and Christian involvement in politics and war.

According to Witness doctrine, Jehovah God established a series of covenants, each serving a role in the progressive outworking of divine purposes. Witness doctrine is supersessionist in that it maintains that God ordained a temporary period of Jewish chosenness, after which the opportunity was opened to people of all nations to obtain redemption through the Messiah, or Christ, Jesus. The Witnesses accept as historical the biblical accounts of the death of Jesus and of the first-century tension between Christians and Jews. Yet the Witnesses view certain members of the religious leadership, rather than Jews in general, as having been responsible for pressuring the Romans to execute Jesus. Thus, the Witnesses have long repudiated the notion of a transgenerational collective guilt of the Jewish people. Moreover, Witness writings explicitly reject the myths of ritual murder, blood libel, host desecration, and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Discussions of antisemitism and the persecution of Jews figured heavily in the *Watch Tower's* expositions on Bible chronology and end-time prophecies. In 1879, the *Watch Tower* stated that "the return of the Jews to Palestine" could be expected during the "Day of the Lord." It asserted that first, Jews would experience unprecedented persecution, which would drive them to Palestine. The *Watch Tower* denounced antisemitism and saw the Zionist movement as the fulfillment

of restoration prophecies. The political character of the Zionist movement notwithstanding, the Bible Students expected a religious revival among repatriated Jews and a subsequent return to divine favor. The Bible Students followed social and agricultural developments in Palestine with intense interest until the late 1920s, when restoration prophecies were reinterpreted as applying to "spiritual Israel," or chosen Christians. Thereafter, the *Watch Tower* accorded no prophetic role to modern Jewry. Neither did it attribute biblical significance to the founding of the state of Israel.

During World War I, the Bible Students' sharp criticism of the nations' participation in war and of clergy involvement therein brought severe repercussions, including incarceration and governmental bans. In the interwar period, the Bible Students adopted the name Jehovah's Witnesses and further distanced themselves organizationally and theologically from mainstream churches and politics. Some critics accused the Witnesses of being supported by a Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy, a charge denied in Witness literature.

In Germany, the Nazi regime used similar allegations to justify brutal suppression of the Witnesses, even vilifying them in the notorious *Der Stürmer* newspaper. In June 1933, the Witnesses published a vigorous rebuttal in a document that some have interpreted as antisemitic in tone. Yet despite the doctrinal shift de-emphasizing the role of natural Israel in prophecy, Witness literature at that time continually exposed and denounced Nazi atrocities against the Jews. The Witnesses resisted Nazi pressure to cease using the name Jehovah and other Hebraic terms. They individually and collectively refused to share in Nazi violence against Jews and other victims. They also refused to bear arms for Germany. Consequently, Witnesses in Europe suffered relentless persecution; thousands went to Nazi camps and prisons, and more than 2,000 died.

Witnesses view Nazi persecution as one episode in a long history of oppression of true Christians by religious and political elements. The Witnesses consider the Holocaust to have been a satanic attack against the Jews and evidence of the blood guilt of apostate Christianity.

Up until the late 1920s, the *Watch Tower* asserted that Christians should not attempt to convert Jews to Christianity, since God's favor would be restored to them as Jews. In later periods, however, Witnesses have believed it their obligation to preach the Gospel among Jews and non-Jews alike. The Witnesses do not expect a mass conversion of Jews in the end-times, nor do they view the fulfillment of eschatological events as contingent on such conversion. Presently, they believe that Jews and non-Jews have equal opportunity to obtain divine favor.

—Jolene Chu

**See also** Gospels; Host Desecration; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); *Stürmer, Der*; Supersessionism; Zionism

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## Jesuit Order

Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) was the son of a well-respected Basque noble family. He sought glory and honor as a soldier. But after being severely wounded, he vowed to change his life and to dedicate himself to the service of God. In Paris in 1536, together with six friends, Ignatius sketched out a plan for the founding of a religious body, which later became the foundation for the Jesuit order. The friends pledged themselves to poverty and celibacy. Because of the war with the Turks, they could not make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Instead, they traveled to Rome in 1538, where they put themselves at the disposal of Pope Paul III and the cause of Catholic renewal. In a solemn ceremony on April 15, 1539, the new order was given the name Society of Jesus; papal confirmation came the following year.

Ignatius lived during a period of great turmoil within the church. He was convinced that reform had to proceed from within and that it had to be built on a deepened sense of piety. The Jesuit idea

was new—not a turning away from but a dedication to the world, in order to win it for God. The Jesuit mission went out into the world to secure and strengthen the Catholic faith, to convert, instruct, and educate as well as to engage in scholarly and literary pursuits. Members were sent where their individual gifts could best be used.

Initially, the statutes of the Society of Jesus put no obstacles in the way of granting membership to Jewish converts or their descendants. Ignatius, personally, had no reservations about receiving converts, even quite recent ones, as long as they possessed the necessary aptitude. Among the first generation of Jesuits in Spain were several descendants of Jews, for example, the second general of the order, Diego Lainez, who, together with Francis Xavier, was one of the most important and learned of the founding members.

Under the immediate successors to Ignatius, the number of Jesuits of Jewish descent in Spain and Portugal grew to a level that prompted the Spanish kings and the Inquisition to urge the leaders of the order to change the admission requirements. The pressure of public opinion finally compelled them to prohibit the acceptance of *conversos*, or "New Christians," in 1592. The next year, at the fifth general assembly of the order in Rome, a statute was enacted that barred, for all time, the descendants of Jews from becoming members. The practical difficulties of implementing the rule led to a decision in the general assembly of 1608 that left the statute in place but stipulated that candidates from good Christian families would not have to provide proof of their non-Jewish ancestry beyond the fifth generation. The statute remained in force until the beginning of the twentieth century. It was significant especially for the Iberian Peninsula, where many Jews lived. A similar rule applied to those of Moorish ancestry. During the course of the seventeenth century, the generation of converso members died out. Thereafter, as the order grew and attracted members from among all nations and races, the exclusionary statute lost its significance. In 1923, the laws of the order were once again examined and confirmed. The evidence of a candidate's Christian ancestry now needed to go back only four generations and only in the male line.

Among the modern instances in which the Jesuit order has been accused of enmity toward the Jews, perhaps the most famous is the Dreyfus Affair that began in 1894, pitching France into a prolonged, many-sided crisis. The Jesuits, long the target of popular suspicion and literary accusations about their supposedly sinister schemes, took much of the blame for the sordid affair in both Jewish and non-Jewish circles. The Jewish writer and early Zionist Max Nordau declared that the whole trumped-up case had been the work of a Jesuit-inspired conspiracy. Republican opponents of the order were quick to point out that many of the highest-ranking officers of the French army had been schooled by Jesuits. Georges Clemenceau's newspaper, *L'Aurore*, hyperbolically described the whole affair as "nothing more than a Jesuit crime" (August 25, 1898). In the aftermath of the crisis, in which other elements of the church were more certainly implicated, the Third Republic punished its enemies and carried out a far-reaching separation of church and state. From 1899 to 1909, the order was abolished in France.

In the first two centuries of its existence, some found anti-Jewish tendencies in the Society of Jesus. After its abolition (1773–1814) was lifted, some accused it of being philosemitic. Point of view was crucial in the formation of these judgments. For example, French opponents accused the Italian Jesuit newspaper *Civiltà Cattolica* of being antisemitic. (During the Dreyfus Affair, its articles were undeniably so.) Kaiser Wilhelm II confided to Otto von Bismarck, by contrast, that "Jews and Jesuits always stick together." Many anti-Jesuit pamphlets contained the assertion that the order was nothing more than a gathering place for the offspring of rich Jews. Only after the Holocaust did this kind of calumny cease.

The question of whether the Jesuit order is philo- or antisemitic continues to be debated. As recently as the 1970s, reputable sources maintained that only since 1946 had it become possible for baptized Jews to become Jesuits. In fact, the sons of Jewish parents who had converted to Christianity could always become members, although they had to make a special application to do so. These requests were not simply rejected out of hand. Otherwise, the Jesuit fathers with

Jewish names would not have had to flee the German provinces of the order after the Nazis came to power.

—Rita Haub

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Barruel, Augustin; *Civiltà Cattolica*; Dreyfus Affair; Freemasonry; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Kulturkampf*; Nordau, Max; State-within-a-State; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First

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### Jew Bill (1753)

From the Jewish resettlement in England during the reign of Oliver Cromwell (1649–1658) until the controversy surrounding the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753, the legal status of England's 8,000 Jews remained imprecise. Restrictions and disabilities in certain areas coexisted with a relatively tolerant atmosphere that allowed the Jewish population to grow and develop its own cultural, economic, and religious interests. Yet the range of commercial disabilities weighed heavily, especially on foreign-born Sephardic Jews of the merchant class, who could be exempted only by means of a private parliamentary act of naturalization. Professing Jews could not even pursue this avenue because they were obligated to take the sacrament, a measure designed in 1609 to curtail the influence of non-Anglicans. Eventually, Joseph Salvador, a distinguished member of the Sephardi community, addressed the Duke of Newcastle in 1753 with a request to free Jews from the obligation of the sacrament before a private act of naturalization. Newcastle and his brother, the Whig prime minister Henry Pelham, were favorably inclined, feeling a sense of gratitude to the Sephardic elite for their political and economic support. Confidently, they backed a bill that was presented to Parliament in April 1753; it rapidly passed the House of Lords and House of Commons by the end of May, although a measure of opposition in

the second and third readings in the Commons warned of future difficulty.

A spirited public controversy erupted, lasting several months and spawning an unprecedented outpouring of pamphlets, petitions, coarse visual material, newspaper columns, and songs (see entry on Caricature, Anti-Jewish [Early]). Merchants, church officials, and country lords mounted a concerted attack that spread fear of the consequences of improving the status of Jews. In particular, they warned against Jewish economic penetration and the corruption of the Anglican Church and English society. Judaism was slandered. With the assistance of parliamentary figures, talented hack writers, accomplished caricaturists, and sophisticated church officials, the opponents succeeded in magnifying the bill's potential harm and in reviving hostile images of the Jews. Anticipating a backlash in the upcoming national election, supporters of the bill backed off. Newcastle brought the proposal for the repeal to the House of Lords in November. The law was repealed, and the public outcry subsided.

Historians have differed on the meaning of the anti-Jewish outcry. Thomas Perry has argued for its contextualization within English politics of the eighteenth century, viewing it as an appendix to the perennial disputes over naturalization and immigration. In his estimation, the anti-Jewish atmosphere was a passing phase, the outgrowth of propaganda and a deflection of pent-up opposition to Whig leadership. In contrast, several other historians accord the anti-Jewish arguments greater importance, not only as revivals of medieval anti-Jewish slurs but also, especially in the anti-Jewish propagandistic visualizations, a turn toward modern "racial" stereotyping of Jews. The drama of 1753 postponed for generations any further attempts to modify Jewish legal status.

—Richard I. Cohen

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early);

Emancipation; Hogarth, William

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## Jew Census (1916)

In November 1916, the Prussian War Ministry, which had operational control over all German armed forces, conducted a census to determine how many Jews served in frontline units. Every military bureaucracy kept records concerning religious affiliation, but the Jew Census was an antisemantically inspired initiative designed to reveal that Jews were cowards because they managed to avoid dangerous military duty. Historians are unsure about the exact origins of the census, but the War Ministry's ordering of the count came after antisemitic Reichstag deputies and a senior government official demanded that the military verify whether Jews were fighting and dying in the same numbers as Christians.

The official directive for the Jew Census came from War Minister Wild von Hohenborn on October 11, 1916, although the details were handled by an outspokenly antisemitic officer, Col. Ernst von Wrissberg. The Hohenborn directive stated that the census would address accusations from various sources that Jews were disproportionately excused from military service and poorly represented at the front. Hohenborn ordered every command along with occupation authority to submit a report for inspection, making clear that each should include the total number of officers, noncommissioned officers, and troops in each unit; he wanted to know how many of them were Jews and how many Jews had been awarded Iron Crosses of the first or second class. Jewish groups in Germany reacted with outrage at the impugning of their patriotism. Author Ernst Simon wrote that the census turned the "dream of community" into "fantastic disappointment." "Now we are labeled. Now we have been made into second-class citizens," a Jewish soldier wrote home (Zechlin 1969, 532–533). Wrissberg went before the Reichstag to insist that the census had nothing to do with antisemitism. Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg urged Jews

to embrace the census as an opportunity to prove themselves and defeat false suspicions. It never occurred to Hindenburg to view the military as having legitimized these very suspicions. Jews, meanwhile, did not fail to notice that they had to account for their service when other Germans did not.

Even after von Hohenborn was replaced as war minister, the Jew Census remained a high priority. The official results were never published, fueling suspicion among both antisemites and Jews alike. The final report included statistics, but none of the categories revealed anything significant. Most scholars agree that approximately 100,000 Jews served during World War I, 80,000 of whom served at the front. These numbers, along with the statistics on casualties and decorations, approximate those of the general population. The legacy of the Jew Census lived on after the war because both antisemites and German Jews used wildly divergent statistics to undermine each other's claims. Although only dimly understood at the time, the Jew Census signaled the beginning of a new, more radical wave of antisemitism that was to poison the political life of the Weimar Republic.

—Brian Crim

**See also** Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; League against Antisemitism; Ludendorff, Erich; Roth, Alfred; Weimar

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### ***Jew of Malta, The***

This tragedy by Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) was written around 1589 and first published in 1633. Its protagonist was the most popular stage Jew before Shylock. The play is introduced by Machiavel, a diabolical figure that appeared here for the first time in London theaters. This misleading but very popular caricature of the political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli originated from mostly French pamphlets,

which denounced him for propagating atheism and advocating the use of all conceivable means to obtain power or to acquire riches. Machiavel introduces the Jew Barabas, a merchant and usurer of immense wealth, as his most faithful follower.

At the beginning of the play, the Christian governor Ferneze confiscates Barabas's estates in order to pay tribute to the Turks and has his house converted into a nunnery. The rest of the play consists of a series of episodes exhibiting the Jew's Machiavellian ruthlessness and malicious cunning as he takes his revenge by inciting murders and poisoning various people, among them his daughter and a whole convent of nuns. After siding with the Turks and being instrumental in their conquest of Malta, he is appointed governor. Changing sides again, he sets an ingenious trap to kill the Turkish leader. When Ferneze springs the trap, however, Barabas himself falls into a cauldron of boiling oil, crying out in vain for Christian mercy and cursing Christian and Turk alike.

The world of this tragedy is wholly materialistic; Christians and Turks are just as covetous for gold as the Jew. No figure gains tragic stature or arouses compassion, for even the most atrocious events are presented as ludicrous and grotesque. In creating the protagonist, Marlowe used popular prejudices about Jews and combined them with Machiavellian malice.

Barabas belongs to the series of almost superhuman figures that Marlowe devised for the London stage with extraordinary success: the shepherd Tamburlaine conquering all Asia, Dr. Faustus selling his soul to the devil for absolute knowledge and control over nature, Barabas relentlessly pursuing his revenge on the world. As "overreachers" driven by indomitable ambition, they rebel against a divinely imposed world order, thus adumbrating a new era of boundless individualism, reckless enterprise, and uninhibited capitalism. From all that is known about Marlowe, he does not seem to have written this play out of any particular hatred against Jews. His contemporaries thought him an atheist who denied the divinity of Christ. He is reported to have said that Christ better deserved to die than Barabas and that the Jews made a good choice in

crucifying him. When the government eventually investigated these allegations, Marlowe was already dead, the victim of a quarrel in a tavern.

A crude combination of scenes from this play and from *The Merchant of Venice* was performed in German by English comedians in German and Austrian towns and courts throughout the seventeenth century. Modern criticism has tended to evaluate the play as a farce rather than a tragedy. To literary historians, its Machiavellian protagonist has been of interest mainly for its influence on Shakespeare and other dramatists.

—Wolfgang Weiss

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Misanthropy; Shakespeare, William; Shylock; Usury

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## Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee

After the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, Henryk Erlich and Wiktor Alter, two prominent Jewish socialists who had been arrested in 1939, were approached while still in prison by Lavrenti Beria, head of the Soviet secret police (Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del, or NKVD). He suggested that they initiate an international anti-Fascist movement to garner support from “world Jewry” on behalf of the Soviet war effort. Their initial attempts, undertaken with great enthusiasm, failed to elicit the desired response. The two men were promptly rearrested; Erlich committed suicide in 1942, and Alter was shot in the following year.

However, the idea of tapping into Jewish money and exploiting the Jews’ natural hostility toward the Nazis was soon revived. In the spring of 1942, the Soviet authorities approved the creation of a Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAC), closely supervised from the outset by the organs

of state security. JAC aimed to help the war effort by collecting funds for the Red Army, especially from among American Jews. The committee was allowed to publish a Yiddish newspaper, *Eynikkeyt* (Unity), and Solomon Mikhoels, the president of JAC, and the poet Itsik Fefer were allowed to travel to the United States and Great Britain in order to solicit help from the Jewish communities there, which they evidently did with considerable success. To aid in these activities, the committee commissioned the best-known Soviet Jewish war correspondents, Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, to collect material to be published on the Nazi murder of Jews on Soviet territory. Abbreviated versions of this so-called *Black Book* were published in the West during the war. But whether from innate antisemitism or from a concern that the Soviet cause would be tainted by being too narrowly identified with that of the Jews, the regime never allowed publication of the *Black Book* inside the USSR. Nor did Soviet domestic propaganda ever mention the targeting of Jews for genocide or acknowledge their extraordinary suffering.

Once Nazi Germany was defeated, the Soviet regime had no further use for JAC. Indeed, it seemed positively dangerous that a semiautonomous organization with Western contacts might agitate in defense of particular Jewish interests, call attention to the existence of the Final Solution, or make public the existence of ongoing Soviet antisemitism. In fact, Stalin’s last years were a period of state-sponsored antisemitism. Jews, branded “cosmopolitans” and suspected of secret loyalties to the new state of Israel, became the targets of an explicit and menacing antisemitic campaign, no doubt a consequence of Stalin’s ever increasing prejudice. The leaders of the defunct JAC, together with many other prominent Jews and non-Jews, fell victim to a new series of purges.

—Peter Kenez

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors’ Plot; Purges, Soviet; Stalin, Joseph; USSR

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### Jewish Council (Budapest, 1944)

When the Germans occupied Hungary in March 1944, Hungarian authorities immediately ordered Jewish leaders to obey all German instructions. To ensure total compliance, the occupiers took 3,000 Jews hostage, imposed strict censorship, and banned Jews from traveling. In keeping with the Nazi policy of involving prominent Jews in their community's liquidation, the SS ordered an elderly, respected Jewish leader, Samuel Stern, to head the Budapest Jewish Council (Zsido Tanacs, [JC]) and made that body responsible for conveying German orders to Hungary's Jews and then seeing that they were obeyed.

The realities of occupation left Hungarian Jewry totally isolated and bereft of allies; in particular, the virtual withdrawal of the powerful head of state, Adm. Miklós Horthy, from public affairs undid Hungarian Jewry's carefully developed relationship with the highest levels of government. Overnight, the JC was saddled with ministering to an entrapped, traumatized, largely impoverished, divided, and totally defenseless community of 750,000.

Despite SS assurances to the contrary, the deportation of Jews to Auschwitz commenced on May 15, 1944, and by July 7, when Horthy banned further deportations, approximately 450,000 provincial Jews had been sent to the death camp. During this period of German hegemony, the JC had the resolve but lacked the allies, influence, and opportunity to oppose the Final Solution in a meaningful manner. Horthy's emergence from political hibernation, however, renewed the de facto JC-Horthy symbiosis. Until Horthy's overthrow on October 15, 1944, JC initiatives and Horthy's authority combined to protect Hungary's remaining Jews. In particular, the JC contributed substantially to the official note of late August that notified Germany of Hungary's new policy henceforth to safeguard its Jewish citizens.

Although formally rejecting "illegal" procedures, mindful of the 3,000 Jewish hostages, the

JC engaged selectively in covert, unauthorized activities. The zenith of such resistance was Samuel Stern's secret agreement with the Hungarian Independence Front to arm some 25,000 Jewish Labor Service conscripts in order to help defend Horthy's proposed armistice with the USSR. This virtually unknown attempt at mass Jewish armed resistance was unique in the Holocaust.

Horthy's overthrow inaugurated the brutal reign of Ferenc Szalasi, reducing the JC to little more than the issuing of appeals to conscience. Simultaneously, however, it strove to ameliorate the Jews' increasingly desperate situation by establishing public kitchens, collaborating with the few neutral diplomats remaining in Budapest, and secretly falsifying documents.

For decades after the war, assessments of the Jewish Council remained frozen in two damning judgments: first, that the JC was composed of servile collaborationists whose fixation on self-preservation ensured the success of the Final Solution in Hungary, and second, that the JC consisted of elderly, frightened, conservative, wealthy men of limited vision who, despite good intentions, proved tragically ineffective against German might when combined with Hungary's wholesale collaboration. Recent research clearly indicates that the JC, especially from July 7 to October 15, often displayed courage, dedication, vision, and political skill—on occasion of a very high order—in evading and sometimes even confounding the Nazis. A fairer judgment of its service in these darkest of times would be that despite unprecedented handicaps, the JC played a principal part in saving those Hungarian Jews whom it was possible to save. At liberation, Budapest contained 120,000 Jewish survivors, more than any other city occupied by German forces.

—Tom Kramer

*See also* "Blood for Trucks"; Eichmann, Adolf; Holocaust; Horthy, Miklós; Hungary; Hungary, Holocaust in; Kallay, Miklós; Szalasi, Ferenc

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## Jewish Force

The Jewish Force is an esoteric New Age term referring to a negative cosmic energy wielded by the Jewish people, discussed at length by occultist Alice Bailey in her landmark treatise *Externalisation of the Hierarchy* (1957). She presented the concept as part of the “Ancient Wisdom,” divine teaching transmitted from the “Ascended Masters”—the hierarchy of disembodied spiritual guides revered in New Age religion.

Acting in opposition to the three positive Energies emanating from the “Logos,” a trinity of deities operating through Will, Love, and Wisdom, the Jewish Force is a parallel energy of roughly the same magnitude. With typical ambiguity, Bailey identified this force as (1) a “thought form” invented by the Jewish mind that operates through magic and money (or alternately, through emotion); (2) an emanation characterized by materialism, radiating out from the “Dark Forces” or “Black Lodge,” repositories of cosmic Evil; and (3) a personal manifestation similar to the “Ascended Masters,” who, like them, has transmitted teachings to humanity, namely, the God of the Jews.

The Jewish Force influences the Jews and others toward materialism and separatism, increasing world tensions. It is itself a “separated world center of energy” as well, which Bailey predicted would be of temporary duration in the cosmic scheme of things. Her repeated reference to separateness stresses the evil nature of the Jewish Force, since “separatism” is a sin in New Age teaching. The Jewish people are the “world center,” or the humanly channeled manifestation of a spiritual energy, for the Jewish Force. Bailey concluded that the Jewish Force would eventually be conquered by the Hosts of Light, reversing their defeat sustained in an earlier age. But the tide can be turned only after the disappearance of the Jews, who have been “feeding” this force through their loyalty to Jewish identity. Elsewhere, she asserted that the Jewish people cannot be expected to disappear until the Jewish Force itself is eliminated, implying a belief that it is not the Jews who keep their God alive but the opposite. Humanity’s final liberation from the Jewish Force is to be achieved through cosmic warfare waged by the Logos against their divine

Opponent. Enlightened humanity can aid in the struggle by erasing the negative “thought form” from human consciousness. One such human effort is collective recital of “the Great Invocation.”

—Hannah Newman

*See also* Bailey, Alice A.; Invocation, The Great; New Age

## “Jewish” Press

Antisemites have long maintained that the Jews rule the newspaper and publishing industries. Consequently, they are in a position to direct public opinion according to their own agenda, and that is why public opinion is *not* the opinion of the people. In fact, the people are manipulated and misled into serving the interests of the Jews. The Jews pursue two major objectives by this means. First, they subvert a people’s essential national character, its sense of right and wrong, and its traditions, religion, and consciousness of self. Domination of the press by the Jews subjects “the German spirit,” “French civilization,” and so forth to permanent attack while simultaneously denying them the possibility of self-articulation. Second, it renders impossible the “objective” reporting of Jewish scheming. Jews are, by the same means, able to keep information about their interests, plans, and conspiring out of the news. Thus, control of the press bestows on the Jews an extraordinarily important strategic advantage, not the least because it seals off the nation from the antisemites who would otherwise “enlighten” it about the enemy.

From the nineteenth century to the present day, the stereotype of the “Jewish” press has become extremely widespread. Klemens Felden’s study of representative antisemitic writings between 1850 and 1895 demonstrates that fully 80 percent of them employed the stereotype. What began in the nineteenth continued into the twentieth century. Scarcely a prominent antisemite is to be found—be it Heinrich von Treitschke, Édouard Drumont, Adolf Hitler, or any number of Holocaust deniers—who has refrained from making the so-called Jewish press a significant part of the indictment against Jews. During the Third Reich, newspapers and publishing houses deemed Jewish were swiftly “Aryanized.”

The concept of the “Jewish” press is often remarked on in the scholarly literature but rarely systematically analyzed. The frequently advanced explanation for the prejudice—that overrepresentation of Jewish publishers, journalists, and authors was its root cause—is, generally speaking, wrongheaded. It purports to deduce antisemitic prejudices from the objective peculiarities of the Jewish group. Thus, prejudice appears to be a response to real, although perhaps exaggerated, conditions. This genre of elucidation comes close to legitimizing antisemitism instead of subjecting it to careful analysis. Aside from its theoretical shortcomings, such an explanation cannot make clear why the prejudiced notion of the “Jewish” press has existed in times and places when and where the presupposed overrepresentation of Jews has not existed. Jacob Toury, for example, has shown this to be the case in Germany between 1815 until 1871. The same could be demonstrated for Austria.

The theory of overrepresentation becomes wholly untenable when one analyzes the texts that utilize the stereotype. What exactly is meant by the term *Jewish press*? Most who have employed it certainly have not been concerned with periodicals dealing with Jewish religious, communal, or cultural affairs—the actual Jewish press. Antisemites decrying the Jewish press do not name names, or they list the same few names repeatedly. In Germany, the most familiar examples were the newspapers *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Vossische Zeitung*, and *Berliner Tageblatt* and the publishing houses of Ullstein and Mosse. But in the imperial era, Theodor Fritsch’s *Handbook of the Jewish Question* averred there were 3,353 Jewish newspapers. In 1920, Hitler spoke of 19,000. Obviously, such inflated numbers went well beyond the newspapers that were owned by Jews or on which Jews performed leading functions. The reason for this was that the antisemites aimed their attacks against the entire press that was neither antisemitic nor *völkisch* (racist-nationalist), in other words, primarily the liberal and socialist newspapers, which either ignored antisemitic agitation or heaped scorn on it. In this way, a ready explanation could be found for the inability of the antisemitic press to mold public opinion, even though it was the “true embodiment” of

that opinion. These wildly expanded parameters of the Jewish press were effortlessly arrived at by antisemites who found it axiomatic that both liberalism and socialism were Jewish inventions.

Such thinking processes help to explain why the stereotype was and is so widespread. It was important for antisemitic writers to explain their struggle for the public mind in antisemitic terms. Their logic might well have been expressed with the following rule of thumb: “Either you are for ‘our people,’ or against it. Those against are ‘enemies of the people,’ *ergo* Jews or the dupes of Jews.” For this old formula to gather strength, however, something more decisive was needed. Next to money, the daily mass-circulation newspaper had become during the course of the nineteenth century the quintessential medium defining bourgeois, capitalist society. It constituted a new sort of public sphere and then monopolized it. In antisemitic texts, the symbolic power of money and the press often appeared in tandem: “Jews dominate Germany’s stock market and press,” Treitschke complained in 1879 (in Levy 1991, 70). A century later, the controversy that erupted over Kurt Waldheim’s Nazi past (during his campaign for the Austrian presidency) could be explained away by some people with the claim that Jews ruled American politics through “money and headlines.” Between these two instances, Hitler declared that the battle against the Jewish press was bound to “reveal the entire spirit of materialism,” in order that once again “the common good” could stand above “naked egoism.”

For antisemites, the Jewish embodiment of money and the press operated as a perfect example of modern society. Newspapers mediated information. Money mediated universal acts of exchange in a capitalist economic system. Both media epitomize what is distinctive about modern society. Using these media gives rise to the modern experience: society is impersonally constituted. The newspaper symbolized the “new tempo of the era. . . . He who was intent upon rootedness and duration damned the newspaper as evil, the enemy of all true culture” (Mosse 1975, 212). Antisemites pitted against this enemy an imaginary “Community of the Race” in which individuals and interests were not negotiated through the Jew-dominated media but

rather directly expressed, understood, and valued because they were expressions of common descent, history, customs, convictions, and feelings. Therefore, the battle against the Jewish press became part of a campaign against materialistic, modern, pluralist society itself. Its countermodel was a “traditional” community that never, in fact, existed, the modern invention of antimodernists.

—Klaus Holz

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemitic Correspondence; Aryanization; Drumont, Édouard; Fritsch, Theodor; *Handbook of the Jewish Question*; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Marr, Wilhelm; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Stoecker, Adolf; Treitschke, Heinrich von; Waldheim Affair

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## Jewish Question

In a very general sense, a Jewish question existed in Christian Europe since at least the Middle Ages. In modern times, the specific phrase *the Jewish Question* has been used in a general, often imprecise way. However, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, something more specific and historically unique was increasingly meant by it: should Jews be granted civil equality, repealing the often humiliating special laws under which they lived? This more precise question had, at the same time, wide-ranging implications, principal among them the issue of how much Jews, once emancipated from discriminatory laws, could be expected to blend into the peoples of Europe, participating with equal rights and dignity in the society and culture of the new and old nation-states of the nineteenth century.

The Jewish Question may be placed in the company of a number of widely debated issues, such as the Woman Question or the Social Question, that emerged in response to modern times. Indeed, the Social Question and the Jewish Question overlapped, in that the perceived threat of exploitation and corruption by Jews of non-Jews in an emerging “free” or capitalist economy became a key theme of the Jewish Question. The growing confidence in the progress of enlightenment and toleration meant that many contemporaries believed these questions had rational answers and political solutions.

It soon became evident, however, that solutions to the Jewish Question would be long in coming. By the early twentieth century, the noted British author and editor of the *Times of London*, Henry Wickham Steed, expressed a widespread sentiment in terming the Jewish Question “one of the greatest problems in the world.” He believed that no one “can be considered mature until he has striven to face it squarely on its merits” (Lindemann 1997, ix). That many Jews regarded Steed’s own conclusions to be hostile at the same time that many non-Jews accused him of being pro-Jewish suggests the extent to which discussions of the Jewish Question frequently resembled a dialogue of the deaf.

The bewildering complexities and ostensibly irreconcilable aspects of the Jewish Question were many. Jewish self-definition over centuries and millennia as “a people apart” ran counter to the ideals of citizenship in a modern state. If the identity of Europe’s Jews was linked to their claims to be the descendants of the ancient Israelites or if their intricate laws and customs were to be considered an essential part of their religion, how could they embrace the laws and cultural identities of other peoples without abandoning that religion? Even more, if Jews thought of themselves as chosen by God for a special destiny and commanded by Him to remain separate from other nations (*goyim*), how could they entertain notions of equality within those nations?

Christian self-definition, similarly, involved deep-rooted attitudes toward Jews that made equality with them seemingly inconceivable: Jews were non-European “outsiders,” wandering under a divine punishment and ineradicably dif-

ferent in nature (or “race”). Even liberal non-Jews typically regarded Jews as deceitful, fanatically separatist, and physically degenerate. For such liberals, the Jewish Question had to do, first of all, with how to “improve” or “civilize” them, so that they might eventually become responsible and useful members of a modern state and society. Although many on the Left favored religious toleration and expressed sympathy for Jews as victims of Christian oppression in the past, very few were interested in tolerating the Jews in their present condition. On both the Right and the Left, non-Jews expressed concerns that a “rise” of the Jews (especially as capitalists), without a fundamental reform on their part, would lead to destructive results in society as a whole.

In a remarkable outpouring of books, pamphlets, and other pronouncements, a wide array of solutions to the Jewish Question were proposed, ranging from assimilation, which usually implied an eventual disappearance of a separate Jewish identity, to various Jewish nationalist positions toward the end of the century, including Zionism, which looked to a physical separation of Jews from non-Jews. What came to be called antisemitism by the 1880s represented another solution, demanding the de-emancipation of the Jews and, in some instances, their segregation from non-Jews. Of course, from the beginning, strict traditionalists, whether Christian or Jewish, questioned the wisdom or feasibility of changing the premodern legal and social isolation of the Jews.

In very broad national and geographic terms, two contrasting approaches to the Jewish Question emerged, the French and the Russian. (A third might be distinguished in the United States, where the Jewish Question did not arise, in the most limited sense of the term, because the nation’s founding constitution already granted Jews civil equality.) The French approach most directly reflected the sweeping egalitarianism of the Enlightenment. In late 1791, after nearly two years of acrimonious debates in the revolutionary National Assembly, civil equality was granted to France’s approximately 40,000 Jews, roughly 0.2 percent of the total population. In the immediately following years, France’s revolutionary armies conquered large

areas of central and southern Europe, emancipating Jews as they went.

In 1806, the Emperor Napoleon, responding to complaints that Jews were not, in fact, reforming, obtained from the specially convoked Assembly of Jewish Notables a formal affirmation that French Jews were committed to embracing modern citizenship, as well as French nationality. In so doing, the assembly ignored or radically reinterpreted a significant part of the beliefs and practices that had long been part of the identity of Europe’s Jews. A highly centralized state linked to the ideal of “integral nationalism” meant that French language and culture were to be adopted by all citizens, with little or no recognition of what would later be termed *hyphenated* or *multicultural* identities for “minorities” in France.

The situation of Jews in the backward and despotic Russian Empire was fundamentally different and far more complex, in part because of the vast territories ruled by the tsars; the empire’s heterogeneous population; and the large, rapidly growing numbers of Jews there, who numbered approximately 1.5 million at the beginning of the century and 5 million by its end. Constituting the overwhelming majority of the Jews in Europe, the Jews of the Russian Empire were also known to be the poorest and most “uncivilized” of any country. Feelings of national identity were less developed than in the West, for both non-Jews and Jews, and Russia’s leaders felt threatened by and remained deeply suspicious of western European models. Offering all Russian subjects civil rights on the French model was, to say the least, not even considered. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, especially during the reign of the reforming Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881), tsarist officials discussed the pros and cons of offering favored segments of the Jewish population greater legal equality, particularly those few who learned Russian and acquired a modern education, rendering them useful to the state. But there was much uncertainty, inefficiency, and hypocrisy in tsarist policy; it lurched over the course of the century from relatively benevolent efforts to “improve” the Jews to increasingly impatient and malevolent efforts to combat what officials perceived as the stubborn resistance to Russification by the overwhelming

majority of the Jewish population, as well as the Jews' destructive competition and corruption of the Christian population, especially the peasantry. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, Jews began to emigrate from Russia by the hundreds of thousands and ultimately millions. This mass exodus was a reaction to economic hardship as well as popular violence and legal harassment, but clearly, both tsarist leaders and a growing part of Russia's Jewish population concluded that a humane and reasonable solution to the Jewish Question was no longer feasible.

In the neighboring Habsburg Empire, another multinational realm and second only to tsarist Russia in the number and proportion of Jews within its borders, long discussions of the Jewish Question finally led to the granting of civil equality in 1867. At the same time, there was little pressure on Jews by Habsburg authorities to cast off, on the French model, the national element of their Jewish identity. However, significant numbers of Jews in the Habsburg Empire enthusiastically embraced the language and culture, especially the high culture, of the Germans and Magyars. Similarly, Jewish relations with the Habsburg authorities were notably more harmonious than was the case in Russia. Still, a Jewish Question remained, in that hostility toward Jews in the form of political antisemitism grew into a major issue, as the election of the antisemitic Karl Lueger as mayor of Vienna (from 1897 to 1910) demonstrated. It was not accidental that Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, grew up in Budapest and made his career as a journalist in Vienna.

The French model was particularly problematic for Germans, in that, especially after the French Revolution, they tended to define themselves in opposition to the French. The divided German states in the early nineteenth century dealt variously with the Jewish Question but generally preferred a cautious and an incremental approach in regard to civil equality for Jews. At the same time and somewhat paradoxically, the culture and intellectual life of this "philosophical people" gave evidence of a spectacularly productive blending or symbiosis with Jews, in the sense that modern Jewish genius blossomed in German-speaking lands, including much of the

Habsburg Empire, as nowhere else. Similarly, the Jewish Question—*Die Judenfrage*—was perhaps most influentially and penetratingly explored by German-language thinkers, Jewish and gentile, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; nearly all major German thinkers composed reflections on the issue. Full civil equality for German Jews came with the formation of the German Reich in 1871, but in that reich, as in the Habsburg Empire, popular hostility in the form of modern political antisemitism soon arose to challenge the granting of civil equality to the Jews and to spread alarm about what they perceived as rising Jewish power economically, socially, culturally, and politically.

In general, the initial optimism in western and central Europe about eventually solving the Jewish Question gave way, by the mid-1870s, to a growing pessimism, paralleling skepticism about Enlightened ideals. Such was true even in France, where, at the turn of the century, the hatred that erupted against Jews during the Dreyfus Affair sent shock waves throughout Europe. Even deeper gloom about the likelihood of a rational and humane solution to the Jewish Question emerged after the catastrophic decade of war and revolution between 1914 and 1924. There were, to be sure, some briefly hopeful stretches following the end of the war, with the convening of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. For a few years, the Weimar Republic seemed to offer hope, but it soon collapsed, and the Nazis came to power. The fall of the tsars and the civil equality granted Jews in the Soviet Union, again, at first seemed to promise a resolution of the Jewish Question, but in practice, communism turned out to be anything but rational or humane for Jews or any of those living under its rule. Moreover, the antisemitic specter of Judeo-Bolshevism and Marxist world revolution, awakened by the birth of the Soviet regime, further aggravated fantasies of Jewish conspiracies and plans to rule the world.

After World War II and the Holocaust, the specific term *the Jewish Question* came to have a dated feel, in part, no doubt, because Jews had achieved formal civil equality in all of Europe. Similarly, the more elusive issues of Jewish social and cultural adaptation became somewhat less divisive because of a growing tolerance of the con-

cept of Jewish separateness, related to a more sympathetic understanding of Jewish religious tradition. A Jewish state was created in 1948, with its own claims to a solution of the Jewish Question, and in the United States, Jews prospered and felt at home as never before in history—a particularly significant development because of the power of the United States and because it replaced Russia as the country with the largest population of Jews in the world.

Insofar as the Jewish Question retained an urgency in the second half of the twentieth century, it was often reformulated in terms of the persistence of antisemitism and of hostile attitudes toward the state of Israel (the two often being linked). Also subtly linked to earlier discussions of the Jewish Question was a rising alarm, especially by the last decades of the century, that “too friendly” environments, the American in first place, were leading to the disappearance of Jews through voluntary assimilation into surrounding gentile societies. The various partial solutions to the Jewish Question after World War II were all deeply diminished by the trauma of the Nazi Final Solution and, until the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites, by the continued, if more covert, persecution of Jews on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Another area of rising concern by the end of the century was the extent to which the antisemitic reaction to the Jewish Question in Europe had been taken up by the Arab and Muslim world.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Alsace; Austria; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; France; Herzl, Theodor; Hungary; Infamous Decree; Islam and the Jews; *Jewish Question, The*; Judeo-Bolshevism; Lueger, Karl; Marx, Karl; May Laws; Pale of Settlement; Philosemitism; Pogroms; USSR; Wandering Jew; Zionism

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### ***Jewish Question, The (1843)***

In response to the public controversy concerning the legal status of Prussian Jewry, Bruno Bauer first published *The Jewish Question (Die Judenfrage)* in the leading Young Hegelian periodical *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst* (German Yearbook for Scholarship and Art) in November 1842. He then added a seventh section before publishing the essay separately early in 1843.

Bauer claimed that the entire issue of Jewish emancipation had been wrongly understood. Jews, as Jews, were not capable of being emancipated, nor was a Christian state capable of emancipating either Jews or Christians. By appealing to the Christian state for equality, the Jews were in effect legitimizing it and thus subverting the cause of general emancipation. To facilitate genuine emancipation, the state and the individual alike would have to forgo their religious orientation. Ultimately, both would need to avow an active atheism. This “conflation of right and morality” that turned “a legal act into an act of conscience” was to form one of the main points of departure for the critique subsequently directed against *The Jewish Question*, most famously by Karl Marx (Moggach 2003, 148).

Although it is true that Bauer’s vision was predicated on the demise of both Judaism and Christianity, he nevertheless portrayed Christianity as an advance over Judaism. Christianity had radicalized the implications of Judaism and thus predisposed its adherents toward emancipation. Even the forms of prejudice Christians still maintained were preferable to those he attributed to the Jews. Bauer denounced the shortcomings of the Jews in far greater detail and with inordinately more bile and passion than he mustered for any of his critical remarks on Christianity.

Bauer’s contentions were not derived from

empirical evidence but reflected a philosophical deduction that demonstrated rather dramatically the use to which a reductionist reading of the Hegelian notion of Judaism's obsolescence could be put. By its very existence, postbiblical Jewry had set itself not only against the course of historical development, Bauer argued, but also against any potential for perfection that might have inhered in biblical Judaism. Jewry was not even capable of providing a comprehensive account of its own essence because in order to do so, it would have to perceive of itself as the precursor of Christianity. Bauer's adherence to Hegelian thought was clearly only perfunctory and self-serving at this point in his intellectual development. He conceded, for instance, that Judaism, too, had once represented a truth, only to add the dismissive remark, "But how many truths has history come up with since!" (Bauer, *Judenfrage*, 81). The Hegelian notion of historical Judaism as a partial representation of truth valid in its own time was utterly overdetermined by Bauer's fixation on its obsolescence.

Perhaps the most portentous notion Bauer developed in *The Jewish Question* was that of an insurmountable chasm between the (chimerical) Jewish nationality and all other (real) nations. This conception would seem to prefigure the way in which modern antisemitism tends to treat Jewry—not as another nation but as the negation of the national principle itself. Yet *The Jewish Question* was by no means Bauer's most crucial contribution to the emergence of modern antisemitism. His later, thoroughly post-Hegelian, and overtly antisemitic pronouncements would play a far more influential and innovative role.

—Lars Fischer

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Christian State; Emancipation; Jewish Question; *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon*; Marx, Karl; Young Hegelians

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### ***Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem, The***

Eugen Dühring published *The Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem* (*Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten- und Kulturfrage*) in November 1880, not in 1881 as the title page falsely stated. The timing was not incidental. The market for antisemitic literature in and beyond Berlin had been greatly enlarged by the interventions of Heinrich von Treitschke and Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker during the so-called Berlin antisemitism controversy already under way when Dühring entered the fray. The stated purpose of Dühring's own intervention, which appeared in multiple revised editions (1881, 1886, 1892, 1901, 1930), was to demonstrate what he understood to be the proven harmfulness and intolerability of the Jewish race.

Dühring asserted that all the deeds of the Jews revealed a "primordial, tribally inherited evil" (1886, foreword and elsewhere). "In service to their deity," they "murder individuals of the better races." Mixing in their Jewish blood through marriage, they "make worse and spoil" other peoples (1880, 141). He demanded repeatedly that "modern nations of better racial character" take "drastic measures" to rescue themselves from the Jews (later, he preferred the term *Hebrews*). He wanted Jews who had converted to Christianity to be treated exactly like those who had not. Dühring thus distinguished himself from "Christian" antisemites who held out some hope that the negative traits of Jewry could be cured through baptism. In the Nazi era, he was celebrated in the late Theodor Fritsch's journal as the "German father of racial thinking" (Hammer 1937, 36).

In fact, the Nazis' praise was not misplaced, for the biological vocabulary militant antisemites came to favor was already present in Dühring's work. In every successive edition of *The Jewish Question* the author outdid himself in the use of similes and metaphors designed to dehumanize Jews: they were, for example, described as beasts of prey, snakes, vermin, parasites, and poisonous growths. Joseph Goebbels followed his lead, comparing Jews to the potato blight; Heinrich Himmler thought ridding Germany of the "lice" (Jews) would constitute a sanitation measure. Dühring reinforced the rejection of Jews with

constant assurances that all their characteristics were racially inherited and therefore immutable.

In general, he proceeded by converting his assertions into unquestionable facts. Thus, he identified being human with being “Aryan,” drawing the further conclusion that “the better sort of humankind has . . . the right to eradicate the racially harmful” (Dühring, *Personalist und Emancipator*, 282; and elsewhere). He arrived at this sort of extremism gradually and relatively late in life. Although always inclined to “the language of hardness,” he at first suggested more moderate-sounding “practical solutions” to the Jewish Question—for example, a legal declaration stating that “no person of Jewish descent may practice public instruction” (1880, 140ff). Neither should they be allowed to serve as judges or in civil administration. Year by year, however, he advanced to more radical solutions to the Jewish Question. Limiting measures, such as internment, population reduction, and segregation, eventually gave way to demands for expulsion and then for extermination and annihilation (*ausrotten und vernichten*).

Dühring never employed the term *Final Solution*, but he demanded repeatedly that the “world be relieved in a fundamental way from the Jewish essence” and that the Jewish Question be “conclusively solved,” even if this required the use of weapons (1901, 134ff).

—Birgitta Mogge-Stubbe

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Dühring, Eugen; Jewish Question; National Socialist German Workers’ Party; Stoecker, Adolf; Treitschke, Heinrich von

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### ***Jews and the German State, The (1861)***

One of the few overtly antisemitic works of the 1860s, *The Jews and the German State (Die Juden*

*und der deutsche Staat)* by H. Naudh went through twelve constantly revised editions by 1892. Theodor Fritsch’s Hammer press issued this “classic” of antisemitism for the last time in 1920. H. Naudh was the pseudonym for a shadowy Berlin writer named Johannes Nordmann, who also contributed pamphlets and essays to Wilhelm Marr’s *Deutsche Wacht* (German Watch) and Fritsch’s *Antisemitic Correspondence*. Fritsch questioned Naudh/Nordmann’s authorship of the book, alleging that he received extensive help in both content and style from Lothar Bucher, Otto von Bismarck’s collaborator, and Hermann Wagener, a high-ranking member of the Prussian Conservative Party and former editor of its newspaper, the *Kreuzzeitung*. If true, the work would gain historical significance as evidence of the existence of antisemitic views among individuals close to the levers of power in Prussia.

*The Jews and the German State* took an unequivocal stand against Jewish emancipation, even before it became law (between 1869 and 1871). Jews, according to Naudh, had no right to rule over Germans and should be excluded from holding public office. He built his case on the Talmud and the Bible, asserting that they constituted a theocratic political constitution in which civil law and religious law were one and the same (Naudh 1920, 12). The German state, he warned, “may not ignore the moral content of an alien, peculiar religion, nor can it overlook the existence of a foreign race that embodies dogmas that endanger the commonwealth” (6). Jewish law rendered “all other peoples the objects of their robbery and exploitation” (29), he said, and “in the hands of the Jews every question becomes a money-question” (43). Naudh doubted that assimilation was possible because “no nation clung to its peculiarities as stubbornly as the Jews” (27). They constituted a state-within-a-state. “For the time being,” he conceded grudgingly, Jews would have to be tolerated in the private sphere (20).

Going beyond his scriptural interpretation of Judaism, Naudh also argued on the basis of racial theory, history, anthropology, and “physiognomy” to make his case that Jews were objectionable due to their physical characteristics. Like Marr and many others, he subscribed to the no-

tion that Jews were incapable of physical labor. The well-established stereotype of the dangerously beautiful Jewess also appeared in his musings. Germans and Jews represented opposite, antagonistic poles. Germans belonged to the noblest branch of the Indo-Germans, whereas Jews, even among their Semitic brothers, were regarded as the “ignoblest offspring of the family” (28). Not surprisingly, Naudh was a champion of the “Aryan Christ” (42).

The conclusions drawn in the book were not immediately consequential in the 1860s, but many of the conceptions presented there inspired the development of antisemitic politics later in the century. Naudh claimed that the state was an expression of a national personality (*Volkspersönlichkeit*) and that national feeling formed the basis of *Volk* (people) and state. States without a uniform nationality base inevitably had to perish. Jews living in Germany did not belong to the German state; they were “only German-speaking Jews, not Jewish Germans” (20–25). In 1861, before German unification, Naudh prophesied that a German state whose institutions and administration allowed Jews to “nest” within them “would go to ruin like a house beset by fungus” (8). The foreword to the 1878 edition confirmed that his fears had now been realized: “the Jewish Reich of the German nation” had come into being with remarkable speed, and the decline of the Germans could be dated from that time forth (10).

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemitic Correspondence; Antisemitic Political Parties; Fritsch, Theodor; Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon; Marr, Wilhelm; State-within-a-State; Wagener, Hermann

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### Jews' Beech, The (1842)

The critical controversy surrounding *The Jew's Beech* (*Die Judenbuche*), a canonical novella by Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Germany's foremost woman author of the classical period, has a great deal to do with the expectations brought

to the work. If one rigorously observes historical context, then one must concede that even the most pronounced anti-Jewish bigotry (expressed by a leading character, Margreth) seems relatively muted compared to the antisemitic rhetoric of the day. Yet its canonical status means that this story has been specially selected from its many contemporaries—that is, explicitly dehistoricized—for its supposed power to edify and convey the transcendent values of German *Kultur*. Particularly in the post-World War II period, critics have turned to this novella as a beacon of moral guidance for its alleged font of Judeo-Christian values. This task considerably overtaxes the novella and has called forth fundamental reassessments.

*The Jews' Beech* retells the story of an actual murder of a Jew, and due, in part, to the author's reliance on a historical chronicle of that event, it has been ascribed to the realist tradition. Yet it is clearly a Christian morality tale in its broader ambition (if not its final execution), and this design explains the author's numerous additions and alterations to her source material, including a parallel plot in which the failure of superstitious Christians to rise to their religious calling is coded as “Jewish.” The plot traces the troubled career of a young shepherd boy named Friedrich, who borrows money from the Jew Aaron to buy an expensive silver watch. When Friedrich cannot repay the loan—he is publicly humiliated at a village wedding—there is a violent altercation, and Aaron is later found dead. Friedrich and his look-alike bastard cousin, John Nobody (Johannes Niemand), take flight that evening. They are not seen again until a quarter century later when, after sundry misadventures, including years in Turkish slavery, one of them—we do not know which—returns to the village as an old man. Within a year, he is found hanging in the beech tree, which the Jewish community had bought from the Squire and inscribed with a retributive “Hebrew charm” (Brown 1978) to commemorate the theretofore unresolved murder of Aaron. On the basis of dubious evidence, the Squire proclaims the decomposing corpse to be that of Friedrich, prompting many readers to affirm the mysterious efficacy of the Jew's beech tree in obtaining justice for the wronged Jew. For

not a few critics, this bespeaks a deep moral order within a seemingly chaotic universe.

In defense of the novella, Droste-Hülshoff's best-known work in an oeuvre that comprises mainly poetry, critics have pointed out that the depiction of the Jewish community is actually respectful, that the social position and characterization of specific Jewish figures (Aaron, Aaron's wife, the generic "Lumpenmoises" and "Wucherjoel") are historically accurate or nearly so, and that even Margreth's antisemitic outburst might be viewed as something the author wished to critique rather than endorse. Although the first two points may be true and the third is at least debatable, all of this misses the fundamental anti-Judaic polemic that structures this tale. If Droste-Hülshoff failed to endorse crass antisemitism à la Margreth, she made the Jews the easy villains and thereby enabled her Christian target audience to overlook its own "Jewish" vices. Throughout the novella, Christians are taught to recognize their shortcomings by means of negative Jewish exemplars that are then applied to Christians. When Aaron interrupts the Christian wedding to demand repayment, we witness the incursion of the material into the spiritual. Shortly thereafter, the narrator exposes the wedding itself—a mismatched union of a beautiful young girl with a wealthy older man—to be little more than a matter of business (*ein Geschäft*). Similarly, the injustice of unbridled timber poaching practiced under the cover of night by the infamous blue shirts (*Blaukittel*) is explained by linking it with the better-known "Jewish" practice of usury. It may be tempting to see in this indictment of Christians as Jews a conciliatory dissolution of distinctions, but that would be mistaken. Droste-Hülshoff's thoroughgoing critique of modernity, secular rationalism, and legalism as "Judaized" and therefore inferior to Christian inwardness depended very much on upholding the religious dichotomy. What perhaps rescues this extraordinary novella from the precincts of predictable religious didactic literature is the crisis of faith reflected in the final suicide, where the unidentified returnee misconstrues (or cannot accept) Christ's sacrifice and therefore kills himself. Here, the conservative Catholic author shifted from her overriding suggestion that there was something

wrong with Christians—namely, their residual and atavistic "Jewish" behavior—to the brief but profound consideration that there was something inherently amiss within Christianity itself (Donahue 1999).

The recent interest in recovering and celebrating literary "foremothers" has prevented some critics from admitting this darker side to the tale and to the author herself. Droste-Hülshoff was a garden-variety antisemite, who once said of the radical Young German author and journalist Heinrich Laube, "If he's not a Jew, then he deserves to be one" (Letter to Luise Bornstedt, February 2, 1839, cited in Donahue 1999, 44). (He was not, in fact, a Jew.) But for Droste-Hülshoff, the term *Jew* designated that which needed to be redeemed or at least overcome—a notion repeatedly conveyed in her most celebrated work.

—William Collins Donahue

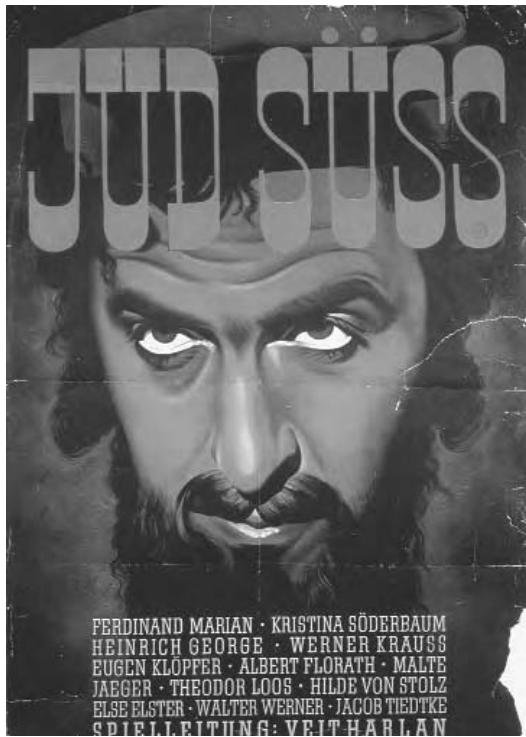
*See also* Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Bauer, Bruno; Heine, Heinrich; *Jewish Question, The*; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich; Young Germany

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### **Jud Süss (Joseph ben Issachar Süsskind Oppenheimer), (1692–1738)**

The personality and career of Joseph ben Issachar Süsskind Oppenheimer, known as Jud Süss, received a great deal of attention from eighteenth-century contemporaries and a variety of twentieth-century polemicists, historians, and antisemites. Süss became an influential court factor and financial adviser to Duke Karl Alexander of Württemberg. Appointed state counselor in 1732, he directed financial affairs and implemented a series of policies to develop the treasury, create significant economic monopolies, and increase the duke's power and revenues. In these activities, he appears to have imitated the practices of his non-Jewish noble contemporaries, and he is generally portrayed as having



Poster advertisement for German motion picture, showing head of bearded Jewish man. (Corbis)

strayed far from Jewish observance, unsuccessfully attempting to obtain noble status. His personal life, as distinct from his professional life, has also traditionally been presented in a rather negative light. With the sudden death of his benefactor in March 1737, Süss was arrested, charged with treason and embezzlement. His property was confiscated, and he was sentenced to death. Offered the opportunity to convert and save his life, he instead opted to return to formal Jewish observance and piety, a move for which he has been positively remembered by some historians. He was beheaded in a public spectacle.

On the one hand, the personal activities of Süss need to be separated from his status as a Jew. Süss succeeded in amassing power and wealth and at the same time alienated many people because of his reputed extravagance and harsh policies. On the other hand, his visible position combined with his Jewishness to foster and exacerbate anti-Jewish sentiment. Duke Karl Alexander's Protestant opponents in the Landtag (state par-

liament) accused Süss of having a lust for power and pursuing deliberately anti-Christian policies.

Portrayed as a villain by most of his contemporaries, Süss also found some more favorable or at least ambivalent treatment in his own day. This "for and against" interpretation of the man persisted into the twentieth century. In 1925, Lion Feuchtwanger published a historical novel about Süss that became a best-seller in the 1930s, with some 200,000 German copies and translation into more than fifteen languages. Feuchtwanger used Süss's story to address some of his own concerns and as a means to combat the antisemitism of Weimar Germany. Nazi propaganda, predictably, made far different use of the man's life and personality. *Jud Süß*, the inflammatory film by Veit Harlan (in 1940), was one of only a few overtly antisemitic films released by the Nazis. In it, a wholly loathsome Süss is portrayed not only as an abuser of power and exploiter of honest Germans but also as a sexual predator. As with many figures in Jewish history, Jud Süss has had a long and complicated part in the chronicles of antisemitism.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Court Jews; Film Propaganda, Nazi; Weimar

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### ***Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon (1862–1863)***

*Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon (Das Judenthum in der Fremde)*, an extended essay by Bruno Bauer (1809–1882), first appeared in the Prussian Christian conservative lexicon edited by Hermann Wagener, an outspoken opponent of Jewish emancipation. In its enunciation of all the major anti-Jewish tropes, *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon* (republished as a pamphlet in

1863) is a seminal work, with much greater influence on the politicalization of antisemitism in Germany than Bauer's better-known essay *The Jewish Question* (1843).

Bauer was an accomplished and prolific biblical scholar, historian, theologian, and philosopher. In this piece, he treated the history, religion, and character of the Jews in a magisterial but thoroughly jaundiced way. The destruction of the First Temple in 70 CE, for example, was described as nothing more than a justifiable act of defense on the part of Rome; medieval Jews were said to concentrate in commerce not because they were excluded from honest forms of livelihood but out of "physiological" necessity. Bauer contended that Jews did not even truly fathom the meaning of their own Talmud and what he considered its unfailingly vengeful nature because they were enthralled with the superstitious veneration of apocryphal rabbinic names (Bauer, *Judenfrage*, 12). As in his 1843 essay that provoked Karl Marx, Bauer still insisted in the 1860s that Judaism was a dead religion that rendered its tribal adherents incapable of creative labor in the arts or sciences and drove a wedge between them and the "general flow of life." The notable difference between this essay and the earlier one was that it reduced every despicable feature in the history of the Jews to an unalterable set of malevolent racial characteristics.

How, then, did Bauer account for the contributions of modern Jews to European culture and politics? Restless and uncertain by nature, inherently dissatisfied with the status quo, Jews mastered only the outward signs of culture, he argued; their cultural products were derivative and worthless (629). Embittered and filled with rancor (*Groll*), they latched onto political movements not out of any idealism but to enrich themselves, dominate others, and move toward world domination (Bauer 1862, 614). He explained their participation in the revolutions of 1848 as a racially conditioned love of anarchy and the shameless "hot pursuit of high offices of state" (667). All this—and the Jewish Question in general—was made possible by the naïveté, weakness, and intellectual laziness of Christians: parasites only thrived on a weak host (623, 629, 666). These themes and many others were

picked up by admiring antisemitic ideologues, especially Wilhelm Marr and Eugen Dühring.

Strangely, Bauer's essay offered no political solution to the problem of the Jews. In 1862, before Jews had achieved full emancipation in most of central and eastern Europe, he thought that they could not possibly hold on to whatever advantages they currently enjoyed. The "specter of Jewish domination" would inevitably awaken the threatened Christian peoples from their slumbers. Jews always miscalculated, always failed to realize that their arrogance and greed would drive their hosts to crush their impudence. Their history was full of such reversals, and another, Bauer confidently predicted, was in the offing (619, 670–671).

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Dühring, Eugen; Emancipation; *Jewish Question, The*; Marr, Wilhelm; Marx, Karl; Talmud; Wagener, Hermann; Young Hegelians

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### ***Judaism in Music* (1850, 1869)**

*Judaism in Music*, an essay by German composer Richard Wagner (1813–1883), first appeared in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (New Journal for Music) in 1850 under the pseudonym K. Freigedank ("free thinking"). It was reissued in 1869 with the author's real name and came out thereafter in several new editions. It was also translated into French (in 1850), Italian (in 1897), and English (in 1898). The essay started out as an attack on the unnamed composer Giacomo Meyerbeer and grew into a diatribe against the alleged destructiveness of all Jewish influence in contemporary European culture. Wagner at first chose to exclude the piece from an edition of his collected writings but later included it.

The ideas in this essay were largely in line with other contemporary reactions against Jewish

emancipation that exaggerated the supposed threats to German culture posed by Jews' successes in the arts. Wagner argued that "the Jew" had been held back from contributing to true German art because of his language and cultural background but in recent times had managed to influence European culture, owing to the latter's inherent weakening. Despite the poisonous tone of much of the essay, Wagner did not, in the end, suggest that the Jew be excluded from a thriving German cultural life, and he even proposed that the Jew could overcome his cultural inferiority, albeit not through religious conversion alone but through total assimilation and denial of self. He used the term *Untergang* (going under) to describe this process, a term that unfortunately took on more violent implications in later twentieth-century interpretations of the text.

What distinguished this essay from others of its time, however, was the ambitious and elaborate exploration of supposed Jewish traits, some of which could be tied to physical characteristics. Presuming that Germans harbored a "natural revulsion" toward the Jews, Wagner referred to the Jews' "unpleasantly foreign" physical appearance and launched into a lengthy examination of Jewish speech, claiming that Jews could never acquire fluency in modern European languages. He detailed the "repulsiveness" of Jewish speech tones and claimed that Jews were unable to engage in meaningful dialogue or express deep emotions. Jews, in Wagner's view, nevertheless managed to dominate the musical world, and he attributed their success to the relative ease by which musical style can be imitated, leaving it vulnerable to Jewish appropriation. He argued that such Jewish "imitations" were doomed to failure, however, since Jews could only draw on sterile and outmoded synagogue chants for inspiration. He claimed to identify such emotional emptiness and superficiality in the works of Felix Mendelssohn and the unnamed Meyerbeer.

Wagner's views never quite crossed over into identifying the Jews as a distinct race, and he endorsed a process of redemption by which Jews such as Ludwig Börne had supposedly freed themselves from their burdensome legacy. Nevertheless, the explicit descriptions of Jewish traits that could be linked to physical characteristics,

the ambiguity of the term *Untergang* as the solution to the Jewish "problem," the evocation of biological metaphors—he referred to Jewish-dominated German music as a "worm-infested corpse"—and the violent recommendation for "the forceful ejection of this destructive foreign element" that he put forth but immediately rejected as impracticable in the preface to the 1869 reissue all served as fodder for later arguments promoting racial antisemitism and, ultimately, the extermination of European Jewry.

—Pamela M. Potter

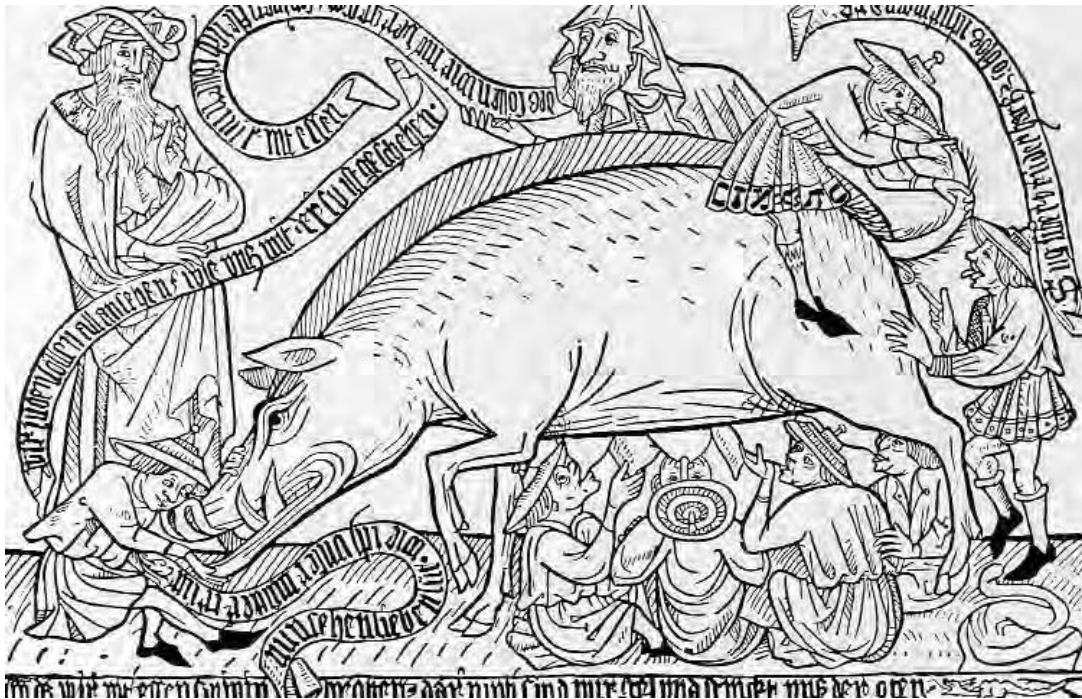
**See also** Emancipation; Marr, Wilhelm; Masculinity; Musicology and National Socialism; *Verjudung*; Wagner, Richard

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### **Judensau**

The *Judensau* (Jew's pig) was an image that depicted Jews as offspring feeding from the teats of a sow. Originating in thirteenth-century Germany, it was confined almost exclusively to German-speaking lands for the next six centuries. In its origins, it was intended as a Christian allegory representing supposed Jewish gluttony (*gula*) or carnality. The literary origin is unknown, but John Chrysostom, in his infamous homilies, referred to Jews as gluttonous hogs. Over the course of the centuries, however, *Judensau* images intensified in their obscenity and antisemitic impact. Jews (sometimes identifiable as rabbis) were depicted holding up the sow's tail while another Jew (also occasionally identifiable as a rabbi) consumed her excrement. Often, the devil was represented, with Semitic features emphasized, superintending the proceedings with evident delight. Occasionally, this disgusting negative stereotyping was associated with another revolting image: a dead baby (frequently Simon



The *Judensau*, or Jew's Pig. This mid-fifteenth-century woodcut, portraying an image that was popular for centuries, depicts Jews sucking the teats of a monstrous pig and even licking its posterior. (The Art Archive)

of Trent [d. 1475]) with multiple puncture wounds from needles or daggers used to victimize the infant in a "ritual murder," the practice by which Jews were alleged to murder the children of gentiles in order to use their blood in unleavened bread. Such images were widely disseminated. The *Judensau* was represented not only on woodcuts, broadsheets, and playing cards but also on the walls of several German cathedrals and churches, including one in Wittenberg. It was there that Martin Luther dwelled bizarrely, in one of his two infamous anti-Jewish tracts, on the pig as the taproot of Jewish capacity and intelligence. Shortly thereafter, the *Judensau* was to be seen on the Sachsenhauser Bridge (with the corpse of a dead baby, the victim of a ritual murder) in Frankfurt am Main. Beneath the images was a caption that read: "On Maundy Thursday in the year 1475, the little child Simon [of Trent] was murdered by the Jews." J. W. Goethe, a native son of the city, remarked that what made these images astonishing was not that they were produced by private hostility but that they were

"erected as a public monument."

The increasing and foul abusiveness of the iconography and its widespread dissemination and representation on ecclesiastical and secular buildings reflected the worsening of anti-Jewish attitudes in late medieval Europe, especially in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. It also reflected the growing tendency to dehumanize Jews iconographically. Finally, one of the crudest ironies of the image is that it depicted Jews feeding from and in some cases worshiping an animal that had always been, for them, an object of revulsion and religious prohibition.

—Kevin Madigan

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Chrysostom, John; Iconography, Christian; Luther, Martin; Pork; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Simon of Trent

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### Judeo-Bolshevism

The Russian Revolution of 1917 gave birth to the myth of “Jewish Bolshevism.” Since then, the notion of Judeo-Bolshevism has radiated worldwide, becoming a handy tool with which to defame the Soviet system and Jews generally. The origins of the myth and its drawing power can be accounted for by the terrorism of the early days of the Soviet regime, dramatically and visibly exercised by Bolsheviks of Jewish descent—a phenomenon explainable as a result of discrimination against Jews under the tsarist autocracy but easily exploitable by antisemites. A full twenty years before the revolution, Theodor Herzl, among others, noted with regret that universal socialism acted as a lure for east European Jewish intellectuals, who often saw it as the only cure for antisemitism. That the “assimilated Reds” who exercised power in the early days of the revolution were, in Isaac Deutscher’s apt description, actually “non-Jewish Jews” made little difference. To antisemites in particular, Soviet Russia could be portrayed convincingly as “Soviet Judea.”

In fact, the prominence of Jewish Communists in the Third International (Comintern) and in the Cheka, the Soviet secret political police, obscured the fact that the Jewish presence was far greater in the quickly outlawed Social Revolutionary Party and in the Menshevik faction than among the Bolsheviks. But the visibility of the so-called assimilated Reds deflected attention from the reality that the great majority of bourgeois and observant Jews regarded the totalitarian Bolsheviks as a danger to their continued existence. An Odessa rabbi pronounced the anathema on Leon Trotsky and other Jewish Bolsheviks, and in Moscow, a rabbi gloomily observed, “The Trotskys make the revolutions, but the Bronsteins pay for it.” (Trotsky, Vladimir Lenin’s most famous “Jewish” partner, was born Lev Davidovich Bronstein.) Thanks to Jacob Sverdlov, the first president of the Soviet state, and Yakov Yurovsky, the local leader of the Cheka who personally shot Tsar Nicholas II, two

Jews could be held responsible for executing the royal family. This fact had nearly the same dire consequences for the myth of Jewish Bolshevism as the fact that the Association of Militant Atheists was led first by Trotsky and then by Emelian Jaroslavski, both of Jewish descent.

Acts of anti-Christian persecution readily persuaded Christian antisemites to overlook the Bolshevik suppression of Judaism (together with its sacred language), as well as Islam. However, the advancement of Russian Jewish secular culture in the pre-Stalinist years of the Soviet state, the acceptance of the Yiddish language in law courts, and the fostering of Yiddish newspapers, publishing houses, and theaters all made it easy to denounce the Soviet regime as a “Jewish Power” (*zydovskaja vlast*).

The export of communism from the USSR reinforced the myth. To the chagrin of Jewish liberals and the Orthodox, a number of Jewish-born revolutionaries operated in the West as Bolshevik agents or fellow travelers. The communist parties they helped establish as constituent elements of the Comintern were covertly financed by Moscow. Such circumstances made it credible in the bourgeois Christian world to speak with contempt and fear of “Judeo-Bolshevism,” a shorthand way of insinuating that Bolshevism was an intrinsic expression of the Jewish character. Even the occasional Jewish observer, then and now, claimed to see an “element of truth” in the formula. After 1917, a few Jewish revolutionaries, in the throes of euphoria, boasted that socialism and communism were “Jewish” products. Such loose talk and semitruths made it easy for antisemites to construct conspiracy theories and then disseminate them successfully.

According to Norman Cohn, the myth of a Jewish-communist conspiracy has become even more potent than the myth of a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy. Because the equation of Jews and communists assumed the strength of dogma in the thinking of Adolf Hitler, it has been argued that it is essential to follow the track of the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism in order to comprehend the genocide of the Jews. But it is important to remember that the notion of Judeo-Bolshevism was not the sole possession of racist antisemites. For example, the Jesuit Gustav Gundlach, writ-



This poster titled “The Eternal Jew” in faux Hebrew lettering advertised a great political exhibit in Munich (1937), designed “to strike the first blow against “Judeo-Bolshevism.” Note the Russian whip (knout) and the Soviet Union tucked under the arm of the distinctly eastern European Jew. (Topham /The Image Works)

ing in the *Lexikon for Theology and Church* in 1930, distinguished between two varieties of antisemitism in Christian circles: an “allowable, politically objective” antisemitism and an “impermissible, un-Christian, racist-nationalist” variety. This line of argument could be found among Protestants, too, and it was also the view of the Hungarian Jesuit Bela Bangha, expressed in an essay on Catholicism and Judaism in 1934. He, as a Christian, rejected the “so-called racist antisemitic view” but at the same time voiced the conviction that the workings of Marx, Trotsky, and Bela Kun, the Hungarian revolutionary, had to “be credited to the account of Jewry!” (in Rogalla von Bieberstein 2002, 265).

This fatal attribution of collective guilt entrenched itself among the Nazis all the more firmly because of attempted communist uprisings in Germany and Austria between 1919 and 1923. At least in part, these events were managed

by Russian Jewish agents, sent by Moscow because they were experts in fomenting civil war. For Hitler, the fact that the Munich and Budapest soviet republics of 1919 were led by Eugene Leviné and Bela Kun, with the aid of numerous Jewish commissars, justified the claims he made about the “transitory Jew-dictatorship” in *Mein Kampf*. Before the fall of Bela Kun, which provoked a pogrom in Hungary, his government was denigrated worldwide as a “Jew-republic.” Hilaire Belloc, writing in his antisemitic *The Jews* (1922), attributed Hungary’s Bolshevik episode to the revolutionary leader “Cohen.” In her *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (1924), the conspiracy expert Nesta Webster, like Belloc, distanced herself from the idea of “arcane organized schemes,” preferring to base her theory of a Jewish world plot on the primitivesly simple but nonetheless effective equation “Jew = Communist.”

In the realm of elaborate conspiracies, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, fabricated in Russia at the turn of the twentieth century, assumed major importance. The work described a sinister plot revolving around a shadowy group of Masonically organized Jews seeking, through the most demonic machinations, to achieve world domination. It was not the original edition but rather the later (post-1919) revised and often augmented versions, appearing in many languages, that had the most profound and global effects. In the world according to the *Protocols*, Trotsky and Kun could be denounced as agents of the conspiracy, “proof” that the elders of Zion actually existed.

Henry Ford’s ghostwritten *The International Jew*, also translated into many languages, did not wholly subscribe to the manufactured elders. But the intricacies of the conspiracy were less important for the Freemason Ford—and for prominent Nazis, as well—than the simple equation theory. Thus, Ford branded “the Jews” as “world-Bolsheviks,” who were “in overwhelming measure the instigators of the German Revolution” of 1918. He designated Bela Kun as the “Senior Red” and detected the “pan-Jewish stamp upon Red Russia.” In his reworking of the *Protocols*, Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler’s Baltic German Bolshevism expert, denounced “Jewish Soviet bosses”

and their “Jew-Terror,” holding them responsible for millions of Russian dead. The prominence and radicalism of Jewish revolutionaries in Russia and the West translated into an extraordinarily poisonous, murderous, and new kind of antisemitism; this was the judgment of many contemporaries, including middle-class Jewish observers. A *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) leaflet that emerged directly out of the revolutionary turmoil of 1919 in Munich expressed this view, with typical brutality: “Bolshevism is the doing of the Jews [*Judensache*]. There could be no Bolshevism without Jews”(a similar message is reproduced in facsimile in Rogalla von Bieberstein 2002, plate VII).

Another book of the same period and milieu, little known today, was Georg Schott’s *Volksbuch vom Hitler* (Hitler Primer [1924]). Therein, the talk was of a “Jewish-Marxist revolution.” Theodor Fritsch’s *Handbook of the Jewish Question* provided the axiomatic definition of Bolshevism—a “Jewish movement.” Substantiation for these views was supplied by Henry Ford as well as the so-called Elders of Zion. Schott quoted from Hitler’s statement at his trial for treason in 1924, in which he spoke of Germany’s future and the “annihilation of Marxism” and went on to speculate in macabre fashion about what a “final solution [*endgültige Lösung*] of the Jewish Question” might look like. In the 1933 reissue of the book, Schott reiterated his 1924 comment that many people imagined such a solution would involve a “Jew-pogrom of enormous scope.”

Hitler’s dogmatic belief in Judeo-Bolshevism is often undervalued as a motive for his demonic and pathological Jew-hatred. It ought not be, for it helped legitimate an unprecedented genocide. Nazi antisemitism drew from two polluted wellsprings—an inherited racist, radicalized Jew-hatred and a fanatical antagonism toward Marxism and Bolshevism. When these two came together, they engendered a murderous dynamism.

In the West, the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism gradually lost some of its intensity after 1917. For the National Socialists, however, thanks to the Stalinist terror, it retained its vitality long enough to be put in service as a pretext for the war of conquest in the East. Although the Nazis registered their approval of Stalin’s show trials of

the 1930s as “Jew-Purges,” the war against the Soviet Union in 1941 was nevertheless still a “crusade” against Jewish Bolshevism. Thanks to the firmly ingrained and well-developed myth, the regime’s war propaganda could, with some degree of success, make a quasi-moralistic appeal to middle-class and religious elements in and beyond Germany.

—Johannes Rogalla von Bieberstein  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* Belloc, Hilaire; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Ford, Henry; Freemasonry; *Handbook of the Jewish Question*; Hitler, Adolf; Hungary; Jesuit Order; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Purges, Soviet; Rosenberg, Alfred; USSR; Webster, Nesta

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## Jung, Carl Gustav (1875–1961)

Carl Gustav Jung was a Swiss psychiatrist and the founder of analytical psychology. From 1907 through 1912, Jung maintained close professional and personal ties to Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis. Accusations of anti-Jewish prejudice on Jung’s part first surfaced shortly after his break with Freud in 1913. The bitterness of their final rupture deeply wounded both men and continued to fuel their professional rivalry for many years. Freud himself appears to have been among the first to accuse Jung of prejudice against Jews.

Although Freud’s motives may be questioned, the criticism surrounding Jung’s conduct in the 1930s cannot be so easily dismissed. Of particular concern are Jung’s comments on racial psychology and his conduct as president of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy.

Jung's theories elaborating a collective unconscious with a racial component first appeared in the period following his break with Freud. In *The Role of the Unconscious*, completed in 1918, he discussed the psychological differences between Christians and Jews. Even though Jung's racial psychology predated the emergence of National Socialism, the congruence of his ideas with Nazi racial ideology won him the admiration of many in the movement. When Nazism triumphed in Germany—and given the heavy Jewish presence in modern psychotherapy—opportunities for Jung's personal advancement naturally presented themselves.

In June 1933, five months after Hitler assumed power, Jung was elected president of the International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, an organization founded in Germany to promote psychotherapy as a profession. With its largely German membership, the young society faced the loss of intellectual independence and indeed the possibility of extinction at the hands of the Nazis. Jung's predecessor, Ernst Kretschmer, had resigned as president rather than endure the forced alignment of the organization with the National Socialist political agenda. Evidence suggests that the society's membership viewed Jung as a more viable candidate because the Nazis would find his theories more acceptable; thus, the organization might escape further political interference.

For his part, Jung did not fail to see the threat to the nascent profession posed by the Nazi regime, and he therefore sought to limit German power within the organization. His strategy was to reconstitute the society as an international umbrella organization encompassing separate and largely autonomous national groups, the largest and most influential of which was the German. From the start, Jung adopted a moderate stance vis-à-vis the German branch, seeking cooperation with its powerful and politically connected leader, Matthias Göring (a cousin of Hermann Göring). Although Jung's actions may be defended as necessary for the survival of the organization, his cooperation allowed the German group to function as an ideological arm of the regime while maintaining its international connections and credentials.

Perhaps most controversial in assessing Jung's attitude toward antisemitism was his role as editor of the society's official journal, the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* (Psychotherapy Bulletin). The December 1933 issue, the first under his stewardship, stated his position on politics and methodological diversity. Though vowing to remain impartial, Jung acknowledged that his policy would distinguish between Germanic and Jewish psychological theories. He further declared that such differentiation could only prove beneficial to the profession. It has been argued by Jung's defenders that such a statement was merely pragmatic, but it signaled an ominous shift in editorial direction that grew more pronounced in later issues. To make matters worse, Jung's essay appeared alongside a call by Matthias Göring for the psychotherapists to support the Nazi agenda.

Jung's conduct provoked an international furor. Responding to his critics in 1934 and throughout the remainder of his life, he denied that he had ever made value judgments about Jews and pointed out that his conception of racial psychology predated Nazi ideology by many years. Thus, he argued, he had not attempted to curry favor with the regime, as his detractors maintained. Noting the common threat of persecution faced by all psychotherapists, he insisted on the importance of his actions to the survival of the profession.

Jung's defense of his actions strikes many as disingenuous. It is impossible to know with certainty what his true intentions may have been, but his conduct betrayed a disturbing lack of moral awareness and a degree of professional opportunism. But did this constitute antisemitism? Jung, it should be said, was no mere pawn of the Nazis. His growing and open criticism of the regime diminished his influence within the organization and led to his withdrawal from participation in 1940. His departure cleared the way for the German branch to seize control of the organization, turning it into a blatant tool of Nazi ideology.

—Laura Higgins

**See also** Freud, Sigmund; Psychoanalysis

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### **Justinian Code (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*)**

Justinian I, Roman emperor in the East from 527 to 565, was devoted to the church. The first book of his Justinian Code (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*) appeared in 534 and was dedicated to problems arising from religions. Most of the statutes hostile to Jews and their religion are found in two chapters of the first book: "On the Jews and Caelicola" (1.9) and "That neither Heretic, Pagan, nor Jew May Own or Circumcise a Christian Slave" (1.10). After the publication of the code, Justinian took up the subject of the Jews again in his *Novellae* (New Constitutions), especially in N. 45 (537) and N. 146 (553).

In his Digest 48.8.11, circumcision was allowed only for Jews by birth but prohibited for proselytes and slaves. Judaism ceased to be a permitted religion, although some Jewish practices were still allowed. The purpose of this and other legislation was to induce Jews to convert to Christianity and to show Christians the superiority of the church over the synagogue. Meanwhile, conversion to Judaism was punishable by death and confiscation of the offender's goods (Code 1.7.1, 1.7.5, 1.9.12). Jews who stoned Jewish converts to Christianity were condemned to be burned alive (C. 1.9.3), and Jewish law could not be applied in matters of matrimony (C. 1.9.7). The Constitution in Codex 1.9.8 established that

Jews, who live under the Roman common law, shall address in the usual way the courts in those cases which concern their superstition as well as those that concern courts, laws and rights and all of them shall accuse and defend themselves under the Roman laws. Indeed, if some of them shall deem it necessary to litigate before the Jews in a common agreement in the manner of arbitration and in civil matters only, they

shall not be prohibited by public law from accepting their verdict. The governors shall even execute their sentences as if arbiters were appointed through a judge's award.

This precept meant that it was no longer an obligation to settle religious issues judicially. At the same time, however, the parties to a dispute were permitted to turn to rabbinical courts, should they mutually agree to do so. Jews were excluded from holding administrative and honorary offices as well as from municipal dignities and legal practice (C. 1.9.19, 1.9.18, 1.4.5 pr., 2.6.8). Justinian also altered the date of Passover so that it did not fall before the Catholic Easter (Procopius, *Historia arcana*, 128, 16–18).

Of special importance was the emperor's *Novella* 146, *De Hebraeis* (On the Hebrews) dating from 553, in which the Jewish service in the synagogue came under state regulation. For example, the Bible could still be read in any language, provided it was understandable to the listeners, but the emperor recommended the Septuagint (preferred by the church). For the first time, an attempt to proscribe the study of the Talmud became a matter of law; Justinian forbade the reading of the Mishnah, or the Oral Law in general, which he considered a human invention that distorted the Scriptures. Rabbis were thenceforth forbidden to punish unobservant Jews. Thus, *De Hebraeis* clearly signified a further restriction of the legal autonomy in purely religious matters that Jews had once enjoyed.

The change in terminology from the pagan to the Christian period is also much in evidence elsewhere in the Justinian Code. During the pagan era, the customary formula describing the Jewish religion was "the national laws, customs and beliefs of the Jewish people." Derogatory Christian formulations, now fully embraced by the law, referred to Jews and Judaism as "superstitious beliefs, law and worship," "the evil sect whose contact defiles," "enemies of Roman laws," and "the evil of mankind." The dogmatic position of the church was now anchored in Justinian's legislation. It combined a modicum of toleration for some aspects of Jewish worship with a large measure of persecution. The *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the legacy of the Roman Empire, es-

tablished the basic framework of Jewish status in the Middle Ages.

—Alfredo Mordechai Rabello

**See also** Circumcision; Constantine, Emperor; Gregory the Great, Pope; Roman Empire; Theodosian Code

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# K

## **Kallay, Miklós (1887–1967)**

The son of a long-established, landholding gentry family, Miklós Kallay was a close friend, trusted confidant, and ideological confrere of his political patron, Adm. Miklós Horthy, regent of Hungary. Kallay was a dedicated patriot and a staunch anticommunist whose political career was noted initially for its pragmatism, especially with regard to his policies toward Germany.

Appointed prime minister by Horthy in March 1942, at the peak of Germany's military fortunes, Kallay at first maintained his predecessors' prowar policy. But the destruction of Hungary's army in the USSR (in January 1943) and Germany's great debacle at Stalingrad (in February 1943) led Kallay, with Horthy's support, gradually to extricate Hungary from the Axis alliance.

The Kallay-Horthy compact's prime objective was to keep Hungary free from both Nazi and Soviet domination. As Germany's military position deteriorated, Kallay's emissaries in neutral countries initiated secret negotiations with the West. In September 1943, a confidential provisional armistice was signed with Great Britain. Hungarian units remained detached from frontline duty in the USSR. Apart from neutral countries, Hungary remained the only European state free of German forces. By year's end, Hungary had become a de facto nonbelligerent.

Despite intense local antagonism, Kallay also confronted pro-Nazi influence in domestic politics. He allowed the Left greater room to maneuver; in December 1943, fifteen officers (including three generals) considered responsible for civilian atrocities in occupied Yugoslavia were brought to justice—the first war crimes trial of World War II. Pressure on the Jewish community was eased, and in spite of Germany's dogged

insistence, Kallay refused to implement the Final Solution in Hungary.

During Kallay's premiership, Hungarian Jewish citizens retained freedom of domicile and movement and remained free of the yellow star, the terror of arbitrary arrest, and summary deportation; Jews also sat in the upper house of parliament and continued to be able to support themselves, within the legal restrictions imposed on them. Ironically and perhaps tragically, Miklós Kallay was so successful in maintaining Hungarian independence and safeguarding the country's Jews that Hungarian Jewry fell into the trap of considering itself secure in an island sanctuary, isolated and insulated from the fate of other Jews under Nazi rule or influence.

Considering the pressures under which the prime minister operated, there were most probably unavoidable negative aspects to his premiership. As a cover for his overall anti-Nazi strategy, Kallay considered it essential to make strictly limited concessions to the rampant ultra-Right. Unfortunately for Hungarian Jewry, his concessions—including financially discriminatory legislation and tolerance of virulent Judeophobia—reinforced preexisting populist opinion as to the legitimacy of anti-Jewish propaganda, which further heightened expectations regarding the need to solve the so-called Jewish Problem. With the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, Kallay's government was replaced by a militantly collaborationist, pro-Nazi regime. On the brink of defeat by the Allies, Hitler's war against the Jews—the only war he was still capable of winning—had marched into Hungary.

—*Tom Kramer*

*See also* Horthy, Miklós; Hungary; Hungary, Holocaust in; Judeo-Bolshevism; Szalasi, Ferenc

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### Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804)

Historians Jacob Katz and Paul Lawrence Rose have argued that Immanuel Kant was a fervent antisemite. Kant's contemporaries would probably have been astounded by this claim, for he was a man who regarded Moses Mendelssohn as one of his closest intellectual friends, had a number of Jewish students (with whom he maintained lifelong friendships), opposed linking citizenship to religion, and responded warmly to a group of Jewish disciples attempting to reform Judaism by embracing the moral teachings of the Gospel—stripped of Christian theological doctrines—along with the Torah.

Kant did, however, make some antisemitic remarks in his correspondence, notably when, addressing Solomon Maimon's response to his work, he wrote that "Jews always like to gain an air of importance for themselves at someone else's expense." He also characterized Jews in his *Anthropology* as a "merchant people" whose main principle was to get the better of others in business; he described Judaism in his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* as a law rather than a religion; and he expressed his approval of the reformed Judaism mentioned earlier, by saying, in his *Conflict of the Faculties*, that it would lead to "the euthanasia of Judaism."

So, was Kant an antisemite or not? His remarks alone cannot tell us much. Casually contemptuous remarks about Jews and Judaism were part of the conversation of practically everyone at that time. Even Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), the greatest philosemite of the eighteenth century, wrote in his "Education of the Human Race" that the rabbis promoted "a petty, crooked, hairsplitting understanding" of texts and imparted a corresponding character to



Philosopher Immanuel Kant. There is some reason to suspect that when Kant engaged in anti-Jewish rhetoric he was trying to divert attention from the Judaic strains in his own thought. (Library of Congress)

the Jewish people (section 51). Moreover, for all that Kant welcomed the movement to include the Gospels within Judaism, he did not advocate the conversion of Jews to Christianity proper, and indeed, he called it an advantage of this movement that it "would leave the Jews a distinctive faith" (Kant 1992, 95). The remark about the euthanasia of Judaism, horrifying as it is in the light of later German history, did not give any approval to the euthanasia of Jews as *people*. Rather, Kant looked forward—explicitly and in that very passage—to a euthanasia of all specific religious faiths, including all Christian ones, in favor of a universal moral religion that would substitute good works for rituals and doctrines.

Finally, there is, if anything, a Judaic rather than an antisemitic cast to Kant's thought as a whole. Four important themes run through his philosophy:

1. Neither God's existence nor anything about God's nature can be an object of knowledge.

2. The basis of morality is adherence to a law, not any kind of sentiment, including love.
3. Religion can be approved of rationally only to the degree it sees moral action as the service of God: neither faith in a theory about God's nature nor rituals of any kind can possibly be essential to religion.
4. Human beings are fully capable of being good on their own. "Original sin," insofar as one wants to retain that notion, must be understood simply as the strong temptation within us to violate the moral law, not as a blemish that our free will can never overcome.

These beliefs cohere much better with Jewish rather than Christian views. Maimonides (1135–1204) had already articulated the first of Kant's themes, and this theme along with the third deprive us of any reason to believe in doctrines such as the Incarnation and the Trinity, without which Christianity ceases to be interestingly distinct from Judaism. The second and fourth themes represent views of morality that Jews had long maintained *against* Christian beliefs.

There is, therefore, some reason to suspect that when Kant engaged in anti-Jewish rhetoric, he was trying to divert attention from the Judaic strains in his own thought. In any case, it is easy to see why Kant was so attractive to such modern Jewish philosophers as Samson Raphael Hirsch, Hermann Cohen, and Martin Buber. Kant was for them what Aristotle was for Maimonides—far and away the most important influence on their thought. This attraction of Jews to Kant does not by itself dispel the attribution of antisemitism. But together with the fact that Kant maintained friendly and respectful relations with many Jews he knew, it should lead us to treat that attribution with some skepticism.

—Samuel Fleischacker

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Hegel, G. W. F.; Herder, J. G.; Lavater, Johann Kaspar; Michaelis, Johann David; Philosemitism; State-within-a-State

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## Khomeini, Ayatollah (1902–1989)

Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeini was the founder and supreme spiritual guide of the Islamic Republic of Iran from 1979 until his death a decade later. His success in toppling the secularist pro-Western and pro-Israeli Pahlavi Shah was arguably the single most important inspiration for militant Islamist movements in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Though he was a cleric of the minority Shi'ite sect of Islam, many of the principal themes of his message resonated among fundamentalist Sunni Muslims as well. The ayatollah's regime also made use of Iran's oil wealth to subsidize Islamic revivalist and revolutionary movements throughout the world.

As with other contemporary theoreticians of Islamic revivalism, there was an antisemitic strain in Khomeini's thought, despite claims by both the ayatollah and his followers that he was only anti-Zionist and not antisemitic. In his writings, the words *Jew*, *Zionist*, and *Israeli* were often used interchangeably. In his book *Vilayat-i Faqih: Hokumat-i Islami* (The Trusteeship of the Jurisconsult: Islamic Governance), he reiterated the traditional Muslim legal position that *dhimmis* (members of the koranically recognized religions, which include Jews) were entitled to protection if they paid the *jizya* (poll tax) and accepted Islamic suzerainty, but he also specifically singled out the Jews as both historical and contemporary enemies of Islam. In the book's foreword, he stated: "The Islamic movement was afflicted by Jews from its very beginnings, when they began their hostile activity by distorting the reputation of Islam, and by defaming and maligning it. This has continued to the present day." Classical tropes of European antisemitism were also absorbed into Khomeini's thought. He described Jews as predatory exploiters who had spread

throughout Iran and had gained control of its markets. Khomeini viewed the Arab-Israeli conflict as a war of all Muslims together against the Jews and their leaders. His book *Tujah Isra'il* (Confronting Israel), published in Arabic in 1977, made no distinction between Jews and Israelis. In an act rich with symbolism, Yasir Arafat, the first foreign leader to visit the newly established Islamic Republic of Iran, was publicly embraced by the ayatollah, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization was given the former Israeli diplomatic headquarters in Tehran.

In the wake of the revolution establishing the Islamic Republic, there was a bipolarity in the attitude toward and treatment of Iranian Jews that reflected the ayatollah's own schizophrenic views on the subject. Bahá'ís, whose religion is not recognized by Islam, were persecuted as Zionist henchmen or as crypto-Jews. A number of Jewish communal leaders were arrested in 1979, and ten, including Habib Elghanian (the former president of the Anjoman Kalimian, the national association of Iranian Jewry), were executed on charges ranging from treason, drug trafficking, and "connections with Israel" to "corruption on earth" and "warring against God" (the latter two being koranic formulations). Several hundred more Jews were imprisoned. The community as a whole, however, was not subject to outright persecution, and institutions such as synagogues, Jewish schools, and the Anjoman Kalimian continued to function, although in a state of constant fear and under close government scrutiny. The cognitive dissonance between Khomeini's assurances that dhimmis were entitled to full rights and protection and that they need not fear for the future and the relentless demonization of Israel, Zionists, and Jews by the ayatollah and the Iranian leadership resulted in the flight of more than three-fourths of Iran's 80,000 Jews.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Arafat, Yasir; Iranian Revolution; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism

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## Kielce Pogrom (1946)

On July 4, 1946, the deadliest pogrom of the post–World War II era took place in the provincial capital of Kielce District in southeastern Poland. At the beginning of the war, the town of Kielce had a population of 28,000 Jews. Only 400 of them survived the Holocaust or returned there by 1946. In the space of a few hours on July 4, 36 Jews, most of them living in a single house on Planty Street in the center of town, were shot or beaten to death by townspeople, militiamen, police, and workers from nearby factories. The overall number of victims may have been as high as 42.

The reasons for the carnage are, half a century later, still a matter of serious disagreement. Many key pieces of evidence have been lost or purposely destroyed, although important new sources of information have become available since the fall of the Communist regime in 1989. Among the many hypotheses proposed to account for events in Kielce, the most credible are antisemitism and provocation on the part of the authorities. The events contained many elements of provocation by default—for example, the passive attitude of local law enforcement and special forces, especially the head of the Security Agency (Urzad Bezpieczeństwa). This official passivity, combined with a mood of antisemitism that was strongly present in the Kielce region before and after the war, may have given the green light to rioters. Moreover, the Kielce violence was not an isolated event in postwar Poland. Other physical attacks and some deaths took place in the months after the end of the war.

The immediate cause of the pogrom was also deeply rooted in antisemitism, as well as in actions undertaken by the militia and regular sol-

diers. The disappearance and reappearance of a nine-year-old boy who, probably to avoid punishment, told his parents of being taken to a cellar by a mysterious gentleman immediately stirred up familiar legends of Jewish ritual murder among the adults. The rumors of the “kidnapping” and allegations of other missing children flew about the town, spread with the help of militia patrols and townspeople.

The pogrom began in the late morning after soldiers and the police entered the house on Planty Street. Jews were ordered to surrender their weapons. When some of them apparently did not comply, the killing began, spreading beyond the original site into the rest of the town. The events in Kielce accelerated the emigration of the remnant of Polish Jewry; the number of departures in the months immediately following the pogrom rose manifestly. Jews no longer felt safe in Poland.

The Kielce pogrom also had weighty effects within Polish society and government. Major political powers felt called on to speak out. Once order was restored, government authorities hastily put many of the perpetrators on trial; in the first show trial, full of irregularities, nine defendants received death sentences. The Communists, in an attempt to solidify their growing power in Poland, tried to use the incidents in Kielce to discredit the anti-Communist opposition—by having the world see their enemies as barbaric pogromists. Members of the opposition, meanwhile, accused the Communists of actually inspiring the pogrom to divert international attention from a recent national referendum, the results of which they had undoubtedly faked in their own favor. The independent examination of the pogrom, demanded by the opposition, was subverted by government censorship and police agencies. Within the still influential Catholic Church, many positions taken with regard to the pogrom: unanimous condemnation of the violence; contextualization of the Kielce events in the political situation of postwar Poland; and authentication of the “ritual cause,” the kidnapping of children by the Jews. After 1989, a special historical commission was set up to investigate the happenings; it has yet to clarify all the circumstances surrounding the Kielce pogrom.

—Bożena Szaynok

**See also** Hlond, August; Jedwabne; Judeo-Bolshevism; Poland; Purge of 1968; Ritual Murder (Modern)

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### Kishinev Pogrom (1903)

An anti-Jewish riot, or pogrom, occurred in the Russian city of Kishinev, in Bessarabia Province (present-day Chisinau, Moldova), between April 6 and 8, 1903 (April 19 to 21 on the Western calendar). A total of 51 persons perished during the violence, 49 of whom were Jews. Approximately 500 were injured, and 700 homes and 600 businesses were vandalized. Damages were estimated at 2 million rubles. The pogrom acquired worldwide notoriety as a symbol of Russian mistreatment of the Jewish population. It engendered political action among Russian Jews and inspired classic literary works. The Kishinev events also spawned several enduring myths.

The pogrom began on the Russian Orthodox Easter. A climate of ill will had been created in the city by a blood libel (ritual murder accusation) in the nearby town of Dubossary and the virulently antisemitic reporting of the local paper, *Bessarabets*, edited by Pavolaki Krushevan. Although Kishinev was a provincial capital and a garrison town, the local civilian and military authorities failed to act in timely fashion or to coordinate their efforts. (The governor, R. S. von Raaben, was made the scapegoat for these failures and dismissed from office.)

The principal myth surrounding the events at Kishinev was the belief that the pogrom was planned or at least tolerated by the Russian authorities, at either the local or national level. The involvement of national authorities seemed to be confirmed when the *Times* of London published a dispatch said to have been sent to von Raaben by V. K. Pleve, the minister of internal affairs. The dispatch was dated twelve days before the events, and it appeared to confirm that the authorities were expecting a pogrom and that they were instructing the local authorities not to

undertake energetic measures to suppress it. In fact, the Pleve Dispatch was probably a forgery, although it apparently reflected official disdain for the safety of the Jews. The second myth surrounding Kishinev was the extreme violence that characterized the pogrom, including mutilations, decapitation, and mass rapes, and the extreme passivity of the Jewish population in the face of it. Although most deaths were the result of beatings, the lurid description of the accompanying atrocities were greatly exaggerated. Moreover, the Jews mounted efforts at self-defense.

The Kishinev pogrom did much to discredit Russia in the eyes of the outside world. Within Russia, it proved a valuable mobilizing tool for political activists of all persuasions. Liberal critics of the regime, such as S. M. Dubnow, helped to organize a collective letter to Jewish communities, urging Jews to discover self-respect and undertake self-help and self-defense. The Social Democratic Jewish Workers' Bund also advocated self-defense and claimed credit when Jews offered armed resistance to a pogrom in Gomel (Homel), in Mogilev Province, later that summer.

The Hebrew poet Khaim Nakhman Bialik composed two poems devoted to Kishinev. The first, "On the Slaughter," could be viewed as a bitter appeal for vengeance: "Fit Revenge for the spilt blood of a child / The devil has not yet compiled." The second, "The City of Slaughter," became a classic of modern Hebrew literature. The poem invoked the image of a powerless Jewish God and, on a superficial level, appeared to condemn the cowardly lack of resistance to the pogrom on the part of Kishinev Jews: "Crushed in their shame, they saw it all / They did not stir or move." Others interpreted the poem as an ardent call for Jews to discover their national self-worth. The pogrom also inspired a celebrated piece of journalism, "House No. 13," by the Russian writer Vladimir Korolenko.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Krushev, Pavolaki; Pogroms; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Modern); Russia, Revolution of 1905

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### ***Kladderadatsch***

The illustrated satirical-political weekly *Kladderadatsch* (meaning "loud noise" or "explosion" in north German dialect) was founded in Berlin during the 1848 revolution and made its mark by fully and caustically supporting its liberal, democratic, and national aims. It was begun by David Kalisch, a Jewish tradesman by profession who became acquainted with Karl Marx, Heinrich Heine, and other German emigrants in Paris. He made a name for himself with humorous, rhymed parodies and satires (known as *Posse*), often in the local Berlin dialect. These skits were performed on the vaudeville stage and often sported unmistakably Jewish figures, such as bankers or *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews), who frequently spoke in corrupt, Yiddish-tinged German while commenting on current political, social, and cultural affairs. As of 1849, Kalisch shared the editorship of the *Kladderadatsch* with Ernst Dohm, a former student of Protestant theology; Rudolf Löwenstein, who was also Jewish, was a frequent contributor; the house graphic artist was Wilhelm Scholz, and the publisher was the Catholic Albert Hofmann. The first three, all of whom came from Breslau as young men, were commonly known as "the wise men" of the *Kladderadatsch*.

Even though Kalisch and Löwenstein later converted, the three wise men were often identified as Jews, an identification that was not detrimental at the time. *Judenwitze* (Jewish jokes) and Jewish stock figures, such as the banker "Zwickauer" who spoke a mixture of Yiddish and German, continued to be mainstays of the fare offered by the *Kladderadatsch* during the first and most successful generation of its existence. Subscriptions rose from between 2,000 and 3,000 in 1849 to approximately 20,000 in 1852; subscribers numbered 36,500 in 1861 and 40,000 in January 1870, representing a larger circulation than the leading dailies of that time and equaling that of its competitor, the *Fliegende Blätter*. The number of subscribers held steady through the 1870s

but began declining by the mid-1880s when editorial policies underwent significant changes.

An 1863 observer noted that:

*Kladderadatsch* is clearly the most widely read of German papers, but has simultaneously the most corrupting influence, because it drags down into the mud even the most noble subjects due to its characteristically caustic Jewish jokes. The paper is proud of attacking each and every single authority in the state; it swarms full of insults, all under the guise of making jokes. . . . The owner of the paper, Hofmann, has attained unimaginable wealth thanks to such measures, and attainment of wealth is the only object of his efforts, even when he cursorily participates in furthering a Jewish-democratic movement. This is attended to in an excellent manner by the three primary contributors of the paper, all of whom are Jews. (in Schulz 1975, 215; translated by the author)

In the late 1870s, the *Kladderadatsch* commented on the rise of Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker's antisemitic agitation and on Heinrich von Treitschke's fulminations in its characteristically mordant style, poking fun at both. But editorial policies, particularly vis-à-vis antisemitism, soon changed, registering the effects of Otto von Bismarck's abandonment of his liberal allies in the Reichstag and his turn toward conservative politics. The journal became decidedly antisemitic only after its founders and mainstays had passed away, retired, or been replaced by a new generation of contributors.

This explicit support of antisemitic causes may well have contributed to the decline of the *Kladderadatsch*, which slowly but surely lost its influence as well as its readership. During the Weimar era and in the Third Reich, circulation dwindled to approximately 10,000. Revealingly, the *Kladderadatsch* lost ground to two rival Berlin satirical weeklies, both of which continued in the footsteps of the best traditions of the original *Kladderadatsch*. *Berliner Wespen* and *Ulk* employed talented and well-integrated Jewish humorists, capable of dispensing "Jewish" jokes to

an appreciative German audience—once the hallmark of the *Kladderadatsch*.

—Henry Wassermann

**See also** *Angriff, Der*; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); *Fliegende Blätter*; *Gartenlaube, Die*; Heine, Heinrich; *Simplicissimus*; Stoecker, Adolf; *Stürmer, Der*; Treitschke, Heinrich von

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## Kolbe, Maksymilian (1894–1941)

A Franciscan friar, Maksymilian Kolbe earned a Ph.D. from the Gregorian University in Rome in 1915. With some other young friars, he founded the society of the Knights of the Immaculate in 1917, and he received a degree in theology in 1919. He returned to Poland after independence and founded a proselytizing monthly newspaper, the *Knight of the Immaculate*, which ultimately reached a circulation of 750,000. In 1927, he established the monastery and publishing house of Niepokalanów, near Warsaw. Between 1930 and 1936, he served as a missionary in Japan, founding a branch of his order in Nagasaki and a Japanese edition of his newspaper.

The *Maly Dziennik* (Little Daily) began publishing in 1935, in Kolbe's absence; the inexpensive paper soon became the largest-selling daily in Poland. By 1939, Niepokalanów had become the world's largest Catholic monastery, housing 700 friars and novices, and it operated a short-wave radio station in addition to its extensive publishing concern. When the war broke out, these operations were shut down, and the friars turned to social work. Kolbe was imprisoned by the Nazis and released in 1939, then arrested again in 1941 and sent to Auschwitz. There, he offered himself in place of a married prisoner who was to be executed as a hostage, and he died in the camp's punishment barracks. He was canonized in 1982.

The Niepokalanów newspapers conformed to

the usual Catholic views of the time, sometimes publishing extremely antisemitic articles. Although Kolbe's defenders claim that he did not exercise editorial control and did not share these opinions, a recently published selection of his writings attributes some of the articles to him. In one of them, he described the Jews as the hidden force behind Freemasonry, which he called "the army of the Antichrist."

—Steven Paulson

*See also* Antichrist; Freemasonry; Poland

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## Konitz Ritual Murder (1900)

On March 11, 1900, in the town of Konitz in West Prussia, a vicious murder of an eighteen-year-old boy occurred, letting loose a storm of accusations that the local Jews had committed a ritual murder of a Christian. Hostile feelings gathered force in the following months, culminating in the largest outbreak of antisemitic violence in Wilhelmine Germany.

Despite the brutality of the crime (the body had been cut to pieces and its parts distributed around town), the killer was never found. But as the parts seemed expertly cut, local people as well as the Berlin police suspected a trained butcher. Two butchers lived near the supposed scene of the crime: Gustav Hoffmann, a Christian, and Adolph Lewy, a Jew. The Berlin police suspected Hoffmann, whereas most of the townspeople presumed the perpetrator was Lewy. When police interrogated Hoffmann, violence broke out.

The violence was based on popular belief in the blood libel—that Jews kill Christians (preferably boys) around Passover, drain them of their blood, and use the blood in the baking of matzah. A tenacious tale, the blood libel had its Christian origins in the High Middle Ages; subsequently embellished by centuries of antisemitic writings, it still held people in its grip in the year 1900. In Konitz, the editor of a Berlin antisemitic newspaper, the *Staatsbürgerzeitung*, further fanned local superstitions and helped the Christian butcher write his accusation of the Jewish butcher. This

accusation drew on the rumor and gossip of the streets, as Christian neighbor denounced Jewish neighbor for murderous complicity in an alleged Jewish plot. The town—comprising roughly 10,000 inhabitants, mostly German-speaking, half Protestant, half Catholic, with approximately 300 Jews—became polarized. Violence ensued; it involved rock throwing, beating the houses of Jews with sticks, and the shouting of "Jews out" and "Beat the Jews to death." In Konitz and the towns around it, some thirty antisemitic riots occurred, culminating in the ransacking of the synagogue in Konitz and an attempt to burn it down. Although these riots only involved isolated cases of physical abuse of Jews, they were not quelled until early June, when the Prussian army marched into town to restore order. As this occurred, people in Konitz and the surrounding towns denounced the army as a "Jewish defense force."

Bright moments did exist in what seemed like the recrudescence of medieval darkness. Many, though not all, of the Berlin inspectors dismissed the ritual murder tale as ludicrous, and many, but again not all, of the Prussian officials sought to uphold law and order and protect the Jews. In addition, some local citizens stood up against the contagion of rumor and denunciation. Finally, although the killer was never found, the authorities tried a number of people for perjury, including early accusers of Adolph Lewy.

The Konitz case was the last major outbreak of the ritual murder accusation in Germany before the advent of Nazism. It therefore serves as a turn-of-the-century barometer for antisemitic beliefs and their potential for turning Christian citizens against their Jewish neighbors.

—Helmut Walser Smith

*See also* Antisemitic Correspondence; Antisemitic Political Parties; Polná Ritual Murder; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Xanten Ritual Murder

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## Kosher Slaughtering

Debates about how to kill livestock were widespread in late nineteenth-century Europe and

North America. Animal protectionists—the main initiators of these debates—demanded that butchers be better trained, that preparations and killing techniques be improved, and most important, that all livestock be stunned before slaughter (either with a hammer or a shooting mask). One particularly controversial issue was the practice of *shehitah* because it prohibited such stunning procedures.

The term *shehitah* refers to the traditional Jewish method of slaughtering animals in order to render them kosher. The practice of *shehitah* had been implemented in ancient times to guarantee the bloodlessness of meat and to protect animals from unnecessary suffering. Closely regulated by the laws of the Talmud and Shulcan Aruch, *shehitah* requires special preparations (a benediction), tools (the *halat* knife), procedures (cutting and bleeding), and an expert butcher (the *Shohet*). The most important aspect of this procedure was the complete drainage of blood, which, according to ritual, could only be accomplished if the animal's muscle functions and vital organs were intact. This, in turn, required that the animal not be stunned. Although many animal protectionists considered this practice inhumane, Jewish officials argued that it was no crueler than other forms of butchering and that it was, moreover, a religious rite.

Debates about the humanity of *shehitah* occurred in Switzerland (the first country to make stunning mandatory, in 1854), England, France, the United States, and many other nations, but they were most pronounced in late nineteenth-century Germany, where they coincided not only with the political emancipation of Jews but also with the rise of political antisemitism. It is difficult to assess to what extent antisemitic sentiments played a role in the arguments of animal protectionists, but the controversy clearly took on antisemitic overtones in Germany once it entered the Reichstag in the mid-1880s. For the antisemitic Reichstag deputies Otto Böckel and later Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, *shehitah* provided a perfect pretext for expressing their anti-Jewish sentiments while hiding behind an alleged concern for the humane treatment of animals. Claiming that *shehitah* was a cruel and uncivilized practice, the antisemites in the Reichstag

demanded that Jews abandon this practice if they wanted to be part of German society. Most other politicians, especially the Catholic Center Party leader Ludwig Windthorst and the Social Democrat Wilhelm Liebknecht, rejected these arguments, insisting that religious freedom had to be guaranteed because it was one of the principal rights of German citizens, including Jews. The increasingly antisemitic nature of these debates became obvious in the 1890s when the antisemites repeatedly attempted to put the issue on the Reichstag agenda, only to have their efforts immediately rejected by the majority. Similar proposals in the state parliaments of Baden and Bavaria also went down to defeat. The only exception was in the Kingdom of Saxony, where a law that made the stunning of all livestock mandatory remained in effect from 1892 until 1910, when it was repealed.

By 1900, the debate about *shehitah* had all but disappeared from the official political arena, yet it continued in some radicalized animal protection organizations and scientific publications. During the Weimar Republic, the issue remerged wherever the Nazi Party gained sufficient political clout. Shortly after rising to power in 1933, the Nazis passed a new slaughter law that effectively outlawed the practice of *shehitah*. Similar laws were passed in Norway (in 1929), Poland (in 1936), Sweden (in 1937), Hungary and Italy (in 1938).

—Dorothee Brantz

**See also** Böckel, Otto; Center Party; Dietary Laws; *Kulturmampf*; Lieberman von Sonnenberg, Max; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Nazi Party Program; Social Democratic Party; Weimar

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## Kralik, Richard von (1852–1934)

Richard von Kralik, prolific writer, polemicist, and implacable, if subtle, antisemite, settled in

Vienna in the early 1870s. The son of an affluent Bohemian crystalware manufacturer, Kralik was independently wealthy for most of his life. Even as his fortunes declined, he continued to write and to conduct his cultural crusades through radically changing circumstances. Indefatigable, he was writing until a few days before his death.

Having established himself in one of Vienna's most fashionable districts by the 1890s, Kralik held forth as a guru of cultural conservatism and the main attraction of what was perhaps the capital's last literary salon. His followers, who for a time consisted of some of Vienna's high society, continued to perform his plays and readings for more than forty years after his death.

A muddled racialist rather than a racial essentialist, Kralik became most strident in his antisemitic polemics following World War I. The Oberammergau Passion Play, which he attended in the early 1880s, may have stimulated his brand of antisemitism, which was energized by his religiosity. The dramatization of Christ's betrayers embodied what Kralik deemed "essentially Jewish traits" and would, in any case, have appealed to his warped romanticism. During the political upheavals in 1919, Kralik blamed the Jews for the revolutions in eastern Europe and for much of the general decay of European civilization. As a remedy, he sought to reopen "the traditional wells of European culture" through a synthesis of Germanic paganism, Greco-Roman literature and architecture, and religiously inspired Christian arts. Kralik was viewed by his followers as a bulwark against modern evils: naturalism in drama and literature, abstraction in art, and anarchy in politics. During the 1920s and 1930s, he received prestigious awards and honors from the Viennese Social Democratic municipality and national republican leadership—ironically, because Kralik was both antirepublican and antisocialist.

Apart from his condemnation of the "Jewish-inspired" decay of European culture and politics, Kralik was also highly critical of postwar politics in general. He loathed Woodrow Wilson ("Professor Wilson") as the personification of Western democracy and the source of Austria's problems. Though he respected Benito Mussolini for restoring "order" in Italy, he ridiculed Hitler as a mis-

guided upstart who had left his homeland to stake out a career in Germany (even though Kralik himself was an émigré from Bohemia). Following the annexation of Austria in 1938, he was posthumously hailed as a prophet of the new German Reich.

As a déclassé member of the late Austrian imperial and then republican cultural elite, Richard von Kralik embodied the complex hatreds and frustrations of many like himself who blamed traditional scapegoats for unprecedented problems that they but dimly understood.

—Richard S. Geehr

*See also* Austria; Bettauer, Hugo; Judeo-Bolshevism; Oberammergau Passion Play

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## Kraus, Karl (1874–1936)

Born a generation after Sigmund Freud, Karl Kraus was perhaps best known in Vienna during the years leading up to World War I. He is remembered for his unrelentingly bitter and barbed criticism of the fin-de-siècle bourgeois culture during Vienna's twilight years. Kraus's first pamphlet, *Die demolierte Literatur* (Literature Demolished [1897]), written after Vienna's famous literati coffeehouse Café Griensteidl was torn down, owed its success to his bold lampooning of lionized authors such as Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Hermann Bahr.

Kraus's position vis-à-vis Vienna's bourgeois culture was as complex as his own sense of Jewishness. Brought up in the Jewish faith, he formally renounced his connection to Judaism in 1899. But the year before taking this step, his pamphlet *Eine Krone für Zion* (A Crown for Zion) had already bitterly attacked Thedor Herzl and the Zionist program and clearly embraced assimilation. His personal solution to the identity dilemma experienced by a great many in Vienna's acutely fractionalized Jewish population was to shed Jewishness in favor of universalist humanistic ideals. His goal as a moralist and as a satirist was to transcend racial and social barriers and to present his world as an ethical unity. But the break

was never clean or total. Kraus's conflicted and vehement repudiation of his Jewish identity surfaced in many of the satirical writings and polemics he published in his influential journal *Die Fackel* (The Torch). In 1912, he took the next step, formalizing his connection to Vienna's dominant culture by freely (but privately) accepting baptism and entering the Catholic faith. He remained in the church until 1923, when he renounced his religion once again. In Vienna, the pressure on Jews to convert was very intense. Many, particularly those connected to the city's upper bourgeoisie, bowed to the pressure in order to further their careers. Gustav Mahler would probably have never become the director of the Vienna Opera or the Hamburg Opera had he not accepted baptism.

Kraus's conversion has been seen by some as an attempt to overcome the overt antisemitic realities of his day; others saw it as an eventually unsatisfying attempt to achieve personal redemption. Most commonly, Kraus is numbered among the "self-hating" Jews. Categorizing him in this way is problematic, however. His hatred was not so much directed at Judaism per se but rather at the overwhelming presence of Jewish individuals in the commercial and financial spheres of Vienna, especially in the world of journalism. Kraus abhorred the blatant commercialization of all aspects of modern life and reveled in publicly ridiculing individuals he saw as crass exploiters of human affairs. Prominent Jewish entrepreneurs often took the brunt of these venomous attacks, which made abundant use of antisemitic clichés and hateful stereotypes. From 1899 to 1936, Kraus was able to draw from the deep well of his anger to fill the pages of *Die Fackel*.

—Istvan Varkonyi

**See also** Austria; Herzl, Theodor; Schnitzler, Arthur; Self-Hatred, Jewish; Zionism

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## Krushevani, Pavolaki (1860–1909)

The antisemitic writer, journalist, and parliamentarian Pavolaki Krushevani was born in the

Russian province of Bessarabia (present-day Moldova), where he made an early career as a novelist and contributor to periodicals of a liberal orientation. In 1896, he founded the daily newspaper *Bessarabets* (The Bessarabian) in the provincial capital of Kishinev (present-day Chisinau). Krushevani soon dropped the paper's initial liberal editorial outlook, turning to the advocacy of crude, reactionary politics and making antisemitism a principal ingredient of the paper's journalism. Krushevani blamed Jews for all the ills, economic and social, of the region. In early 1903, the paper carried extensive and provocative articles about a blood libel (the claim that the Jews kidnapped and murdered Christian children to use their blood for ritual purposes) in the nearby town of Dubossary. Krushevani and *Bessarabets* were widely blamed for creating the climate of interethnic hostility that led to the notorious Kishinev pogrom in April 1903. In retaliation, a young Zionist, Pinkas Dashevskii, attacked Krushevani on a St. Petersburg street in June 1903, lightly wounding him. After a sensational trial, Dashevskii was sentenced to five years at hard labor (but amnestied in 1906).

Krushevani lost control of *Bessarabets* in 1906, but he published other newspapers—*Drug* (Friend), in Kishinev between 1905 and 1914, and *Znamia* (The Banner) in St. Petersburg. The latter newspaper published the first Russian version of the notorious antisemitic forgery known as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, in 1903.

Krushevani was among the founders of a militantly antisemitic political party, the Union of the Russian People, and was elected to the Russian parliament, the Second State Duma, on its electoral list in 1907. He had a brief and undistinguished parliamentary career but remained an antisemitic agitator until his death in 1909.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Black Hundreds; Kishinev Pogrom; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Modern); Russia, Imperial; Zionism

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### Ku Klux Klan (1915–1941)

Our usual images of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) involve terrorist night riders in the post–Civil War South or the hooded figures of hate who tried to stop the modern civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. By sheer numbers, however, the largest Klan in U.S. history thrived during the Roaring Twenties.

This “second Klan” was immensely powerful—and in places with which it is not typically associated. Klan members took over the legislatures or governorships of states with low minority populations, such as Indiana, Colorado, and Oregon. Overall, an estimated 2 million Klansmen—and thousands of Klanswomen—put on white hoods and set crosses ablaze.

The fiery rebirth of the second Klan occurred in 1915 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, outside of Atlanta, following the opening of D. W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation*. The virulently antiradical political environment in the years after World War I nurtured its rapid growth. Part fraternal lodge, part political organization, the Klan reached its peak in most states during the early 1920s. By the end of the decade, its influence had radically declined, in part, because of strong opposition but also and especially because of internal feuds and the exposure of considerable corruption.

The second Klan differed from its predecessor and successor both in its mass popularity and in its methods and goals. At times, the second Klan engaged in racist terrorism. Yet violence of this sort was relatively infrequent; commercial boycotts of Catholics and “non-Aryans” were more common than lynchings. Indeed, this Klan saw itself—and operated during this conservative decade—as a mainstream urban political movement. Prohibition, the suppression of vice, the inculcation of a hyperpatriotism, and the enforcement of other white Protestant moral “values” were its primary purposes.

KKK members specifically targeted bootleggers and adulterers, but they also and more generally saw immigrants, Catholics, blacks, and

Jews as enemies. Especially in the North and West, anti-Catholic sentiment was one of the chief mobilizing forces of the organization. Anti-semitism, however, was never far from the surface. Klan members regarded Jews as too cosmopolitan to be patriotic and too cohesive to be public-spirited. Jews were deemed responsible both for bolshevism and the worst excesses of international banking. They were “vermin,” “scum,” and bent on “world domination” (Maclean 1994, 135).

The banality of the Klan’s antisemitism did not make it any less powerful, however. In conjunction with the rise of other forces of hate during the period, such as Henry Ford and his *Dearborn Independent*, the Klan helped make the 1920s one of the most antisemitic decades in U.S. history. In the end, though, the organization’s excesses also helped to discredit Jew-hating. Since its demise, no American organization as popular as the Klan has adopted antisemitism as a core value.

—Robert D. Johnston

**See also** Banker, Jewish; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Duke, David; Judeo-Bolshevism; Militia Movement; United States; White Power Movement

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### Kulturkampf

The *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilization) is the name commonly given to a series of repressive measures that Prussia, as well as other German states, directed against the Catholic Church in the 1860s and 1870s. When the church resisted these measures, bishops, priests, and Catholic politicians were interned. In a narrow sense, the *Kulturkampf* was a political struggle between church and state. From a wider perspective, it involved a conflict between German liberals, the

most enthusiastic supporters of the repressive measures, and Ultramontane Catholicism, predicated on the antimodern postulates of the First Vatican Council. In this wider sense, the Kulturkampf was also a European phenomenon.

Within the political culture of German Catholicism, the Kulturkampf represented an early high-water mark of Catholic antisemitism, as many Catholic leaders accused liberal Jews of supporting Kulturkampf legislation. The accusation, however, was largely misplaced. Although some Jews supported the repressive measures, most did not, including prominent Jewish delegates to the Reichstag. The more general association of Jews with liberalism also aroused Catholic ire. In pamphlets and popular newspapers and during elections, Catholics rarely tired of depicting Jews as urban liberals, rapacious capitalists, and enemies of Christianity. If these sentiments rarely shaded into racial antisemitism in the Kulturkampf era, they were nevertheless harsh enough.

During the Kulturkampf, prominent Catholic politicians—Ludwig Windthorst, the leader of the Catholic Center Party, foremost among them—attempted to quiet the simmering antisemitism among their constituents. On the floor of the Reichstag and in the corridors of power, Windthorst was largely successful. But within the popular culture of Catholicism, antisemitism ran deep and was nurtured by the perception of Jewish responsibility for the Kulturkampf. Moreover, this antisemitism did not dissipate after the Kulturkampf came to a close in 1878, when Otto von Bismarck and Pope Leo XIII were able to reach a diplomatic accord. Instead, antisemitism lingered and rendered Catholics vulnerable to an

unfettered populist politics, with starker antisemitic tones, in the years that followed. This was true in the Rhineland, where the Xanten ritual murder case of 1891 and 1892 was nourished by antisemitic agitators; it was also true in Bavaria in the 1890s, where peasant parties, less shy about their antipathies toward Jews, mounted serious challenges.

The situation can be attributed, in part, to the deep wells of popular piety, partly in the wide field of Catholic politics in Europe. The Kulturkampf, in the sense of a conflict between liberalism and Ultramontanism, was waged across Europe, and in the 1870s, other Catholic leaders, notably in France and Austria, also resorted to antisemitic politics. Insofar as German Catholics were part of this wider struggle, their antisemitism, a reflex of their still deeper antiliberalism, became an important part of their political identity. But unlike Catholics in France and Austria, Catholics in imperial Germany, like Jews, remained a vulnerable minority. Their political leaders therefore urged circumspection at a time when antisemitism ran full gallop elsewhere.

—Helmut Walser Smith

**See also** Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; Center Party; Memminger, Anton; Papacy, Modern; Ratzinger, Georg; Ritual Murder (Modern); Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First; Xanten Ritual Murder

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# L

## Lagarde, Paul de (1827–1891)

Although Paul de Lagarde held a chair in Oriental studies at the University of Göttingen, he thought of himself as a theologian whose mission was to promote the spiritual and political regeneration of the German nation. His essays combining nationalistic religiosity with a vituperative antimodernism and antisemitism were collected in a volume entitled *Deutsche Schriften* (German Writings) in 1878 and reissued in an expanded edition in 1886. Appearing in several different versions up to 1945, this book exercised considerable influence within the growing *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movement before and after World War I, and it was widely regarded as one of the foundational texts of the Third Reich.

Born Paul Anton Boetticher, Lagarde lost his mother at birth and suffered under the constrictive upbringing of his narrow-mindedly sectarian father, leaving him with lifelong feelings of homelessness and bitterness. His unhappy childhood helped to form a hypersensitive, stubborn, abrasive, and self-righteous personality, giving rise to professional conflicts and disappointments that further nourished his belligerence. Adoption by his maternal great-aunt in 1854 led to his change of name and an accompanying sense of rebirth. Unable to obtain a university post after completing his doctorate at the University of Berlin, partly as a result of his cavalier attitude toward accepted scholarly practices, he taught at a Berlin preparatory school for several years before landing a professorship at Göttingen in 1869.

Lagarde's personal and professional frustrations colored his political views and turned him into a fierce critic of the political, religious, and educational institutions of the newly founded German Empire. He admired Otto von Bismarck's aristocratic personality and leadership in the wars of unification but faulted the chancellor for a number of "failings," above all for neglecting to recognize and act on the threat to authentic Germany supposedly arising from the spread of Jewish influence. Although he distinguished between Jewry and individual Jews (who could, in his view, become good Germans by giving up their Jewishness), he regarded the Jewish religion as an atavistic form of Asiatic paganism. He blamed the Jews for inventing the stock market, which enabled capitalists to accumulate unprecedented wealth without assuming the obligations that landownership entailed. He portrayed the German *Mittelstand* (lower middle class) and peasantry as victims of capitalism. Capitalist excesses promoted socialism, a form of internationalism that served the purposes of the Jewish conspiracy that Lagarde imagined to be at work throughout Europe.

From his paranoid perspective, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, an organization founded in Paris in 1860 to defend Jews against discrimination, was, in fact, designed to prevent Jews from becoming good members of their host societies, thus serving the same function as the Jesuit order for Catholics. Like many antisemites who advocated assimilation as a way of eradicating Jewish identity, Lagarde favored the establishment of a Jewish state, to which those Jews who would not renounce their Jewishness could be deported. Aware that his antisemitism could jeopardize his academic credibility, he made a distinction between *Antisemitismus* and *Judenfeindschaft* (antisemitism and Jew-hatred), declaring that though he was proud to be an antisemite, he was not an enemy of the Jews.

Repeating a favorite antisemitic trope, Lagarde declared that the real problem lay in the inno-

cence and simple-heartedness of Germans, who were easily duped by Jewish guile. He deplored the fact that so many of his compatriots (namely, German progressives) had become cosmopolitans alienated from their own national essence. According to Lagarde, that essence lay in a characteristically German idealism—the pursuit of a moral imperative, an attitude diametrically opposed to the materialism and commercialism represented by Jews. Only the development of an authentically German religion could fully unite the German people behind a nationalistic agenda. He advocated a Christianity freed of all Jewish, Greek, and Roman accretions and based on the teachings of Jesus without the modifications introduced by Paul, the Catholic Church, or the Protestant Reformation. Unlike the majority of völkisch religious reformers, who venerated Martin Luther, Lagarde criticized Luther for eliminating bishops and priests, adopting the Paulist doctrine of justification by faith, retaining the Old Testament, and bringing about the religious division of Germany. The Counter-Reformation, in turn, had made the Catholic Church the enemy of all nations. Although he sought to join religion and politics in a common national cause, he paradoxically called for the separation of church and state in Germany so that the decadent churches could die a natural death.

Lagarde also proposed numerous other reforms, consistently opposed to such modernizing forces as democracy, liberalism, rationalization, urbanization, and secularization. His call for a unified German national community freed of the Jewish presence found devoted followers in such völkisch propagandists as Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Theodor Fritsch, and Heinrich Class of the Pan-German League. But even the moderate conservative Thomas Mann admired Lagarde and acknowledged his influence.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Alliance Israélite Universelle; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Class, Heinrich; Fritsch, Theodor; Lienhard, Friedrich; *Mirror to the Jews, A*; Paul; Sombart, Werner; *Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The*; Völkisch Movement and Ideology

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## LANC—National Christian Defense League

Romania's LANC—the Liga Apărării Național Creștine (National Christian Defense League)—was founded by A. C. Cuza in 1923 and pursued a clearly antisemitic agenda that contributed significantly to the worsening of Jewish-Romanian relations. Following World War I, Romania nearly doubled its territory with the annexation of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia. Simultaneously, it enlarged its minority populations, especially Hungarians, Germans, and Jews, which, in turn, increased the anxiety levels of Romanian nationalists and antisemites. Meanwhile, the postwar economic dislocations further undermined Romanian small farmers. These grievances and tensions provided the fodder for nearly continuous election campaigning by antisemitic groups and parties, among them LANC.

LANC opposed Romanian citizenship or naturalization for Jews. It also agitated against critical journalists and leftist political organizations. The Right, however, weakened its effectiveness by splintering into three major groupings in 1927. LANC, whose core membership was composed of secondary school and university students, was not represented in parliament in 1927 and 1928. In 1930, however, it once again began to gain influence, mobilizing new members and voters with antisemitic propaganda. It appealed to the peasantry, alienated by the old parties' inability to deal with structural problems in agriculture, by promising to expropriate Jewish property on behalf of small farmers. In some regions, young peasants engaged in pillaging and physically abused Jews. Unable to win many seats in parliament, LANC nevertheless changed the climate of the institution by means of its brutally aggressive interventions; these included actual physical attacks on other deputies, such as the one carried out on a member of the Jewish Party (which led to the ouster of LANC representatives

from parliamentary sessions). Unlike the Iron Guard, however, LANC avoided a total dissolution. Also unlike the Iron Guard, LANC's aggressive antisemitic activities were seemingly spontaneous rather than centrally organized, and its members did not attempt to assassinate Romanian politicians. But LANC's violence-prone, blue-clad paramilitary certainly intimidated the Jewish population.

After Hitler gained power in 1933, LANC began cooperating more closely with Romanian German Nazis. At Hitler's invitation, Cuza led a Romanian delegation to Berlin, from which LANC received financial support. Hitler's access to power changed the political situation in Romania, too, as German and Jewish deputies ceased cooperating in the defense of minority rights. In 1935, LANC joined with Octavian Goga's National Agrarian Party to form the National Christian Party (PNC), which supported the exclusion of Jews from national economic life, the imposition of a *numerus clausus* (maximum number) in the professions and state-owned firms, and a scrutinizing of Jews' citizenship status. Even though the PNC won less than 10 percent of the vote in 1937, King Carol II asked Goga to form a government. During the brief life span of his government, Goga oversaw the destruction of the democratic press and the passage of significant antisemitic legislation. By 1939, as a result of the new laws, nearly one-third of the Jews of Romania—most from regions annexed after World War I—lost their citizenship and were thereby excluded from the educational system and the practice of many professions.

—Gaby Coldevey  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Cuza, A. C.; Goga, Octavian; Iron Guard; Romania

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## Lange, Friedrich (1852–1917)

Friedrich Lange was a nationalistic and antisemitic German journalist who founded the Deutschbund (German Union) in 1894, an elitist, conspiratorial organization dedicated to *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) objectives, including the exclusion of Jews from German society. Drawing its membership from the educated upper middle class and organized in the form of a secretive fraternal lodge (open only to men before 1914), the Deutschbund had only 1,100 members organized into fifty-four regional or local affiliates in 1910. But it exercised an influence beyond these small numbers; one important example was the impact it had on the long-time head of the Pan-German League, Heinrich Class, who credited the Deutschbund with forming his *völkisch* worldview.

A preparatory school teacher who had earned a doctorate in ancient philosophy from the University of Göttingen in 1873, Lange turned to journalism in the 1880s, becoming the editor of the conservative Berlin newspaper *Tägliche Rundschau* (Daily Review) in 1890 and of the hypernationalist *Deutsche Zeitung* (German Newspaper) in 1895. A collection of his essays was first published as *Reines Deutschtum* (Pure Germanness) in 1893 and reissued in several expanded editions in the course of the following two decades.

The Deutschbund was founded, in part, as a reaction to the evident failure of the antisemitic political parties of the 1880s and 1890s to gain a mass following. Lange criticized their rowdy brand of antisemitism (*Radauantisemitismus*) and the exclusive reliance on antisemitism (*Nur-Antisemitismus*) in their party programs. He hoped that a less personal, less agitational, and less negative and envy-driven form of antisemitism would have a broader appeal to influential Germans. Antisemitism, he wrote, was only one expression of a comprehensive *völkisch* worldview that put the principle of racial heredity at the center of all efforts to strengthen German ethnicity (*Volkstum*). A harsh critic of parliamentary politics, he rejected the creation of a *völkisch* or antisemitic party in favor of a strategy of infiltrating all major parties and social and cultural institutions. Notwithstanding his “unpolitical” stance, he joined in founding the

Reichswahlverband (Reich Election Association) in 1902, which grew into the Reichsverband zur Bekämpfung der Sozialdemokratie (Reich Association for the Struggle against Social Democracy) in 1904.

Lange's proposed solution to the Jewish Question did not differ from the programs of the anti-semitic parties. German Jews were to be deprived of citizenship, and foreign Jews (as well as Slavs and Latins [*Welschen*]) were to be deported. To Lange, the Jewish Question was not a matter of "whether" but only of "how." The Deutschbund also became a leading purveyor of the concept of racial hygiene, calling for a prohibition on marriage for the mentally and physically handicapped and other undesirable groups. In many ways, Lange's vision of a völkisch state anticipated the Third Reich. The Deutschbund was one of the few völkisch organizations that was not dissolved by the Nazis in 1933.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Class, Heinrich; Eugenics; Fritsch, Theodor; Pan-German League; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg (1874–1954)

The only full-length study on the writer Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels bears the title *Der Mann, der Hitler die Ideen Gab* (*The Man Who Gave the Ideas to Hitler* [1958]). This title is something of an overstatement, based on the hypothesis that during an extended stay in Vienna before World War I, Hitler probably read articles by Lanz in various antisemitic newspapers, as well as in the author's own journal. In addition, young Hitler might have visited Lanz around 1909. The phrase *might have* is appropriate here because only Lanz's accounts, written after Hitler had become famous, testify to the encounter, and, as

will soon be clear, Lanz the witness lacked great credibility.

In journalistic writings and in his best-known book, *Theozoologie oder die Kunde von den Sodoms-Äfflingen und dem Götter-Elektron* (*Theozoology, or the Study of the Little Sodom-Monkeys and the Gods' Electron* [1905]), Lanz advanced an extravagant form of racism. As the title suggests, he combined pseudoscience with grandiose Theosophical and mystical conceits in confabulations on racial hierarchy. He believed in the cosmic superiority of Aryan peoples and that their mingling with other races represented the greatest problem of the age.

Above all, Lanz was a charlatan. A native Viennese, he was born Joseph Adolf Lanz in 1874. When he was nineteen, he joined—as the novice Brother George—the Order of the Cistercians of the Chapter of the Holy Cross in the Vienna Woods. He became an ordained priest in 1899. But a year later, he left the order because of "growing nervousness" and established the Order of the New Templars, the main principle of which was racial purity.

Lanz then undertook to change his identity. He altered his date and place of birth and conferred a fake doctorate on himself, smuggling all this apocryphal information into Vienna's official registry. He also changed his name to Baron Adolf Georg (Jörg) von Liebenfels, Ph.D. Apparently, his mother, whose maiden name was Hoffreich, had Jewish ancestry. So beyond wanting to feed his megalomania, Lanz needed to bring his own heritage into line with his ideology.

If Lanz might have acted as Hitler's mentor, he clearly had mentors of his own, most notably the mystical antisemite Guido von List. In fact, Lanz belonged to the List Society and eventually became part of List's own order, the Armanianship. He established his Aryan supremacist journal *Ostara* in 1905, shortly before Hitler arrived in Vienna. It ran, though not continuously, until 1928, totaling just over 100 numbers, most of which Lanz wrote himself. After the war, the journal carried a telling subtitle, "The Empire of the Blond People."

Until that time, antisemitism was no more prominent in Lanz's work than were general claims about the superiority of blond, blue-eyed

*Völker* (peoples) and admonitions against the tainting of Aryans through “Mongo” or “Negro” blood—Jews, for Lanz, belonged to the “Mediterranean peoples.” In *Ostara* articles such as “Race and Woman and Her Predilection for a Man of a Lower Nature” (1909) and “The Love and Sex Life of Dark and Blonde People” (1910), for instance, Lanz persistently worried the theme of miscegenation, for which he held German women partially responsible (as the former title implies). Because, in his opinion, Jews wanted to remain a separate *Volk*, he did not treat them as a particularly dire threat.

That position changed with the loss of World War I, which he blamed on the Jews. He reconfigured his main motifs accordingly. Still fixated on sex between German women and “Negroes,” he now attributed that problem to Jewish conspiracies. In 1921, for example, he wrote, “The Jew wants to violate, to ruin completely our German race; that’s why he throws German women to the Negroes in the Rhineland.”

After World War II, Lanz bragged about—and in all likelihood exaggerated—his influence on Hitler. In everyday life, however, he came across differently. He was treated more as a curiosity than as someone who helped pour the intellectual foundation for mass murder. “At home,” his nephew Luigi Hoffenreich recollects, “we only called him ‘Cuckoo.’”

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Austria; Hitler, Adolf; List, Guido von; Theosophy; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## LATERAN COUNCIL, FOURTH (1215)

The Fourth Lateran Council was convened by Pope Innocent III for the purpose of reforming the Latin Christian Church and society and recovering the Holy Land, lost to Saladin after 1187. The council was held at the Lateran Palace

complex in Rome between November 11 and November 30, 1215, and was the largest, most productive, and most influential church council of the Middle Ages. Its canons 67 through 70, which pertained to Jews, defined several important aspects of Jewish identity in Christian Europe for centuries.

Innocent announced the council in a circular letter in April 1213, giving the participants what was, at the time, an extraordinary two and one-half years to prepare for their participation. Around 5,000 people eventually attended, so large a number that the council was usually referred to simply as the Great Council. The seventy canons and the call for another crusade produced by the council virtually redefined Latin Christianity for the next three and one-half centuries.

Canons 67 through 70 reflected the hostile perceptions of contemporary Judaism held by Innocent III and others. They strictly regulated Jewish moneylending (67), prescribed distinctive Jewish dress (68), forbade Jews to appear in public on certain Christian holy days (68), criminalized Jewish expressions deriding Jesus and Christianity (68), prohibited Jews from holding public office and exercising power over Christians (69), and prohibited Jewish converts to Christianity from continuing to use Jewish rites (70). By including these restrictions among the massive statements of doctrine and discipline of the council, Innocent III contributed substantially to the significant reduction of Jewish status in Christian Europe that would characterize the following three centuries.

—Edward Peters

**See also** Church Councils (Early); Crusades; Innocent III; Middle Ages, High; Usury; Yellow Badge

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### Lavater, Johann Kaspar (1741–1801)

The Zurich theologian and man of letters Johann Kaspar Lavater was a European celebrity because of both his wide-ranging literary output and his communication skills. Among his large circle of correspondents was Moses Mendelssohn, whom he met three times in Berlin on his “grand tour” (1763–1764). In 1769, Lavater dedicated his annotated translation of Charles de Bonnet’s *Philosophical and Critical Inquiries Concerning Christianity* to Mendelssohn, whom he challenged either to refute Bonnet’s proofs of Christianity or to do “what Socrates would have done, had he read this book and found it irrefutable” (120). During the following months, the two engaged in a heated, closely followed controversy that played out in letters, journals, and monographs.

The exact interpretation of Lavater’s challenge is still debated today. Generally, it is seen as a well-meant but rather awkward attempt at conversion. Some see it as his attempt to engage Mendelssohn in a dialogue concerning faith or immortality. Yet another theory suggests that it was not a traditional attempt to convert Mendelssohn to one of the Christian confessions but rather an invitation to turn to the Messiah of the Scriptures.

Salvation history (*Heilgeschichte*) and, especially, eschatological-apocalyptic themes produced in Lavater a lively theological interest in Judaism. Like many of his contemporaries, he was deeply convinced that the imminently expected millennium would not occur before “the entire Jewish nation” had turned to Christianity or at least that the beginning of the “thousand-year Reich” was tied to a general conversion of the Jews. He voiced this expectation often and eloquently in *Views of Eternity* (*Aussichten in die Ewigkeit*) and his major life’s work, the *Physiognomic Fragments* (*Physiognomische Fragmenten*), in which he also made several minor observations concerning Jews. (To do justice to these, it is necessary to refer to the original German text be-

cause later editions and translations leave out much or include numerous additions.) He treated the subject first in a section on “national and family physiognomies,” the existence of which he had no doubts about. He confessed to only a “very slight knowledge of nationality” and thus relied on others’ observations, “contributing nary a mite of his own observations” (4: 267). He quoted a handwritten message from his friend the poet Jakob Lenz. The Jews, according to Lenz, “carry with them the signs of their Oriental homeland into the four corners of the earth,” namely, “short, curly black hair and a brown complexion.” Their Oriental origin also accounted for their “rapid speech and the hectic, frantic nature of their actions.” Lenz also thought that they “in general, possessed more gall than other men.” Lavater opined that “the national character of the Jewish countenance included a pointy chin, thick lips, and a well-defined middle line of the mouth” (4: 272–274).

In the fifth section of his traversal of the individual components of the human face, Lavater dealt with the nose, which he thought was the sign of “taste, sensibility, and feeling” (2: 98). Adopting a view that had been widespread since the fifteenth century, Lavater declared that Jews possessed “for the most part, hawk noses” (4: 258). He made a more serious nasal observation in his “hundred physiognomic rules,” which, because of possible misuse, was not printed in his lifetime (posthumously published in English in 1804). There, he maintained that noses “arched in the upper part” indicated “fearful” and “voluptuary” character traits. Although he did not relate this passage specifically to Jews, such an association was likely for readers of the *Physiognomic Fragments*, in which there were abundant illustrations of Jewish profiles with hook noses. One illustration was captioned “a hard-hearted rabbi” (4: 367). With observations such as this, Lavater was simply repeating a discriminatory cliché.

Nevertheless, it would be unjust to judge Lavater as anti-Jewish or antisemitic. He sought and recognized the face of God in the face of every human being. Moreover, when Moses Mendelssohn asked him, in 1775, to intervene on behalf of the sorely pressed Jews of the Swiss

communes of Endingen and Lengly, Lavater responded successfully.

—Horst Weigelt

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Kant, Immanuel; Michaelis, Johann David; Philosemitism

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## Le Pen, Jean-Marie (1928– )

When he emerged as a significant player on the French political scene in the early 1980s, Jean-Marie Le Pen displayed strong antisemitic prejudices and went out of his way to make them public. Le Pen followed in a long line of demagogues on the French Far Right. From Gen. Georges Boulanger and Maurice Barrès in the late nineteenth century to Charles Maurras and the leaders of the fascist leagues in the interwar years and Marshal Philippe Pétain and Pierre Poujade in the 1940s and 1950s, France has had its fair share of racists.

But the situation that Le Pen found himself in during the 1980s was different. Society had moved on. No longer was the Jewish Question the dominant issue for those on the Far Right wishing to engage in “racial warfare.” For various reasons (the sheer number of North Africans working in France, the color of their skin, and the unflattering stereotypes that had begun to emerge), the “immigrant question” had superseded the Jewish Question. Le Pen and his party, the Front National (FN), have been highly effective in their concerted campaign of hostility toward immigrants, but the suspicion of Jews (French and non-French) regarding his antisemitism persists.

Le Pen and his party have employed a variety of strategies. On one level, they have courted scandal and controversy by making the most outrageous claims. In 1987, the FN leader stated that the Holocaust was a “point of detail” in the history of World War II; in 1988, he derided the government minister Michel Durafour by calling him “Durafour-*Crématoire*”—an allusion to Hitler’s gas ovens. And in 1990, he was accused of preparing the political climate that gave rise to the desecration of Jewish graves in the southern town of Carpentras.

The casual observer might conclude that Le Pen is prone to the occasional gaffe, but, in fact, for Le Pen, “all news is good news.” He has always survived and sometimes even flourished on the back of negative press. Some observers contend that the FN executes a bizarre publicity stunt every September (when the French political year recommences). The stunt often involves a Jewish element. Le Pen, a man who has made a career out of smashing taboos, is able to detect a “Jewish conspiracy” in every corner and to exploit the publicity thus engendered.

On another level, however, Le Pen and his party have been more covert. They have developed a coded language that has sought to hide the finer points of their antisemitic discourse. Thus, when Le Pen talks about “the lobby,” he is talking about the Jewish leadership, and when he uses the phrase “cosmopolitan plot,” he is often referring to a Jewish organization. Using this kind of language has enabled him to connect with his natural constituency on the racist Right, and it has, at the same time, helped him to deflect criticism and reduce the number of occasions he is asked to appear in court to defend himself. Le Pen has also argued, as a last line of defense, that his movement includes a number of French Jews in its ranks and thus cannot possibly be antisemitic.

In 2002, Le Pen ran for the French presidency and caused a political earthquake by reaching the second round of balloting for that office. There was never any possibility of him becoming head of state, but the presence of an enthusiastic antisemite in the knockout phase of the election was a startling reminder that France had not yet buried its prejudiced past. What is at least as disturbing is that a small percentage of French Jews,



A young girl waves a French flag during a demonstration at the Pantheon, central Paris, April 28, 2002. Thousands of protesters joined the demonstration called by the Jewish student association and the International League against Racism and Antisemitism (LICRA). (Reuters/Corbis)

perhaps as many as 5 percent (or 20,000 voters), actually backed him in the election. In a period of intense friction between Arabs and Jews, they reasoned that the FN leader was the only candidate promising the mass expulsion of North African immigrants, thus aiding French Jews in their quest for security.

—Peter J. Davies

*See also* Action Française; Barrès, Maurice; France; Maurras, Charles; Stavisky Affair; Vichy

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## League against Antisemitism

In the 1880s, Germany's antisemitic political parties succeeded in mobilizing sizable sectors of

the lower middle class. Their goal of undoing Jewish emancipation posed a danger not only to Jews but also to the liberal political and social values of many other middle-class Germans. Responding to the threat, representatives from the liberal and left-liberal political parties and private individuals of the educated and propertied elite formed the League against Antisemitism (Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus, or Abwehr-Verein) in January 1890.

Although there were always a considerable number of Jewish members in the organization, leadership of the Abwehr-Verein remained in the hands of non-Jewish intellectuals, who continued to set the tone for the forty-three years of its existence. That this was a gentile initiative was clear from the inaugural announcement of the league, signed by 535 Christians who declared it a matter of honor for the German people and especially for Christians to combat the un-Christian activities of the antisemites that menaced the well-being of the fatherland. The fight against

antisemitism and the defense of the rights of Jews were not the primary objectives. Rather, the league worked to safeguard the public sphere of the German Empire and to uphold the rule of law. Although it never functioned as a Jewish interest group—a constant and entirely predictable accusation of the antisemites—the Abwehr-Verein made it one of its important goals to turn the de jure equality of Jewish citizens, including the freedom to practice their religion, into a practical reality. Repeatedly, members of the league who sat in the Reichstag and state parliaments admonished the government to live up to the constitution and to appoint qualified Jews to civil service and military positions.

As was the case with the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, the Abwehr-Verein attributed antisemitism to intellectual backwardness and believed that the struggle against antisemitism had to be fought with the honorable weapons of public enlightenment. To this end, in 1892, the league began publishing the *Antisemites' Mirror* (*Antisemiten-Spiegel*), a handbook of reliable information about the antisemitic parties, interest groups, and press. Further, its weekly newspaper, brochures, pamphlets, and public lectures countered the propaganda of the antisemites, presented logical arguments against their racist theorizing, and generally endeavored to present them in the worst possible light. A free correspondence service regularly provided German newspapers with accurate information about the activities of the antisemites. At election time, the candidates of the Conservative Party received special attention, especially after the party adopted an antisemitic plank in its Tivoli Program (in 1892).

At the outbreak of World War I, it was hoped that the loyal service of Jews to their German fatherland would put an end to antisemitism once and for all. But by the close of 1915, the league leadership regretfully recognized that it would have to struggle on against antisemitic calumnies. Supportive of Weimar democracy, the organization continued to condemn antisemitism as a fundamental danger to the German people and polity. It presented the antisemites as unpatriotic because they damaged Germany's reputation abroad and hindered its conduct of foreign pol-

icy, including attempts to ameliorate the harsh conditions imposed by the Versailles Treaty.

Overcoming a serious economic crisis during the period of German hyperinflation, the Abwehr-Verein kept producing a steady list of publications, including the *Abwehr-ABC* and numerous enlightenment works aimed at a mass audience. Members and leaders spoke out against the rising number of cemetery and synagogue desecrations and against acts of physical violence that victimized Jews. In the ending phase of the republic, the National Socialists and their radical racist antisemitism stood at the center of the organization's antidefamation work. For the Reichstag elections of 1930, the league campaigned under the slogan "No votes for Nazis," holding Germans who voted for the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) responsible for the ultimate decline of the country.

Mounting threats from the Nazis drove the Abwehr-Verein to assume a defensive posture. The direct combat with fascism gave way to a behind-the-scenes attempt to influence the opinion of important people. To the end, the organization kept faith in the powers of reason, justice, and truth to defeat Nazism. After the Nazis assumed power in January 1933, the Abwehr-Verein ceased all activity, voluntarily disbanding on July 7, 1933.

—Gregor Hufenreuter  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919; Emancipation; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Racism, Scientific; Tivoli Program; Versailles Treaty

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## Léon, Abram (1918–1944)

Biographical information on Abram Léon is sketchy, provided by a fellow member of the

Trotskyite Fourth International, Ernest Mandel, in the introduction to the first edition of Léon's posthumously published *Materialist Concept of the Jewish Question* (1946). Léon was born Abraham Wajnsztok in Warsaw in 1918. His family returned to Poland after a failed emigration to Palestine between 1924 and 1925 and finally settled in Belgium in 1926. There, Léon became an activist in the socialist Zionist youth organization Hashomer Hatsair (the Young Guard) and, according to Mandel, also chaired the Belgian Zionist Federation for a year. In 1940, already in contact with the Trotskyites and increasingly disenchanted with Zionism, he presented his *Theses on the Jewish Question*, a first draft of the published text he finally completed in December 1942, to his associates in Hashomer Hatsair. By the time of the German invasion of the Lowlands in May 1940, he had abandoned Zionism and finally thrown in his lot with the Trotskyites. He helped reestablish the movement's illegal Belgian organization during the Occupation, acting as its political secretary; editing its periodical, *Lenin's Way*; and maintaining the organization's international contacts. Arrested in Charleroi in June 1944, he was viciously tortured before being deported to Auschwitz, where he died in the gas chamber later that year.

Léon's economist reductionism was clearly overdetermined by his wish to purge himself of Zionism's formative influence on him. Far from being the logical result of an impartial "materialist" analysis along Marxist lines, his anti-Zionism was, in fact, the impulse that had led Léon to embark on his supposedly Marxist analysis in the first place, and hence, it fundamentally shaped (and constrained) his particular brand of materialist analysis from the outset. He radicalized Marx's contention that the religious identity of Jewry was a reflection of its distinct socioeconomic function, by concluding that Jews maintained a distinct identity only where they played a distinct socioeconomic role.

Thus, he contended, everywhere the Jews were discernible as an entity, they also formed a separate class, and any animosity toward them was invariably a reflection of a genuine class antagonism. Jewry's socioeconomic role was, in

fact, integral to precapitalist societies. With the emergence of capitalism proper, it lost this role. In the West, capitalism had afforded the integration and assimilation of the Jews. Elsewhere, it had rendered Jewry's previous socioeconomic role precarious without allowing the Jews to integrate. Now that capitalism was heading toward its ultimate demise, the absorption of the displaced Jews was beyond its reach altogether. Imperialism translated this failure into an ideology of superiority vis-à-vis the Jews as an ostensible antirace at home, a notion that complemented its view of racial superiority with regard to colonized peoples.

At that moment in history, Léon argued, modern antisemitism differed from previous forms of anti-Jewish animosity that had expressed a genuine class antagonism. It was the utter groundlessness of the current persecution of the Jews, however, that would prompt the working class, parts of which initially subscribed to antisemitism, finally to overcome its reservations regarding the Jews.

Léon's analytical approach does not seem to have placed him in a privileged position as he grappled with his own desperate situation. Otherwise, he could hardly have made the astonishing claim, while the Nazis' Final Solution unfolded around him, that nothing substantial would ultimately change for the Jews if Hitler disappeared.

—Lars Fischer

*See also* Jewish Question; Marx, Karl; Socialists on Antisemitism; Zionism

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## **Leskov, Nikolai Semenovich (1831–1895)**

Nikolai Leskov was one of Russia's most important prose writers. A master of the short story, he was noted for his sophisticated handling of narration, his stylistic virtuosity, and the diversity of plots and characters he presented, often drawn from little-known social and ethnic milieus. His attitude toward Jews and the Jewish Question

has been a subject of considerable debate, principally centered on several short stories in which the main characters are Jewish.

The complexity of Leskov's prose, especially his use of multiple narrators, argues for caution in trying to extract an ideological message from his fiction and attempting to judge to what degree the views of his protagonists coincided with their creator's. Still, there is little doubt that the stories "Rakushanskii melamed" (The Melamed of Österreich [1878]) and "Zhidovskaia kuvyrkollegiia" (Yid Somersault [1882]) exploit and reinforce anti-Jewish stereotypes. In the 1878 story, the *melamed* (religious school teacher) Skharia has acquired wealth thanks to his learnedness that "kills the spirit," his reputation for holiness (derived from a superstitious, fanatical adherence to ritual), and his rascally business practices. The 1882 story, "the most vicious thing Leskov ever wrote" (McLean 1977, 422), is an extended anecdote about how a trio of Jewish conscripts in Tsar Nicholas I's army feigned an inability to fire a gun, how repeated beatings failed to convince them to abandon their trickery, and how they were finally "cured" by a clever Russian soldier. Although representatives of other ethnic groups are also presented in uncomplimentary terms, the story emphasizes the pervasiveness of Jewish trickery, treats the beatings matter-of-factly, and refers to the pogroms of the early 1880s in a way that shifts the blame from the victimizers to the victims.

These two texts may be contrasted with "Vladychnyi sud" (Episcopal Justice [1877]), in which Leskov strongly condemns the forced conscription of Jewish children during Nicholas I's reign and the hapless Jewish protagonist, a bookbinder threatened with the loss of his son, is transformed by the end of the narrative into a near saint (and a Christian convert). Even here, however, Leskov's attitude toward Jews is ambiguous: his narrator is surely right to criticize the Jewish community's manipulation of conscription rules for the benefit of the powerful and the wealthy, yet his rhetoric is more vehement than the situation calls for ("the limitless cruelty of Yid falsehood and trickery, practiced in all possible ways").

"Melamed" and "Somersault" contrast strikingly with Leskov's sympathetic discussion of

Jewish religious holidays and other aspects of Judaism in nearly thirty newspaper pieces. There is also his remarkable pamphlet *The Jew in Russia: Some Notes on the Jewish Question* (which appeared, unsigned and in limited circulation, in 1884 and was republished in 1919 as *The Jews in Russia*). Commissioned by a group of prominent Petersburg Jews, it was presented as a private report to the Pahlen Commission, charged with developing measures to prevent a repetition of the pogroms of 1881. In this piece, Leskov strongly defended the Jewish community against hostile accusations and called for Jews to be given full equality before the law: if Russia would "start to treat her Jews as a mother and not as a stepmother, then they would . . . become her loyal sons." Finally, there is the didactic "Tale of Theodore the Christian and His Friend Abraham the Hebrew" of 1886, a reworking of a medieval text. Set in fourth-century Byzantium, the story offered so clear-cut a message of tolerance and full equality between Jews and Christians that it provoked Konstantin Pobedonostsev, the reactionary procurator of the Holy Synod, to prevent its distribution in mass editions.

—Henryk Baran

**See also** Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Emancipation; Jewish Question; Pobedonostsev, Konstantin; Pogroms; Russia, Imperial

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### **Leuchter Report**

An allegedly scientific document that was first published in Canada in 1988, the *Leuchter Report* determined that the facilities in the Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek concentration camps were incapable of mass annihilation. The author, Fred Leuchter of Boston, claimed to be a specialist in constructing and installing execution apparatus in U.S. prisons. He was hired

by the German Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel to be an expert witness at his trial in April 1988; Zündel was prosecuted by the Canadian government both in 1984 and 1988 for knowingly disseminating false information on the Holocaust. Before the trial, with Zündel's financial assistance, Leuchter spent eight days in Poland, where he visited Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek and illegally collected "forensic samples," mainly bricks and cement fragments for chemical analysis. Based on his findings, the alleged blueprints of the camps, and the samples, he claimed that gas chambers in these camps were never used for mass extermination.

The allegation that the gas chambers in Nazi concentration camps in general and in Auschwitz in particular were used only for disinfection purposes was not new. It was raised a few years after the war by one of the first European Holocaust deniers, the French fascist Maurice Bardèche, and from then on, it appeared in numerous Holocaust denial publications.

During Zündel's trial, it was established that Leuchter's claim to be an engineer was fraudulent, and the court rejected his testimony as an expert witness. In addition, after the trial, researchers and educators, notably Shelly Z. Shapiro, revealed that Leuchter had misled the court about his knowledge of the characteristics and effects of the gas used to exterminate Jews, Zyklon B. It was also revealed that he had no experience in the construction of gas chambers. Yet even though the report's "science" and its author's credentials have been exposed as bogus, the *Leuchter Report* continues to impress people who ought to know better. Even a German minister of justice, Eberhard Engelhardt, once called the document "scientifically correct," and it was only after many angry protests that he admitted his error.

In spite of the facts, the *Leuchter Report*, like many antisemitic frauds, took on a life of its own among antisemites and Holocaust deniers and became a landmark of great significance in the history of Holocaust denial. It was espoused by deniers such as Robert Faurisson and David Irving, who characterized it as a major breakthrough for those "seeking the truth" because now their claim had allegedly been proved scientifically.

—Roni Stauber

**See also** Auschwitz Lie; Bardèche, Maurice; Faurisson, Robert; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Irving, David; Zündel, Ernst

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## Liberty Lobby

The Liberty Lobby was founded in 1957 by antisemitic agitator and publisher Willis Carto as an umbrella organization for his many publishing, business, political, media, and propaganda enterprises. Carto's monthly *Liberty Letter* was the lobby's initial publication and circulated widely within ultra-right-wing and neo-Nazi circles. As his following grew, Carto diversified into specialized publications. *Liberty Lowdown* gave special "inside news" to generous financial contributors; *Western Destiny* concentrated on matters of race and geopolitics; the *Washington Observer* gave his unique take on national politics, with special emphasis on the machinations of the left-wing conspirators Carto saw as controlling most of the nation's affairs. Strong anti-Israel positions appeared regularly in all Liberty Lobby publications.

By the mid-1960s, the Liberty Lobby flourished as the largest and most active generator of ultra-right-wing literature in the United States. Carto's holdings included facilities to publish books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, and flyers. Although its publications were never as crude as the literature published by George Lincoln Rockwell, Carto's close friend and contemporary, the Liberty Lobby generated a consistent flow of material that attempted to mask raw antisemitism by presenting it as an objective revision of history. This thrust was particularly evident in Carto's obsession with disseminating Holocaust denial material.

In 1966, Carto bought the over-the-hill *American Mercury*, once the most highly regarded right-wing publication in the country. In 1975, he gave the Liberty Lobby's eighteen-year-old *Liberty Letter* a major facelift, renaming it the *National Spotlight* and bringing it out as a well-

illustrated magazine. The *National Spotlight* (the name was later shortened to *Spotlight*) continued to promote Carto's antisemitic and racist beliefs without the overt crudity that marked similar publications. That restraint earned it greater market acceptance than comparable productions. The Liberty Lobby continued to lead other similar organizations in media innovation, venturing into syndicated radio programming in the 1970s and moving on to the Internet in the 1990s.

—*Frederick J. Simonelli*

**See also** Carto, Willis; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Internet; Militia Movement; Rockwell, George Lincoln; White Power Movement

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## LICA—International League against Antisemitism

LICA—the Ligue Internationale contre l'Antisémitisme, or International League against Antisemitism—was founded in Paris in 1928 at a time when antisemitism was a presence in daily political life and the basis of mass movements. Its founder, Bernard Lecache, gathered around himself a host of celebrities: Albert Einstein, who had already had a foretaste of antisemitism in Germany; the feminist Séverine; writers and performers such as Josephine Baker, the Countess Noailles, Romain Rolland, and Joseph Kessel; and the politicians Edvard Beneš, Tomáš Masaryk, and Léon Blum. By 1931, LICA numbered over 10,000 members. Activists conducted a campaign of enlightenment regarding antisemitism. They also formed self-defense groups to protect individuals who were the frequent targets of racist and radical-rightist attacks.

When the Nazis assumed power in Germany in 1933, the league concentrated its efforts on caring for refugees and counteracting the effects of Nazism on French political life. It was at this juncture that Sigmund Freud and George Bernard Shaw joined the organization. During World War II, whenever possible, members

joined the ranks of the Resistance or the Free French of Charles de Gaulle. Committed enemies of the Nazis, several active members of LICA were deported and murdered.

After the war, LICA's mission focused on stopping human rights violations before they started. This program included pursuing the history of the Shoah and working for the abolition of the statute of limitations on crimes against humanity. It also entailed intervening in current French colonial policies and against racist attacks on minority groups and the denial of their rights anywhere in the world.

One of the league's greatest successes came shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when the French government, responding to LICA's demand, adopted legislation that made it possible to prosecute racist defamation. The tightening of these laws in July 1972 conferred special status on the organization, allowing it to represent victims of racist defamation and discrimination in court—a significant achievement.

In 1979, recognizing a more universal task, the organization renamed itself the League against Racism and Antisemitism (LICRA). Today, it pursues the general aim of achieving a humane existence and a just society for all, regardless of religion, heritage, or legal status. *The Right to Live*, the longtime journal of the league, devotes itself to discussions of the rights and problems of minorities, discrimination against those minorities, and the ways and means of overcoming injustice in society. LICRA's jurists continue to work on expanding antiracist legislation. The organization's teaching members offer seminars on the Shoah and on current events. One of LICRA's most recent accomplishments is the founding of the European School for Human Rights, which promotes a conscious engagement in the struggle for the rights of humanity.

—*Alexander Schürmann-Emanuely*

**See also** Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); France; Freud, Sigmund; Vichy

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## **Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max (1848–1911)**

An extreme nationalist, militarist, and accomplished orator of the patriotic school, Max Hugo Liebermann von Sonnenberg played a key role in the creation of party-political antisemitism in the German Empire. He was born into a landless noble family in West Prussia and served in the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian War but then fell victim to the crash of 1873 and was forced to resign from the army when he could not meet his debts. Aggrieved at the loss of his military career and blaming unnamed “usurers,” he began to participate in the politics of protest, helping to organize the Antisemites’ Petition in 1880 and joining the Berlin Movement in the following year. This uneasy alliance of radicals and conservatives that aimed at loosening the left-liberal grip on the capital’s politics gave him practical experience in organization and antisemitic agitation, which he used to form his own political apparatus. His grassroots “reform club,” the German National Union (Deutscher Volksverein), lasted just long enough to afford him prominence at the international antisemitic congresses of the early 1880s and, in 1889, to also found the German Social Party (Deutschsoziale Partei). Liebermann used this institutional base to navigate the treacherous currents of antisemitic politics in the German Empire. He sat in the Reichstag from 1890 until his death in 1911 and remained the movement’s most durable and visible spokesman.

With his class and nationalist credentials and his solicitude for the respectability of the antisemitic enterprise, Liebermann typified the conventional, socially acceptable form of political antisemitism of the period. He rapidly became a fixture in what the historian George Mosse aptly termed the “interlocking directorate of the Right.” Liebermann regularly addressed the rauous meetings of the Agrarian League pressure group, cultivated the antisemitic Association of German Students, and served as a high-profile, trusted member of the racist-nationalist Pan-German League. In his speeches to these groups, in the Reichstag, and on the campaign trail, he espoused a middle-of-the-road antisemitism. The disenfranchisement of the Jews, achieved within

the framework of German law, was the substance of his program. Political agitation, the growth of the antisemitic movement, and the election of antisemites to the Reichstag would enable the passage of legislation to remove Jewish influence from German public life. Unlike the radicals in the movement and at its fringes, Liebermann insisted that no revolutionary changes in the German economy, educational system, or cultural life needed to be considered. He repeatedly used his authority to keep antisemitic radicals and rowdies at bay. In 1894, for example, he wrested control of the antisemites’ major newspaper, the *Antisemitic Correspondence* (*Antisematische-Correspondenz*), away from Theodor Fritsch. Fritsch’s dabbling in religious “purification” movements that would replace or at least de-Judaize Christianity threatened to alienate the antisemites’ powerful conservative allies, according to Liebermann.

When the Nazis wrote the history of this early period of political antisemitism in Germany, they did not acknowledge Liebermann as a founding father. They viewed his stodgy Protestant conservatism and antilabor politics as errors (that Adolf Hitler rectified). Unwilling to recruit the “traitorous” Catholic and working-class masses of the population, Liebermann’s conventional antisemitism resulted in an isolated movement with too narrow a social base to accomplish any part of its program.

—Richard S. Levy

*See also* Agrarian League; Antisemites’ Petition; *Antisemitic Correspondence*; Antisemitic Political Parties; Berlin Movement; Fritsch, Theodor; German Students, Association of; Pan-German League

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## **Lienhard, Friedrich (1865–1929)**

Friedrich Lienhard was an Alsatian German novelist, dramatist, and publicist who devoted his career to promoting conservative and nationalist values in a variety of genres. He saw himself as a

defender of “German idealism” and traditional literary forms against modernistic aesthetic movements such as naturalism or expressionism, as well as political movements of the Left. His publications reached a wide middle-class readership in the late imperial era and in the 1920s, but his literary reputation did not long survive his death in 1929.

Lienhard strongly identified with the conservative literary reaction against foreign influences in Germany in the 1890s, particularly the naturalism of Émile Zola and the psychological realism of Henrik Ibsen. Frustrated by his failure to achieve literary success, Lienhard coined the catchphrase *los von Berlin* (away from Berlin) in 1903 and settled in the central German town of Weimar. From there, he issued a steady stream of lamentations about the degeneration of German life and literature as a result of the growing dominance of modern urban intellectual culture in which Jews played what he considered a disproportionate role. With Adolf Bartels, he founded the short-lived nativist *Heimatkunst* (art of the homeland) movement to promote a more “natural” literary form than the allegedly artificial, theoretical, and hypercritical output of the literary avant-garde. Lienhard preferred, however, to characterize his own literary endeavors as *Höhenkunst* (art of the highlands). From a synthesis of Protestant Christianity, German classicism, and Nordic Germanicism, he sought to create a usable ideology for mass consumption, which he disseminated in his six-volume *Wege nach Weimar* (Paths to Weimar [1905–1908]). His most popular novels were *Oberlin* (1910) and *Der Spielmann* (1913), which appeared in numerous editions up to 1940. He also wrote several bombastic historical dramas in the Wagnerian mode.

Lienhard’s antisemitism derived from his equation of Jewishness with modernism and materialism. He did not hesitate to label as Jewish all movements that he defined as materialistic, whether philosophical, aesthetic, or political, even when a majority of their proponents or practitioners were not of Jewish origin. He ascribed the rise of political doctrines such as liberalism and socialism, as well as the growing secularization of society, to the inordinate influence

of Jews. His refusal, however, to accept racial or biological determinism, which, in his view, represented just another form of materialism, led to a break with his erstwhile collaborator Adolf Bartels. Nor did he subscribe to the conspiracy theories with which right-wing extremists sought to justify their campaign of violence and assassination after World War I.

Yet while advocating spiritualism, quietism, and Jewish assimilation, Lienhard continued to disseminate antisemitic attitudes after the war as editor of the conservative Protestant monthly *Der Türmer* (The Watchman in the Tower). He viewed the Jewish Question as a test of Germany’s strength to assert its own character in the face of alien influences. Despite his rejection of racial determinism, he shared the racist assumption that the presence of a separate Jewish community in Germany constituted a major social problem.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Bartels, Adolf; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Lange, Friedrich; Zola, Émile

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## Lindbergh, Charles (1902–1974)

Charles Lindbergh always denied that he was an antisemite. His reputation for being one, however, warrants his inclusion in an encyclopedia devoted to the subject of antisemitism. It also raises questions about the use of the term.

In the aftermath of his first visit to Germany in 1936, Lindbergh often praised German accomplishments in military aviation. And in 1938, he received a medal from the German government for his own aeronautical efforts, notably the 1927 cross-Atlantic flight.

But the primary evidence for thinking Lindbergh was antisemitic came in a speech he delivered under the auspices of the America First Committee in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 11, 1941. In that speech, which opposed U.S. involvement in the war already under way in Europe, Lindbergh singled out the British, the Roosevelt administration, and the Jews as the “major agitators for war.” Although he sympathized with

the Jews' desire for "the overthrow of Nazi Germany," Lindbergh expressed concern over "their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government."

Rage over those comments was widespread, fueled by the memory of his earlier remarks about Germany. The America First Committee itself was divided and embarrassed, and Lindbergh's reputation was severely damaged. In giving voice to a stereotype frequently uttered by well-known antisemites in Europe and the United States, he had, it seemed, announced who he really was.

But had he? No one who ever knew Lindbergh thought him antisemitic. Nor had he ever spoken before—or would he again—about Jews. These negatives, of course, prove nothing; they do, however, require that the words, their context, and the man himself be more carefully considered.

The debate over American involvement in the war was the bitterest war debate ever conducted in the United States. Fear, suspicion, and hyperbole were its hallmarks. Two of the groups Lindbergh mentioned, the British and the Roosevelt administration, were widely thought to want the United States to enter the war. To have believed in 1941 that the Jews also favored U.S. entry made sense, even though a poll would have shown that the Jewish community was divided over the question. The stereotype, moreover, of Jewish power and influence was not without truth, as is often the case with stereotypes. Jews did control most Hollywood studios, own the premier newspaper in the United States, and occupy important positions in the Roosevelt administration. One could, therefore, imagine they had influence. Lindbergh did and believed that he was simply reporting facts. His critics assumed he was deliberately espousing and inducing prejudice. As Rabbi Irving F. Reichert of Temple Emanu-El of San Francisco commented, "Hitler himself could not have delivered a more diabolical speech" (Berg 1998, 428).

Lindbergh never apologized for his remarks. He believed that what he had said was true, and he would not disavow the truth to gain public approval. Naïve, impolitic, and self-confident to a fault, he did not suppose that words that others

used for their purposes, and still others interpreted for theirs, could not be used for his own. He suffered greatly for making this mistake. But his critics, then and now, have continued to make their own mistake in thinking that words, unexamined for their context, can tell us what is in a soul.

—Jonathan Marwil

*See also* United States

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## Linz Program (1882)

The Linz Program of September 1, 1882, was the initial political and ideological platform for the German-National Association (Deutschnationaler Verein), which had been founded three months earlier by, among others, Georg von Schönerer, the Pan-German deputy to the Reichsrat (parliament); the writer Engelbert Pernerstorfer; the (Jewish) physician Viktor Adler; the lawyer Robert Pattai; and the German-National historian Heinrich Friedjung. That future representatives of the Social Democratic Party Adler and Pernerstorfer, as well as the future Christian Social deputy Pattai, were among its initiators proves that, at that time, bourgeois German-Nationalist, Social Democratic, and even Christian Social ideologies were not considered incompatible. What made cooperation possible was the mutual antagonism of these elements toward the dominant economic liberalism.

The intended function of the Linz Program, however, was to unify the heterogeneous elements of the German-National movement. The focus of its eleven articles was the reinforcement of German supremacy in Austria, as well as a stricter separation of the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the empire. According to the Linz Program, the German language was to become the official language of Austria (Cisleithanian lands): every civil servant had to be able to speak German, and German was to become a compulsory subject in all elementary schools. Demands such as these were

amplified by the call for a state treaty to strengthen the alliance with the German Empire. These pronouncedly nationalist planks of the Linz Program were accompanied by politically liberal statements that favored the extension of suffrage and freedom of expression, as well as economically antiliberal measures to render the state “independent of financial powers.” Among these were implementation of a progressive income tax, establishment of a common customs area for the Habsburg and German Empires, nationalization of railways and insurance companies, and restrictions on female and child labor.

The original programmatic statement of 1882 made negative reference to “financial powers” (*Geldmächte*); this could be read both as explicit anticapitalism and implicit antisemitism. In 1885, Schönerer removed any lingering doubts by adding a twelfth article that pointedly called for the “elimination of Jewish influence in all spheres of public life” as an “indispensable” precondition for the other reforms advocated in the Linz Program. The explicit injection of antisemitism in the program marked an important moment in the history of the German-National movement, when, under Schönerer’s growing influence, a liberal form of nationalism succumbed to the more extreme form of racist (*völkisch*), ethnically based nationalism.

It is fair to say that the original focus of the Linz Program had been national and socioeconomic, with “racial” questions playing a quite minor role. The explicitly antisemitic Article 12 of 1885, however, led in a different direction and provoked the withdrawal of Adler and Pernerstorfer. Schönerer had achieved his goal—but at a cost. The Linz Program could no longer serve as the foundation for a broadly based German-National party.

—Werner Suppanz

**See also** Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Pan-Germans (Austria); Schönerer, Georg von

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## List, Guido von (1848–1919)

Part Pan-German propagandist, part mystagogue, Guido von List authored a number of books that proclaimed the supremacy of the Aryan race. They included his first success, the two-volume novel *Carnuntum* (1888), as well as *Deutsche-Mythologische Landschaftsbilder* (German-Mythological Landscape Portraits [1891]), *Ostaras Einzug* (Ostara’s Arrival [1896]), and *Das Geheimnis der Runen* (The Secret of the Runes [1908]), which, according to an eyewitness account, Hitler read and praised shortly after it appeared. Through these works, List acquired a devoted following, and this, in turn, enabled him to found several semisecret societies or mystical orders, among them: the Armanship (in 1907)—according to List, the Armans were a pre-Christian “noble race of people”—and the High Armans’ Revelation (in 1911). These organizations had contact with (and invite comparison to) other nationalistic antisemitic groups of the time. In 1907, List’s disciples brought the Viennese Guido von List Society into being. But above all, List is known as the popularizer of the swastika as the “secret” symbol of an “invincible” Aryan savior.

Born in 1848, List spent his life in Vienna. Although, as mentioned, his first literary success came in 1888, his career as a writer took a decisive turn toward the prolific fifteen years later, when he temporarily went blind. He believed that, while blind, he had epiphanic visions, which revealed to him the true meaning of old Germanic symbols. He immediately attempted to gain official recognition for his new knowledge by submitting a manuscript to the Austrian Imperial Academy of the Sciences in 1903. Its rejection failed to deter him. In such works as *Die Rite der Ariogermanen* (The Rite of the Aryo-Germans [1909]), he presented himself as the true custodian of old Germanic laws and called for their revival. More specifically, he proposed that as a ritual humiliation the donkey ride for adulterous women be instituted, along with the requirement that all Jews wear a special “Jewish hat.”

In contrast to his more famous Austrian contemporaries Karl Lueger and Georg von Schönerer, List never advocated a coherent antisemitic political program or became formally in-



Portrait of Guido von List pictured in front of the swastika he helped popularize. His Nordic mysticism may have influenced Adolf Hitler in his Vienna years. (Charles Walker/Topfoto/The Image Works )

volved in politics. And unlike his acolyte Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels, he had no scientific pretensions. But race was one of his central themes. And he railed against the threat of miscegenation as vehemently as any exponent of biological antisemitism, if also in more oracular terms. Although List's idiosyncratic antisemitism belongs in its own category, that category connects directly with larger, more fateful modes of antisemitism. For an obvious example, it fed into the antisemitic organization that made his secret Aryan symbol into one of the world's most recognizable icons.

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Austria; Bayreuth Circle; Hitler, Adolf; Kralik, Richard von; Lanz von Lanz, Jörg; Lateran Council, Fourth; Lueger, Karl; Pan-Germans (Austria); Schönerer, Georg von; Thule Society; Yellow Badge

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## Lithuania

The earliest record of Jews in Lithuania, known as the Litvaks, comes from a Jewish cemetery in Eišiškės where a tombstone with a date of 1170 is located. In 1388, Vytautas the Great, Grand Duke of Lithuania, granted Jews who had immigrated from the West a charter of privileges, making them free and dependent on the ruler's justice, rights similar to those enjoyed by the gentry. Through most of their history in the land, Jews remained deeply immersed in their own vibrant, religiously based culture, taking little part in the life of the larger polity. Although, thanks to their ties to Jewish communities all over Europe, they served as a cultural conduit between western Europe and Lithuania during the Middle Ages, they spoke Yiddish rather than Lithuanian and related to the Christian population only in the economic sphere. By the late fifteenth century, Jews had prospered enough to purchase the right to sell alcohol and salt, take tolls on bridges, and collect custom duties. With their rise came the first signs of active prejudice. In 1495, Grand Duke Alexander (r. 1492–1506) expelled the Jews from Lithuania, confiscated their wealth, and paid his debts with the proceeds. By 1503, Alexander, now also king of Poland (r. 1501–1506), allowed them to return to Lithuania but did not restore their property.

Early Lithuania produced a number of myths about the Jews that persisted into the twentieth century. Lithuanian peasants believed that Jews had supernatural powers to subvert the effects of the sacraments; they lacked souls and had congress with the devil. Spoken Lithuanian makes use of the diminutive, which, although linguistically neutral, can also have a comical or derisive connotation. Thus, the word *žydas* (Jew) can be transformed into *žydelis* (little Jew), not a term of endearment. Lithuanian folk culture produced a plethora of sayings, jokes, and warnings about Jews.

By the seventeenth century, Lithuanian Jews

began to live in separate Jewish quarters, and their activities as moneylenders, pawnbrokers, and jobbers allowed them to establish the first bank in Vilnius. Jews usually dealt with the Polonized nobility and burghers. In their contact with the Lithuanian peasantry, the economic realm was the most likely point of friction. For example, until 1890, when the Russian government instituted a state monopoly on vodka, Lithuanians knew the Jews primarily as tavern owners and associated them with various other exploitative middleman functions. The Jewish population living in ethnographic Lithuania rapidly expanded in the nineteenth century because of the caesarist government's creation of the Pale of Jewish Settlement, which limited Jews to the western provinces of Russia and further restricted them to urban areas. In the cities and towns, they engaged in vocational trades, which led to an ever-increasing tension between non-Jewish and Jewish craftspeople.

The nineteenth century also spawned an extreme form of integral nationalism reinforced by religious intolerance. Some of the activists of the Lithuanian national revival began to write antisemitic articles in underground newspapers such as *Auszra* (Dawn) and *Varpas* (Bell). With articles including "Us and the Jews" and satirical pieces such as "Why the Jews Don't Eat Pork," these activists perpetuated the image of the Jew as the Other. Lithuanians saw Jews as dishonest merchants and, more important, as foreigners. Although the Poles and Russians were the objects of much popular hatred, Lithuanians still considered them people, but "Jews were Jews"—belonging to a special category all their own. Unlike the Poles or the Russians, Jews were a minority without a state to protect them and therefore were especially vulnerable to discrimination.

Modern antisemitism intensified as the Lithuanian national revival began to gain strength in the 1860s. Seeking an end to Russian domination, activists demanded national equality, the reestablishment of a Lithuanian press, and the preservation of their language. "Lithuania for the Lithuanians" became their motto. Because many secularized Jews (a small minority of the Jewish population) identified with Russian culture, the Lithuanian nationalist press began to

portray Jews in general as traitors to the national cause, parasites who fostered Russification.

In 1918, Lithuania gained its independence, but along with freedom, a new, disturbing element entered into the relationship between Jews and Lithuanians. Most Jews had remained indifferent to the establishment of a democratic Lithuania, but a very few had participated in the attempt to establish a communist government. This action, no matter how unrepresentative of the Jewish population as a whole, fueled a new, popular, and ultimately destructive stereotype—the Jewish Bolshevik.

But there were many hopeful signs accompanying the birth of a sovereign Lithuania as well. After independence, Jews started to participate in Lithuania's political and cultural life as never before. The prime minister of the first government, Augustinas Voldemaras, appointed the president of the Vilnius Jewish Society, Jakov Vygodski, as the country's first minister of Jewish affairs, an entirely new departure. The government guaranteed Jews full civil rights, as well as the right to use Yiddish when dealing with public and governmental institutions. Jewish minority rights, part of the system of treaties ending the world war, were more far-reaching and longer lasting in Lithuania than in most of the other new and reborn states of eastern Europe. The president of Lithuania, Antanas Smetona regarded Jews as an integral part of Lithuania because they had participated in Lithuania's wars for independence, and served in the Lithuanian government. Nachman Rachmilevitz, a member of the Lithuanian Seimas (parliament), remarked, "If there is a portion of the Lithuanian population that is loyal in body and soul to Lithuania, it is the Jews" (in Atamukas 1998, 126.) Comparing the treatment of Jews beyond the borders in Poland, Lithuanian Jewish leaders were fond of describing their situation as a veritable paradise for Jews.

However, these promising new beginnings did not survive the 1920s. With the rise of right-wing political elements, serious economic problems, and tense relations with neighboring countries, the initial euphoria surrounding Jewish-Lithuanian relations evaporated. The government abolished the Ministry of Jewish Affairs and prohibited the use of Yiddish to conduct official

business. In 1922, Rytas (Morning), an educational society, called for the expulsion of Jews for “bringing Bolshevism to Lithuania.” The first evidence of organized antisemitism occurred in 1923 when Jewish stores were tarred with antisemitic slogans in several Lithuanian cities. In 1926, the government forbade the activities of the Jewish councils, which sought to represent the autonomous rights of native Jews. By 1927, the paramilitary fascist Geležinis Vilkas (Iron Wolf) organized as an antidemocratic, anti-Jewish, fascist underground force in Lithuania. Publicly, the most antisemitic organization was the Verslininkų Sajunga (Businessmen’s Union). In its newspaper, the union propagated the notion that Jews had caused Lithuania’s economic problems as far back as the Middle Ages. In 1934, the students of Kaunas University booed the noted psychiatrist Lazar Gutman at his inaugural lecture, delivered in the Lithuanian language, with chants of “Down with Jews!” In the winter of 1935, rumors of Jewish ritual murder precipitated a round of attacks on Jewish businesses. By the late 1930s, some extreme nationalists began calling for Lithuania to imitate Hitler’s Germany. In this atmosphere, anti-Jewish incidents multiplied in both urban and rural areas. Officially, the Lithuanian government denounced manifestations of antisemitism, but it did little to stop them.

—*Virgil Krapauskas*

**See also** Judeo-Bolshevism; Lithuania, Holocaust in; Lithuania, Post-Soviet; Middle Ages, High; Pale of Settlement; Russia, Imperial; Sorcery/Magic; Versailles Treaty

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## Lithuania, Holocaust in

Lithuanians today are concerned with being labeled a nation of “Jew shooters.” Although a

small percentage of Lithuanians actively engaged in the pogroms and killings during World War II, many more participated in the bureaucracy and apparatus of the German killing machine. Too few Lithuanians resisted the Nazis.

Modern Lithuanian historians, such as V. Brandišauskas, have attributed their compatriots’ role in the Holocaust to five factors: (1) vengeance against Jews who had collaborated with the Communists during the 1940–1941 Soviet occupation, (2) the opposing views of the pro-Soviet Jews and the pro-German Lithuanians, (3) traditional antisemitism, (4) the rise of fascism in the 1930s, and (5) individual criminal actions.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939 between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union produced two results that influenced Lithuanian participation in the Holocaust: it eventually led to the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union, and it delayed the Final Solution on Lithuanian soil until 1941 when German forces drove out the Soviets. The German invasion forced Jews to look to the Soviet Union for salvation, whereas Lithuanians looked to Germany for liberation. Although most Lithuanians realized that the Germans had no intention of restoring Lithuania’s independence, they had already experienced deadly oppression at the hands of the Soviets, who deported and killed a great number of civilians. Many believed (falsely) that the Jews constituted a majority of the Communists who sent Lithuanians to their deaths, finding in this belief a rationale for the pogroms that took place as the Soviets retreated; these were, they claimed, no more than just acts of vengeance against the Soviet agents responsible for a Lithuanian genocide. In fact, only a small percentage of Lithuanian Jews were Communists. The vast majority of Jews killed during the Holocaust were innocent victims who had nothing to do with the Soviet atrocities perpetrated against both Lithuanians and Jews.

With the advance of the German Wehrmacht into the Baltic states in the summer of 1941, the special operational units of the SS—the Einsatzgruppen—organized and implemented the destruction of Lithuanian Jews. Although most Lithuanians remained indifferent bystanders, the question naturally arises as to what extent Lithuania

nians actively participated in the killing of Jews. Exact numbers of perpetrators will probably never be established. However, some infamous acts of Lithuanian complicity in the Holocaust are part of the historical record, such as the massacre by Lithuanian partisans of over fifty Jews at the Lietūkis garage in Kaunas on June 27, 1941. (Some believe that Lithuanians played only a minor role in the Lietūkis atrocity, claiming instead that the Germans present during the massacre were the real culprits.)

A controversy still exists as to the role of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) in the Holocaust. Officially the LAF was organized to restore Lithuania's independence by driving out the Soviet occupiers, but the LAF was pro-German and received approval from the German government to organize. In a declaration of June 22, 1941, the LAF proclaimed, "Let us free Lithuania forever from the Jewish yoke . . . the fateful hour has arrived to finally settle scores with the Jews." The LAF held the entire Jewish population collectively responsible "for the Sovietization of Lithuania" in the previous year.

In an attempt to reestablish independence, Lithuanians simultaneously sought to curry favor with the Nazis by organizing 13,000 partisans, some willingly, others forcibly, into police battalions. Eventually, several of these units took part in murders throughout eastern Europe. Tragically, the June 1941 uprising of Lithuania against the Soviets did not achieve national independence but rather initiated one of the darkest chapters in Lithuania's history. Nazis and their Lithuanian collaborators killed Jews in over 200 killing sites. In the Paneriai forest, outside of Vilnius, an estimated 70,000 Jews were murdered. Among the concentration camps in Lithuania, the VII and IX Forts near Kaunas were the most deadly. Germans and Lithuanians shot thousands of Jews from Lithuania and also those deported from elsewhere in Europe. Although there were exceptions, the country's influential Roman Catholic clergy did virtually nothing to stop this.

By August 1941, the Germans declared Lithuania "cleansed of Jews," except for the ghettos in Vilnius, Kaunas, and Šiauliai. For the next three years, the Jews there provided slave labor

for the German war economy. Disease, deportation, and executions gradually emptied the ghettos; the remaining survivors were eventually transferred to death camps, where they were killed. Only a few hundred Lithuanian Jews survived to the end of the war in 1945.

—*Virgil Krapauskas*

**See also** Einsatzgruppen; Holocaust; Judeo-Bolshevism; Lithuania; Lithuania, Post-Soviet; Order Police; Stalinization of Eastern Europe

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## Lithuania, Post-Soviet

The Nazis and their collaborators exterminated more than 90 percent of all Lithuanian Jews, as high a mortality rate as anywhere in Nazi-held Europe. In 1989, there were about 12,400 Jews in Lithuania; by 1997, only 5,000 remained. Many emigrated to Israel. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Lithuania has lifted the restrictions placed on Jewish cultural and religious life by the Communists, and today, Lithuanian Jews have several social and cultural organizations. Among the various Jewish museums, the most important is the Vilnius Gaon Jewish State Museum. Slowly, Lithuanians are recognizing "Litvak" culture as an integral part of the Lithuanian cultural scene, and the government of Lithuania now has denounced all forms of antisemitism.

But "antisemitism without Jews" remains a feature of Lithuanian life. In 1995, President Algirdas Brazauskas officially apologized to Israel for the Holocaust, but the media angrily criticized him for "humiliating himself unnecessarily." On the national Day of Repentance and Apology in 2000, the bishops of Lithuania lamented that, even then, antisemitic manifestations were occurring in Lithuania. Swastikas, slogans of "Juden 'Raus" (Jews out!), and other graffiti have appeared on public buildings. Vandals have desecrated Jewish gravesites, and newspaper articles have essentially denied the extent of the

Holocaust in Lithuania. Serious scholars have tried to prove that many of the Lithuanians who participated in the Holocaust were, in fact, Germans dressed up as Lithuanians, and others claim that only a small criminal element was involved. Some officials have even called for Jews, who collaborated with the Communists between 1940 and 1941, to be put on trial for crimes against humanity.

Although most Lithuanians do not interfere with Jewish cultural and religious life, they often talk privately about the “Jewish mafia,” whose members, everyone “knows,” rule the world with their money even though they do no work. One often hears statements such as, “Well, what do the Jews want from us?” Fringe political organizations, including the Lithuanian National Socialist Unity Association and the Logic of Life Party, imitate Nazis with their symbols, rhetoric, and behavior. The newspaper *Respublikos varpai* (Bell of the Republic) regularly prints antisemitic articles. Even the legitimate press is not immune from antisemitism, at times portraying the Jews as the terrorists in the Arab-Israeli conflict. When Israeli and Lithuanian sports teams compete, Lithuanian fans often taunt Jewish athletes.

More disturbing than antisemitic vandalism is the growth of a crude form of political populism. Political parties such as the Lithuanian Freedom Union are gaining votes and influence among the Lithuanian electorate. Street orators with simple answers to complex economic and social problems blame Jews for the poverty of post-Soviet Lithuania. Some members of the Lithuanian parliament accuse the government of accepting blame for the Holocaust simply to appease American Jews and thus gain entrance into the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Today’s Lithuanian Jews fear that, for all of the progress in Jewish-Lithuanian relations, the antisemitism that surfaced in the nineteenth century still has a grip on some elements of state and society.

—*Virgil Krapauskas*

**See also** Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Judeo-Bolshevism; Lithuania; Lithuania, Holocaust in

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## **Liutostanskii, Ippolit (1835–1915/1918?)**

A Roman Catholic priest and then briefly a Russian Orthodox monk, Ippolit Liutostanskii became known as the author of antisemitic pamphlets and one of the most stubborn purveyors of the blood libel. His biography is difficult to reconstruct because rumor and speculation surround the person of this “pathological liar” (Klier 1995, 423). Liutostanskii was responsible for some of the speculation himself: for example, he asserted that he was a convert from Judaism and a former rabbi. The rest was the work of his enemies.

The son of a Polish nobleman from the district of Kovno, Ippolit took the name Fulgentius when he entered the cloister in Telsze; he became a priest in 1864. In 1868, because of serious moral lapses, he was defrocked, brought before a court, and charged with perjury and attempted rape. The outcome of the trial is not known, but in the same year, he converted to Russian Orthodoxy and was admitted to the Moscow Theological Academy.

In 1876, Liutostanskii left the clergy and embarked on his career as an antisemitic writer with a pamphlet on a grandiose scale: *The Question of the Use by Jewish Sectarians of Christian Blood for Religious Purposes, in Connection with Questions of the General Attitudes of Jewry to Christianity*. In the work, which appeared with full scholarly apparatus, he sought to demonstrate that adherents of fanatical Jewish sects practiced ritual murder. The book unleashed a fierce controversy. The well-known Hebraist Daniil Khvol’son showed that Liutostanskii did not even know the Hebrew alphabet and that he plagiarized the relevant writings of Polish, German, and Russian authors. But under slightly altered titles, the book lived on, appearing in several editions; it was translated into Bulgarian in 1898 and German in 1934. It was alleged that Liutostanskii had offered to sell the manuscript, instead of publishing it, to the Moscow rabbi Solomon Minor.

His magnum opus appeared in 1879. *The Talmud and the Jews* was an “encyclopedia” of anti-Jewish legends and falsifications, from ritual murder and the alliance with the Antichrist to modern secret societies striving for world domination. For source material, he relied not only on the Talmud but also on the “authentic” testimony contained in *The Rabbi’s Speech*, which was, in fact, a scene taken from Herrmann Goedsche’s novel *Biarritz* (1868). In volume two of the third edition of the work, which appeared in 1904, Liutostanskii excerpted the imaginary *Program for World Conquest by the Jews*—which would later be better known as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. *The Talmud and the Jews* went through several editions and eventually comprised seven volumes. When sales lagged, after the initial *succès de scandale*, Liutostanskii endeavored to revive them by spreading the rumor that Jewish circles tried to offer him a lavish bribe to prevent publication.

At the height of the pogroms in Russia in 1882, Liutostanskii published a surprising repudiation of his anti-Jewish stance, titled *A Contemporary View on the Jewish Question*. Prior to publication, however, he had circularized leading Jewish figures and rabbis to offer the book to them for distribution. Further, he offered to institute public readings in defense of the Jews in several Russian cities. Jews saw this as no more than blackmail and rejected the offer, whereon Liutostanskii renewed his attacks.

Despite all his efforts to make his anti-Jewish polemics profitable, he remained a poor man and died in obscurity. The exact date of his death is not known, but the year 1915 is mentioned in some accounts. According to another unreliable report, Liutostanskii was shot by the Cheka (the secret political police), a victim of the “Red Terror” in Moscow in September 1918.

—Michael Hagemeister  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antichrist; *Biarritz*; Pogroms; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; *Rabbi’s Speech, The*; Ritual Murder (Modern); Rohling, August; Russia, Imperial; Russian Orthodox Church; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Talmud Trials

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### Ljotić, Dimitrije (1891–1945)

Dimitrije Ljotić was the leader of Zbor, a fascist movement founded in 1934 in Yugoslavia. In his speeches and pamphlets, as well as a number of articles published in newspapers close to the movement (*Otdžbina, Naša borba, Bilten JNP Zbor*) in the years leading up to the outbreak of World War II, Ljotić advocated the abolition of parliamentary democracy and the promulgation of a corporatist constitution as a solution to the country’s political problems. Toward the end of the 1930s, his rhetoric adopted overtly antisemitic themes.

Born in Belgrade in 1891 to a well-known family with close ties to the Karadordević dynasty, Ljotić graduated from the Law School of the Belgrade University, after which he spent a year in Paris on a state scholarship. It was during that year, according to his memoir, that he encountered the political ideas of Charles Maurras, whom he described as a “rare shining spirit” and whom he prized as his most important intellectual influence. Ljotić rushed back to Serbia in 1914 to fight in World War I. The ideas he discovered in Paris, as well as the victory of the Serbian peasant military over the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Bulgarian armies, transformed the young Ljotić into an enthusiastic Yugoslav, a proponent of an integral Yugoslav nationalism that was, in his view, the only way to overcome the centrifugal forces at work in the Balkans. This goal, he was certain, could not be achieved with parliamentary democracy and its attendant political turmoil. Disappointed by the lack of progress toward achieving his vision for Yugoslavia, Ljotić turned to organizing several like-minded groups based in Serbia, Bosnia, and Slovenia into Zbor, a new political organization that pressed for a genuine corporatist reform along the lines of Italian fascism.

The major obstacle to Yugoslav fusion, according to Ljotić, was the parliamentary system,

and it was there that he saw the “Jewish spirit” working in destructive ways. Capitalism and parliamentary democracy were Jewish inventions, he asserted, and in fighting against them, one by necessity had to be anti-Jewish. In addition, he described the Jews as “dissolving acids” working against cohesion among European nations. To forge a nation, one had to fight off the Jews. Ljotić’s antisemitic rhetoric, influenced by traditional Orthodox Christianity and modern right-wing ideologies, was more directly a product of his dedication to establishing an integral Yugoslav national identity. The continuing failure of this project only intensified his antisemitism.

Zbor was unable to win a single seat in the parliament, gaining less than 1 percent of the vote in the elections of 1935. But despite the political marginality of his movement, Ljotić’s antisemitic discourse increasingly gained currency in the latter part of the 1930s, as Yugoslavia gradually came to be dominated economically by the Axis powers. Some of his most rabidly antisemitic publications date from this period; the most significant of these was *Drama savremenog čovečanstva* (The Drama of Contemporary Humankind [1940]), a pamphlet describing a Jewish global conspiracy in the style of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. By the outbreak of World War II, a solid body of antisemitic literature was available to Yugoslav readers, and Ljotić was considered an expert on the Jewish Question.

In April 1941, Nazi Germany and its allies invaded and partitioned Yugoslavia. Soon, a puppet government was set up in Serbia under the leadership of Milan Nedić. Ljotić preached collaboration with the Germans; although he himself did not assume any political position under Nedić, some other members of Zbor did, becoming government ministers. From the summer of 1941, the Nazi authorities increasingly depended on the local anticomunist militias, dominated by the men from Zbor, to curb the communist resistance and round up and deport Serbian Jews. Ljotić lived in Belgrade through the war and was killed in a car crash in Slovenia in 1945, while fleeing from the victorious communists.

—Emil Kerenji

**See also** Fascist Intellectuals; Holocaust; Jewish Question; Maurras, Charles; Mussolini, Benito; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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## Long, Breckinridge (1881–1958)

Born on May 16, 1881, in St. Louis, Missouri, Samuel Miller Breckinridge Long had a lengthy career in the U.S. Department of State, during which, in the 1940s, he worked to impede Jewish immigration to the United States. He received his bachelor’s degree from Princeton University in 1904 and his law degree from St. Louis Law School (now Washington University in St. Louis) in 1906, after which he was admitted to the Missouri bar. In 1912, Long married the wealthy Christine Graham.

Although he was politically unsuccessful in his native Missouri, Long was an influential Democrat who contributed to both Woodrow Wilson’s and Franklin D. Roosevelt’s presidential campaigns. In 1917, after Wilson’s reelection, Long was appointed as the third assistant secretary of state. In that post, he primarily oversaw Foreign Service appointments. From 1920 to 1933, he returned to Missouri to practice international law and ran twice, both times unsuccessfully, for the Senate. After Roosevelt’s victory, Long was appointed ambassador to Italy in 1933. During his time in Italy, he supported neutrality and isolation for the United States, believing that a European war was on the horizon and that his nation should remain uninvolved in the conflict at all costs. Long was recalled from Rome in 1936 over disagreements pertaining to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. After the outbreak of war in 1939, he feared that Britain would drag the United States into the conflict. Only after the fall of France in 1940 did he see isolationism as no longer a viable option.

From 1940 to 1944, Long again served as assistant secretary of state, but this time he was the supervisor of its Immigration Visa Division. During his tenure, he continually opposed efforts to increase immigration, largely out of a fear that Nazi agents were entering the United States disguised as refugees. The consensus among histori-

ans today is that the actual problem of fifth column activity was significantly less important than Long led people to believe. Enemy espionage could have been dealt with by means other than further restrictions on immigration policy. In November 1943, Congress began considering a rescue effort to save the remaining Jews trapped in Europe. Long testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that such an effort was unnecessary and noted that the United States alone had accepted nearly 580,000 refugees within the preceding decade. In reality, the number of Jewish refugees admitted to the United States from all of Europe was an estimated 138,000.

Although Long boasted that he made every effort to help refugees, he actually took all the steps available to him to hold back their immigration; he even went so far as to argue that immigration could be halted altogether, especially if consuls employed any number of suggested pretexts in order to postpone the granting of visas for as long as possible. Breckinridge Long's political career ended when he was dismissed by Secretary of State Cordell Hull at the end of 1944. He died on September 26, 1958.

—Melissa Jane Taylor

**See also** Evian Conference; Holocaust; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; United States

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## Ludendorff, Erich (1865–1937)

Erich Friedrich Wilhelm Ludendorff was born on April 9, 1865, in Kruschevnia in what was then the Prussian province of Posen. He rose to prominence in the Prussian army before World War I. After Erich Falkenhayn was replaced by Paul von Hindenburg as chief of the General Staff in 1916, Ludendorff was promoted to first quartermaster general, a position that gave him virtually unfettered control over Germany's economy and military operations. Hindenburg

and Ludendorff steadily increased their control over all aspects of the war effort, so that by 1917, it is fair to speak of a military dictatorship in Germany. Most studies of Ludendorff confine themselves to his policies during this period of dictatorship and to his decision to seek an armistice with the Allies in late September 1918.

But Ludendorff's postwar career is also noteworthy. After the German defeat in World War I, he became a central figure in right-wing politics during the early years of the Weimar Republic. He participated in the planning of the Kapp-Lüttwitz Putsch in 1920 and marched alongside Hitler during the latter's Beer Hall Putsch in 1923, escaping punishment in both cases by trading on his military fame. During Hitler's imprisonment, Ludendorff assumed a leadership position in the National Socialist Freedom Party and, although he rarely attended its sessions, he was one of the party's delegates to the Reichstag until 1925. He ran as the Nazi Party's presidential candidate in 1925 but received a mere 286,000 votes (1.1 percent of the total cast).

Ludendorff's political engagement was powerfully shaped by his growing conviction that "supranational powers" (Jews, the Catholic Church, and Freemasons) had been responsible for Germany's defeat in 1918 and its subsequent suffering. In this "unholy trinity," Ludendorff claimed to have found the "key to world history." Numerological insights, he claimed, uncovered the hand of Jews and Freemasons in the Russian Revolution of 1905, the outbreak of war in 1914, and the French occupation of the German Ruhr in 1923. The individual integers in each of those dates add up to fifteen, which made them "Jehovah-years" and therefore particularly auspicious for "kabbalistic" activities, according to the former general. Again on the basis of numerology, Ludendorff predicted that the supranational powers would unleash a world war aimed at the final destruction of Germany in the year 1932.

Ludendorff also came increasingly under the influence of Mathilde von Kemnitz, whom he made his second wife in September 1926. He wholeheartedly adopted her anti-Christian *Deutsche Gotterkenntnis* (Germanic understanding of God) as his faith and engaged, for the rest

of his life, in a fierce struggle with the Catholic Church in his adopted homeland, Bavaria.

In 1926, Ludendorff parted ways with Hitler, who was unwilling to support his extreme anti-Christian views; thereafter, he faded into political insignificance. He cultivated a small following in the Tannenberg League and around his publishing house, Ludendorffs-Volkswarte-Verlag (Ludendorff's Peoples' Watch Tower Publishing), which churned out antisemitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Freemason screeds at a feverish pace. The Tannenberg League sought to achieve the "unity of blood (racial inheritance) and faith (holy perception)" and to carry on the struggle against the supranational powers, "Juda, Rome, and their accomplices in Freemasonry" (Fricke 1968, 2: 668–671). The group's critique of National Socialist policy toward the Vatican led to its banning in 1933, although Ludendorff continued to be revered by many Nazis.

Erich Ludendorff died in Munich on December 20, 1937. Hitler honored "the commander in chief," as Ludendorff liked to call himself, by attending the lavish state funeral held a few days later.

—Jay Lockenour

**See also** Freemasonry; Hitler, Adolf; Ludendorff, Mathilde; Ludendorff Publishing House; National Socialist German Workers' Party; New Age; Sorcery/Magic; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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## Ludendorff, Mathilde (1877–1966)

Born Mathilde Spiess on October 4, 1877, in Wiesbaden to a Protestant minister and his wife, Mathilde showed an interest in science and, with some interruption, studied medicine, specializing in psychology and women's health. She was married to the scientist Gustav Adolf von Kemnitz from 1904 until his death in 1917.

Mathilde von Kemnitz moved in right-wing circles after World War I and achieved notoriety for her numerous publications on religion and

the occult, beginning with *Triumph des Unsterblichkeitwillens* (Triumph of the Immortal Will [1922]). From her residence in Tutzing, outside Munich, she corresponded with the National Socialists there as well as with Erich Ludendorff, who had moved from Berlin to nearby Ludwigshöhe in 1920. She and Ludendorff married in September 1926.

Mathilde Ludendorff fancied herself a philosopher and espoused a doctrine she called *Deutsche Gotterkenntnis* (Germanic Understanding of God). According to her, races were distinguished not so much by their physical characteristics as by their unique spiritual existence. All religious faiths could be classified as either religions "of light" or "of the pit" (*Schacht*). Religions of the pit, such as Christianity and Judaism, demanded sacrifice and obedience of their followers and worshiped vengeful and capricious deities. "Light" religions, such as that allegedly practiced by the Germans' Nordic ancestors, allowed their faithful to live in harmony with the natural world and to achieve "self-fulfillment" through a healthy relationship with the spiritual world. Ludendorff also claimed that her faith was unique among contemporary religions for achieving a harmony between religion and science.

In her writings, she emphasized the pernicious activities of Jews, whose God "demanded the enslavement and plunder of all peoples." Freemasons and Catholics were further targets of her wrath. The Catholic Church, she argued, strove for world domination at the expense of people's religious freedom but thereby only furthered the project of Jews, who had penned the holy texts of Christianity. In one of her most widely circulated publications, *Die Erlösung von Jesu Christo* (1931), published in England by the "Friends of Europe" as *Getting Rid of Jesus Christ* (1937), Ludendorff claimed that the "myth" of Jesus and his teachings were cobbled together by Jewish authors using fragments of Indian religious teachings. Christianity, therefore, was not only a human fabrication, it was also unsuited to the Mediterranean peoples and later the Scandinavians who would become its principal practitioners. Christianity ultimately served the interests of Jews, according to Ludendorff, because it convinced Europeans to subscribe to Jewish doc-

trine (the Old Testament) and to worship the Jew Jesus.

In November 1946, Mathilde managed briefly to revive her society, now cleverly disguised, with the removal of the sensitive words *Deutsch* and *Ludendorff* from its name, as the Bund für Gotterkenntnis (L) (League for the Understanding of God). Her publishing house, the former Ludendorff Verlag, also resumed business under a new name in 1949. However, her notorious work and infamous name had made her too many enemies over the years, and Ludendorff became the target of an investigation by de-Nazification authorities. In 1950, she was classified as a “major offender” for her antisemitic views and forbidden to write or speak publicly for seven years.

A court lifted the ban in 1954, but this did not end Ludendorff’s troubles with the democratic government of West Germany. The activities of the Ludendorff Movement, founded in 1959 as the political counterpart of the League for the Understanding of God, attracted the attention of the Interior Ministry, which banned both groups as antisemitic and antidemocratic in May 1961. Mathilde Ludendorff died on May 12, 1966, but her organization lives on under the scrutiny of the German constitutional protection authorities.

—Jay Lockenour

**See also** Freemasonry; Germany, Federal Republic of; Ludendorff, Erich; National Socialist German Workers’ Party; New Age; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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## Ludendorff Publishing House

Ludendorffs-Volkswarte-Verlag (Ludendorff’s Peoples’ Watch Tower Publishing) was the company operated by Erich and Mathilde Ludendorff to disseminate their racist, nationalist, and antisemitic ideas. The company published the official newspaper of Erich Ludendorff’s Tannenberg League as well as its monthly journal, *Am Heiligen Quell* (At the Holy Spring), which espoused the principles of Mathilde Lu-

dendorff’s *Deutsche Gotterkenntnis* (Germanic Understanding of God) doctrine. The distinguishing feature of the countless pamphlets, books, newspapers, journals, and other materials that issued from the publishing house was a preoccupation with the world-spanning conspiracies of the “supranational powers”: Judaism, Catholicism, and Freemasonry.

Despite the Nazi-imposed ban on the Tannenberg League in the summer of 1933, the publishing house continued to operate with Heinrich Himmler’s blessing. Subscribers of the now illegal publication *Ludendorffs-Volkswarte* were informed that they could satisfy their thirst for knowledge with (the less political) *Am Heiligen Quell*, which became a biweekly publication. Although *Am Heiligen Quell*’s distinctly anti-Christian themes were occasionally at odds with the official policies of the regime, its circulation rose throughout the 1930s. After Erich Ludendorff’s death in 1937, the regime’s mandate to tone down anti-Christian rhetoric in the interest of domestic harmony during the war and the eventual withholding of paper supplies by government fiat served to marginalize the publication.

Under Allied occupation, Mathilde Ludendorff and her son-in-law, Franz Freiherr Karg von Bebenburg, resumed the publishing house’s operations under various names, settling finally on Hohe Warte (Lofty Watch Tower) in October 1949. Ludendorff initially succeeded in convincing Allied authorities that her prewar publications had opposed National Socialist racial policies by pointing to a few prominent critiques of Hitler, including her husband’s outlandish work *Hitler’s Betrayal of the German People to the Roman Pope* (1931). Mathilde Ludendorff was eventually investigated and condemned as a “major offender” by a de-Nazification court, but she saved the publishing house by transferring control of it and all of her works to her son-in-law. Her success was only temporary, however, because an investigation of the company’s private correspondence in 1961 led to the conclusion that it, along with the League for the Understanding of God, was engaged in spreading antisemitic propaganda. Both were banned until 1977, when a Bavarian court overturned the 1961 ruling. Hohe Warte Publishing is now lo-

cated in Pähl in Upper Bavaria and peddles its wares over the Internet.

—*Jay Lockenour*

**See also** Freemasonry; Germany, Federal Republic of; Himmler, Heinrich; Ludendorff, Erich; Ludendorff, Mathilde; National Socialist German Workers' Party; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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## Lueger, Karl (1844–1910)

Austria's "uncrowned king of Vienna" during his term as the city's mayor (1897–1910), Karl Lueger has since become enshrined in popular Viennese folklore. A prominent bronze statue in Vienna's first district has long been part of the municipal landscape, and a portion of the famous Ringstrasse is named after him.

Lueger was an unsystematic but potent and influential antisemite. Rather late in his career, he once answered criticism about his lack of sincerity about the Jewish Question by remarking, "I decide who is a Jew," the words for which he is most remembered. More than anyone else, he legitimized antisemitism in Austrian politics, and his more aggressive successors built on the foundations he laid down.

The son of a custodian at the Vienna Polytechnic Institute, Lueger received an elitist education—unusual for a person of his lowly social origins—at the private preparatory Theresianum and at the University of Vienna. He was an outstanding student, became a doctor of law in 1870, and opened a law office in Vienna's third district. In 1875, he ran for the municipal council as a liberal and won.

The 1870s were years of decline for Austria's ruling Liberal Party after the crash of 1873. During these turbulent times, Lueger gradually drifted away from the Liberals, seeking a new party and experimenting with a variety of political alliances. In 1890, he became the undisputed leader of the fledgling Christian Social Party after the death of its founder, Karl von Vogelsang. Under Lueger, the Christian Socials became Austria's first successful party of mass politics. Al-

most from the beginning, antisemitism was a central theme of his campaigns. He played on the fears and deeply rooted prejudices of his initially lower-middle-class constituents—"little people" who felt threatened by the influx of Jews from the Habsburg Empire's eastern provinces.

Three times in 1895 and 1896, Emperor Franz Joseph withheld the necessary sanction for Lueger to become Vienna's mayor because he disapproved of him as a demagogue, an antisemite, and an anti-Hungarian. But a compromise was finally reached, and Lueger was sworn in as mayor in April 1897. In that post, he municipalized privately owned utilities and transportation. He experimented with various forms of antisemitism—sometimes economic, sometimes racial, occasionally religious. Although he was duty-bound to uphold the equality of all the emperor's subjects, he nonetheless often managed to circumvent these restrictions, and there was never any doubt where his true sentiments lay.

Lueger introduced a number of political innovations of an antisemitic nature. The Christian Socialist women's movement, which he claimed to have created, was outspokenly antisemitic, openly demonstrating against Jewish-owned stores. During his tenure, antisemitic children's literature was introduced into Vienna's elementary schools, Jewish schoolteachers were discharged, and Jewish municipal officials were denied promotion. An annual literary prize funded by the provincial diet (controlled by the Christian Social Party) was awarded to the most promising "Aryan" playwright, and this work was performed in the party theater. Lueger, mindful of the need to control information, repeatedly attacked the "Jewish" press. He endorsed the ritual murder canard in parliament, both before and after he became mayor. He was not above using antisemitism as a tool of physical intimidation. At a large Christian Social rally in late 1905, Lueger himself threatened violence against the leader of the Social Democratic Party, Viktor Adler, a convert from Judaism, as well as other Socialists on the basis of their Jewish heritage; they had dared to demonstrate, peacefully, for universal male franchise.

Although ill health increasingly prevented his more active participation, Lueger condoned

until his last days the aggressive antisemitism of his followers, such as Ernst Schneider and Hermann Bielohlawek. His most notorious admirer was Adolf Hitler, who nonetheless faulted his antisemitism for its lack of racial foundation. Lueger's continuing image in the minds of his apologists is that of "the respectable antisemite" who only attacked the worst "Jewish excesses." Such apologists discount Lueger's malicious demagogic and ignore the precedent his antisemitism created and legitimized and whose violent potential would be amply demonstrated after 1918.

—Richard S. Geehr

**See also** Aryan Theater; Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Hitler, Adolf; "Jewish" Press; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Vogelsang, Karl von

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Martin Luther exerted great influence on the relations between Christians and Jews. His angry denunciations of Jews and Judaism in his last years have been used for racist political causes he would not have fathomed. (Library of Congress)

## Luther, Martin (1483–1546)

For someone whose opinion of Judaism was formed in the almost complete absence of experience with any Jews, Martin Luther has had an immense influence on relations between Jews and Christians. In part because he inherited the conventional views of his age and in part because of the clarity and forcefulness of his own additions to those views, Luther's role in the history of Christian anti-Judaism has been enigmatic, notwithstanding his stature within the history of the theological position that the Jews' damnation is the necessary foil to the salvation of the Christian church. The purely historical inquiry into Luther's place in the theological tradition was overshadowed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by religious and, more often, nationalistic interests, alternately allying the great Reformer with a variant of racial antisemitism unknown in the early modern period and dis-

tancing him from a theological anti-Judaism common to the era.

Born to newly bourgeois parents, Luther was the product of a number of dominant religious and cultural strains of late medieval Saxony. Educated at Erfurt and ordained in the Order of Augustinian Hermits, Luther became professor at Wittenberg, where he devoted himself to biblical studies in a search, as he would later describe it, for a righteous deity. He read his Bible Christologically, in keeping with the prevailing exegetical methods. Thus, he saw Jesus Christ as the sole and necessary fulfillment of ancient Israel's pious expectations. It was the Jews who first articulated the messianic hope at the core of the Christian faith.

For Luther, as for most adherents of the Christian tradition before him, Jewish piety was the indispensable foundation of the Christian covenant. He often spoke of the holy Jews of antiquity, identifying with them in their unwaver-

ing trust in the absolute benevolence of their Lord. For Luther, as for the Israelites, the privileged knowledge of God was as a redeemer, and the people's certainty of that quality took the form of trust (*fiducia*, in Latin), a confidence in divine redemptive power unavailable to those outside the covenant. What God had revealed, God would fulfill; thus, redemption remained the expectation to the adherents of both covenants. The crucial difference between the two was in the realm in which that redemption was expected to be realized. Whereas the Jews expected their redemption to recapitulate their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, specifically in the expulsion of Roman dominance and the restoration of control over their land, the Christian community understood redemption in otherworldly terms and thus saw a heavenly eschaton (end of the world) as the field of redemption. In subscribing to this view, Luther shared an outlook forged among the persecuted communities of the ancient church.

The second influence on Luther's thought was the apostle Paul, principal formulator of the theology of the New Covenant replacing the old. In Luther's view, Paul taught that the Old Covenant was one of works and the new was one of love of God and neighbor. In proclaiming a gospel of love, Paul's Jesus repudiated the works-righteousness of contemporary Jewish sects, teaching that the ancient trust in a benevolent redeemer was the only possible path to salvation. Amid the apocalyptic anxiety of first-century Palestine, where an ever-intensifying scrupulosity in observance seemed the only means to achieving an ever-receding divine protection, the Pauline proclamation was a bold demand to disregard externals in favor of inward disposition.

The Pauline message seemed to address Luther's deepest concerns, as he saw the Catholic Church of his own time in the same light in which Paul saw the Judaism of his. Over the centuries, the Western church had developed a system of "good works" and devotional practices intended to draw believers into "cooperating" with grace in order to earn their salvation. The principle at work was the doctrine that certain good deeds would bring their agents *merit* in the eyes of God and thus serve as steps toward a deserved

salvation. For Luther, as for all Evangelical theologians after him, the weight of original sin was too great to allow any human deed, no matter how good it may be in human terms, to appear to God as anything but sin. And those who saw their works as good, both in themselves and by divine reckoning, were all the more culpable of the sin of pride.

Although directed toward the theologians and seekers of perfection within the Catholic Church, Luther's view implicated contemporary Jewry as well. The deniers of Jesus' messianic role merited the dispersal that was their lot after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE (a view dating from the beginnings of the Christian church); further, they were punished still more for their faithlessness by having as their only alternative a church structure that only duplicated, mutatis mutandis, the system of works that the Pharisees and others had advocated. Hence, the system of meritorious "works" being promoted by the Catholic Church was no different from the focus on external forms of purity dismissed by Paul. Among theological adversaries, Luther used the term *Pelagian* for the Catholic program, after the fourth-century heretic condemned by Augustine, but elsewhere and ubiquitously, he used the term *Judaizing* when referring to the pursuit of perfection via external works.

Set within this context, the term *Judaizing* served rhetorical needs without necessarily feeding anti-Jewish feeling among his followers: it effectively evoked a Pauline image without implicating any contemporary Jews. The latter, in Luther's view, had little reason to adopt a "false" Roman Christianity that promised no more redemption than the Temple and purity cults of the first century had.

Luther has been credited with a more notorious role in the history of antisemitism than his own work warrants. The ferocity of his pronouncements during his final decade had the effect of setting him off as a model of intolerance in the interest of a Christian society. Whether these statements represent the "true Luther" is an unanswerable question, but it needs to be set within the larger topic of whether opposition to Judaism is a structural component of Christian thought.

More elusive and provocative is the question of Luther's understanding of ancient Judaism and of the divine role within that worldview. In reading the prophets, Luther found a wrathful deity regularly displeased with Israel's inability to conform to revealed law. To Luther, the correlation of human incapacity and divine wrath structured the divine-human relationship, insofar as the true purpose of the law was to reveal the inability, because of original sin, to fulfill it. Those who failed to see the law serving this diagnostic use and who strove to fulfill its demands were self-deceived and incurred the divine wrath articulated in the prophetic books. In minimizing the weight of

original sin, both Jews and perfection-seeking Catholics excluded themselves from grace.

—Ralph Keen

**See also** Augustine of Hippo; Melanchthon, Philipp; *On the Jews and Their Lies*; Paul; Reformation; Roman Empire; Supersessionism; Usury

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# M

## **Mahler-Werfel, Alma (1879–1964)**

Perhaps the most famous muse of the twentieth century, Alma Mahler-Werfel was married to Gustav Mahler, Walter Gropius, and Franz Werfel, in that order. Moreover, Mahler-Werfel flirted with Gustav Klimt before she met Mahler, and after Mahler's death, she entered into a more substantial liaison with Oskar Kokoschka. Although two of her three husbands were Jews—Mahler and Werfel—she harbored various antisemitic sentiments, which she recorded in her diaries and letters and also frequently expressed in conversation.

Mahler-Werfel was born into a Viennese artist's family in 1879. Her father was Emil Schindler, a respected, if not stellar, painter. At a young age and perhaps as a result of having grown up around mediocrity in a culture that worshiped artistic genius, Mahler-Werfel developed a strong attraction for greatness. She appreciatively read Friedrich Nietzsche's ideas about the need for a brave new type of man. And, of course, she consistently sought out great artists, using her looks (which do not come across as extraordinary in photographs) and her bold personality to attract them. Needless to say, her success rate was high.

Yet Mahler-Werfel experienced much frustration. A talented composer in her own right, she gave up her artistic undertakings at Gustav Mahler's insistence. Compelled to live through the works of her husbands and partners, she often felt that these men were not doing enough. In Werfel's case, she ascribed his artistic limitations to a Jewish background. Indeed, she once remarked that he would never write "pure German" prose because he was a Jew. She also commented spitefully on his appearance, confiding to her diary, "He [Werfel] has once

again shrunk to the small, hateful, corpulent Jew—my first impression."

These depictions were fairly generic, turn-of-the-twentieth-century Viennese antisemitic stereotypes. Much worse and much more upsetting to Mahler-Werfel's largely Jewish circle of interlocutors was her apparent respect for Hitler and the Nazis. She maintained, for instance, that "the Allies are weaklings and degenerates," that "the Germans, including Hitler, are supermen," and that "the humanistic, liberal cause is lost, and the blond beast will triumph." Moreover, in front of fellow exiles and much to Franz Werfel's displeasure, she made what one of her friends called "unbearable jokes at the Jews' expense." She also tried to downplay the extent of Jewish suffering in Europe. As late as 1944, she asserted that the concentration camps boasted excellent medical care and that the Red Cross was conscientiously looking after the prisoners.

How earnestly meant were such statements? It is hard to tell because they come to us as fragments of recounted conversations. But most eyewitnesses seem to have felt that Mahler-Werfel was at least partly serious when she disparaged Jews, belittled their mistreatment, and spoke in rapturous tones about Germanic heroism. And her husband Werfel took her claims about Nazis seriously enough to become agitated over them.

Notwithstanding her obvious singularity, her sentiments were not quite as unique as they might seem. After all, in 1933, Thomas Mann wrote in his diary, "The revolt against Jewish things might have my understanding to a certain extent," even though he was married to a convert from Judaism at the time and had been for over fifteen years.

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Austria; Freud, Sigmund; George, Stefan; Hitler, Adolf; Masculinity; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Weimar

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## Manetho

Manetho is the Greek name by which we identify an Egyptian priest who flourished in the first half of the third century BCE. We do not know his Egyptian name. Manetho was very likely the first learned Egyptian to write in Greek (or translate into Greek) the history and traditions of his country. None of his works has survived in complete form, but we learn of them through titles mentioned and excerpts quoted by later authors. According to one of those, Josephus—a Jewish priest who, at the end of the first century CE, wrote extensively on the Jews—Manetho, in his *History of Egypt*, included both officially recorded and undocumented stories about the Jews, the latter negatively portraying them and meant to be alternative versions of the biblical story of the Exodus.

According to the officially recorded story, people from Asia, named the Hyksos, invaded Egypt and ruled it harshly for several generations from the city of Avaris, until they reached an agreement with King Tutmoses and left the country to settle in Asia, where they founded Jerusalem. According to the popular story, King Amenophis expelled the lepers from Egypt because they prevented him from seeing the gods. Under the leadership of Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, these people gathered in Avaris and then made an alliance with the Hyksos, calling them back from Jerusalem. Together, they ransacked the country, showing no respect for the Egyptian gods; at that point, Osarsiph changed his name to Moses. Eventually, Amenophis was able to push them all into Asia. Josephus praised the authenticity of the first story and contemptuously dismissed the second as unreliable. Greek and Roman historians knew other versions of this same story, making possible its diffusion and elaboration throughout the Mediterranean world.

On the strength of these stories, modern scholars have labeled Manetho history's first antisemitic writer. However, some scholars regard the authorship of the second story as not altogether certain. More important, they suggest that Josephus's commentary may have been intended to persuade his readers to accept his own anti-Jewish reading of the text and that the identification of the Jews with both the Hyksos and the lepers was his invention. A recent interpretation raises the possibility of further Jewish textual embellishments, thus casting considerable doubt on whether Manetho should be considered an anti-semit.

—Sandra Gambetti

**See also** Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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## Manifesto of the Racial Scientists (1938)

Promulgated on July 13, 1938, in Italy and published in all the national papers on the following day, the ten proposals enunciated in the *Manifesto degli scienziati razzisti* (Manifesto of the Racial Scientists) represented the Fascist Party's official theoretical position on race. The regime showed how much importance it gave the *Manifesto* by attempting to pass off the document's proposals as the consensus arrived at by deliberations within the scientific community. Purportedly written by a group of Fascist intellectuals, lecturers within the Italian universities and coordinated by the Ministry of Popular Culture, the *Manifesto* was, in fact, put together by Guido Landra, a lowly teaching assistant in the Anthropology Department of Rome University and future functionary of the Racial Office.

The document, also referred to as *Il Fascismo e i problemi della razza* (Fascism and Racial Problems), covered not only the Jewish Question but Fascist racial policies in general, beginning with the affirmation that human races exist on a hereditary basis. Centering racism and antisemitism on biological principle was a new departure for the Fascists. Until that time, their

movement had been content to stigmatize Jews and others on the basis of inferior “spiritual and moral” qualities. Although the *Manifesto* conceded that “the racial concept is a purely biological one,” it saw no conflict with traditional forms of antisemitism, including that grounded in Catholic doctrine; biological racism was just another weapon in the struggle against the Jews. The fourth of its ten principles maintained that the Italian population was, in its majority, “of Aryan descent and Aryan in its civilization.” It followed from this axiom that it was absolutely necessary to protect the racial purity of Italians from contamination.

The *Manifesto*, when taken together with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and a few other documents, served as the ideological starting point for the most extreme hate campaign that the Fascist press had yet indulged in. Its final paragraphs presented a program for Italians. They were to profess racism, distinguish and safeguard the nation from all the non-European races, and regard “Orientals” and Africans as enemies (thereby legitimizing Italy’s colonial enterprises). In the ninth paragraph, the document affirmed that “Jews do not belong to the Italian race. . . . The Jews were the only population group never assimilated in Italy because they bore non-European racial traits, absolutely alien—and, of course, inferior—to the racial origins of the Italians.”

The *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists* is often made light of by historians, particularly because of its shady genesis and because it appeared to be no more than an opportunistic concession by Benito Mussolini to his German ally. But the document had serious consequences. It provided a basic programmatic document for the Fascist Party’s educational and propaganda agencies down to the intermediate level. It affected the behavior and attitudes of ordinary party members and, perhaps, of ordinary Italians toward the so-called inferior races. Most important, the *Manifesto* paved the way to its own logical corollary, the Racial Laws of November 1938 that sought to separate Jews from the rest of the population, forbade intermarriage, and proscribed Jews from the economic, cultural, and professional life of the nation.

—Simone Duranti

**See also** Mussolini, Benito; Preziosi, Giovanni; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Racial Laws; Racism,

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## Mann, Thomas (1875–1955)

Thomas Mann’s attitude toward Jews and his fictional Jewish characters are two quite different, if obviously related, matters. Throughout his life, Mann, like many of his contemporaries, held to the belief that there were certain characteristic Jewish qualities, though he usually defined these in positive terms, including adaptability, intellect, and cosmopolitanism. (Such an “essentialist” mind-set is more likely to give offense today than in Mann’s own time.) “The Jews have something special,” he opined in the 1921 essay *On the Jewish Question*, “which makes them appear stranger than their noses: an inborn love of intellect. This love has often made them leaders in the sins of humanity, but it also renders outsiders, freethinkers, artists, and writers their friends and debtors” (Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 1974, 13: 475; translated by the author). Mann regarded himself as “a convinced and incontrovertible ‘philosemit’” (in Kurzke 2002, 192). Prior to World War I, he expressed the conviction that assimilation—meaning Europeanization, encouragement of baptism, and mixed marriage—was the best way to ensure that Germans and Jews continued a mutually beneficial relationship. Mann held that Jews provided an indispensable European cultural stimulus, the leaven, so to speak, so essential to German culture. Though he was repelled by east European Jews and their version of German—a disdain shared by many cultured Germans and German Jews of his day—he came to value the eastern Jews in their own right once their existence became threatened by the Nazis’ antisemitic propaganda and subsequent murderousness. Where once he had rejected Zionism in favor of assimilation, he now endorsed it.

Mann's official pronouncements on Jews and Judaism were generally positive, but his diaries contain some ugly remarks, usually in relation to Jewish rivals or opponents. The worst of these may be the entry of April 10, 1933, in which his anger at the literary critic Alfred Kerr became a qualified affirmation of some early Nazi restrictions on Jews: "That Kerr's spirited and poisonous gibberish about Nietzsche is excluded is no misfortune in the final analysis; nor is the removal of Jews from the judiciary" (in Kurzke 2002, 205). In a letter, Mann described successful journalists as possessing "practicality, cunning, subtle and shameless irreverence, impertinence . . . the art of making oneself popular, the 'ass kissing'—all the vulgar characteristics which make Jews so suitable to this profession" (in Heilbut 1995, 374). Despite such utterances, the suggestion that Mann nurtured a secret antisemitism (akin to his half-hidden homosexuality) while only appearing to be a friend of the Jews is, in the end, not supportable. Scholars who do not fully exonerate Mann of the charge of antisemitism refer rather to the author's "ambivalence" regarding Jews.

Many people thought Mann was Jewish himself, perhaps because he married into a family of prominent assimilated Jews. Nazi literary critic Adolf Bartels repeatedly claimed he was a Jew. Mann responded that he was not but took pains to point to his mixed heritage (Portuguese on his mother's side) as an occasion to celebrate the miscegenation, as he put it, that would continue into his children's generation and beyond. In a way, though, Mann did see himself as a Jew: on several occasions, he suggested an analogy between the artist and the Jew. This point is perhaps overeagerly taken up by those keen to play down his bigoted remarks, trying to pass them off as a kind of self-criticism.

The two major turning points in Mann's life, from a political perspective, were his belated support of the Weimar Republic in 1922 and his exile from Nazi Germany, beginning in 1933. From 1936 on, he actively began to make antifascist speeches, to urge the United States and other democracies to allow more Jewish immigration, to condemn antisemitism forthrightly, to make known the atrocities of the Holocaust, and

to support individual Jews in need. On a regular basis, he made special recordings for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to be broadcast into Nazi Germany to encourage resistance and enlighten his compatriots.

Mann's fictional representation of Jews is a different matter because, though it was clearly informed by the author's belief in a particular Jewish essence, it necessarily lived a life of its own. Whereas Mann endeared himself to many by championing the cause of Jews in his later years, his fiction must be judged on its own merits or, rather, by the shifting standards of taste that currently include a heightened sensitivity to depictions of Jews. Mann's oeuvre contains both extremely positive images of Jews, such as Doctor Sammet in *Königliche Hoheit* (*Royal Highness* [1909]), and rather negative ones, such as the Baroness von Stein in *Der Wille zum Glück* (*The Will to Happiness* [1896]). With regard to the characters Chaim Breisacher and Saul Fitelberg from *Doktor Faustus* (1947), Mann admitted that, lacking positive Jewish figures to balance them out, his novel might encourage "simpler readers" to view this representation as antisemitism. Frequently, Leo Naphta, the "Jewish Jesuit" and brilliant debater from *The Magic Mountain* (1926), is grouped among Mann's questionable Jewish characters. However, given the author's trademark use of irony and the noted complexity of his prose in general, it would seem inadvisable simply to isolate a single figure from the larger narrative context for assessment.

The real scandal in Mann's oeuvre remains the novella *Wälsungenblut* (*Blood of the Wälsungs* [1906]), which tells the story of two upper-class Jewish twins, Siegmund and Sieglinde, who attend a performance of Wagner's *Valkyrie* and, in imitation of the Germanic figures they so ardently wish to become, commit incest. The original version of the novella concludes with another motivation for the incest—the desire to cheat Sieglinde's gentile fiancé of his sexual prerogatives. Siegmund lapses into a crude Yiddish-laced German (Judendeutsch), exclaiming, "We have begoniffed him—the goy!" Mann withdrew the novella for a number of years and replaced the final sentence (for aesthetic reasons, he said), but the story retains undeniable antisemitic clichés,

even if one seeks to balance it against Mann's celebrated *Joseph* tetralogy (1933–1943), which presents very positive, if largely secularized, fictions of key narratives from the Hebrew Bible.

—William Collins Donahue

**See also** Bartels, Adolf; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Jewish Question; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; *Ostjuden*; Philosemitism; Weimar; Zionism

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## Marr, Wilhelm (1819–1904)

Wilhelm Marr was never the important man he thought he ought to be. Heinrich von Treitschke called him a "windbag," and Karl Marx regretted having had to meet him, "despite all precautionary measures." "Immature boaster," "conceited ass," "subterranean literat," "poisonous snake"—this is only a partial list of insults hurled at him during his long life and afterward. Even the Nazis found him too flamboyant and suspected—mistakenly—that he was a Jew. Although he saw himself as too idealistic, too revolutionary, too principled ever to prosper in this world, almost everyone else saw the shallow journalist, the natural-born conspirator, and the opportunist prone to shabby tricks.

Appearances notwithstanding, Marr is one of the most important figures in the history of antisemitism before Hitler. He "reinvented" the word *antisemite* to describe a new sort of politics. His best-selling *Victory of Jewry over Germandom* (1879) popularized the idea of the Jewish world conspiracy while insisting on a racial conception of the Jewish Question. He made the first attempt to organize antisemitism into a political party and to inject it into a wide range of political, cultural, and social issues. He might well be thought of as the first antisemite.

The son of a famous theater actor-director, Marr was brought up in Hamburg in lower-middle-class surroundings. His formal education ended in 1839 with certification as a commercial clerk. He went to work for a firm in Vienna before moving on to Switzerland in 1841, where he gave up commerce for political agitation among the German artisans there. Under the influence of the Young Hegelians, Bruno Bauer, and the communist Wilhelm Weitling, Marr became a militant atheist, radical democrat, and revolutionary conspirator. The Swiss expelled him in 1846, and after further expulsions from several German states, he reluctantly returned to Hamburg. There, he started his own satirical newspaper and became a leading ultraleftist in the Revolution of 1848, during which he at least tacitly supported Jewish emancipation.

But the failure of the revolution soured Marr on the democratic potential of the German masses. After the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in December 1851, he "resigned" from the democratic movement, went through a personal crisis, and turned away from his previous belief in the ideas of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and German idealism. In need of better answers to questions about the direction of history and his personal role in the world, Marr seized on a new vocabulary and a new set of metaphors in the infinitely flexible, pseudoscientific doctrines of racism. He soon began pondering skulls and cubic capacities of brain pans, looking for clues to explain "the undoubted precedence of the Caucasian Race" (Marr 1852, 116–117). The size and shape of heads, rather than what was in them, now counted most for Marr.

Thus primed to become a full-blown racist, he became one in the Americas of the 1850s. In the United States (which he loved) and in Central America (which he loathed), he became a white supremacist and an advocate of various eugenics schemes. But unable to establish his fortune in the New World, he returned once again to Hamburg in 1859 to take part in the revival of reform politics. Between 1862 and 1863, he was ostracized by his former democratic political associates because he wrote and spoke on behalf of black slavery and against Jewish and proletarian emancipation. In his Voltairean *Mirror to the Jews*

(1862), he maintained that Jewry, a state-within-a-state and an alien tribe with unpalatable racial characteristics, would find it impossible ever to become truly German; Jews did not deserve equal rights. But Marr was premature. Interest in the Jewish Question was slight, and the book struck no sparks.

He did not return to the subject until 1879, although he wrote incessantly on many other themes. In the intervening years, he had failed in business; divorced his first, rich, Jewish wife; and lost another wife in childbirth and a third to a fellow antisemite. In Berlin during the 1870s, he could not acclimatize himself to modern journalistic practices and eked out a living writing for any newspaper that would have him. An embittered failure, Wilhelm Marr then wrote the pamphlet that was instrumental in the politicalization of antisemitism. The tone of the *Victory of Jewry over Germandom* is one of unrelieved pessimism, in harmony with its author's thwarted ambitions. He clothed his personal grievances about journalism, his economic woes, and his general lack of significance in familiar rhetoric. His charges regarding the Jews' mendacity, ethical inferiority, instinctive hatred for all non-Jews, and unwillingness to do hard physical labor—Marr himself never did any—were already familiar to his readers. But he went further by placing Jewish evil in a racial, conspiratorial, and world-historical context. A political action program, implicit in the book, became explicit in his next pamphlet, swiftly turned out in late 1879—*Elect No Jews!* (subtitled *The Way to Victory of Germandom over Jewry*). His attempt to organize the resentments of the urban lower middle classes into the first specifically antisemitic political party, the Antisemiten-Liga (Antisemites' League), failed as quickly as had most of his other ventures. Although once again denied personal success, Marr left his mark on subsequent history by alerting powerful elements in Germany to the potential of antisemitism as a tool of political mobilization.

Irascible and impossible, Marr was soon cast aside by a younger generation of antisemitic activists. In the remaining quarter century of his life he found no role to play in their parties or politics. He died in obscurity in 1904.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Antisemitism; Etymology of; Bauer, Bruno; Emancipation; Eugenics; *Mirror to the Jews, A*; Racism, Scientific; State-within-a-State; Treitschke, Heinrich von; *Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The*; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de; Young Hegelians

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## Marx, Karl (1818–1883)

Karl Marx knew relatively little about Jews or Judaism. Although both of his parents were of Jewish origin, Marx was baptized in the Lutheran Church when he was six years old, did not receive a Jewish education, and is not known to have evinced interest in Jewish affairs as an adolescent. However, when he was studying at the University of Berlin, he became friends with the Young Hegelian Bruno Bauer, who was a lecturer in theology at the university. In 1842 and 1843, Bauer published several pieces on the Jewish Question. Marx read the works of his onetime teacher and responded to them.

The Jews of Prussia were not legally emancipated at that time, and Bauer maintained that civil emancipation alone would not make Jews free. The first step toward freedom, he believed, would take place when Jews recognized that their religious beliefs were preventing them from becoming free and when they therefore rejected those beliefs. Bauer, in sum, believed that Jews would have to give up Judaism before they could become liberated.

Marx disagreed with Bauer's perspective on this issue. In March 1843, he informed his friend Arnold Ruge, another Young Hegelian, that the leader of the Jewish community of Cologne had asked him to write a petition on behalf of the Jewish community to the Prussian provincial diet and that he wanted to accede to this request. Bauer's view of the Jews, Marx wrote to Ruge, struck him as too abstract.

Marx's most famous reply to Bauer, *On the*

*Jewish Question* (*Zur Judenfrage*, written in the fall of 1843 and published in 1844), has been interpreted by some commentators as an antisemitic tract. Seen in context, however, it is an (additional) indication that Marx actually favored the political emancipation of the Jewish community and thus differed sharply from the overwhelming majority of the antisemites of his day on the critical issue confronting Prussian Jewry. An often overlooked fact is that the political position staked out by Marx on the question of civil emancipation had more in common with that of Bauer's Jewish critics than with Bauer's hostile view of the matter.

Marx underscored that there was a distinction between political emancipation and human emancipation and that Jews were entitled to the former. In *The Holy Family*, which appeared a year or so after his response to Bauer, he and his coauthor, Friedrich Engels, went significantly further and actually suggested that the modernity of a given state could be judged by the extent to which Jews had been granted equal political rights within it.

Marx's forthright support for the political emancipation of the Jews, however, was most assuredly not accompanied—either in the 1840s or later in his career—by sympathy for Jews per se, for Jewry, or for Judaism. In the same letter in which he informed Ruge that he intended to intervene on behalf of the Jewish community of Cologne, he also proclaimed “the Israelite faith” to be “repugnant.”

After the mid-1840s, Marx never again devoted significant time or energy to the so-called Jewish Question. However, he made use, both in his published writings and in personal correspondence, of deplorable anti-Jewish slurs and regularly described individuals of Jewish origin using highly distasteful epithets. Nevertheless, since Marx's writings of the early 1840s are his only extended pieces on the Jewish Question and since the position he took on civil emancipation in these pieces was both shared by leading German Jews and rejected by opponents of the Jewish community, the allegation that Marx was an antisemite should not be sustained.

—Jack Jacobs

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Christian State; Emancipation; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Hegel,

G. W. F.; Jewish Question; *Jewish Question, The*; Léon, Abram; Mehring, Franz; Socialists on Antisemitism; Young Hegelians

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## Masculinity

In the course of the nineteenth century, the image of the Jewish male as effeminate became one of the most strident stereotypes concerning Jews. This anti-Jewish prejudice was backed by arguments from a particularly wide variety of modern disciplines with scientific pretensions, making it appear almost irrefutable. The image of the unmanly Jew rested on a complex set of presuppositions evolving at the intersection of culture and nature, of scientific evidence and popular myth. The idea had a long history, dating back as far as antiquity, and it gained new currency in the Middle Ages when (male) Jews were accused of ritually killing infants in order to use their blood to stop their own menstruation. In the nineteenth century, the stereotype of the feminine Jew was further corroborated by its parallel development with prejudices against other socially marginalized groups, such as homosexuals.

The effeminate Jew stereotype had several layers, each contributing to its resiliency. At the cultural level, traditional Judaism's division of male and female roles in everyday life was of great importance to the dissemination of the prejudice. In the culture of Diaspora Judaism, Jewish women were ideally in charge of providing the family income, whereas Jewish men were supposed to dedicate themselves to religious study. This preoccupation tied men to indoor activities and made them assume a passive role ordinarily reserved for women in many other cultures. Viewed from this perspective, Jewish men performed female tasks and were therefore feminine.

Even more powerful arguments in the forging of this stereotype stemmed from medicine and physical anthropology. The major task of nine-

teenth-century anthropology was to collect data on physical measurements and to employ them to explain peoples' "nature." The data allegedly demonstrated that the physical constitution of Jewish men was similar to that of women: their short stature, the shape of their heads, the length of their arms in comparison to the size of their torsos, and so on. Male Jews, as well as women, seemed to be smaller and more fragile than gentile males. But the supposed physical resemblance of Jewish men and the female population and the perceived differences between Jewish and non-Jewish men went beyond externals, adversely influencing the Jews' societal position. These differences served as markers of Jewish "backwardness"—compelling evidence of "arrested development." As a result of their less developed bodies, male Jews, as well as "savages," were deemed unqualified to assume the same social status as gentile men.

Another physical factor indicating the male Jews' assumed femininity—and consequently, another impediment to their equal social standing—was their narrow chest measurement. This physical "handicap," it was widely argued, rendered them unfit for military service and thus disqualified them from performing a quintessentially male social task. "Flat feet," which impaired their ability to march, was another frequently adduced reason for excluding Jews from military service.

The peculiar speech patterns of the Jews, the supposed result of other anatomical disabilities, reinforced the notion of deficient masculinity. The so-called (big) Jewish nose produced a unique bone and muscle structure that simply made it impossible for them to produce the same sounds as non-Jews, rendering their speech largely incomprehensible. Additionally, they were said to speak faster than other people and be prone to gibbering, "exactly like women." Jews, utterly unlike Caucasian males, were also considered especially susceptible to the "female diseases," such as hysteria, neurasthenia, and nervousness. Finally, ritual circumcision had long been thought of as reducing one's manliness, therefore explaining the cowardice historically attributed to "feminized" Jews.

These physical and anthropological peculiari-

ties of the Jews—the products of inherited prejudice and supported by modern science in that era—provided a long list of pretexts for denying Jewish males the opportunity to fulfill a traditionally male role and to be regarded by non-Jews as fully qualified to exercise the rights of citizenship. Refuting this negative stereotype and fighting against its consequences became one of the central projects of the Zionist movement, which sought to replace the "effeminate Jew" with the "muscular Jew."

—Klaus Hödl

*See also* Circumcision; Degeneration; Homophobia; Jew Census; Racism, Scientific; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Sorcery/Magic; Zionism

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## Maurras, Charles (1868–1952)

Charles Maurras was born on April 28, 1868, in the small fishing village at Martigues, near Marseille, into a middle-class Provençal family that was strongly Catholic and royalist. Although personally agnostic, he developed a lifelong adherence to the church as a pillar of French civilization and to monarchism for the principle of leadership that gave consistency to his political doctrines. When he was six, his father died; at fourteen, he went deaf; and two years later, he left for Paris, the bastion of cosmopolitan modernity—all formative experiences for the man who would become a principal theorist of "integral nationalism." Antagonistic to the Third Republic and its liberal values, Maurras targeted his exclusionary patriotism at four groups that he defined as "anti-France": Jews, Protestants, Freemasons, and *métèques* (foreigners). Frenchness was defined in opposition to these groups and to Germany and England in the name of Latin, Roman, Catholic values and in the name of classicism and clarity.

First achieving notice as a literary critic associated with the neoclassicism of the École Romane (school of classical studies), he rose to prominence at the height of the Dreyfus Affair with his defense of Colonel Hubert Henry, who committed suicide in 1898 after it was revealed

that he was the key forger of evidence against Alfred Dreyfus. The next year, he helped found Action Française, a leading voice on the extreme Right for the next half century, providing it with a coherent cultural, social, and political program. Classical aesthetics would restore the order of taste, beauty, and harmony to Catholic France, the only legitimate heir of the Latin world. The Catholic Church and its ceremonies would instill social values and ensure truth, and the monarchy would guarantee national unity, grandeur, and continuity.

In a series of books, Maurras drew on analyses of French decadence by thinkers such as Hippolyte Taine and Paul Bourget, and he developed a systematic cure for it. He rejected the Enlightenment's assumption of the natural goodness of man as false, as he did the heritage of the French Revolution—republicanism, individualism, and parliamentary democracy. He called instead for the restoration of national unity through the hereditary king, hierarchical but decentralized institutions of order on the provincial level, the reconstruction of the patriarchal family, and corporate structures that united workers and bosses within various sectors of industry.

He firmly defended clericalism, classical ideals, and Western civilization against barbarism and Orientalism, and he urged state antisemitism to purge the nation of contamination. From his perspective, Jews were the ultimate source of the Protestant Reformation that instilled a belief in individual conscience, which led to the destruction of Christendom and the rise of anarchic liberalism. Like the Masonic lodges, the Jewish secret cabal sought to replace legitimate rule with its own dominion. Antisemitism also served as a rallying point for all groups opposed to the republic and was, therefore, a central organizing principle of his integral nationalism.

In 1938, Maurras was elected to the prestigious Académie Française. After the defeat of France in 1940, he supported Marshal Philippe Pétain, the Vichy government, and the National Revolution that actualized many of his ideas. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and national degradation after the Liberation. On hearing the verdict, he famously declared, "It is the revenge

of Dreyfus!" thus punctuating his lifelong struggle. He was released in March 1952 for medical reasons and died in November of that year, leaving behind a body of doctrine that continues to exert influence today.

—Jonathan Judaken

**See also** Action Française; Dreyfus Affair; France; Freemasonry; Ljotić, Dimitrije; Vichy

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## Maxse, James Leopold (1864–1932)

The British journalist James Leopold Maxse was one of the most prolific and outspoken British antisemites of his time. From 1893, Maxse owned and edited the Conservative *National Review* (NR), using the monthly publication to voice his antisemitic views. He warned readers against the "International Jews" because they were deeply involved in pro-German intrigues in Britain and, alternatively, "German Jews" in England who stopped at nothing to foster their pro-German intrigues. Even though he stressed that he was writing for the man in the street, the NR's readership was actually to be found in the suburban, upper-class villas; major subscribers were Conservative politicians and journalists.

In December 1911, Maxse commenced an antisemitic campaign on the strength of vague claims that the "International Jew" was manipulating the press in order to bring England and Europe under the German yoke. But he soon turned from alleged Jewish wire-pulling to the use of antisemitism as a means of discrediting government policy and defaming leading politicians. During World War I, when Maxse's antisemitism reached its peak, he accused international Jewry of pushing—and the government of allowing itself to be pushed into—a pro-German policy that entailed the negotiation of an early end to hostilities. The existence of a powerful and

sinister Jewish influence employed for destructive purposes in the life of the nation was an unquestioned article of faith for Maxse and his readers.

The implicit questioning of prevailing rules for citizenship, the *Jus Soli*, and the positing of the dual nature of Jews were further components of Maxse's antisemitism. He strictly distinguished between "good, national Jews" and "unpatriotic, dangerous international Jews." The distinction was unstable and arbitrary, however, depending on Maxse's criteria at any given moment. The national Jew could be capriciously turned into an "International Jew." National Jews were at times held hostage for the scheming of their international brethren and threatened with dire consequences should they fail to put a stop to their alleged Jewish anti-British and pro-German machinations.

Maxse was no original thinker, and therein lies his historical importance. He took his themes from the mainstream Conservative press, primarily the *Times* (London). He can be usefully studied as a kind of seismograph, registering the intensity of anti-Jewish sentiments within a certain segment of British society. His characteristic combination of racial antisemitism with Germanophobia can be seen as paradigmatic for the British discourse on Jews during his period.

—Susanne Terwey

*See also* Britain; Gwynne, H. A.; Webster, Nesta  
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## May Laws

The anti-Jewish pogroms between 1881 and 1882 in the Russian Empire marked the beginning of the reversal of the state's century-old effort to promote Jewish acculturation, integration, and assimilation. Under the year-long ad-

ministration (May 1881 to May 1882) of Minister of Internal Affairs Count N. P. Ignatiev, an attempt to segregate Jews from non-Jews was inaugurated.

The initial concern of the regime was that socialist agitators were responsible for the pogroms. When police investigations failed to confirm this belief, Ignatiev reverted to prejudices he had long held toward the Jews. Chief among them was the belief in "Jewish exploitation," the claim that Jews avoided productive work and sought to live at the expense of their Christian neighbors through such activities as petty trade and tavern keeping. The pogroms, in this analysis, were the response of the backward, inarticulate masses to the burden of exploitation. The remedy was to be sought in separating Jews from their neighbors—specifically, by removing Jews from the countryside and from peasant villages where their exploitation was most highly developed.

Ignatiev sought justification for this change of policy by convoking local commissions in the provinces of the Pale of Settlement to examine the relations between Jews and non-Jews. These Ignatiev Commissions were charged with the task of answering questions that amounted to a virtual bill of indictment against Russian Jewry:

1. What aspects of Jewish economic activity had an especially harmful influence on the life of the native population?
2. What practical difficulties were encountered in those localities, given the existing legislation on the Jews, regarding the sale and lease of land, trade in alcohol, and usury?
3. What changes in the existing legislation were necessary to prevent evasion of the law by the Jews, and what legal and administrative measures should be taken in order to neutralize the harmful influence of the Jews in the economic life of the country?

The commissions were ordered to submit their findings to the Jewish Committee, which Ignatiev created within his ministry under the direction of his deputy D. V. Gotovtsev. The

members of the commissions, appointed by the governor, offered a diverse and contradictory set of recommendations for resolving the Jewish Question—some even recommended the abolition of the Pale of Settlement. Ignatiev consistently misrepresented these responses, claiming that there was unanimous support for removing Jews from the countryside. The Gotovtsev Committee prepared a draft law that would have done precisely that by expelling Jews living in rural areas and by banning them from tavern keeping, a livelihood that supported hundreds of thousands of rural Jews.

However, leaks about the committee's deliberations engendered a widespread debate in the press and mobilized the elite secular Jewish leadership in St. Petersburg, grouped around the financier Baron G. O. Gintsburg, to block Ignatiev's initiatives. Faced with growing opposition, Ignatiev recognized that he would be unable to secure ratification of the proposed new rules by the State Council, the usual legislative course. Instead, he sought the approval of the Committee of Ministers, presenting the rules as temporary, emergency measures. But even this course met opposition from his fellow ministers, led by Minister of Finance N. Kh. Bunge, who warned of the economic harm the rules would produce. Other ministers pointed out that the worst pogroms had been in the cities, where Ignatiev now proposed to relocate the Jews driven out of the countryside.

Ignatiev argued, in turn, that the government had to be seen to be taking some action to prevent future pogroms if it was to retain the confidence of the general population. A compromise was agreed on, resulting in the promulgation of four rules:

1. As a temporary measure prior to a general review of the laws concerning the Jewish population, Jews were forbidden to settle anew outside the towns and shtetls, with the exception of existing Jewish agricultural colonies.
2. All purchases, mortgages, and leases of land located outside the towns and shtetls were suspended on a temporary basis.
3. Jews were forbidden to carry on trade on

Sundays and on the twelve major feasts of the Orthodox Church.

4. Rules 1 through 3 applied only to the Pale of Settlement.

The Ministry of Finance also agreed to oversee more closely the existing laws that governed Jews in the tavern trade. The regulations were published as temporary laws at the beginning of May 1882, thus becoming known as the May Laws. Ignatiev himself fell from power within the month over an unrelated issue.

The May Laws acquired a sinister reputation in Russian Jewish historiography, despite the attenuated form in which they ultimately appeared. In fact, their negative impact has been much exaggerated. An early judicial ruling found that they did not apply to the Russian-governed Kingdom of Poland. They did not affect Jews who already lived in the countryside but only new settlement. They did not apply to shtetls, the small market towns where many Jews lived. Capricious interpretations of the May Laws, highlighted by the historian S. M. Dubnow, were usually overturned by the Russian Senate, the highest court of appeal. In the decade following the promulgation of the May Laws, the Jewish population of the countryside actually increased in numbers.

Nevertheless, the May Laws endured until the fall of the tsarist regime. They marked a turn toward segregation in Russia's Jewish policy and were an expression of a fundamental distrust in the higher spheres of the Russian administration of the economic activities of all Jews, be they rich bourgeois or the pauperized, "exploiting" masses.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Jewish Question; Pale of Settlement; Pogroms; Ratzinger, Georg; Russia, Imperial; Russian Orthodox Church; Usury

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## **Mehring, Franz (1846–1919)**

Although initially a left-liberal journalist sympathetic to the Social Democrats, Franz Mehring became a staunch antisocialist in the late 1870s. Subsequently, he returned to the left-liberal fold, editing the *Berliner Volks-Zeitung* from 1884 to 1890 before finally joining the relegalized Social Democratic Party in 1891. Mehring wrote editorials for the party's theoretical organ, *Neue Zeit* (New Era), for nearly two decades and was editor in chief of the renowned *Leipziger Volkszeitung* from 1902 to 1907. He is best known for his massive history of the German labor movement (1897–1898) and his Marx biography (1918), both of which are still indispensable sources; he also edited the early writings of Marx (including *On the Jewish Question*) and Engels in 1902. Moving leftward in the party, he immediately joined the radical opposition against the war and was interned without trial for several months in 1916.

It has generally been argued that Mehring's highly ambiguous pronouncements on anti-semitism and matters Jewish made him an exception among his staunchly "antiantisemitic" socialist peers. His publication of and enthusiasm for *On the Jewish Question*, as well as his obsession with the harmful nature he ascribed to philosemitism (the term generally used to denote antiantisemitism in imperial Germany), have usually been cited as evidence against him. Philosemitism purported to defend the Jews only in order to defend the capitalist order, he argued. His critics suggested that Mehring stood alone with this interpretation and was even publicly taken to task for it, especially by Eduard Bernstein, the foremost exponent of evolutionary socialism. That Mehring wrote more extensively than any of his peers on matters Jewish and that his denunciation of philosemitism was singularly vitriolic has underscored the notion of his exceptional role.

But few of his peers wrote as extensively on any issue as Mehring did on this one or several others, and his critiques of other phenomena were generally no less vitriolic. It is worth noting that his extensive coverage of the Jewish Question resulted, in part, from his role as the Berlin correspondent for the *Neue Zeit*, compelled as he

was to churn out weekly editorials on current affairs. Moreover, the philosemitism discourse was, in fact, widely accepted by German (and European) socialists. Nor was Mehring's appreciation of Marx's *On the Jewish Question* as exceptional as generally suggested. That said, his untenable claim that Marx, too, had been an avowed "antiphilosemit" and his enthusiasm for Bruno Bauer did spell out the implications of this discourse in an original and particularly stringent way.

There can be no doubt that Mehring used *On the Jewish Question* as substantiation for his own anti-Jewish prejudices and that he used the philosemitism argument to evade an unambiguous condemnation of antisemitism. The argument not only provided cover for his animosity toward Jews but also made the expression of that animosity an antiphilosemitic duty. Yet on balance, in none of these respects was Mehring genuinely at odds with the notions and practices prevalent within German Social Democracy during the imperial era.

—Lars Fischer

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Jewish Question; *Jewish Question, The* (1843); Marx, Karl; Philosemitism; Social Democratic Party

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## ***Mein Kampf***

While in prison in 1924 after the failure of his attempted coup of November 1923, Adolf Hitler dictated to Rudolf Hess the first part of a book that was entitled *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*) and was published by the Eher Verlag, the Nazi Party's publishing house, in 1925. A second part

was dictated to Max Amann and issued in December 1926, with a 1927 copyright. The two parts were combined into a one-volume edition in 1930, although they continued to be available separately. By 1945, the Eher Verlag had sold many millions of copies, and Hitler had collected enormous royalties.

An English-language edition of the full text of *Mein Kampf*, with an introduction and annotations, was published by Reynal and Hitchcock in 1939. A translation with a different introduction and notes was issued by Houghton Mifflin in 1943 and has been repeatedly reprinted since. Hitler dictated a further book in 1928 but did not publish it; this text was published in German in 1961 and in English translation in 2003.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler set forth a survey of his life before 1914 as he wanted it known, with special emphasis on the political lessons he claimed to have acquired as a young man in Vienna. He explained his view of World War I, his own role in it, the reasons for Germany's defeat, and the beginnings of his participation in what became the Nazi Party. In considerable detail, he outlined his beliefs about the domestic and foreign policies Germany should have been following instead of those that had been adopted by the kaiser's Germany and those that were being suggested by others on the political scene at the time he was writing. The racial interpretation of world history, the insistence on a one-party state, the conviction that Germany had to conquer vast territories for settlement, and the vehement anti-semitism—all the characteristics of his rule after 1933—were set forth in *Mein Kampf* for all to see. Hitler also explained his sense of how politics and propaganda should be carried out in furthering the goals he advocated.

In spite of all the distortions in the account of his own past as well as the preposterous character of the aims he set for Germany, the book provides extremely useful insights into the man. Some believe Hitler to have been essentially an opportunist and a national leader of a traditional type. However, it is far more conducive to an understanding of the policies he adopted once in power if one recognizes that Hitler largely believed what he wrote and tried to act on those beliefs when he had the opportunity to do so. Such

a reading of *Mein Kampf* in no way precludes the possibility that when in power, as in his years of striving for power, there would be occasions for opportunistic hesitations, compromises, and alignments, but it allows one to see that these efforts were undertaken in the expectation of furthering the goals Hitler had originally set for himself and Germany.

—Gerhard L. Weinberg

**See also** Austria; Hitler, Adolf; Lueger, Karl; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Racism, Scientific; Schönerer, Georg von; Social Darwinism; Wagner, Richard; Weimar

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## Melanchthon, Philipp (1497–1560)

A humanist and theologian of the early Lutheran Reformation, Philipp Melanchthon was educated at Heidelberg and Tübingen. At both universities, he was exposed to the dominant strains of Scholasticism as well as the beginnings of Renaissance humanism. Unusually adept at languages, he gained the attention of senior scholars early on, and in 1518 (with some influence from his great-uncle Johann Reuchlin), he was called to fill the first professorship of Greek at the recently established university at Wittenberg. There, he became a close ally of Martin Luther and continued his education by acquiring a degree in biblical studies. He became an articulate formulator of doctrine and an influential mentor to generations of students. Melanchthon helped shape the curriculum of secondary schools and universities throughout Germany, and his services on behalf of education earned him the honorific title, which he shares with Hrabanus Maurus, of Preceptor of Germany. An advocate of scientific and historical studies, he oversaw the publication of classical texts, biblical commentaries, and grammars and lexicons in Greek and Hebrew.



Despite full participation in the legacy of theological anti-Judaism, Philipp Melanchthon never exhibited the active intolerance found in Martin Luther, nor did he devote much effort to the conversion of the Jews. (Library of Congress)

With a rare clarity of thought and language, Melanchthon wrote some of the seminal texts of the Lutheran tradition: the *Loci Communes*, the *Augsburg Confession*, and manuals for ordination and parish visitations, as well as topical pamphlets and dozens of treatises. Theologically one with Luther in most respects, Melanchthon saw in the Catholicism of his own time a form of religion corresponding to the legalistic Judaism of the first century. Rather than inspire and guide outward observance, religious law served to reveal to a person the full extent of original sin; the Gospel, in turn, promised the comfort of divine forgiveness for those who acknowledged their sinfulness and despaired of pleasing God. Thus, a particular view of Judaism, more specifically of the Mosaic law and original sin, was a necessary component of Melanchthon's theology. That the broader Jewish tradition did not share this view

was only proof, in Melanchthon's view, of the stubbornness of the unregenerate.

Despite full participation in the legacy of theological anti-Judaism, Melanchthon never exhibited the active intolerance found in Luther; neither does he seem to have devoted much effort to the cause of converting Jews to Christianity. Rather, he projected popular prejudices on Christian "Judaizers," advocates of legalistic forms of Christian piety. For Melanchthon, as for Luther, the essence of Christianity was a liberation from codes governing outward actions to a life of gratitude for freedom from law, achieved with the atonement on the cross. The Judaizers of Melanchthon's time included the Anabaptists, for imposing biblical customs in their communities: the Catholics, for demanding outward observances in the sacramental-penitential system of meritorious "works"; and finally, fellow Lutherans, for capitulating, in the interest of peace, to pressure from Catholic powers by allowing certain Roman practices to be reinstated. Thus, despite an apparent indifference to the presence of Jews in his own time, his work, both structurally and rhetorically, capitalized on inherited prejudices.

—Ralph Keen

*See also* Luther, Martin; Reformation; Reuchlin,

Johann

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### **Memminger, Anton (1846–1923)**

Through the Wilhelmine era, the Würzburg-based publicist and newspaperman Anton Memminger brought to German agrarian politics a populist orientation consistently marked by anti-semitic appeals. Born into a constable's family in Straubing, Bavaria, Memminger enjoyed a brief stint at the University of Würzburg before embarking on a journalistic career. He started out on the political Left, working for democratic and social democratic newspapers in Würzburg and Nuremberg. His public call to the democrats and liberals of the world to aid the destitute Lud-

wig Feuerbach in 1872 did little to improve the ailing philosopher's fortunes, but Memminger did garner some notoriety when he delivered a prominent oration at Feuerbach's funeral the following year. By 1873, Memminger's controversial articles had earned him a series of libel suits. When these led to a nine-month prison sentence, he fled to Switzerland, where he remained for five years. He later claimed that his Swiss sojourn "fundamentally cured" him of his "internationalist cosmopolitan attitude."

Returning to Germany, he wrote a handful of books, including a polemic against free trade, an antisemitic tract, and several pieces on railway promotion schemes. He also traveled to Vienna to work on Karl von Vogelsang's *Christian Social Monthly*. In 1882, he took over editorship of a floundering Munich daily, recasting it as "a Christian-German People's Paper" championing the cause of Germany's *Mittelstand* (lower middle class). In 1886, former colleagues from the democratic *Würzburger Journal* described him as typifying the new age of "journalistic mass production": "He writes today for the democrats, tomorrow for the conservatives; in the mornings an article of antisemitic vilification flows from his pen, while in the afternoons, now overflowing with tolerance, he offers consolation. At nine o'clock he is Ultramontane, at ten o'clock liberal—in short, his pen resembles the disreputable carded ladies who prostitute themselves for payment" (*Würzburger Journal*, July 22, 1886).

For the rest of his career, Memminger would use the "Jew democrats" of the *Journal* as prominent foils in his agitation. In 1886, he acquired a Würzburg paper, the *Neue Bayerische Landeszeitung*, which soon gained Bavarian-wide notoriety for its inflammatory mixture of antisemitism and agrarianism. In 1893, as rural discontent exploded across Germany, Memminger played a leading role in Bavaria's rambunctious peasant movement. Spurning overtures to affiliate outright with the Prussian-based Agrarian League, he instead helped launch the Franconian Peasants League (Bauernbund), which merged with other Bavarian peasant leagues in 1895.

Memminger's relationship with other league leaders, especially the anticlerical radicals of

Lower and Upper Bavaria, was frequently stormy; behind the scenes, he maintained a wide correspondence with more like-minded leaders from the antisemitic agrarian movements of central Germany, including Hesse, Saxony, and Thuringia, in hopes of eventually forging an agrarian party. From 1903 to 1906, he served in the Bavarian Diet, combining reformist appeals with attacks on Jewish business practices and dire warnings about the growing presence of *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) in Bavaria's vacation resorts. These speeches also drew from his one arguably original contribution to antisemitic thought—*Der Talmud* (1897), a lurid exposé masquerading as a scholarly study.

In 1909, Memminger and other Franconian leaders split from the Bavarian Peasants League, affiliating with the newly formed German Peasants League (Deutscher Bauernbund), a Germanwide venture intended as a liberal alternative to the Agrarian League. In this new organization, Memminger denounced Prussia's Junkers as well as the Jews, while blaming Germany's mounting troubles on its departure from Otto von Bismarck's tried-and-true path. Several books issued from Memminger's later years; the suggestively titled *Swastika and Star of David* (1922) largely indulged his lifelong fascination with occultism. Memminger died of complications from a carbuncle in 1923. His three sons, August, Thomas, and Anton, had already taken over operations of the *Neue Bayerische Landeszeitung*, which was published well into the Nazi years.

—John Abbott

*See also* Agrarian League; Antisemitic Political Parties; Feuerbach, Ludwig; German Peasant League; *Ostjuden*; Ratzinger, Georg; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich; Talmud; Vogelsang, Karl von  
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### ***Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism (1797–1803)***

The five volumes of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme* (*Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism*) by the French Jesuit exile Abbé Augustin Barruel make no mention of Jews

in an elaborately paranoid account of the supposed conspiratorial origins of the French Revolution. Nonetheless, this foundational text in the history of modern conspiracy theories constitutes a key chapter in the prehistory of the emergence of similar fantasies focusing on Jews in the later nineteenth century, culminating with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The Jacobins currently terrorizing France, Barruel argued in his preface, could not have appeared out of thin air. He promised to expose their lengthy conspiratorial history—and also their plans for the future, which, if not stopped, would result in the utter destruction of society. The principal authors of the conspiracy, he claimed, were Voltaire, Jean-le-Rond d'Alembert, and King Frederick II of Prussia, who had secretly planned to destroy Christianity through such methods as the publication of the *Encyclopédia*, the crushing of the Jesuits, and the recruitment of thousands of coconspirators, including Joseph II of Austria and Catherine II of Russia. These “sophists” had formed an alliance with the Freemasons, whose antireligious conspiratorial origins Barruel traced back to the medieval Knights Templars. The final and most utterly evil group in this triple conspiracy, however, were the Bavarian Illuminati, under their satanic leader Adam Weishaupt. Jacobinism had emerged out of the union of these three groups, with the aim of utterly crushing the church and concentrating all power in the conspirators’ hands. Barruel’s *History* was soon translated into all the major European languages, bringing its author considerable money and fame, and it remained an influential text among anti-Masonic conspiracy theorists into the twentieth century.

The association of Jews with this theory was first raised in a mysterious letter received by Barruel in August 1806, purportedly from a Napoleonic captain in Florence, Jean-Baptiste Simonini. Barruel’s excellent book, Simonini wrote, had overlooked one crucial element: the conspiracy of the Jews, who had secretly founded both Freemasonry and the Illuminati and planned to dominate the world and enslave all Christians within a hundred years. The letter may have been a forgery designed to heighten anti-Jewish sentiment at the time of the Assem-

bly of Jewish Notables in Paris. The letter was not published, however, until 1878, together with an article by another Jesuit, Grivel, who claimed that Barruel had, in an unpublished text, demonstrated the existence of a conspiratorial alliance between the Jews and the Knights Templars dating back to the fourteenth century. This assertion cannot be verified, however. It also seems possible that Simonini’s letter was itself a creation of the 1870s.

—Adam Sutcliffe

**See also** Barruel, Augustin; Biarritz; Diderot, Denis; Drumont, Édouard; Freemasonry; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Infamous Decree; Jesuit Order; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de; Webster, Nesta

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## Mexico

As of 2004, the Jewish community of Mexico numbered 40,000, out of a total population of 102 million. This modern community is well organized, with strong institutions, and in general has not suffered from antisemically motivated acts of violence against individuals, institutions, or property. However, traditional Christian prejudices toward Jews, combined with specific historical trends and situations, have produced sporadic episodes of antisemitism in the media, among intellectuals, and in daily life as well.

During the late 1920s and 1930s, antisemitic outbursts centered on economic, nationalistic, and racial themes. Groups such as the Anti-Chinese and Anti-Jewish National League (1930) and the Association of Honorable Traders, Industrialists, and Professionals (1933) lobbied the government to restrict Jewish immigration. In May 1931, 250 Jewish peddlers were expelled from the Lagunilla market in Mexico City, and on June 1, 1931, proclaimed the National Day of Commerce, demonstrators protested the presence of Jews in commercial life.

Registering the influence of Nazi propaganda, the race issue gradually became dominant among right-wing groups such as the Mexican Revolutionary Action, which operated through its paramilitary Camisas Doradas (Golden Shirts). Antisemitic press campaigns and pressure on the government peaked in 1938 and 1939, thanks to the activism of the Pro-Race Committee and the National Union of Veterans of the Revolution. Typically, up to that point in Mexican history, antisemitism entered into national politics from the Right.

But after the Six Days' War of 1967, antisemitism also began to take hold on the Left. In the following decades, periods of national crisis were often punctuated with anti-Jewish sentiments expressed strongly in the media. In the aftermath of the earthquake in Mexico City in 1985, for example, Jewish factory owners were accused of profiting from the disaster, letting their workers die while saving their property. In the 1980s, during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and in the 1990s, during the first intifada and Gulf War, anti-Jewish commentary and antisemitic graffiti on university campuses featured traditional stereotypes that went well beyond criticism of Israeli policies.

The second intifada revived antisemitism and anti-Zionism in Mexico, and the events that followed September 11, 2001, strengthened these trends. Even though there is no significant Muslim presence in Mexico, anti-Americanism has strong support in the general population and on the Left. Israel is frequently depicted as the partner or pawn of the biggest imperialist country and oppressor of the Palestinian people. Although there were no physical attacks on Jews, over 130 antisemitic incidents were reported in 2002, a dramatic rise over previous years. Most took the form of E-mail threats, graffiti, and anti-Zionist demonstrations in which some well-known political figures took part.

Tribuna Israelita, the human relations council of the Jewish community, actively works to counter antisemitism and anti-Zionism through a program that includes the publication of articles in the national press; meetings with representatives of the government, political parties, and the mass media; and participation in radio

and TV interviews. Beginning in 1995, representatives of the community and Tribuna Israelita helped fashion a statute calling for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, particularly antisemitism and xenophobia. On April 10, 2003, the Mexican Congress unanimously wrote these provisions into federal law.

—Esther Shabot

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Argentina; Brazil; Cuba

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### **Michaelis, Johann David (1717–1791)**

One of eighteenth-century Germany's leading Protestant authorities on ancient Judaism, Johann David Michaelis was a major voice in the debates over Jewish emancipation unleashed by Christian Wilhelm von Dohm's treatise *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the Civic Improvement of the Jews [1781]). In an influential essay published in his *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* (Oriental and Exegetical Library), a prominent organ of biblical criticism, Michaelis spoke out vehemently against Dohm's proposal for granting rights to Jews, arguing that their corrupt character would resist any and all measures of reform.

Michaelis studied in his native Halle before beginning a long, distinguished career as an Orientalist at the newly founded University of Göttingen. He was one of the first scholars to use knowledge of Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac to illuminate the Hebrew Bible. His interpretation of Scripture also made liberal use of contemporary empirical sciences, drawing on geographic, historical, and archaeological writings to read the Bible much as one would approach profane texts from antiquity. Michaelis sought to study the Hebrew Bible on its own terms, as a historical document of ancient Israel. The author of many seminal works and biblical translations, Michaelis helped define the field of historical biblical criticism. Reprints of his writings in Germany and translations into English, French, Dutch, and

Danish solidified his influence through the nineteenth century.

As an expert on ancient Judaism, Michaelis also took an interest in contemporary Jewry. In a review of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Die Juden* (The Jews [1749]), a drama that broke with tradition to present a Jew as a noble character, Michaelis complained that finding nobility of character in a Jew was utterly implausible. In one of his earliest published writings, Moses Mendelssohn expressed amazement at encountering such views in a scholar and accused Michaelis of using his professional position to "degrade our oppressed nation" (in Hess 2002, 107). In his critique of Dohm's proposals for Jewish emancipation in 1782, Michaelis stuck by his original views, claiming that both Judaism and the Jews' character were incompatible with citizenship. Citing their moral corruption, proclivities toward crime, and the clannish nature of Judaism as insurmountable obstacles to integrating Jews into the modern state, he claimed that granting them rights would risk transforming Germany into a "defenseless, despicable Jewish state" (in Hess 2002, 173). In this context, he drew on the discussions of race and racial difference that had emerged in the 1770s, claiming Jews were an "unmixed race of a more southern people" (in Hess 2002, 53) that even in ten generations would never have the bodily strength to perform military service. Arguing in this manner, he challenged the vision of "regeneration" central to Dohm's plea for emancipation, and he did so as a theologian, explicitly invoking his expertise on ancient Judaism. Reprinted by Dohm in 1783, Michaelis's polemics were frequently cited in the ensuing debates over Jewish emancipation.

—*Jonathan M. Hess*

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Racism, Scientific

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## Middle Ages, Early (430–1096)

It is commonly believed that Jews in early medieval Christian Europe enjoyed relative safety. Supposedly well-disposed rulers protected them, as did a church that honored what historical literature calls the Augustinian theory. In fact, the early Middle Ages were a time of severe threat, especially from churchmen but no less from secular rulers, who often expelled Jews or, in the case of Visigothic Spain, forced them to convert. An established Jewish civil status provided a degree of stability. Early medieval Jews descended from Jews who possessed Roman citizenship and were considered permanent residents, not foreigners, and hence entitled to various rights and privileges.

Roman law eventually disappeared. By the seventh century, only abridgments (for example, the book called the *Breviary of Alaric*) were used in places such as Spain, yet in law, Jews were still *cives* (people with civic rights). They were also a "recognized people," a *gens*, eligible to receive a charter of *tuitio* (special privilege), which was given to individuals, usually merchants, vouchsafing safe conduct and freedom from tolls. Eventually, all legal statuses changed, with feudal statuses of direct dependency replacing ancient citizenship. This new order automatically excluded Jews, since all dependents (or vassals) had to swear oaths as Christians. As Jews settled in towns along the Rhine River from the late ninth century, they were also confused with foreign merchants, and like the latter, they had to depend on group privileges for the right to live in a given locale. The same *tuitio* charter that once signaled special privilege became the basic set of privileges defining a Jewish communal presence, eventually making Jews wholly dependent on rulers.

The church offered no great respite. The letters of Gregory the Great from the late sixth century document early churchmen forcing Jews to convert and confiscating Jewish communal structures, including synagogues. Bishop Agobard of Lyons forbade Jews to dine with Christians, for those Christians might then dine with a priest, which would, in turn, make him impure and lead to the contamination of communicants. About 1100, the French abbot Guibert de Nogent told pornographic stories of Jews who made priests spill their seed on the Eucharist. The fear of de-

filament by Jews through contact was rampant. Jews were said to work sympathetic magic with waxen images, a precursor of the twelfth-century charge of ritual murder. Churchmen were also petrified by the idea of Judaizing, meaning doing anything Jews might do—an anxiety harking back to Paul in Galatians 4 and 5 and I Corinthians 10, where Paul said that those who participate in or imitate Jewish rites contaminated the Christian altar and should be expelled like Ishmael, the son of Hagar, Abraham's biblical concubine. These so-called Judaizers were eventually confused with the Jews themselves. Centuries later, the image of the Jews as Ishmael served the legal scholar Oldradus in constructing a theoretical scenario justifying expulsion. By no later than about 1000, the motivation to prevent contamination led to church canons demanding nearly complete segregation. Ecumenical councils in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries made this preexisting legislation binding on the entire church. Segregation's goal, achieved through laws of special dress and the prohibition of the employment of Christian domestics, was to prevent Jews from ritually endangering eucharistic purity.

As for the so-called Augustinian theory of witness, it was not one of toleration or of Jewish witness to Christianity's origins pure and simple. Each reference to witness in Augustine's writings contextualizes that Jews are *capsarii*, or slaves who bear the (Christian) master's books. Following Augustine, popes cited Psalm 59:12, which speaks of not killing Jews. But this citation was a prooftext, signifying a complex policy of toleration and restraint. Nobody took it at face value, not, at least, until Pope Benedict XIV in his bull of 1751 intimated precisely that it should be taken literally.

Jews themselves lived in small communities and never exercised real power, notwithstanding various legends asserting that they were princes and rulers in Narbonne. Nor were they high officials, although some frequented royal courts; the often heard claim of a royal-Jewish accord lacks substance.

Internal Jewish life under these conditions is well reflected in a rhymed prose narrative in Hebrew, the *Scroll of Ahimaaz*, a tale of origins and pride that reveals what Jews studied and what re-

lations they had with Jews beyond Europe—Ahimaaz lived with and described Jews in Oria (far southern Apulia in Italy)—including Byzantium and the land of Israel. Ahimaaz's women are sometimes forceful, his fathers “cherish” their daughters, and most heroes practice (positive) magic. When Rabbi Jacob Tam (d. 1171) said, no doubt playfully, that from Bari goes forth the Torah and the word of the Lord from Otranto, he knew that his ancestors had immigrated from these Apulian cities, northward to the Rhineland—with their learning, which great scholars such as Solomon Yitzhaki (Rashi), would later perfect.

Jewish communal organization was commensurate with the small communities found throughout what is today northern and southern France and the Rhineland, as well as Italy and Spain. Jews reached England only with William the Conqueror in 1066; apparently, no Jews lived in Scandinavia or the Low Countries, and Poland's great Jewries date only from the sixteenth century. A Hebrew text from about the early eleventh century in the Rhineland refers to a theory of government by consensus of the governed. People were to “enter into a *herem*,” meaning a common oath to set aside a particular district as a place where certain rules were enforced (not excommunication)—what the English later called the domain where the king's writ runs (hence, a judicial district). Christians justified these districts by likening them to the eternal body of Christ, with the kingdom eventually perceived (in imitation) as a mystical political body. Jews obviously could not do this, and in the long run, they failed to develop a satisfactory political theory, especially a theory of representation, however close to one the concept of a consensual herem was. Guided by rabbinic scholars, until about the thirteenth century, Jews viewed the community as a court originating with a mythical founding scholar. Theoretically—the rabbinic pressure for this is explicit—such a court might overrule any deliberative body.

Still, Jewish communities thrived. Commerce developed, and so did schools. The Talmud, essentially legal discussions edited in Asian Mesopotamia between about the third and seventh centuries, was also assimilated to European

realities. New glosses (in the eleventh century) led to extensive commentary (from the twelfth), enabling Jewish daily and communal life. The First Crusade of 1096 dramatically interrupted this process. Marauding bands, including nobles, but not the formal crusading army led by a bishop, wreaked havoc among the Jewish communities. Numerous instances of Jews dying to sanctify God's name—often suicides, preceded by parents slaughtering children and spouses—particularly perplexed Christians. So, too, did the return to Judaism by those forcibly converted to Christianity during the mayhem, which Christians branded as apostasy. These events and the memory of them fostered by Christians served to entrench the lessons already to be found in the writings of John Chrysostom, Agobard of Lyons, and Guibert de Nogent: Jews were immoral, and excessive contact with them menaced the purity of Christian society.

An opposing school or, more precisely, a complementary one said, following Paul in Romans, that Jews had an integral role to play in Christian society as harbingers of the end of days. This view, commensurate with the Jews' status as citizens in later Roman law, was espoused by Gregory the Great despite his equal concerns about Jews and Judaizing, and it was enshrined by Pope Alexander II in 1063 when he wrote that because Jews always accepted Christian rule, they were not to be considered active enemies like the Saracens, and, hence, merited protection and the right to live peacefully. In 1096, this irenic vision came under permanent threat, as did Jewish lives themselves, no matter how much Jews might culturally and economically thrive thereafter and no matter how many periods of quiet might intervene between one attack or expulsion and another.

—Kenneth Stow

*See also* Agobard; Augustine of Hippo; Chrysostom, John; Crusades; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Gregory the Great, Pope; Lateran Council, Fourth; Paul; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Sorcery/Magic; Visigothic Spain; Yellow Badge

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## Middle Ages, High (1096–1343)

During the High Middle Ages, European culture reached an impressive pinnacle. Characteristic of Europe from the late eleventh through the early fourteenth centuries were: urbanization; "the commercial revolution"; territorial expansion; advances in science, schools, and universities; increasing social mobility; and the emergence of national state powers, particularly England and France. It was in this era that the church also flourished, extending its reach and developing an elaborate internal structure. One of its chief concerns in this phase of its history was the identification and suppression of heresy, which naturally led to an intensive interest in the Hebrew language and the practice of Judaism.

Europe was home to a growing Jewish population as well. In the midst of rapid and far-reaching changes in social, cultural, political, and economic life and perhaps as a result of them, anti-Judaism surfaced in a variety of forms, one of which was overt physical aggression. Violence against the Jews erupted frequently in the High Middle Ages, but no event was more severe or has been more discussed than the massacres of the Jews that took place during the First Crusade, at the very outset of the era. Scholars debate the overall effects on the Jewish community, but the vivid and detailed chronicle accounts leave a stark impression of the extent of the carnage and the precarious position of the surviving Jews in much of Europe for the rest of the period.

According to one recent interpretation, two phases of anti-Judaism are visible in the High Middle Ages: the first hinged on the foreign nature of an immigrant Jewish population and the related perception of Jews as religious dissidents; the second focused on the image of Jews as hos-



Illustration of Jews being burned in Cologne, after a woodcut by Wohlgemuth. Violence against the Jews erupted frequently in the High Middle Ages, but none was as severe or widespread as the massacres that took place during the First Crusade. (Stapleton Collection/Corbis)

tile toward European Christian society, not just as religious nonconformists but also as economic competitors, allied to the barony, and as historic enemies (Chazan). Throughout the Middle Ages, contact between Christians and Jews was unavoidable. Conflict could be overt, leading to violence, or latent, making possible some degree of integration and normal daily relations.

Despite the great advancements that have been collectively termed the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, Jews were increasingly marginalized in theological and learned discourse. The preexisting *Adversus Iudeeos* tradition remained dominant, further enhanced by a string of polemical works that cast Judaism as the antagonist of Christianity. Indeed, slowly crystallizing elements of Christian doctrine set the scene for expanded anti-Jewish accusations. As the Eucharist became more fully a Christian sacrament during the High Middle Ages, alleged Jewish desecration of the host surfaced and became widely publicized. By steal-

ing and attempting to defile the host, Jews, it was alleged, were actually attesting to the power of the Eucharist, thus corroborating the church's message: namely, that the real presence of Jesus was in the consecrated wafer. Tales of divine intervention that resulted in the apprehension and lethal punishment of Jews, as well as the establishment of pilgrimage sites, fostered correct Christian belief and by the same token cast Jews as increasingly nefarious. It was in this period, as well, that Jews began to be accused of acts of ritual murder. The charges typically alleged that Jews first abducted and then tortured and murdered Christian children to use their blood for religiously prescribed rites, especially for the baking of Passover matzah. Many Jews died as a result of these constantly recurring fantasies.

A number of church councils also had significant legal impact on the Jews, whose activities and appearance were ever more closely monitored and controlled. The Third Lateran Coun-

cil of 1179, for example, prohibited Jews and Muslims from having Christian servants and extended a general ban on usury. At the same time, however, measures were enacted to protect Jews from forcible conversion and physical assault. With the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, significant and ominous legal precedents were established: Jews were prohibited from usurious excesses, even as crusaders had the interest they owed on any debts remitted; they were forced to identify themselves by wearing a yellow badge; and they could not hold public office or appear in public on Easter and other Christian festivals. Converts from Judaism were ordered to desist from any form of Jewish practices.

As the church strengthened its hold on European life and particularly through the agency of the mendicant orders, Jews experienced increasing hostility. Many mendicants became noted for their skill and interest in Hebrew, but they used this knowledge to preach openly against the Jews and against their rabbinic writings. Jewish literature was extensively censored and attacked, on the pretext that the rabbinic texts blasphemed Christianity. The Talmud was “put on trial” and burned in Paris in 1240 and in many other places as well. The desire to convert the Jews led to forcible disputations, such as the one that took place in Spain in 1263 when the convert Pablo Christiani debated Rabbi Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides).

Throughout the High Middle Ages, Christian imagery—in a preliterate age—depicted Jews as involved in magic, theft, and deception and thirsting after Christian blood. A variety of graphic representations fashioned them as demonic, criminal, and blind to true religion. Jews were often physically segregated in their own quarters, although official ghettoization did not begin until the end of the Middle Ages. There were also some attempts to protect Jews. Indeed, after the violence of the Crusades, it was clear that they required governmental protection. Efforts in this regard, however, often took the form of making Jews into “servants of the chamber,” by definition a weak and dependent status that contributed to the popular contempt in which Jews were held; like the clergy and women, they could not bear arms. The political and social turmoil experienced by the emerging nation-states

of England and France also had disastrous effects on the security of Jews. England expelled them in 1290. In France, the Blois blood libel of 1171 led to the burning of thirty-one Jews and was a prelude to increasing marginalization. In 1181, Philip Augustus had all the Jews of Paris arrested and then ransomed for a large sum of money; in 1236, there were serious riots in Anjou and Poitou, and in Brittany, the violence culminated in 1240 in another expulsion. A blood libel case in 1247 and host desecration charges in 1290 ultimately led to the sweeping expulsion of 1306.

It would be a mistake to assume that the history of anti-Judaism in the High Middle Ages was limited to Christian Europe. Although at times faring better under Muslim rule, Jews living in the orbit of Islam also experienced discriminatory treatment and general insecurity. Defined as a “people of the book,” the Jews were conceived of as a protected but second-rate population and were forced to endure a number of social and cultural humiliations, such as wearing distinguishing clothing and paying special taxes. With its emphasis on orthopraxy as opposed to orthodoxy, Islam was less concerned with heresy than medieval Christian Europe was. Although they were sometimes treated better than Christians, Jews could expect no more than toleration, and this, too, occasionally gave way to oppression and massacre, as in Granada in 1066 and the Almohad persecutions of the twelfth century in Spain and North Africa.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** *Adversus Iudeos*; Almohad Persecution; Crusades; Dominican Order; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Ghetto; Host Desecration; Iconography, Christian; Islam and the Jews; *Judensau*; Lateran Council, Fourth; Masculinity; Peter the Venerable; Rindfleisch Massacre; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Sorcery/Magic; Talmud; Talmud Trials; Usury; Yellow Badge

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### Middle Ages, Late (1343–1453)

The anti-Jewish outbursts of the High Middle Ages grew in intensity and scope during the later Middle Ages, a period that has frequently been defined by historians as one of decline and decay in the position of the Jews. Wandering and mendicant preachers continued to dispose the populace negatively toward the Jews. Increased agitation against Jewish moneylending and usury combined with tense political and social situations in many late medieval cities and towns to spark massacres, expulsions, and elaborate restrictive legislation. These factors reinforced the growing marginalization of Jews that had been under way for centuries. Added to the charge that they practiced a heterodox religion, they were also frequently accused of more secular sins—subverting the common good and harming ordinary folk. Caught in the web of escalating political tensions between the nobility, the emperor, and the cities, German Jewry was manipulated, attacked, and “pawned” in a series of regional and urban expulsions that covered much of the German-speaking world from the middle of the fourteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth century. The lack of strong centralized government in central Europe, a shrinking economy, and protracted feuds and wars left little chance for solid or consistent policies or protection, even had this been desired by the powerful.

In France, there were general expulsions throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and massacres in 1380. The persecutions of 1338 and 1347 throughout Alsace and in Germany in

the late 1330s and during the Black Death hinged on charges that the Jews were poisoning wells and plotting the downfall of Christian religion and government. In Spain, the end of the fourteenth century witnessed violent anti-Jewish preaching that led to demands for the destruction of synagogues and murderous attacks on Jewish communities. The wave of violence in 1390 and the subsequent forced conversions in 1391 bequeathed significant problems with *conversos* (New Christians) during the entire fifteenth century.

The immiseration of the Jews seemed irreversible. Promising social and economic mobility during the fifteenth century was soon curbed by anti-Jewish legislation in late medieval Spain. In 1412 in Castile, Jews were required to live in special quarters, were not allowed to hold the honorific title “don,” and were forbidden to serve as tax farmers. In 1449, riots in Toledo led to the first Pure Blood Laws, excluding all men of Jewish ancestry from holding municipal office there. The conversos issue, combined with purity-of-blood legislation, tense social relations, and the later establishment of the Inquisition, resulted in numerous and significant trials of New Christians, accusations of Judaizing, and increasingly negative attitudes toward the remaining observant Jews, who were accused of trying to sway conversos back to Judaism. Significant regional expulsions in the 1480s turned out to be only a prelude to the final expulsion of some 200,000 Jews in 1492, effectively emptying the Iberian Peninsula of its ancient Jewish population by the early sixteenth century.

Another initially hopeful sign also proved disappointing. With the Renaissance came a renewed interest in the Hebrew language and the appearance of Christian Hebraists. But this interest, even when it led to calls to preserve and protect Jewish literature, did little to slow the enthusiasm of radical churchmen seeking to burn rabbinic writings and convert the Jews. Anti-Jewish preaching, greater “knowledge” of Judaism, and theological disputations (in which Jewish participants were extremely vulnerable to retaliation)—all these substantiated for Christian scholars the claim that Christians had definitively supplanted Jews as God’s chosen people. Attitudes toward Jews alternated between fear and disdain.

Written out of history and increasingly ghettoized, Jews lived in habitual insecurity, subject to the whims of individual rulers and the volatile hatreds of the mob.

Fervent preaching against the Jews in a language accessible to simple people was at least as influential as sophisticated theological arguments in the hardening of rejectionist attitudes. One particularly persuasive preacher of the period was Bernardino of Sienna. Drawing from a rich store of economic, criminal, communal, and medical metaphors and arguments, Bernardino likened the Jews to a plague attacking the body of the civic commune and all of Christendom:

Money is the vital heat of a city. The Jews are leeches who ask for nothing better than the opportunity to devour an ailing member, whose blood they suck dry with insatiable ardor. When heat and blood abandon the extremities of the body to flow back to the heart, it is a sign that death is near. But the danger is even more imminent when the wealth of a city is in the hands of the Jews. Then the heat no longer flows, as it does normally, towards the heart. As it does in a plague-ridden body, it moves towards the ailing member of the body; for every Jew, especially if he is a moneylender, is a capital enemy of all Christians. (In Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, 1994, 24.)

Familiar accusations of host desecration and ritual murder originated earlier in the Middle Ages, but each had a significant further development in the late Middle Ages. The most famous case of an alleged ritual murder was that of Simon of Trent (in 1475). Young Simon became the subject of a folk song, “*Vom heiligen Simon*,” that served to broadcast the guilt of the Jews far and wide in a preliterate age. According to the song, the Jews, in their great need for Christian blood, sent for a Christian child. As was also typical of many of the cases of host desecration, a disgruntled Christian acted as intermediary, arriving in the Jewish quarter with “the goods”—the pious son of a cobbler. The “contemptuous Jews,” because of their great blindness, tortured and murdered the boy, using his collected blood

to bake their Passover bread, which was then distributed to many lands. The song described how the Jews read anti-Christian statements from the (imaginary) tractate *Agoyim*. In the end, however, they were punished for the cruel shedding of innocent blood, and miracles occurred in the name of the martyred Simon.

The focus of the song and of the accusations more generally were on the alleged criminal and inhuman acts of the Jews. But a number of elements in this and other stories of heinous crime synthesized older and newer stereotypes that have since appeared and reappeared as the so-called Jewish Question. First, Jews work with traitorous Christians to achieve their ends. Second, Christian victims are required for Jewish ritual and practice; Judaism thus becomes the exact and deadly antithesis of Christianity and Jews the remorseless enemies of Christians. Third, the Jewish actions not only reflect general animosity toward Christianity but also give birth to the fantasy of a union of Jews operating across borders and dedicated to fearful evil.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Alsace; Capistrano, John of; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Ghetto; Host Desecration; Inquisition; Jewish Question; Middle Ages, High; Passion Plays, Medieval; Prague Massacre; Pure Blood Laws; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Simon of Trent; Spain, Riots of 1391; Supersessionism; Usury; Well Poisoning

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## Militia Movement

The militia movement in the United States draws together hundreds of diverse groups seeking to preserve their vision of an American society based on traditional ideals and, especially, on limited government. The movement's self-image stems from a mythic understanding of the role of the American militias in the Revolutionary War. Collectively xenophobic, anticommunist, anti-Catholic, antisemitic, and racist, the movement's social-intellectual outlook owes much to the nineteenth-century Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and twentieth-century Christian Identity movement. Christian Identity anticipates a biblical apocalypse and calls on members to prepare by storing food and weapons. An elaborate Identity theology links the KKK to several of the diverse elements of the militia movement in the United States.

During the second half of the twentieth century, the militia movement remade itself around the concept of the "patriot" movement. Contrary to the more public and confrontational style of the KKK, the U.S. militia movement shied away from public exposure in favor of survivalist and isolationist activities. Militia tactics ranged from relatively nonviolent acts, such as the refusal to pay income taxes and calls for secession from the United States, to highly visible armed standoffs with government agencies.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the Posse Comitatus sought to appropriate the image of the militia of the American Revolution. Its newsletter declared the United States had fallen under the control of international Jewry. The group's founder, Henry Beach, a veteran of pro-Hitler organizations in the 1930s, claimed that the United Nations had taken control of the election of federal officials and that the Federal Emer-

gency Management Agency would serve as the instrument for imposing the new world order in the United States. Typical of subsequent militiamen, the Posse members believed they were involved in a struggle against an international conspiracy to deny average citizens their rights. One of their seminal texts was the novel *The Turner Diaries* (1978) by William Pierce, who, under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald, described an underground white army conducting a brutal revolution against the so-called Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG), located in Washington, D.C. Behind ZOG, according to Posse and Identity adherents, stands world Jewry, communists, and those who would defile the white race.

In the 1990s, the loosely constructed movement defined itself around prominent organizations, individuals, issues, and events: the Posse Comitatus; John Trockman and his Militia of Montana; William Pierce; the death of Gordon Kahl in Arkansas; the shoot-out at Ruby Ridge and the assault on David Koresh's Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas; and the Freemen stand-off in Jordan, Montana. The article of faith uniting these disparate elements is a fundamental, deeply embedded distrust of the government. The ideas of America's Founding Fathers, they are certain, have been irreparably subverted. According to militia supporters, the U.S. government no longer represents the interests of the American people or protects the freedoms enshrined in the Constitution and Bill of Rights. These so-called patriots commonly see agents of this conspiracy against liberty in all branches of the U.S. military and law enforcement (from the level of county sheriff all the way up to the Federal Bureau of Investigation). Their paranoid style connects the militia to many other groups on the radical Right and to those who still find inspiration in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In their battle against the new world order, militia supporters oppose any sort of gun control. They are antigay and against abortion rights; they call for the repeal of the Federal Reserve Act and the Internal Revenue Code.

What degree of support the militias enjoy in the broad American public is difficult to ascertain. It is fair to say, however, that the bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma

City, with its clear links to the militia, seriously diminished whatever public sympathy might have existed for the movement. That die-hard supporters insist on holding the government responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing has probably not helped their cause.

For up-to-date information about the militia movements in the United States, various reputable watchdog groups, including the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Poverty Law Center, continually track their activities and monitor their publications. These efforts have revealed the existence of hundreds of militia-related Internet sites. Militia-related propaganda continues to circulate, primarily via newsletters, radio broadcasts, mass mailings, and videotapes and over the Internet.

—David A. Meier

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Christian Identity Movement; Internet; Ku Klux Klan; Pelley, William Dudley; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; United States; White Power Movement

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### **Mirror to the Jews, A**

*A Mirror to the Jews (Der Judenspiegel [1862])* marked a critical moment in the journey of its author, Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904), from ultra-Left revolutionary to racist antisemite. In the same year he brought out this argument against equal rights for Jews, he published an attack on the idea of proletarian emancipation and a defense of the institution of black slavery. *Der Judenspiegel* owed its existence to the local politics of Marr's Hamburg hometown, providing the excuse for the famously splenetic author to let off steam and settle petty personal grudges. Aside from his musings on eugenics, bolstered by his travels in North and

Central America during the 1850s, there seemed to be little new in the substance of his anti-Jewish opinions. But the notions of Jewish mendacity, ethical inferiority, instinctive hatred for all non-Jews, and arrogant adherence to a hollow religion—all ideas that could be found in Voltaire or the Young Hegelians—were given a pointedly racial character by Marr. “[Judaism] and its precepts are nothing but products of [the Jews'] consciousness, their particularities are manifestations of their organism” (in Zimmermann 1986, 116–118). The onetime apostle of liberty announced that he would not lend his pen to the cause of Jewish emancipation. Because of the Jews' incompatible “tribal peculiarities,” emancipation was unwarranted and would probably provoke a hostile reaction on the part of the masses. He was certain that the people intuitively distrusted Jews as an alien race, as did 90 percent of Germans of all classes. Marr advanced his own Hamburg experience as decisive proof of his view. Jews, recognizing their peril at the hands of popular forces, had flocked to the reaction after the revolution of 1848, not only for safety's sake but also to reap the rewards won for them by idealistic radicals such as himself. Emancipation would simply act as an invitation for Jews to control everything; its motive, he now realized, was to facilitate the pursuit of their material interests. Marr thus voiced one of the central fears of those who, a few years later, would call themselves antisemites—that Jewish emancipation would reverse the power relations between Jews and Germans, leading ultimately to the “Victory of Jewry over Germandom,” as his best-seller of 1879 put it. Emancipation, for the Jews, was not an idealistic struggle for freedom but a grab for naked power.

As often was the case in Wilhelm Marr's career, his timing with *A Mirror to the Jews* was faulty. The decade of the 1860s was not especially receptive to discussions of the Jewish Question. The author had to publish the work at his own expense; it roused a flurry of interest in Hamburg and then vanished swiftly from public view. After such an indifferent reception, Marr waited seventeen years before venturing to raise these issues again, doing so then in a vastly altered political and economic environment.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Emancipation; Marr, Wilhelm; *Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The*; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de; Young Hegelians

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## Misanthropy

In antiquity, the charge of misanthropy was leveled against the Jews for the first time at the beginning of the third century BCE, in a text written by the Greek ethnographer Hecataeus of Abdera; it can be found, as well, in Latin literature until the beginning of the second century CE, in Juvenal's fourteenth satire. According to the extant sources, only twelve writers (at most) may be said to have accused the Jews of misanthropy during the period, but this is not a good indicator of how widespread the belief was. Ethnic stereotypes were common in the ancient world, and some other peoples were characterized as hostile toward foreigners in an even harsher way. But the accusation of misanthropy was formulated exclusively against the Jews.

*Misanthrôpia* or *apanthrôpia*—translated in English as *misanthropy*—is not only a Greek word but also a Greek concept. In opposition to the traditional view that the charge of misanthropy was originally an Egyptian anti-Jewish theme stands the argument that the origin of the accusation is Greek. Hecataeus—who was not hostile toward Jews and expressed surprise at their “somewhat misanthropic and inhospitable mode of life” (Diodorus 40.3.4)—related their misanthropy to the traumatic experience of expulsion from Egypt because of their differing religious rites. His etiological explanation is similar to the one Plato gave of misanthropy in general (*Phaedo*, 89d).

The misanthrope was a common figure in Greek theater during the fourth and third centuries BCE, where he was never a barbarian but rather a Greek who refused to take part in the life of the polis and to interact with his fellow citizens. Thus, qualifying the Jews as a misanthropic people implied that they belonged to the Greek world. This was actually the case in Alexandria, the place where Hecataeus made his

ethnographic investigations: all Jews, many of whom served in the Ptolemaic armies, were considered Hellenes. Nevertheless, from the second century BCE onward, in the tense context of military conflicts between the Hasmonean dynasty and Hellenistic cities in Palestine, the charge of misanthropy became much more malevolent and was used as an argument for harming Jews (see Diodorus 34–35.1.1–5). In Latin literature, the charge appears mainly in texts written after the Jewish war against Rome, always in a pejorative way.

In general, the charge of misanthropy is connected to three factors: (1) a negative perception of Jewish dietary rules; (2) a negative perception of the Jewish refusal to take part in cultic celebrations that were an integral part of Hellenistic political life; and (3) the idea that Jews rejected basic human duties such as showing the way to the foreigner, giving fire or water to those in need, and so on. Only two texts refer to the ritual murder of foreigners. The prominence of the charge of misanthropy at certain times and in certain places can be explained by a combination of political factors and philosophical influences (mainly Stoic-Peripatetic universalistic humanism).

—Katell Berthelot

**See also** Alexandrian Pogrom; Dietary Laws; Manetho; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Roman Empire; Roman Literature

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## Moczar, Mieczysław (1913–1986)

Mieczysław Moczar, born Mikołaj Demko, was a member of the pre–World War II Polish Communist Party and joined its successor, the Polish Workers’ Party, shortly after its formation in 1942. During the war, he was a partisan with the Communist People’s Guard and People’s Army.

After the war, he became head of the secret police for Lodz. He displayed a talent for surviving the various changes of regime and party line, serving during the Stalinist period (1948–1956) as district governor of Olsztyn and then as chairman of the Białystok District Council. In 1964, he founded the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, a veterans' organization, heading a group nicknamed the "partisans": this became his power base. In the same year, he became minister of the interior, in charge of the secret police nationally.

Moczar had already displayed antisemitic views while holding his post in Lodz: he expressed the opinion that the number of Jews in the security apparatus was excessive and was undermining the party's credibility. Later, as head of the partisans, he advocated "national Communism" or "Endo-Communism"—a mix of *Endek* (National Democrat) and Communist ideas—as a way of enhancing the party's popularity. Moczar was the chief instigator of the "anti-Zionist" purge in 1968, which he may have believed would open the way for him to take the top job. If so, his plan failed. In 1968, he was demoted to party secretary, and he filled various other posts until his death.

—Steven Paulson

*See also* Anti-Zionism; National Democrats; Poland; Purge of 1968; Stalinization of Eastern Europe

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## Mohammed (ca. 570–632)

Islam's prophet and founder did not originally hold negative views about Jews and Judaism. As a young man, Mohammed had probably met a good number of both Jews and Christians. His native city of Mecca was a center of mercantile activity along the caravan route linking Yemen to the south, where frankincense and myrrh and other luxury commodities were produced, with

the Byzantine provinces of the Levant to the northwest and the Sasanian Empire to the northeast. According to Islamic tradition, he had traveled with caravans into Byzantine Syria and was impressed by the piety of Christian monks. Moreover, the caravan route passed through Arabian oases that had major Jewish settlements. Most historians agree that Mohammed probably encountered Jewish and Christian merchants who acted as amateur missionaries from whom he absorbed basic monotheistic notions. Mohammed believed that Jews, Christians, and others had received divine revelations in their own languages, which the one supreme God had sent through prophets. When he began to receive his own revelations in Arabic, he challenged his pagan opponents to go and ask the Children of Israel, who would confirm the truth of his own revelations. Internal evidence in the Koran suggests that he may have been encouraged in his early preaching by monotheist mentors. However, when Mohammed went to Medina in 622, at the invitation of the Arab tribes there that converted to his new faith, he came into daily contact with a large, organized Jewish community that had no part in inviting him. The encounter changed his—and Islam's—attitudes toward Jews for the worse.

Historians differ on the precise nature of Mohammed's conflict with the Medinese Jews and the circumstances surrounding their opposition to him. Many Western scholars have argued that Mohammed arrived in Medina expecting to be accepted by the Jews there as a prophet sent by God; when he was rejected by them, the scholars contend, he turned against them out of pique, driving out two tribes—the Banu Qaynuqa and the Banu 'l-Nadir—and massacring the third—the Banu Qurayza. This scenario is unlikely. Mohammed was certainly aware that Jews and Christians did not recognize each other and that many Christian sects considered one another anathema. He may, however, have hoped that the Jews of Medina would give him some encouragement in his mission to the pagan Arabs. Instead, he met with fierce opposition. The Jewish scholars of Medina openly contradicted him, and he was particularly stung by their ridicule of what they considered his glaring errors in relat-

ing biblical and midrashic lore. They, who were, by his own admission, the recipients of a divinely revealed Scripture, were attacking him on the very level at which he was most vulnerable, the all-important revelatory level. Mohammed became convinced that the Jews' opposition to him was purely arrogance on their part.

With the faith of the true believer in his own inspiration, he came to the logical conclusion that whatever the Jews were citing to contradict him must be false. He may have heard the Christian accusation that the Jews had corrupted the text of their Scriptures. He had already been told by the Jewish convert to Islam 'Abdallah ibn Salam that the Bible contained prophecies foretelling Mohammed's coming. Like other Jewish renegades in both the medieval Muslim and Christian worlds, 'Abdallah proved his zeal for his adopted religion by exposing the falseness of his former coreligionists who either refused to see or suppressed those signs in their sacred texts that predicted the advent of Mohammed or Jesus, as the case may be. Koranic revelations, such as Sura 3:78, confirmed the belief that the Jews were misrepresenting their Scriptures, and the idea that Jews (and also Christians) had tampered with, made substitutions to, and altered their holy books became an article of later Islamic dogma.

Mohammed did not have sufficient strength to act against the Jews during his first two years in Medina, but shortly after his arrival, he promulgated a covenant for the governance of the town, which is often referred to as the Constitution of Medina. In this document, he confirmed the Jews as members of the Medinese community with rights and responsibilities alongside the Muslims but on the condition that they did not act wrongfully. This vague proviso was to provide the Arabian prophet with a legal avenue for changing Jewish status at a later date. In 624, after his first significant victory against the pagans of Mecca, Mohammed found a pretext to turn on the weakest of the Jewish tribes, the Banu Qaynuqa, who surrendered after a brief siege and were expelled from Medina. The following year, after a Muslim defeat by the Meccans, Mohammed accused the Banu 'l-Nadir of plotting against him (after being warned by a divine revelation) and expelled them as well. Their lands

were divided up among the Prophet and his followers who had gone with him from Mecca. Mohammed's own share brought him financial independence, and the booty formed the basis of the new Muslim state treasury. In 627, he attacked the last remaining Jewish tribe, the Banu Qurayza, on the very day that the final Meccan siege of Medina was abandoned. The *casus belli* was that the tribe had supposedly planned to make common cause with Mohammed's pagan enemies. After a twenty-five-day siege, the Qurayza surrendered, expecting to be exiled like the two Jewish tribes before them. Now stronger than ever, Mohammed showed no mercy. All the adult males—between 600 and 900 individuals—were beheaded in the central marketplace, and the women and children were enslaved.

In 628, Mohammed led his forces against the Jews of the Khaybar oasis, 95 miles northeast of Medina. After putting up a fierce resistance, the Khaybaris surrendered. The Banu 'l-Nadir who had taken refuge there were given no quarter, but the local inhabitants were guaranteed their lives and their property in exchange for an annual payment of 50 percent of their date harvest. Similar tributary agreements followed shortly thereafter with the Jews in the other oases of northwestern Arabia, and following the surrender of Mohammed's native town of Mecca and his supremacy over the entire Hijaz, Jews as well as Christians all over Arabia—from Yemen in the south to Yamama, Nejd, and Bahrain in the east—began to pay tribute, called *jizya*, to the new overlord. In 630, Mohammed received divine confirmation of this practice when the koranic verse was revealed to him enjoining Muslims to fight against the peoples of the Book “until they pay the *jizya* out of hand and have been humbled” (Sura 9:29). In 632, the year of his death, Mohammed established the precedent of making the *jizya*, which previously had been paid in kind, a poll tax.

Mohammed's attitudes toward Jews became increasingly negative during the last ten years of his life. Throughout the period of conflict in Medina, he received more and more revelations censuring the Jews as those who “pervert words from their meanings” and whom “Allah has cursed for their disbelief” (Sura 4:46). Other Ko-

ranic verses from this period denounce the Jews because “they hasten to spread corruption throughout the earth” (Sura 5:64) and accuse them, along with the polytheists, of being “the most vehement of men in enmity to those who believe” (Sura 5:82). But despite the fact that he believed that their Scriptures had, in some degree, been corrupted, he never questioned the basic validity of their religion. The Hadith, or Islamic tradition of the Prophet’s words and deeds, attribute both hostile and benign pronouncements on the subject of Jews. The original recognition accorded them prior to his *Hijra* (hegira), or emigration to Medina, was never abrogated. Jews were to be fought against only until they submitted to Muslim rule as humble tribute bearers. Mohammed’s sunna, or practice, in his attitudes toward and treatment of Jews, as indeed in all other things, set the precedent to be followed by the Muslims of future generations.

—Norman A. Stillman

*See also* Arab Antisemitic Literature; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism

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## Mortara Affair

On June 23, 1858, police in Bologna, Italy, descended on the home of Momolo Mortara and Marianna Padovani and their seven children. Sent on orders of the local inquisitor, they had come to seize the Jewish couple’s six-year-old son, Edgardo. The inquisitor, having determined that the boy had been secretly baptized, received instructions from the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Rome—heeded by Pope Pius IX himself—to have the child taken. The church had long held that no baptized child of a Jewish family could remain with his parents, for they would exercise a pernicious influence on him. Whether the parents had authorized the baptism or even known about it was irrelevant from the church’s perspective. Although the Mortaras were not then informed of who allegedly had baptized

their son, they later learned that a former domestic servant, Anna Morisi, claimed to have secretly baptized Edgardo when, at age twelve months, he was ill. Whether she actually performed such a baptism in the Mortara’s house remains a mystery, for she had other motives that might have led her to make such a charge.

Many similar cases of forced baptism followed by abduction by the police occurred in Italy in the first decades of the nineteenth century. What made the Mortara affair different was the international uproar that ensued. With separation of church and state being one of the main rallying cries of the Italian movement for national unification and with the primary obstacle being the continuing existence of the Papal States—of which Bologna was the largest city after Rome—the Mortara case offered champions of unification a golden opportunity to rally support. Moreover, Jews in western Europe were increasingly free to organize politically and to express their views through the expanding press. After the Damascus ritual murder case of 1840, the Mortara affair was the first major campaign of self-defense over which the international Jewish community organized. Indeed, the case led directly to the founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the most important Jewish international self-defense organization in Europe.

Edgardo Mortara was taken directly from his house to Rome, where he was initially placed in the House of the Catechumens, established in the sixteenth century as a place to convert Jews and Muslims. But as the international protests grew—reaching as high as the French emperor and involving popular demonstrations in the United States, with 3,000 participants in San Francisco and 2,000 in New York—the pope himself began to play an active role. Indeed, Edgardo came to be treated as Pius IX’s adopted son, and the pope withheld all the pressure, arguing that it was his sacred duty to prevent the child from returning to his Jewish family. Not even his redoubtable secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli, who argued that holding on to the child would be a political disaster for the precarious position of the Holy See, could move him. Attempts by the Jewish community of Rome to petition the pope on the Mortaras’ behalf were rejected.

A year after the Jewish boy was taken, the forces of Italian unification drove the cardinal legate out of Bologna and ended the pope's temporal dominion there, as in much of the Papal States. In January 1860, police of the new regime arrested Father Feletti, Bologna's inquisitor, at his Dominican monastery and charged him with the kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara. A few months later, the court acquitted him of the charge, ruling that he had acted according to the laws then in force. Edgardo had, by this time, been transferred to a Roman religious school run by the Canons Regular order at the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, placed there by the pope himself. He was periodically shown off to visitors by Pius, who was eager to demonstrate that the boy was happy to have been plucked from his Jewish family and pleased to have found the true path to salvation.

Meanwhile, Momolo Mortara—a merchant of modest means—toured Europe to drum up support for the return of his son. With the Holy See now confined to the city of Rome and the surrounding area, the pope's position became tenuous. Momolo sought to take advantage of the pope's desperate need for all the diplomatic support he could get from France, Britain, and other countries. However, none of the efforts to apply pressure proved successful.

When Italian forces finally conquered Rome in 1870, destroying the last vestiges of the Papal States, Momolo Mortara hurried in to reclaim his son. Edgardo, however, now nineteen and not having seen his parents in a dozen years, had decided to become a priest. With the help of the monks of his monastery, he fled Rome just as his father was about to see him and then escaped Italy altogether. He did, indeed, become a priest, devoting much of his career to preaching throughout Europe in the several languages in which he was fluent, telling the inspirational story of how God plucked him from his Jewish family in order that he might attain true salvation.

The Mortara case not only had great significance for Jews but also played a role in the drama of Italian unification. The pope's refusal to heed the pleas of Napoleon III helped further undermine his support for the continued existence of the Papal States, which French troops were then helping to maintain. More generally, the refusal

to return Edgardo contributed to the growing sense that the pope's role as temporal ruler, with his own police force, was an anachronism that could no longer be maintained.

Edgardo Mortara died in 1940 at age eighty-eight, in a Belgian abbey where he had lived for many years. He had reestablished contact with his mother in the 1870s—his father having died in the meantime—and in later years occasionally visited members of his family, whom he sought, unsuccessfully, to convert.

—David I. Kertzer

*See also* Alliance Israélite Universelle; Damascus Blood Libel; Inquisition; Pius IX, Pope

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## Moseley, George Van Horn (1874–1960)

A highly decorated and respected military leader, Gen. George Van Horn Moseley was also one of the preeminent antisemites in the United States. This “survival-of-the-fittest” Darwinian espoused elaborate theories warning of an imminent Jewish danger to Western civilization. Moseley is usually depicted as an extremist, not truly representative of the army. Yet he was far from a peripheral figure, and the fundamental aspects of his “political biology” were present in army teaching, reports, and political engagements into the 1930s. Moseley, who became Douglas MacArthur’s “most trusted subordinate” and President Herbert Hoover’s confidant, was also an influential mentor to George C. Marshall, George S. Patton, and especially Dwight D. Eisenhower.

An archetype of the old officer corps, Moseley boasted of his Anglo-Saxon pedigree; his West Point class (1899) had only one Jew, who was soon eliminated. An Army War College graduate (in 1911), Moseley confirmed his Darwinism by waging racial warfare in the Philippines. In World War I, his courageous exploits were as legendary as his brilliance as a general; he twice won the Distinguished Service Cross. Serving as MacArthur’s assistant chief of staff, he developed

and implemented the emergency plan for forcing the Great Depression Bonus Marchers out of Washington, D.C., in 1932, with the assistance of his two protégés Eisenhower and Patton. In these years, he also proposed a eugenics program for reinvigorating U.S. manpower and a presidential emergency regime to suppress the political threat to the country posed by subversive, racially inferior minorities.

Moseley's eugenics caused a furor during the Jewish refugee crisis of 1938. Lecturing reserve officers on racial degeneracy and other social ills supposedly threatening the country's survival, he proposed sterilizing all Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany before admitting them to the United States. Top officers were forced to reprimand Moseley, but they remained privately loyal to him. Retiring later that year, the general campaigned against a Roosevelt administration he thought was leading the United States into a war to establish Jewish hegemony throughout the world.

His extremist congressional testimony in 1939 ended his brief presidential bid but not his crusade. Like Hitler's Germany, he argued, the United States had to combat Jewish communism while salvaging its race and government through selective breeding, sterilization, and elimination of the unfit. He also defended German expansion in Europe, stating that American boys should not die protecting Christ-killing Jewish communists. His decades-long correspondence and unpublished, multivolume memoir, *One-Soldier's Story*, embodied every variety of antisemitism, which he buttressed with scientific racial theories and elaborate historical and political allusions. For example, he contended that through inbreeding, Jews had evolved into a despised, animal-like race whose repulsive and dangerous hereditary traits had to be bred out of humanity. After the war, Moseley, still defending his country from Jewish subversion, maintained that the existence of the state of Israel proved that Jews now dominated the United States.

—Joseph W. Bendersky

*See also* Armed Forces of the United States; Eugenics; Judeo-Bolshevism; Lindbergh, Charles; *Passing of the Great Race*; Patton, Gen. George; Racism, Scientific; Social Darwinism

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#### Mosley, Oswald (1896–1980)

Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Fascist movement in the 1930s, was born into privilege and was attracted to public service from an early age. As a returning war hero, he moved in the best circles and married the daughter of Lord Curzon; the royal family came to his wedding. For the first twenty years of his adult life, he showed few antidemocratic inclinations, and in the 1920s, he was elected to Parliament, first as a Conservative, then as an Independent, and finally as a Labourite.

How such a man could evolve into a defender and even an admirer of Nazi Germany remains puzzling. His early life was, in most regards, a perfect antithesis to Hitler's. Indeed, neither Mosley nor most of his lieutenants fit into familiar generalizations about Fascists being insecure men motivated by cranky resentments and drawn to demagogic. Even after he had embraced fascism, Mosley's intellectual sophistication was widely recognized; he was known for speeches that delved into complex economic issues, and throughout his career, he firmly denied harboring a racial hostility to Jews, terming antisemitism a repellent and "nonsensical" doctrine.

That denial depended, in part, on a rather narrow definition of antisemitism and a selective memory. But there seems little doubt that Mosley's move toward fascism in the early 1930s was driven not by a belief that Jews were an evil race but rather by his mounting frustrations with Britain's political elite, who, he decided, were unable to do anything effective to remedy the depression or reverse Britain's decline as a world power. His experiences at the front had shaken his confidence that Britain's liberal-democratic institutions could deal with the realities of the modern world, and the floundering of the established parties from 1929, when he served in a Labour ministry, powerfully revived his earlier doubts.

Throughout the 1920s, Mosley had little or nothing to say about Jews. He dismissed Benito Mussolini as a vulgar bully and a dangerous na-



British fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley acknowledges the salute of his Blackshirt followers during a rally in Hyde Park. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

tionalist when many other British politicians, most notably Winston Churchill, were singing the praises of Italian fascism. But by 1932, at the depth of the depression, Mosley visited Italy and concluded that Mussolini, so unlike the British political elite, had new ideas and was applying superior methods in dealing with unemployment. Soon afterward, he formed the British Union of Fascists (BUF). At this point, antisemitism was not a significant aspect of Italian fascism, and when Hitler took power in early 1933, Mosley declared that the anti-Jewish measures of the Nazi regime were "a great mistake." However, he also expressed admiration for that regime's dynamism, popular acclaim, and openness to new economic ideas.

Given the record of both the Italian Fascists and the German Nazis in destroying the Left in their countries, it was hardly surprising that Mosley's move toward fascism earned him pas-

sionate denunciations as a traitor. It was equally unsurprising, given Hitler's record, that Jews in Britain perceived Mosley and the British Fascists to be deadly enemies. For Mosley to insist that he harbored no antipathy to Jews as a race was, to say the least, too subtle a distinction to be given much credence at the time or since. Moreover, the BUF undoubtedly attracted antisemites of a more extreme sort; its members became especially notorious for clashes with the Jews of London's East End, each group claiming the other to be the aggressor but, in truth, both itching for a fight. In increasingly combative terms, often goaded by Jewish hecklers, Mosley attacked Jewish bankers, journalists, and leftist politicians—all, he claimed, were attempting to pull Britain in directions contrary to its national interests.

Mosley attracted much notoriety but few followers; the BUF's membership peaked at perhaps 40,000, about the same as the British Commu-

nist Party. As the 1930s progressed, Mosley adamantly opposed Britain's drift to war, and he drew closer to both Italian fascism and German Nazism. He seemed unable to recognize the full extent of the barbarism of Nazi rule and its encouragement of racial hatred; he professed to be more impressed with the dangers of war. He was interned at the outbreak of World War II but released in 1943. After the war, he attempted, with little success, to reorganize a neo-Fascist movement. His target at that point was immigrants of color; he avoided attacks on Jews, but he apparently never gained a genuine appreciation of the horrors of Nazi antisemitism.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Britain; British Union of Fascists; Mussolini, Benito; National Socialist German Workers' Party

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## Müller-Guttenbrunn, Adam (1852–1923)

The “Don Quixote of Antisemitism,” as Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn once described himself, rose from humble beginnings to prosperity as the author of *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) novels, many of which glorified the German Swabian enclave of his native south-central Hungary. He was a resident of Vienna from 1879, where his role as an antisemite was that of polemicist and then director of the world's first explicitly antisemitic theater. He also presided over a nationwide anti-Jewish writers' association. As early as 1887, he wrote in Viennese newspapers against the Jewish influence in German art, “a sickness which had to be fought.” (Geehr 1973, 25–44). He subsequently collaborated with the notorious and fanatical Guido von List in a series of rancorous articles about the need for an antisemitic theater to combat alleged Jewish cultural influence. Müller-Guttenbrunn used this opportunity to campaign for the directorship of an Aryan the-

ater, the repertoire of which, he vowed, would embrace nationalism and antisemitism. In this effort, he was successful, becoming the theater's first director from 1898 to 1903.

From the outset, he was plagued by the interference of members of Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party over questions of repertoire, management, and especially profits. Only partially funded by the municipality and individual Christian Socialists, Müller-Guttenbrunn was forced to borrow at high interest rates and succeeded in securing the necessary support only by promising substantial profits to investors. When these failed to materialize, he resorted to a number of questionable business practices. The Aryan Theater steadily declined into debt.

Meanwhile, he had irritated influential Christian Socialists. Though some antisemitic plays were performed, Müller-Guttenbrunn was obliged to refute charges in Lueger's party press that he was failing to live up to the original ideological goals of the theater. He attempted to produce three blatantly racist antisemitic plays. When the censor forbade their performance, Müller-Guttenbrunn had the first two works published at his own expense and distributed in thousands of copies. But this move failed to satisfy the growing number of antisemitic critics who wanted to see their racial hatreds acted out on the municipal stage. Müller-Guttenbrunn's final production was a play that dramatized the failure of racial intermarriage and reminded one critic of the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. Although this play was doubtless intended as an expression of Müller-Guttenbrunn's own antisemitism, it was no more successful than earlier, less ideological plays; unable to avoid bankruptcy, he resigned his directorship in June 1903.

Later that autumn, under a pseudonym, he published a racist antisemitic novel that summed up his experience as a theater director. He had struggled to undo the baleful influence wielded by Jewry over Vienna's cultural life. But he had failed, and a stronger man was needed. In December 1938 in the Nazi Party paper *Völkischer Beobachter*, one of Müller-Guttenbrunn's sons celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the opening of the Aryan Theater. According to him, the re-

cent annexation of Austria by Hitler's Germany had at last created the sociopolitical conditions that would allow a "truly German *Volk* stage" to flourish. His father's efforts had not been in vain.

—Richard S. Geehr

**See also** Aryan Theater; Austria; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Christian Social Party (Austria); Film Propaganda, Nazi; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; List, Guido von; Lueger, Karl

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## Multiculturalism

The complex and sometimes contradictory history of American multiculturalism, an ideal that promised pluralist democracy and respect for ethnic difference, paralleled much of the American Jewish acculturation process. Beginning the twentieth century as the nation's greatest proponents of multiculturalist thinking, Jewish intellectuals and social activists faced marginalization late in the century when many of their onetime political allies invoked antisemitic canards to discredit the Jewish communal commitment to tolerance and pluralism.

In 1908, the Jewish writer Israel Zangwill wrote the famous play *The Melting Pot*, which popularized the notion of an American nation committed to integrating its diverse immigrants. Zangwill pressed for immigrant assimilation as the most effective remedy for the challenges of ethnic diversity in the United States. Seven years later, Horace Kallen, a German-born American Jew, offered a reinterpretation of the traditional melting pot model of immigrant acculturation. Acculturation, he argued, should not be seen as a matter of adding a variety of ethnic ingredients to produce a common stock. Instead, in a bid to celebrate diversity, Kallen employed the metaphor of the symphony orchestra. According to this model, each minority group lent its own unique sound to a powerful and harmonious crescendo. "As in an orchestra," he explained, "every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality . . . so in society, each ethnic group may be the natural instrument." Respect for eth-

nic difference would forge "a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind." Kallen's ideas helped establish "cultural pluralism" as the best alternative to the melting pot assimilation model (in Dollinger 2000, 41).

In the immediate post–World War II period, black and Jewish leaders attached these multicultural ideals to the burgeoning civil rights movement, arguing alternately for a melting pot nation committed to social and economic inclusion and a pluralist society willing to embrace distinctive cultural forms. Martin Luther King Jr., joined famously by Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, imagined a nation that would offer the inclusiveness of Zangwill's melting pot and the respect for diversity championed by Kallen.

With the end of the civil rights movement in the late 1960s, a new generation of black civil rights activists pressed for ethnic nationalism, a separatist reformulation of the multicultural model. Jewish liberals faced exclusion from many national civil rights organizations, whereas the most extreme black nationalists mixed their rejection of accommodationism with strident antisemitism. In the minds of some ethnic nationalists, Jews had joined the white middle class in the United States and could neither appreciate nor support a version of multiculturalism committed to empowering the weakest and most persecuted Americans. By the end of the twentieth century, multiculturalism became synonymous with relativist calls for the wholesale reevaluation of the political, economic, and educational systems of the United States.

—Marc Dollinger

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; Black Nationalism; New Left

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## Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in

Hitler conceived of his taking power in 1933 as a cultural revolution. As Richard Wagner might

well have wished, music was to play a central role in the National Socialist state. The “most German of all the arts” and a direct expression of the racial soul, music bore the task of shaping Aryan man. Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner were elevated to representatives of the national essence and racial role models. To perform these lofty functions, German music needed to be cleansed of alien elements.

In the first years of the dictatorship, the battle against political opponents, especially socialists and communists, took precedence. Musicians, such as Otto Klemperer, Arnold Schoenberg, and Kurt Weill, were defamed as cultural Bolsheviks. Protests organized mainly by the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture) were followed by legal actions against artists of Jewish descent. In April 1933, the purge of the civil service led to the dismissal of many “non-Aryan” musicians, musicologists, directors, and composers from their university positions, state-run opera houses, and orchestras. It was immaterial whether these non-Aryans were assimilated or not, whether they were religious Jews or Christian converts.

From around 1936, non-Aryans were excluded from the Reich Chamber of Music, essentially prohibiting them from practicing their profession. Politically inspired firings gave way to racially motivated purges, and the slogan cultural Bolshevism was supplanted by “cultural degeneration” (*Entartung*), which the Nazis declared to be the product of race mixing. Even though Wagner had written his antisemitic *Judaism in Music* in 1850 and Houston Stewart Chamberlain had later picked up Wagner’s line of argument, European music had largely been spared a “racialist” analysis before 1933. Neither the requisite scientific interest nor a plausible methodology was available for such an undertaking. The Nazis, therefore, relied predominantly on diletantes for this endeavor. Although their racist political-cultural writings were criticized by musical specialists, they were effective expressions of antisemitic defamation. Around 1938, academic musicologists took issue with the race question, but they did not dare challenge the National Socialist state’s discriminatory policies.

In May 1938, Hans Severus Ziegler, the artis-

tic director of the city of Weimar’s theater, staged the Degenerate Music Exhibition in Düsseldorf during the Reich Music Days, which coincided with a conference of musicologists. He seized on Ernst Krenek’s opera *Jonny spielt auf* (Jonny Strikes Up) as the symbol of the Weimar Republic’s decadence and typical of its cultural miscegenation. As early as 1930, Ziegler had published a manifesto titled “Against Negro Culture” protesting what he insisted was the foreign domination of German music by jazz and American dance music. The Düsseldorf exhibit cited numerous examples of the inordinate Jewish influence on German musical life before 1933.

Ziegler’s propaganda show, which traveled to Weimar and Vienna, became an object of contention even among Nazis, however. It made fine distinctions between “pure German” and “racially mixed” music that were not all that easy to discern and that, more important, had no bearing on the purge that was under way. The decisive criterion, as far as the regime’s oppressive measures were concerned, was solely the ancestry of the musician. Non-Aryans could no longer belong to the Reich Chamber of Music, no matter that they played the works of Bach or Beethoven or composed in that style. An independent Jewish culture was far less dangerous than the assimilation of Jews to German culture; thus, Jews were systematically to be driven from the concert hall, the radio, and the recording industry, and their names were to be stricken from musical catalogs. They would thereafter dwell in the ghetto of the Jewish Cultural League (Kulturbund Deutscher Juden) and be forbidden to perform the works of German composers.

In their officially sanctioned *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (Lexicon of the Jews in Music) (1940), Theophil Stengel and Herbert Gerigk drew up the balance sheet of Nazi persecution. Some assimilated Jews—Schoenberg and Weill, for example—responded by returning to the practice of Judaism. Klemperer, Schnabel, Walter, Alfred Einstein, Fritz Kreisler, Paul Bekker, and Victor Ullmann, among many others, were undeterred in their steadfast adherence to Austrian-German musical culture. In defiance of the Nazis, persecuted musicians found new homes in the USSR, North and South America, Africa,

Asia, and Australia, where they became, regardless of their Jewishness, exponents of a world musical culture. No country benefited more from this exodus than the United States.

—Albrecht Dümling  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Degeneration; *Judaism in Music*; Musicology and National Socialism; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Purge of the German Civil Service

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## Musicology and National Socialism

Musicology, the study of music in its aesthetic, social, and historical contexts, was as seriously affected by the National Socialists' assumption of power in 1933 as every other academic discipline in Germany. The requisite purge of Jews from academic positions drove out several important scholars. Alfred Einstein, cousin of the physicist and longtime editor of the leading disciplinary journal *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (Journal for Musicology), was one of the most prominent Jewish scholars to be removed. Einstein's colleague Johannes Wolf resigned from the journal's board in protest against the removal, but his example was not widely emulated within the profession.

German musicologists contributed to the war effort by producing what Pamela Potter has described as "*Lebensraum* [living space] propaganda." Such propaganda consisted largely of articles written for the popular press, designed to legitimize Nazi military advances in Europe either by establishing connections between conquered regions and German culture through supposed interrelationships between regional musical styles or (in the case of France) by showing that the conquered region had either no au-

thentic musical identity or a severely degraded one and thus required German cultural management to set matters right.

Even before the establishment of the National Socialist state, there was a comparatively muted strain of antisemitism running through the writings of some German musicologists, particularly with respect to the work of such problematic Jewish composers as Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg (both converts to Christianity). With the encouragement of Hitler's propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, musicologists began to address the issue of the Jewish "race" and Jewish musicality with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Prominent figures, including the Bach and Beethoven specialist Arnold Schering (who engineered Alfred Einstein's dismissal) and the Wagner scholar Alfred Lorenz, vigorously endorsed racialist aesthetics, claiming that a composer's musical style derived, at least in part, from biologically determined characteristics. Lorenz wrote three or more articles on the subject, including one specifically entitled *Musikwissenschaft und Judenfrage* (Musicology and the Jewish Question), which rehearsed the standard arguments of inherent Jewish noncreativity; he also offered a course on "music and race" at the University of Munich.

Friedrich Blume, the editor of the magisterial reference tool *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Music in History and the Present) and one of the most important figures in the postwar reestablishment of the discipline, offers a particularly interesting case study. In spite of his own skepticism, Blume recognized that musical racialism as a field of study offered a path to professional advancement under the National Socialist regime. He took it on himself to claim a prominent position in the field, delivering the keynote address at the 1938 "Music and Race" conference of musicologists in Düsseldorf at Goebbels's invitation. He went on to publish a volume of his own and to edit a series of monographs devoted to the subject. His success was such that he was invited to contribute an article to a volume honoring Hitler's fiftieth birthday. Yet in his own discussion of the intersections between race and music, Blume avoided making specific mention of Jews and offered criticisms of

the assumptions driving his colleagues' work that were veiled enough to escape the notice of his government sponsors. After the war, acknowledgment of these criticisms within the scholarly community helped Blume recover his international reputation. The postwar careers of other scholars were seriously tarnished when aspects of their involvement with National Socialism became public knowledge.

In some ways, the nature of musicological practice itself paved the way for the surrender to National Socialism. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the initial development of historical perspectives on music was premised on the identification of differences among regional and national musical traditions. Largely dominated by German-speaking scholars, the field had developed a tendency to place the German tradition at the center of Western music, establishing a narrative that viewed music history as the story of advancing German hegemony. By the 1930s, however, German musical preeminence was being challenged from several directions; composers from Russia and France crowded their Austrian and German colleagues from opera stages and concert halls; the Second Viennese School composers Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern appeared to be doing their best to undermine the German tradition; and the growing enthusiasm in Europe for American popular music, with its strong African American influences, was threatening to render that tradition all but irrelevant. Together with the disastrous effect exercised on academia by World War I, the hyperinflation, and the Great Depression, as well as chronic anxiety within the field about its own social and cultural relevance, these factors left musicology as a discipline ready to place itself in the service of the National Socialist regime's propaganda machine. In the end, however, its usefulness proved rather more limited than some German musicologists had initially hoped.

—David Isadore Lieberman

**See also** Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Wagner, Richard

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## Muslim Brotherhood

Founded in Ismailiyya, Egypt, in 1928, the Society of Muslim Brethren (Jam 'Iyyat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin) was the pioneer, militant Islamic fundamentalist movement of the twentieth century. Its charismatic founder, Sheikh Hasan al-Banna, who assumed the title of the guide-general, preached a salvationist message and called for the establishment of an ideal Islamic social and political order, first in Egypt and thereafter for a united Muslim world. He attracted a mass following through cadres of missionaries, effective propaganda, and an extensive network of educational, social, and charitable institutions. In the 1930s, he also organized a clandestine military apparatus.

By the mid-1930s, the Muslim Brotherhood had taken up the cause of the Arabs in Palestine and began to cooperate closely with the Arab Higher Committee, led by the Mufti Hajj Amin al-Hussaini. Along with other militant groups, the brotherhood accused Egyptian Jews of being fifth columnists for Zionism, and in May 1936, it called for a boycott against them. In what was to become standard for later Islamist groups, the anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish propaganda in the militants' pamphlets, tracts, and speeches combined traditional Islamic images of the Jews as opponents of the Prophet and of Muslims with well-known stereotypes drawn from European antisemitism. The brotherhood's anti-Jewish rhetoric became increasingly violent. The president of the Tanta branch delivered a speech in 1944 in which he said it was necessary for Muslims to unite in a jihad, or holy war, to destroy the Jews like "dirty dogs." He referred to them as "the world's parasites" and even echoed the blood libel, saying that they "dip their matzah at Passover in the blood of Muslims and Christians." A year later, verbal attacks gave way to

physical violence. On Balfour Day (November 2) in 1945, demonstrations in Cairo and Alexandria, organized by the brotherhood and other groups to protest British policies in Palestine, deteriorated into rioting that resulted in the pillaging of Jewish and foreign-owned businesses, the torching of the Ashkenazi synagogue of Cairo, and five Jewish deaths in Alexandria.

During the first Arab-Israeli war (1948 to 1949), members of the brotherhood volunteered to fight for the Palestinians. Following the war, the organization ran afoul of the authorities in Egypt, both under the monarchy and then under the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser. After involvement in an attempt against Nasser's life in 1954, the brotherhood was brutally suppressed and driven underground. This period also produced the movement's great ideologue, Sayyid Qutb, who, while imprisoned from 1954 to 1964, wrote highly influential Islamicist works that were smuggled out and received wide circulation. The most important of these were his account of life in prison, *Ma'alim fi Tariq* (Milestones), with its programmatic call for the destruction of secular government and the establishment of an Islamic state, and his massive Koranic exegesis, *Fi Zill al-Qur'an* (In the Shade of the Koran). In both works, Jews appear as the embodiment of evil, a sinister force seeking world domination through Zionism. They take their place alongside the crusaders (Christian imperialists), communists, and secularists as the ultimate enemies of the Muslims.

Qutb was hanged in 1966 when the brotherhood underwent a new wave of suppression. The movement, however, lived on not only in Egypt but also in other Muslim countries, and Qutb's writings became the inspiration for many Islamist groups.

—Norman A. Stillman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Arab Antisemitic Literature; Farhud; Hamas; Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Diaspora; Islamic Fundamentalism; Khomeini, Ayatollah; Mohammed; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Ritual Murder (Modern); Zionism

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## Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945)

Benito Mussolini has often been described as opportunistic, unsystematic, and unprincipled, defying categorization—an assessment that is in no instance more obviously true than in his attitudes toward antisemitism. In his early career, from the immediate pre–World War I years through the 1920s, he was first a Socialist and then a Fascist and established a number of political contacts, social acquaintances, and romantic liaisons with Jews; his affair with Margherita Sarfatti, a member of a prominent Jewish family and a close adviser to him, lasted for over a decade. During these years, he spoke out on many occasions and with seeming conviction against antisemitism and racism in general.

Mussolini was, above all, a supple and savvy politician, concerned with power and popularity; in his first decade as a Fascist leader, he obviously did not consider antisemitism to be an effective political device in Italy. He remarked that antisemitism was not only morally repellent but also foreign to the Italian people. As late as 1932, he observed to an Austrian political leader that even in Germany, "Hitler's antisemitism has brought him more enemies than is necessary" (in Michaelis 1978, 31). A number of Fascist leaders, Mussolini included, were known to make derogatory remarks about Hitler and to observe that Nazi racism and antisemitism were barbaric, Germanic vices, which they considered beneath the more civilized Latin people of Italy.

Jews, who constituted approximately 0.1 percent of the Italian population, played an important role in the early Fascist movement, especially in its leading ranks, as they had in the

Italian national unification movement more generally. Mussolini was well aware of that fact, but as early as 1919, when attempting to exploit the cause of anticomunism, he was nonetheless capable of denouncing “world Jewry” as supporting both Bolshevism and capitalism. Still, his attacks were often contradicted by more friendly pronouncements, and he explicitly disavowed his initial statements about what German antisemites were calling Judeo-Bolshevism. Similarly, Mussolini’s remarks about Jews, even later in his career, tended to lack the fanatical and hate-filled virulence that characterized Nazi rhetoric, such as the description of Jews as vermin worthy of total destruction.

From mid-1936 on, Mussolini was increasingly pulled into Hitler’s orbit. He blamed world Jewry for supporting the League of Nations in its arms embargo on Italy after his country invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Hitler’s support for Fascist Italy in that ill-advised adventure was one of several factors that moved Mussolini from denigration to growing esteem for the German leader, culminating in the military Pact of Steel between Italy and Germany in 1939.

The Racial Laws that were put into effect in Italy in late 1938, removing Jews from government positions and forbidding intermarriage, were apparently initiated and partly composed by Mussolini himself. They did not reflect direct pressure from Nazi Germany, although they paralleled the September 1935 Nuremberg Laws in many regards and may be seen as part of a general trend by the Fascist government, from the mid-1930s to the end of the war, toward racism and xenophobia. There is little evidence, however, that a majority of Italians desired or supported the laws, and once Nazi Germany had occupied Italy, Italian Jews found that many ordinary Italians, Catholic clergy, and even some Fascist officials were willing to help them escape capture. The survival rate of Italian Jews during the Holocaust was one of the highest in Europe. For this outcome, however, one cannot give any credit to Mussolini. On his own, he probably would not have initiated a systematic program of mass murder, but he and Fascists of all ranks cooperated with their Nazi allies in that effort.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Hitler, Adolf; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists*; Nuremberg Laws; October Roundup; Preziosi, Giovanni; Racial Laws

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### ***Myth of the Twentieth Century, The* (1930)**

Even before arriving in Germany from his native Riga by way of Moscow in 1919, Alfred Rosenberg had constructed an eclectic worldview based on a decisive rejection of Bolshevism, Jewry, and established Christian religion. In Munich, he came into contact with the antisemite Dietrich Eckart, contributing several articles to his periodical *Auf gut Deutsch* (In Good German). During the early 1920s, he pumped out a steady stream of antisemitic, anti-Bolshevik, anti-Freemason, anti-Zionist, and anti-Christian essays and pamphlets. He introduced Hitler to Eckart and played a formative role in articulating Nazi ideology and framing the Nazi Party Program of 1920. Rosenberg’s magnum opus appeared in 1930 as *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The Myth of the Twentieth Century), with the subtitle *An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Battles Shaping Our Era (eine Wertung der seelischgeistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit)*. Freemasonry, modern art, the Jesuits, the Christian denominations, and especially the Jews were among the forces singled out for exposure and condemnation. More than 1.25 million copies had been printed by 1944, making it second only to *Mein Kampf* as a seminal text of National Socialism. Hitler reportedly called it the “most powerful work of its kind.” But it is dubious that even the leaders of the party, including Hitler, ever actually read the book.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* exercised the most palpable influence on Rosenberg, as evidenced by his allusive choice for the book’s title and the nu-

merous instances of ideological agreement found in the two works. *Myth*, the meditations of a dilettante, is arranged in three books: “Struggle for Values,” “Essence of Germanic Art,” and “Coming Reich.” Each is divided and subdivided into several parts—the table of contents alone requires fifteen pages. Rosenberg, for whom myth and dream were essentially one, expected and feared a political collapse. An apocalyptic “catastrophe of the soul” would witness the German people’s disappearance from history. But then, a new world would arise, for which Germanic traits of character would form the basis. The new myth, given shape and form in the twentieth century, would be stamped with the “age-old and eternally young” force and passion of the Nordic race soul, in its specifically Germanic format (*Mythus*, 601).

In the ponderous work’s attempt at a universal Nordic history, Rosenberg ascribed all cultural achievements to Aryans, the progeny of an original Nordic people whose creative center had been Atlantis (25). Their cultural mission had been perpetuated by Indians, Persians, Romans, and Germans. The *Mythus* never arrived at an exact definition of race, relying instead on the writings of Chamberlain and Paul de Lagarde. Rosenberg did not argue from biology or anthropology or base his text on any sort of empirical data. Instead, the *Mythus* unfolded a conception of race that is best described as metaphysical, mystical, and, at times, wholly indecipherable. History consisted of a contest that pitted one spiritual value (*Seelenwert*) against another. The spirit or soul was to be seen as the inner essence of the race, whereas the race was but the outer shell of the spirit (2). The “system” set forth in the murkiest of language amounted to a religious racism.

In that antagonistic theology, Jews occupied the role of the “counter-race” (*Gegenrasse*) to the Germanic-Nordic, which, thanks to its divine blood and soul, mediated between God and hu-

mans. The Jew, by contrast, was the son of Satan-Nature (265). Jews were enjoined by their Talmud to practice a religion that legislated lies, cunning, theft, murder, and perjury. “Greedy for the goods of the earth, the Jew moves through the world, from city to city, country to country, seeking the place where his parasitism will meet the least resistance. Driven out, he returns. A generation is struck down, undeterred another begins the same old game” (265). Rosenberg assured his readers of the unchanging nature of Jewish evil. Nothing about the Jews had really changed in 2,500 years. Their destructive middleman function was a constant, no different in Joseph of Egypt and Rathenau of Germany (463): “The Old Testament, the Talmud, and Karl Marx transmit the very same views” (128).

Rosenberg embellished the idea of the “cho senness” of the Jews to spell out their “parasitical dream of world domination” (459–460) from which emanated an awesome—and purely destructive—force working for the decline of various Nordic high cultures. Jews did not engage in heroic battles for dominance. Instead, they sought only to convert the world into interest-bearing (*zinsbar*) matter. They lacked all genuine soul and artistic creative power because they were without a true religious impulse—a fact that, Rosenberg alleged, Jewish Marxism clearly demonstrated.

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Deutsche Christen; Freemasonry; Hitler, Adolf; Jesuit Order; Judeo-Bolshevism; Lagarde, Paul de; Nazi Party Program; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rosenberg, Alfred; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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# N

## **Nasser, Gamal Abdel (1918–1970)**

President of the United Arab Republic of Egypt from 1956 until his sudden death in 1970, Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser was the leading voice of Pan-Arab nationalism and one of the most influential Arab political leaders of the twentieth century. He was a key figure in the Free Officers' coup that overthrew the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, installing Gen. Mohammed Naguib as the provisional figurehead president and premier of the new republic. By 1954, Nasser took power openly, wresting first the office of premier and later the presidency from Naguib; he then proceeded to establish an authoritarian, socialist, one-party system headed by an all-powerful president. Under Nasser, the Jewish community of Egypt, which numbered almost 65,000 at the time of the revolution, dwindled to fewer than 1,000 by 1970.

Nasser does not seem to have held the virulent antisemitic notions espoused by some Pan-Arabist movements, such as Misr al-Fatat (Young Egypt) or by the Pan-Islamists, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, although many of the Free Officers had been pro-Axis during World War II and had been receptive to Nazi propaganda. Immediately after the coup, however, the regime went out of its way to ease the fears of Jews and other minorities. Even the trial of several young Egyptian Jews for espionage and sabotage on behalf of Israel between 1954 and 1955 did not bring about any markedly anti-Jewish reactions.

Nasser's attitude changed following the Anglo-French-Israeli campaign of October 1956. Nearly 900 Jews were arrested. Under military proclamation, the assets of at least 500 Jewish-owned businesses were sequestered and their bank accounts frozen; a further 800 enterprises with Jewish proprietors were blacklisted and had

their assets frozen. Jewish employees were dismissed from non-Jewish firms, and Jewish professionals found themselves unable to practice medicine, law, and engineering. As part of the anti-Jewish crackdown, Jews who had previously acquired Egyptian citizenship were denaturalized by using vague technical clauses in the Egyptian Nationality Law of 1950, which was amended for that purpose by a decree promulgated by Nasser himself. By the end of November 1956, at least 500 Jews had been expelled from Egypt. The combined official and unofficial measures against Jews resulted in widespread panic: by the end of June 1957, over one-third of the Jewish population had fled the country. The policy of expelling or pressuring Jews to leave Egypt was, in part, guided by former Nazis who had found refuge in Egypt. Israeli intelligence, the World Jewish Congress, Simon Wiesenthal, and exiled leaders of the Egyptian Jewish community have claimed that a number of these Germans, who had adopted Arabic names, held important positions in Nasser's bureaucracy, including the Ministry of National Guidance and the National Committee for the Struggle against Zionism, which produced and disseminated blatantly antisemitic literature. Nasser himself publicly recommended the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as an exposé of the Jewish plot for world domination. In interviews and speeches, he also decried the global influence of Jewish capitalism.

Although only 2,500 to 3,000 Jews remained in Egypt at the outbreak of the June 1967 Six Days' War, the humiliation of Egypt's defeat brought Nasser's anti-Jewish policies to their zenith. The majority of the remaining Jewish males were imprisoned, some of them until three years after Nasser's death. Those not in prison could leave Egypt on renouncing their citizen-

ship, forfeiting their assets, and pledging never to return. Only 600 Jews remained in the country.

Nasser was not a fanatical antisemite. His anti-Jewish policies evolved along with xenophobic and antiminority tendencies that led to the dissolution of Egypt's ancient Greek community as well. Those he perceived to be enemies were subject to draconian measures, as the brutal suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood demonstrated. Like many Arab leaders, Nasser claimed to Western listeners that he distinguished between Zionists and Jews, but for Arab and Third World audiences, he often made no such distinction.

—Norman A. Stillman

*See also* Anti-Zionism; Arab Antisemitic Literature; Arab Boycott; Muslim Brotherhood; Nuremberg Laws; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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## Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam (NOI) emerged in the late twentieth century as a center of African American antisemitism. In a series of high-profile statements, its leaders have propagated myths of Jewish media control, usury, and racist behavior.

The NOI claims to descend from “the original members of the Tribe of Shabazz from the Lost Nation of Asia” (Tynetta Muhammad 1996). In 1933, Elijah Poole, who took the name Elijah Muhammed, became the group’s first leader. Under his tutelage, Malcolm X rose to prominence in the organization. After the highly public split between Elijah Muhammed and Malcolm X in 1964, a decades-long power struggle ensued, leading to Louis Farrakhan’s emergence as the undisputed head of the NOI.

As late as the 1950s, representatives of the organized Jewish community did not perceive the NOI as a threat to Jews. In a confidential memo written in response to a *Time* magazine article of August 10, 1959, stating that the NOI was antisemitic, Anti-Defamation League officer Arnold

Forster denied, “in no uncertain terms,” that there was any solid evidence of a specific antisemitism in Elijah Muhammed’s movement. The NOI’s general hostility toward whites, of course, included Jews.

Forster’s confidence proved short-lived. By the mid-1960s, NOI leader Malcolm X and others mixed vitriolic attacks on Jews into their larger critique of white America. As the Black Power movement gained strength, the antisemitic rhetoric of NOI speakers intensified. Malcolm X retreated from some of his antisemitic views following his pilgrimage to Mecca, but with his assassination in 1965 and the subsequent rise of Louis Farrakhan, the group’s antisemitic orientation revived.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the NOI recruited a number of prominent speakers, including Khalid Muhammed, who created a national uproar when he used a college campus appearance to articulate his antisemitic views. The NOI moderated its public stance in the 1990s as it sought a broader base of support, culminating in 1995 with the Farrakhan-led Million Man March on Washington, D.C.

—Marc Dollinger

*See also* African American–Jewish Relations; American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Farrakhan, Louis

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## National Democrats (Poland)

The National Democrats (Endeks or Endecja, from the initials ND) were right-wing Polish nationalists of various political groupings, including the National Democratic Party (1897–1919), all of which followed Roman Dmowski’s ideology and program. The Endeks defined the Polish na-

tion as consisting exclusively of Catholic Poles, with Jews as its principal enemies. Jewish influence was to be combated through propaganda, restrictive laws, economic boycotts, and their “voluntary” emigration.

The National Democratic Party was renamed the Popular National Union (ZLN) in 1919. With 37 percent of the popular vote in the 1919 elections, it became the largest single party in the Sejm (parliament), but the Center bloc held the balance of power and governed in shifting coalitions with the Left or Right. Soon, secessions reduced the ZLN’s share of parliamentary seats to 25 percent. In an effort to broaden its base, the ZLN joined the Christian Democrats (Chadeks) in the Christian Alliance of National Unity but won only 29 percent of the vote in 1922. The following year, with German hyperinflation spilling over into Poland, a Center-Right coalition was formed under Endek Władysław Grabski, whose stringent economic measures brought inflation under control but caused recession and unemployment.

These conditions and the violent reaction to them by segments of the Polish population prompted an exodus of Jews to Palestine (the “Grabski *aliyah*”). The Grabski government fell in 1925, and in the following year, the former socialist Marshal Józef Piłsudski took power in a military coup. Dmowski responded to Piłsudski’s coup by forming the Great Poland Camp (OWP); meant to unite the right-wing parties, the OWP soon developed into an extremist fringe group. Meanwhile, the ZLN’s popular vote plummeted to 8 percent in 1928 elections. Reconstituted as the National Party (SN), it won 14 percent in 1930 despite electoral manipulation by Piłsudski. The OWP, in the meantime, continued as a fascist-style splinter group until it was banned in 1933. A section of the OWP youth then founded the National Radical Camp (ONR), which promptly splintered into the ONR-Falanga and the ONR-ABC. Modeling themselves on the Italian Fascists, the ONR groups proposed one-party rule and depriving Jews of civil rights. The ONR-Falanga gained only 1.2 percent of the popular vote in the last prewar elections in 1938, but it had considerable support at the universities and was briefly seconded to run the government party’s youth wing

in 1938. The ONR organized violent anti-Jewish gangs and campaigned for the *numerus clausus* (maximum number on enrollments) and “ghetto benches” or segregated seating, as a step toward excluding Jewish students altogether.

After Piłsudski’s death in 1935, the governing Sanacja adopted numerous National Democratic ideas, including tacit support for the economic boycott and ghetto benches, nationalization of industries in which Jews predominated, a law limiting ritual slaughter, and measures to encourage Jews to emigrate; it was also considering a version of the Nuremberg Laws when war broke out. Thus, even though the National Democrats had never ruled the country, their ideas were dominant by the late 1930s.

During the war, the OWP reemerged; together with the ONR, it formed an underground army called the National Armed Forces (NSZ), which fought against the Nazis but attacked Jewish partisans and Polish political opponents as well. In 1944, its own leader was murdered by a breakaway faction. The more moderate SN was one of the major parties represented in the Polish government-in-exile and in the underground Home Army. It opposed the formation of the Council to Aid Jews (Zegota) in 1942 and did not participate in it. It also opposed the return of Jews to Poland after the war and the restoration of Jewish property confiscated by the Nazis. After the war, right-wing diehards blamed the Jews for bringing Communist rule to Poland and carried out a campaign of terror in which hundreds of Jews were randomly shot. The Endeks went underground in 1945, but elements with similar tendencies have reemerged in the post-Communist era.

—Steven Paulsson

**See also** Dmowski, Roman; Ghetto Benches; Kosher Slaughtering; Poland; Poland since 1989

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## National Socialist German Workers’ Party

The Nazi Party was founded in February 1919 as the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (German Workers’

Party [DAP]), not by Adolf Hitler but by an all but forgotten Munich toolmaker by the name of Anton Drexler. Hitler joined the party in September 1919; less than two years later, he had pushed the hapless Drexler aside and become chairman, with virtually dictatorial powers. Under Hitler's leadership, the party (which had become the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei or National Socialist German Workers' Party [NSDAP] in 1920) modeled itself on Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party. Like its Italian counterpart, the Nazi Party had both a political and a paramilitary wing. In the early years of its existence, the paramilitary wing, the Storm troopers (Sturmabteilung, or SA) was the more important of the two because Hitler, like Mussolini, intended to overthrow democracy by means of an armed coup. At the same time, Hitler used the political wing and his considerable oratorical skills to attract new members to both the party and the SA, although in this initial phase of hectic activity, the NSDAP was essentially still a Bavarian phenomenon.

The coup strategy failed ignominiously in the November 1923 Hitler Putsch, also known as the Beer Hall Putsch. The attempt to topple the Weimar Republic by force ended almost before it began. Along with a few of his associates, Hitler was subsequently arrested and tried for high treason, but the lenient judges sentenced him to only five years in prison. He was paroled after serving just nine months in quite comfortable surroundings at the fortress of Landsberg.

Although Hitler had originally intended to run things from jail, he soon realized this was impossible and had to look on as the party disintegrated into warring factions. When he was released from jail, he refused to identify with any of the feuding splinter groups, and for all practical purposes, he reorganized the party from the bottom up. To be sure, much about the "new" party was familiar. The name stayed the same, the swastika emblems did not change, and many of Hitler's associates from the old party quickly rallied to his cause again.

But there were important changes. Hitler recognized that overthrowing the Weimar Republic by force would not work. As a result, although the new NSDAP still had both a political and a

paramilitary wing, the emphasis now shifted to the political side. Hitler was determined to turn the NSDAP into a nationwide organization that would become a formidable vote-getting machine. The SA's primary purpose was no longer to prepare a coup but to guard Nazi Party rallies and to engage in political violence against the party's political enemies.

The old NSDAP had shown no interest in elections, but the new party prioritized certain segments among the German voters. Before any political plan could be put into effect, however, Hitler had to deal with an internal revolt. Led by Otto and Gregor Strasser, a faction in the party challenged the leader's dictatorial power. Hitler eventually prevailed, and the NSDAP remained the "Hitler movement." Ironically, the confirmed Führer adopted much of the substantive program advocated by his critics. For the May 1928 Reichstag election campaign, the NSDAP concentrated on organizing the industrial areas of the country, notably the Ruhr, the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, and the national capital, Berlin. To gain a foothold in Berlin, Hitler sent his best propagandist, Joseph Goebbels, to become the party's regional leader (*Gauleiter*) in the capital. The thinking behind this so-called urban plan was to draw blue-collar workers away from Marxism and toward the NSDAP's antisemitic National Socialism.

This strategy was a dismal failure. The NSDAP gained only 2.6 percent of the popular vote in 1928, and few of these votes came from the targeted constituency of industrial workers. Germany's blue-collar workers did not respond to the Nazis' combination of antisemitism and anticapitalism. However, the party did well in some rural and small-town middle-class precincts, especially in Protestant areas. Hitler, in some ways a quintessential opportunist, readily shifted the NSDAP's organizing efforts to the constituencies that were attracted to the party. Instead of attacking the abuses of capitalism, the party now stressed that it stood for middle-class respectability, morality, and the right to property. Even the party's strident antisemitism was toned down. Above all, however, the NSDAP insisted that it and only it could save Germany from Bolshevism. Goebbels pushed the anti-

Communist theme during nonstop campaigning, while the SA engaged in unceasing and increasingly violent encounters with Communists and Social Democrats.

We will never know if the NSDAP's new tack might have succeeded under "normal" conditions because soon after the party adopted what came to be called its rural strategy, the times became extremely abnormal. Beginning in 1930, the Great Depression sent Germany's economy into a precipitous cycle of business failures and chronic, large-scale unemployment. A series of democratic and, later, authoritarian cabinets were unable to solve Germany's severe economic problems. The NSDAP moved to exploit the opportunity, becoming the country's first catchall party by promising relief to virtually every segment of German society. The solution to the nation's problems, the party argued, could only mean one thing: Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP had to be given dictatorial powers.

As a catchall party, the NSDAP had a unique structural profile, which was largely the work of Gregor Strasser, the party's Reich organizational leader. Strasser organized the NSDAP into three wings. The Political Organization undertook virtually incessant campaigning for national and state elections. For this purpose, Germany was divided into administrative units called *Gaus*, each corresponding to one of Germany's federal election districts. The second wing, the paramilitary organizations (notably the SA), presented the militant face of the NSDAP. The third wing comprised a network of affiliates designed to attract professional groups to the party. Ranging from the National Socialist Farmers' Organization to the National Socialist Association of Munich Coal Dealers, they served as means of attracting voters and members to the party.

In the last years of the Weimar Republic, the NSDAP was astoundingly successful. The party's national vote increased from 2.6 percent in 1928 to 18 percent in 1930 and 37 percent (the pinnacle of its popular success) in July 1932. Hitler also gained 37 percent of the vote when he ran (unsuccessfully) for president in April 1932. At the same time, the Storm troopers were responsible for unprecedented levels of political violence. Finally, the affiliates succeeded in gaining

control over a number of professional and social organizations, most especially those of farmers and university students.

By the middle of 1932, the NSDAP had become the most successful political party in German history. But it had not been able to win a majority of the national vote or gain power through the ballot box. Despite the party's numerous strong showings at the polls, all was not well: as Goebbels put it, "We are winning ourselves to death" (in Orlow 1969–1973, 307). This was not an exaggeration. At the end of 1932, the NSDAP was facing a crisis on several fronts. The Storm troopers were getting increasingly impatient, literally putting their lives on the line while waiting in vain for long-promised rewards. The party was deeply in debt, and most important, there were clear signs that the NSDAP's popularity had peaked. In the November 1932 national elections, the party's vote declined for the first time since 1930. Hitler and the Nazis rose to power in January 1933 not because they were elected but through a combination of personal intrigues and because Germany's conservative elite was willing to make a pact with them in order to destroy the hated Weimar Republic. Paradoxically, the party's role during the twelve years of the Third Reich was considerably less important than during the "years of struggle."

It is true that the party was instrumental in destroying Germany's political pluralism during the *Gleichschaltung* (coordination) phase in 1933 and 1934, and party members were responsible for much of the random terror during the early months of the regime. Further, most of the Gauleiter also became state administrators, and many SA leaders became municipal police chiefs. But the party did not succeed in carving out a long-term future for itself. There were a number of reasons for this development.

To begin with, Hitler refused to assign the party any specific role other than the vague task of indoctrinating the German people with the precepts of National Socialism. But leaders could not agree among themselves on the NSDAP's future role. One group—led by Rudolf Hess (the deputy *führer* for party operations after December 1933) and his chief of staff, Martin Bormann—envisioned a role for the party that was

modeled on the position of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, with the Nazi Political Organization forming the elite of the Third Reich. That approach failed, partly because Hitler did not endorse it but also because the party did not have the skilled personnel to run a modern society. In addition, important party leaders such as Goebbels and Hermann Göring chose to base their power in the Third Reich on state offices (the Propaganda Ministry for Goebbels and the Office of the Four Year Plan for Göring). Formally, Hitler was head of the SA, but the Storm troopers' chief of staff, Ernst Röhm, and his close associates were convinced that only they, as soldier-politicians, could bring National Socialism to Germany. That illusion ended in the bloody purge of the Storm trooper leadership in June 1934.

The purge was carried out by the SS execution squads; it signified the eclipse of the SA and allowed the SS—until then a small organization subordinated within the SA structure—to advance its own claim to elitism. According to its chief, Heinrich Himmler, the SS was entitled to elite status because it was the “racially purest” element of the entire Nazi movement. Up to a point, the SS was, indeed, the most successful of the Nazi organizations, and by the time the Third Reich came to an end, it controlled the Nazi terror apparatus, including the elements involved in implementing the Holocaust, the police, and, through Himmler, the armed forces reserves. Only once was the party permitted to play a leading role after 1933—during the infamous *Reichskristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938. The widespread burning of Germany’s synagogues, the vandalism, and the physical assaults against individual Jews were largely the work of local party and SA members.

As an organization, the party receded further into the background after Hitler unleashed World War II. Reduced to mouthing increasingly meaningless propaganda slogans, the NSDAP acquired an even more sinister image once the death toll at the front mounted. One of the party’s wartime duties was to deliver death notices to the relatives of soldiers who had died in battle. Attired in his party uniform, the local leader paid a condolence call on the stricken family. Because the party uni-

form was khaki brown with golden trim, these dreaded occasions became known as “visits by the golden pheasants.” By the end of the war, the party was a moribund and useless organization. Most of the Gauleiter deserted their posts as the Allied armies closed in on their territories. Efforts by Martin Bormann and the Party Chancellery to have the Political Organization lead a *levée en masse* failed completely.

Ironically, the only party affiliation that retained any positive image in the eyes of most Germans was the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrtsorganisation (National Socialist Welfare Organization [NSV]), a unit that had been in the backwater among the party’s groups for most of its existence. Founded in the early 1930s as a way of providing financial aid for Storm troopers injured in the brawls of the last Weimar years, the NSV was charged with providing aid to the victims of Allied bombings during the war. Because this was a task that became increasingly important as the conflict went on, it is understandable that for most Germans, only the NSV among all the NSDAP organizations seemed to be doing something useful.

After the Third Reich’s unconditional surrender in May 1945, the Allies prohibited the NSDAP from organizing in any form, although the party had already disappeared from the political landscape by that point. In his last testament, Hitler had willed all of his material possessions to the party, but that directive was obviously meaningless. Instead, the beneficiary of both the party’s assets and Hitler’s personal possessions was the state of Bavaria. In the end, then, the NSDAP had come full circle. It had begun and ended in Bavaria.

—Dietrich Orlow

*See also* *Angriff, Der*; German National People’s Party; Goebbels, Joseph; Göring, Hermann; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Hugenberg, Alfred; Mussolini, Benito; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Weimar

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### Nazi Cultural Antisemitism

The elimination of Jewish influence over German artistic and cultural life was a central element of Nazi ideology, propaganda, and policy. During the years of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi movement held Jews responsible for alleged “degenerate” tendencies in music, theater, the visual arts, architecture, and related areas of creative endeavor. Once in power, the Nazis erected a wall of cultural separation between Jews and Aryans, purged Jews from German cultural life, censored works produced by Jews, mobilized German cultural production to reinforce a malevolent image of the Jews, and robbed Jews of their artistic possessions.

The demonization of the Jew as a cultural alien in Germany (and elsewhere in Europe) was not a Nazi innovation but had emerged as a prominent antisemitic theme in the nineteenth century, as emancipation allowed Jewish artists to move into the cultural mainstream. Among the more notorious antisemitic texts of that era was the essay *Judaism in Music* by the German composer Richard Wagner. Jews, wrote Wagner, could only produce inauthentic imitations of the aesthetic characteristics of their host cultures. The Jewish essence, he argued, prevented them from producing art that was truly German. Wagner’s 1850 essay predated the emergence of a full-blown racial antisemitism, but it anticipated the cultural essentialism that would later characterize the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movement and Nazism.

This essentialism was clearly present in the early political statements of Hitler and the Nazi Party. Modernist tendencies in cultural life, such as Bauhaus architecture, atonal music, abstract expressionism, and jazz, were condemned as manifestations of a cultural Judeo-Bolshevism, the alleged intention of which was to undermine traditional Germanic values, weaken the national spirit, and render German society more susceptible to Jewish power. The writings and speeches

of Hitler, Alfred Rosenberg, and other Nazi leaders resonated with such ideas, which also featured prominently in book-length works by scholars connected to the Nazi movement, such as Paul Schultze-Naumburg’s *Kunst und Rasse* (Art and Race), published in 1928.

The Nazis advocated a national cultural policy that would eliminate Jewish influence. The Nazi Party Program of February 1920 demanded the “legal prosecution of all those tendencies in art and literature which corrupt our national life, and the suppression of cultural events which violate this demand.” In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler observed that it is “the business of the state to prevent a people from being driven into the arms of spiritual madness” (258–259) and to assure the “the preservation of those original racial elements which bestow culture and create beauty” (391). Under the Weimar Republic, much of the right-wing activism on the cultural front was carried out by the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture), a Nazi Party front organization headed up by Alfred Rosenberg.

Once in power, the Nazis moved quickly to translate their cultural principles into policy. Some artistically prominent Jews, such as the orchestra conductor Bruno Walter, were intimidated into stepping down from their positions; many others were hounded into exile. The Civil Service Law of April 1933 resulted in the dismissal of a significant number of Jewish musicians, theater people, art instructors, and others employed by publicly administered cultural institutions. In late 1933, the Nazi government created the Reich Chamber of Culture, which rapidly became the compulsory occupational organization for Germans working in the artistic and cultural fields. The chamber was actually an umbrella organization of seven “subchambers” set up for the fields of music, theater, the visual arts, literature, cinema, radio, and the press. These agencies operated under the supervision of Joseph Goebbels, the Reich minister for propaganda and public enlightenment as well as the Nazi *Gauleiter* (district leader) of Berlin, who was among the more fanatical antisemites in the Nazi leadership. Goebbels pushed the chambers to expel their Jewish members, a measure tanta-



Two men prepare to hang German Expressionist painter Max Beckmann's triptych *Temptation* at the twentieth-century German Art Exhibition at the New Burlington Galleries, London. The exhibition included work by all the German artists pilloried by Adolf Hitler in the Degenerate Art exhibition in Munich of 1937. (Photo by Topical Press Agency/Getty Images)

mount to banning them from activity in their occupations. The mass, systematic expulsion of Jews from the chambers occurred mainly in 1935. Although the chambers lacked an explicit "Aryan clause," article 10 of their founding charter provided for the expulsion of artists who were judged to be "unreliable and unfit" for participation in Germany's cultural life. Goebbels made it clear that Jews, by definition, fit into this category. The "*Mischlinge* of the First-Degree" (half-Jews) and Aryans who were married to Jews were also routinely expelled, even though exceptions were sometimes made for prominent artists. The victims of this cultural purge also included certain Communists, homosexuals, Gypsies, and others deemed unreliable and unfit, but in none of these categories was the purge as thorough and relentless as it was for Jews.

In some cases, Jewish artists and entertainers

who were fired from their positions or expelled from the chambers were able to find work with the Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish Cultural League). This organization, founded in 1933 by Jewish communal leaders with permission from Nazi officials, was designed to enable German Jews to pursue a cultural existence segregated from the German mainstream. Under the auspices of the Kulturbund, Jewish artists were allowed to perform Jewish works before Jewish audiences. The Nazi regime claimed that this practice was consistent with its broader goal of encouraging the assimilation of German Jews. Although "German" culture would be off-limits to Jews, Jews would be able to cultivate their own culture among themselves. The German official who supervised the Kulturbund was Hans Hinkel, a Nazi "old fighter" who had helped run the Nazi-affiliated Kampfbund für deutsche Kul-

tur in the Weimar period and who had later coordinated the purge of Jews from state-supported cultural institutions in Prussia, Germany's largest state. The Kulturbund operated until September 1941, when the Gestapo dissolved it just prior to the beginning of the systematic deportation of German Jews to the East.

Simultaneously with the purge of Jewish artists, the Nazi regime erected a complex system of censorship that was intended to insulate German society from contamination by works created by Jews. Formal lists of prohibited works constituted only one element of this system. Equally important were the personnel policies of the Third Reich, which assured that the people in charge of German cultural institutions understood which forms of art and entertainment were acceptable and which were not. Although the position of the regime was ambiguous in certain cases (for example, in regard to the music of the non-Jewish Igor Stravinsky), the cultural production of Jews was proscribed without exception. The relevant definition of *Jew*, it should be emphasized, was a racial one, so the works of converts from Judaism, such as the composer Felix Mendelssohn, fell under the prohibition. The program of censorship included the removal from German museums and galleries of paintings by Jewish artists. In some cases, these works of art were destroyed, but in many instances, they were offered for sale for a fraction of their real or potential value.

In addition to the system of exclusion and censorship, the Nazis encouraged and sponsored culture with antisemitic content. The high-profile "Degenerate Art" Exhibition in 1937 included numerous objects by Jewish artists, as did the similar "Degenerate Music" Exhibition in 1938. Among the most notorious examples of Nazi antisemitism in the cultural sphere were two films of 1940, *Jud Süß* and *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew), in which the depictions of Jewish characters conformed to vicious stereotypes of sniveling, hook-nosed moneylenders, sexual predators, and animal torturers. The antisemitism of these two films was especially prominent because the vast majority of the feature films produced in Nazi Germany avoided overt propaganda for tactical reasons.

The Nazi regime despoiled Jews of works of art and other cultural property. Jews seeking to emigrate from Germany during the 1930s were often forced to leave many of their valuables behind, with only meager compensation from the German government or from the Aryan Germans who ultimately took possession of the property. The Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts, acting as the occupational representative of German painters and sculptors, participated in this systematic pillaging of Jewish property by providing expert appraisals of the value of artworks, for which the departing Jews had to pay a fee. Even this token pretense to fair compensation did not apply to German and other European Jews who were deported during the war and, in most cases, killed. In our own day, we are occasionally reminded of this sordid story by news reports about art museums that display the stolen property of murdered Jews.

—Alan Steinweis

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Book Burning; Degenerate Art; Emancipation; Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Goebbels, Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; *Judaism in Music*; *Mein Kampf*; Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Musicology and National Socialism; *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, The; Nazi Party Program; Purge of the German Civil Service; Rosenberg, Alfred; *Verjüfung*; Völkisch Movement and Ideology

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## Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939)

During the prewar years of the Third Reich, discriminatory legislation was the platform for the Nazi assault on German Jewry. National Socialists called for purging Jews from the professions and the business world and, above all, stopping

their biological intrusion, by way of marriage, into the superior Nordic bloodstream. The Nazis speedily enacted repressive laws to translate this ideology into action. The opening wave of anti-Jewish legislation in April 1933 was directed against Jews in the civil service and the professions of law and medicine. On April 7, Adolf Hitler promulgated the first of these laws—the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service. This legislation allowed the Nazis to expel political and racial undesirables from the civil service. A supplementary decree on April 11, called the Aryan Paragraph, established a way to define the racially undesirable “non-Aryan” (or Jew). Anyone “with one parent or one grandparent who adhered to the Jewish religion” was, by definition, labeled non-Aryan. This remained the standard definition applied in anti-Jewish legislation until the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

On April 7, the same day the civil service law was promulgated, Hitler issued a law restricting the number of Jewish attorneys admitted to the bar. Jewish medical doctors became the target on April 24, when they were banned from participating in the government-sponsored health insurance panels. On April 25, the Law against the Overfilling of German Schools and Universities prescribed a reduction in the number of Jews entering these institutions and other professional fields, stipulating that their numbers not exceed the proportion of Jews in the population at large. The legal assault against the Jews, though not their persecution, stalled in the aftermath of the anti-Jewish legislation of April 1933. An exception was the Denaturalization Law of July 14, 1933, which allowed the government to revoke the citizenship of eastern European Jews (*Ostjuden*) who had entered Germany after World War I.

Until the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, the Nazis left untouched the problem of race mixing that was at the core of their racist ideology. Logic would have demanded they begin their legislative assault on the Jews with such a proscription, but political reality demanded otherwise. Nazi leaders waited more than two years to address this issue because they recognized the legal thicket they would be entering. Socially sensitive matters of divorce, parental responsibility (financial and otherwise), inheritance, and

the like were involved. All of these issues were regulated by a civil code deeply rooted in pre-Nazi social and legal practice.

Late in 1933 and throughout 1934, party radicals grew increasingly agitated about the issue of race mixing. Rank-and-file activists often harassed marriage officials, demanding that they refuse marriage licenses to mixed-race couples. If that effort failed, they frequently enlisted Storm trooper roughnecks to “counsel” the couples. By the summer of 1935, marriage registry offices were in chaos. This was the political and social backdrop for the Nuremberg Laws of September 15, 1935. The first law, aptly called the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, prohibited both marriages and extramarital relations between Germans and Jews. The second, the Reich Citizenship Law, revoked citizenship for Jews by reducing them to “State Subjects.”

The Nuremberg legislation also established a new definition of the Jew, one less inclusive than that of the Aryan Paragraph of 1933. In 1933, a single Jewish grandparent had been sufficient to make one non-Aryan. The new definition, contained in a decree supplementary to the Citizenship Law, required that an individual have at least two Jewish grandparents in order to be classified a Jew. Even then, one could escape that classification by not practicing the Jewish religion or not being married to a Jew. In that case, one was labeled a *Mischling* (half-breed). Most Mischlinge eventually escaped the Final Solution. Anyone with three or four Jewish grandparents was deemed to be Jewish and fated to suffer the full force of Nazi persecution.

Nazi legislation aimed at driving Jews out of the German economy proved particularly difficult to implement. At first, the difficulties stemmed from the economic depression, during which any measures that disrupted economic activity were dangerous. Germany’s foreign trade imbalance and its need to earn foreign exchange likewise protected, for a time at least, those Jewish firms engaged in commerce abroad. But there was the additional problem of defining with precision how a business could be identified as Jewish. Did its governing board need to be Jewish? Did a majority of its shares need to

be owned by Jews? Was it sufficient if its management was Jewish?

Not until 1938 did the Nazis feel confident enough to launch an all-out, systematic assault against the economic position of Jews. On April 26, Hermann Göring ordered all Jews to register a complete inventory of their assets, an order that was the prelude to the seizure of those assets. The complicated legal definition of a Jewish business contained in the third supplementary decree to the Reich Citizenship Law served a similar purpose. Additional decrees excluded Jewish doctors, dentists, lawyers, and patent attorneys from practicing their professions; defined Jewish businesses so as to ensure their confiscation; and reduced pensions for retired Jewish civil servants.

Finally, on November 12, 1938, in the aftermath to the nationwide Night of Broken Glass (the November 1938 pogrom), Göring decreed the Elimination of Jews from German Economic Life. As of January 1, 1939, they were to be excluded from virtually every form of economic activity, be it owning retail or mail-order businesses, acting as vendors of goods or services at markets or fairs, or serving as managers of business enterprises. Even as employees, they were subject to dismissal without recourse. By September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, there were few areas of Jewish life left untouched by discriminatory legislation. A final and by then totally irrelevant decree on July 7, 1943, detached the few surviving Jews in Germany from all possible protections under the law.

—Karl A. Schleunes

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Aryanization; Boycott of Jewish Shops; Göring, Hermann; Hitler, Adolf; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Nuremberg Laws; *Ostjuden*; Purge of the German Civil Service

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## Nazi Party Program

The Nazi Party Program, generally known as the Twenty-five Points, was adopted in February 1920 by what was then still called the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (German Worker's Party [DAP]). It was initially intended to be a document of short duration, but in May 1925, Hitler, who faced demands from within the party to write a much more detailed document, proclaimed the 1920 program to be "unalterable." He was almost true to his word: only the seventeenth point was "interpreted" in April 1928. Originally, the party had demanded the expropriation of all landed estates, but now this proposed measure applied only to Jewish-owned estates.

The Nazi Party Program was not the work of one man, least of all Hitler himself. Instead, Hitler, Dietrich Eckart, Alfred Rosenberg, and Gottfried Feder all had a hand in formulating it. Each author contributed the points that were of particular interest to him. Hitler probably formulated the items dealing with foreign policy and government operations, Eckart and Rosenberg wrote the *völkisch* planks, and Feder contributed the economic and financial proposals. Scholars still debate how seriously the authors regarded the program as a set of guidelines for future legislation. Feder and Rosenberg probably saw the Twenty-five Points as a rudimentary blueprint for a future National Socialist society, but for Hitler, the vague and demagogic program was little more than a propaganda ploy.

The Twenty-five Points contained very little that was either original or well thought out. The characterization of the document as a compendium of "everything that was offered by reactionary thinking in the nineteenth and twentieth century" (Pätzold and Weissbecker 1998, 45) is not unfair. The authors certainly did not refrain from plagiarism; points 3 through 6, 14, 16, and 23 were essentially copied from Heinrich Class's pre-World War I brochure *If I Were the Kaiser*. Above all, many of the program's individual planks were designed to respond to the wishes and resentments of the DAP's primary target audience in 1920: skilled workers, lower-middle-class artisans, and civil servants.

The contents of the document can be divided into three broad categories: nationalist demands,

völkisch and antisemitic sentiments, and social and economic proposals. By far the largest number of points (thirteen) dealt with economic and social issues. Like the program of the Pan-German League before World War I, the Twenty-five Points insisted on the inclusion of all ethnic Germans in a Great German Reich (point 1) and the need for more *Lebensraum* (living space). A diatribe against the Treaty of Versailles and a demand for the return of the German colonies comprised the second and third points.

The basic tenor of the völkisch and antisemitic points was to deprive Germany's Jews of their political rights and to eliminate their "excessive" power in public life. Specifically, Jews were to be divested of their citizenship and treated as resident aliens (points 4 and 5). All non-German immigration was to be stopped, and Jews who had moved to Germany after the beginning of World War I were to be deported (point 8). The demand that all editors of newspapers published in Germany had to be members of the "German race" came as no surprise; it was a long-standing myth in antisemitic circles that Jews controlled the press. The party also endorsed "positive Christianity." Point 24 promised to respect all religious denominations, provided their teachings did not offend the moral sensibilities of the German race. That requirement served to exclude the Jewish religion from any form of protection.

The most detailed section of the program dealt with social and economic policies. Here was the program that was to cure the problems plaguing Germany's post-World War I economy. National Socialism turned out to be a naive combination of state intervention and benefits to the lower middle class. The program demanded the death penalty for all usurers and profiteers (point 18), the confiscation of all war profits (point 12), the nationalization of trusts (point 13), and preferential treatment for small businesses in awarding government contracts (points 15 and 16). Gottfried Feder inserted his universal solution to all economic woes in point 11: interest charges would be abolished in the future National Socialist Reich. Finally, in case one did not own a small business, the Twenty-five Points called for increased old-age pensions (point 15) and profit

sharing for employees of large-scale enterprises (point 14).

Remarkably, the longest and most detailed point (point 20) dealt with education. Reputed to have been written by Hitler, it certainly reflected his resentment of the traditional Austro-German educational system. In the future, the program called on the state to make it possible for every gifted child to have access to all levels of education. The DAP also demanded curriculum reforms that would instill love and respect for the German nation-state in the students.

Did the Nazis implement the program after they took power? The answer is, yes and no. On the one hand, it could of course be argued that the regime fulfilled much of the nationalist and antisemitic parts of the program. After all, Hitler did create the Greater German Reich, and the Holocaust went far beyond the discriminatory policies promised in 1920. On the other hand, the social and economic demands were ignored. The Third Reich did not abolish interest charges, trusts remained unscathed, and the regime generally favored large enterprises at the expense of small businesses.

—Dietrich Orlow

**See also** Austria; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Hitler, Adolf; *If I Were the Kaiser*; "Jewish" Press; *Mein Kampf*; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Pan-German League; Rosenberg, Alfred; Versailles Treaty; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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#### Nazi Research on the Jewish Question

Consistent with its elevation of the Jewish Question to a leading position in its ideology and policies, the Nazi regime encouraged and sponsored scholarly research about Jews, Judaism, and Jewish-Christian relations. The research was carried

out across a number of academic fields, including such humanistic areas of scholarship as theology and literary studies, as well as political economy, demographic sociology, and other social sciences and the “harder” scientific disciplines of physical anthropology, medicine, and human genetics. The work was carried out under the auspices of German universities, venerable government-supported research institutes, and new institutes created by the Nazi regime specifically for the purpose of studying Jews.

This field, which historians refer to as Nazi *Judenforschung* (research on the Jews), must be seen in the wider context of the historical evolution of antisemitism. The utility of a “rational” antisemitism of this sort had been recognized well before 1933. The writings of Wilhelm Marr, Eugen Dühring, and Theodor Fritsch, among other nineteenth-century publicists, had already attempted to shift the focus of Jew-hatred away from the tradition of emotional religious anti-Judaism and toward a more modern racist essentialism. Hitler, for his part, endorsed an “antisemitism of reason” in several early speeches and, most notably, in his letter to Adolf Gemlich of September 1919. During the 1920s, antisemitic writers associated with the Nazi movement produced a host of works attempting to demonstrate the innate, intractable, racial basis of Jewish behavior. The most prominent of these was Hans F. K. Günther, whose book *Rassenkunde des jüdischen Volkes* (Racial Characteristics of the Jewish People [1930]) offered a summary of the existing state of antisemitic racial anthropology. The Nazis rewarded him with a professorship at the University of Jena, after they had entered a coalition government in the German state of Thuringia.

During the Third Reich, Judenforschung constituted but one element of a complex strategy for legitimizing and reinforcing antisemitism in public opinion and official policy. The Nazi regime propagated antisemitism on several social and intellectual levels simultaneously. Different types of antisemitism were targeted at diverse constituencies in German society. These antisemitic discourses differed in their level of intellectual sophistication, their balance between appeal to emotion and appeal to reason, and the

nature of their representations of Jews. Among the most familiar examples of Nazi antisemitic propaganda were the newspaper *Der Stürmer* and the film *Jud Süß*, whose grotesque Jewish caricatures reinforced familiar stereotypes of Jews as financial and sexual predators. Their intended audience was the low-brow masses, and the nature of their appeal was primarily irrational. Nazi Judenforschung, by contrast, was designed to legitimize antisemitism within the numerically much smaller but influential educated middle class (*Bildungsbürgertum*) and the German academic world. The appeal of Judenforschung, then, derived from its apparent respectability, which was perceived to depend on its ostensibly “scientific” methodology and apparatus; its emphasis on racial theory; its heavy utilization of Jewish sources; and its downplaying of medieval superstition, shocking caricature, and venomous name calling.

Professional historians played an especially prominent role in this enterprise. Among the most prolific was Walter Frank, who served as director of the Institute for the History of the New Germany, which the Nazi government founded in 1935. Frank himself published books on, among other subjects, the nineteenth-century antisemitic court chaplain Adolf Stoecker and the Dreyfus Affair. One of the institute’s most active departments was devoted to research on the history of the Jewish Question and was headed by another historian, Wilhelm Grau, whose publications focused on Jewish-Christian relations in Reformation Germany. Grau’s research department sponsored a series of annual symposia, the proceedings of which were published in the house journal, *Forschungen zur Judenfrage*. Grau also edited a newly established review section on the Jewish Question in the venerable *Historische Zeitschrift*. When Alfred Rosenberg decided to create the alternative and more ideologically strident Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question in 1939, he enlisted Grau as a key collaborator.

One of the most accomplished of the Nazi scholars working in this field was the political economist Peter-Heinz Seraphim. His most notable work was the formidable *Das Judentum im Osteuropäischen Raum* (Jewry in the Region of

Eastern Europe [1938]). In it, he focused on the social and occupational structure of east European Jewry, making extensive use of statistical data compiled by Jewish scholars, especially the Zionist sociologist Arthur Ruppin. Seraphim sought to use such Jewish sources, in addition to official data compiled by east European governments, to confirm the arguments of Werner Sombart, who had posited a unique Jewish predisposition for capitalism two decades earlier.

Research on Jewish racial origins and characteristics was conducted by a number of scholars working in physical anthropology, medicine, and human genetics. Eugen Fischer, the director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics, collaborated with the antisemitic theologian Gerhard Kittel on a study of the racial origins of ancient Jews. Another figure connected with this institute, Othmar von Verschuer, performed analyses on Jewish blood samples from Auschwitz in an attempt to identify the genetic characteristic that made Ashkenazic Jews less susceptible to tuberculosis than other Europeans. Jewish race research also created opportunities for graduate students seeking cutting-edge and politically relevant topics for their doctoral dissertations. One such student was Alexander Paul, whose ambitious dissertation, entitled "Jewish-German Blood Mixing," utilized the files of almost 2,000 "*Mischlinge* of the First-Degree" (half-Jews) placed at his disposal by the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

Several of the scholars who engaged in Judenforschung also served as functionaries or consultants to the Nazi Party and the government, thus helping to implement policy in a direct way. It would be very difficult, however, to demonstrate that any of these scholars exerted a decisive influence over policy. Their most important function lay in generating intellectual respectability for racist expropriation, exclusion, and ultimately mass murder.

—Alan Steinweis

**See also** Churches under Nazism; Dühring, Eugen; Fritsch, Theodor; Gemlich Letter; Hitler, Adolf; Hitler's Speeches (Early); Japan; Marr, Wilhelm; *Myth of the Twentieth Century, The*; Rosenberg, Alfred; Sombart, Werner; Stoecker, Adolf; *Stürmer, Der*

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### Nazi Rock

Since the early 1990s, the term *Nazi rock* has become widely used in reference to any kind of rock music that openly propagates messages of hate, violence, racism, antisemitism, and the glorification of National Socialism. The origins of Nazi rock can be traced back to the late 1970s and early 1980s, when it first emerged as a subculture of the British punk movement. Originally known as "Oi" music, it became particularly popular among British working-class skinheads and spawned a distinctive style of appearance, which is still a highly recognizable attribute of many right-wing youth groups today: shaved heads, steel-toe boots, bomber jackets, and other paraphernalia of this nature.

Gradually evolving since the mid-1980s, the Nazi rock music scene is now an international phenomenon with over 550 self-proclaimed right-wing rock bands active in more than thirty countries in 2001. By far the largest number of Nazi rock bands exist in the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. With names such as Final Solution (from the United States), Sturmtrupp (from Germany), or Zyklon B (from Poland), Nazi rock bands often make their political orientation unmistakably clear, and many of them are typically associated with right-wing extremist organizations, such as the White Power movement in the United States, the National Front in Britain, or various neo-Nazi groups in Germany and elsewhere.

Although it is a relatively small musical sub-

culture, shunned by the mainstream music industry and therefore operating independently, Nazi rock has attracted a loyal and steadily growing following among right-wing youth groups, making it an increasingly profitable business. Thanks, in part, to free publicity and notoriety gained from often sensationalistic media coverage, some Nazi rock recordings have achieved sales of up to 10,000 copies, and many bands regularly draw average crowds of 200 or more to their concerts. In a few cases, ambiguously right-wing rock music has even crossed over into the pop music mainstream (for example, the music of the German band Rammstein). The Nazi rock fan community, composed primarily of skinheads, neo-Nazis, and militia groups, is well connected by a tightly knit, informal network of activists, publishing "fanzines" and maintaining Internet websites.

Nazi rock music is typically loud and fast—in many ways similar to punk music or heavy metal music—with pounding drums, distorted guitars, heavy bass, and screaming vocals. Songs are usually short and simple in structure, played with a kind of raw, aggressive energy that is meant to elicit a physical response from the listener. However, the main distinguishing feature of Nazi rock is in the lyrical content of the songs, which are usually performed in the bands' native languages. Some of the recurring themes in the vast majority of all Nazi rock include extreme nationalism and xenophobia, glorification of the Aryan race ("blood and honor"), Holocaust denial, militarism, criticism of specific politicians or government policies, general hatred of the Left, and fascist nostalgia. Many Nazi rock songs are intended as calls to action, and they have sometimes inspired their listeners to acts of violence or vandalism, soccer hooliganism, and attacks on foreigners.

—Frederic M. Kopp

**See also** Germany, Federal Republic of; Internet; Militia Movement; Neo-Nazism, German; White Power Movement

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### **Neo-Nazism, German**

Neo-Nazism can be defined as the attempt to keep Nazi ideology alive or to glorify the Nazi era and its way of life. Since 1945, neo-Nazism has waxed and waned as social, economic, and generational factors have made the ideology more or less appealing.

Under the Allied military government immediately after World War II, any expression of Nazi ideology in Germany was banned and punished. Nascent political parties serving as fronts for a revival of Nazism were prohibited. Although opinion polls showed that a strong current of appreciation for many of Hitler's achievements persisted among the broader populace, there were no public outlets to express such sentiments. When two German states were created in 1949, neo-Nazism flourished in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), where open party politics and basic civil liberties were reestablished. The first major neo-Nazi organization to be established was the Socialist Reich Party, which won 11 percent of the vote in state elections in Lower Saxony in 1951. The party was banned in 1952 according to a provision in the West German Constitution prohibiting political parties that threaten the liberal democratic order.

During new economic uncertainties in the 1960s, the extreme right-wing National Democratic Party (NPD) had moderate successes in some local and regional elections. But it failed to gain representation in the federal parliament when it gathered only 4.3 percent of the vote in the 1969 elections. In the 1980s and 1990s, new parties such as the Republicans and the German People's Union (DVU) replicated the local and regional successes of the NPD. Publicly, these parties distanced themselves from the tyranny and genocide of the Nazi regime, but privately, they benefited from the support of Germans who understood their coded language.

Included in the ideology of neo-Nazi groups is one or more of the following elements: denial of the Holocaust or its full extent, hatred of foreign-

ers, antisemitism (including allegations or intimations of a Jewish world conspiracy), racism, militarism, and celebration of the “sunny side” of the National Socialist years and of Germany’s military prowess in World War II. Neo-Nazis often engage in “revisionist” historiography, denying Germany’s responsibility for starting World War II and justifying Nazi antisemitic persecution based on supposedly hostile acts or statements by Jews before or during World War II.

After German unification, neo-Nazism thrived once again, especially in the economically depressed former East Germany. For decades, the Communist regime there had suppressed Nazi (or “fascist”) sentiments, even as many old Nazis who were willing to change ideologies found jobs and positions of influence. After communism’s collapse, foreigners bore the brunt of the neo-Nazi surge, but antisemitic graffiti and vandalism were also rampant. Neo-Nazis and right-wing extremists killed a number of foreigners in the 1990s. Such incidents were, however, always followed by massive counterdemonstrations, showing a vastly larger percentage of the populace to be repelled and frightened by the rise of the neo-Nazis. The German Office for the Protection of the Constitution estimates that there were approximately 2,000 Germans active in 150 or so neo-Nazi associations in the year 2000 (not including the more numerous but much less organized skinhead gangs and music groups). The widest neo-Nazi influence today may come from the Internet, where, in the second half of 2002, the agencies in charge of protecting the constitution counted 920 sites devoted to right-wing extremism and neo-Nazism in Germany.

—Daniel Rogers

**See also** German Democratic Republic; Germany, Federal Republic of; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Internet; Nazi Rock

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## Netherlands in the Twentieth Century

In 1878, a series of articles appeared in the Dutch Calvinist daily *De Standaard* (The Standard), en-

titled “Liberalisten en Joden” (Liberals and Jews). For the author, Abraham Kuyper, the charismatic leader of the newborn Dutch Reformed Party, liberals and Jews were one and the same. Under the cover of liberalism, he asserted, Jews held absolute sway not only in the Netherlands but also in the whole of Europe, although it should have been obvious that, as “guests” of a Christian society, they should wield no political influence at all. Kuyper’s views drew both outrage and approval. When he became prime minister (serving from 1901 to 1905), however, he did not seek to reverse the emancipation of 1796, which had made the Jews full citizens.

This episode is symbolic of the historical relationship between Jews and non-Jews in Holland. In differing historical contexts and to various degrees, new anti-Jewish stereotypes and prejudices attached themselves to the traditional ones: Jews were portrayed as Christ killers, cunning merchants, cowards, traitors, strangers, and conspirators and described as rich, greedy, arrogant, pushy, and materialistic. These prejudices fed religious, socioeconomic, and cultural antisemitism, but until 1936, they never became the program of a political party or achieved any institutionalized form.

From 1796, a slow, uneven, but ongoing process of Jewish integration and assimilation unfolded. A. C. Wertheim (1832–1897), a well-to-do banker and philanthropist and a high-ranking administrator of the Jewish Council, expressed a common attitude among Dutch Jews when he declared that they were *Israëlieten* (Israelites) in church but considered themselves undividedly and wholeheartedly “fellow-citizens” outside the realm of religion. H. Polak, the undisputed leader of the Dutch Diamond Workers Union, articulated a slightly different view of Dutch Jewish identity when he told an interviewer in 1928 that he considered himself to be a Dutchman among the Dutch but also a Jew among the Jews. In reality, the situation was not as ideal as either man wanted it to be. Social distance between Jews and non-Jews diminished only very gradually. Both Wertheim and Polak were confronted with prejudice and well-entrenched negative views about Jewish character and reliability.

During the 1930s, under the influence of Nazi

Germany, economic depression, and the arrival of German Jewish refugees, the depiction of the Jew as the Other revived and grew more visible and venomous. The Protestant press and the Catholic press articulated ambivalent feelings toward Hitler's antisemitism. On the one hand, they severely denounced the systematic banishment of the Jews from German society and anti-Jewish violence and persecution. But on the other hand, the newspapers commonly stressed that Germany's Jews had brought misfortune on themselves because of their disbelief and their disproportionate presence in the press and in the economic and financial world. Jewish "overrepresentation" was an issue in Dutch politics as well. In Amsterdam around 1930, there were some 65,000 Jews, comprising nearly 60 percent of all the Jews in Holland and almost 9 percent of the city's population. In 1933, four out of six aldermen were Jews (three of them socialists), provoking some Catholic spokespeople to comment that this was "untactful" because the Jews were "a race apart." Amsterdam was the exception, however. There were few Jews to be found in high political or administrative posts elsewhere in Holland, and before World War II, there was not a single Jewish mayor in the country.

But despite tensions and lingering prejudice, evidence of radical antisemitism was uncommon in national life. Even in the party platform of the Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (National-Socialist Movement [NSB]), founded in 1931, antisemitism was absent initially. Jews could become members, which they did in very small numbers. In the first elections in which the NSB participated, in 1935, it won a surprisingly high 8 percent of the vote. From that point on, the movement became ever more radical. It embraced antisemitism openly in 1936. Nevertheless, extreme antisemitism and, more generally, right-wing extremism proved to have little attraction for most of the Dutch. By 1939, the NSB had lost half of its supporters.

It is fair to say that antisemitism did not prosper in the Netherlands before the outbreak of World War II, although it definitely was a lurking presence in Dutch politics. The persecution of the Jews in Nazi Germany met with much public censure and led to protests, organized by

Jews and left-leaning non-Jews. The Dutch government used the "latent" antisemitism of Dutch society as a pretext to restrict Jewish immigration. A consequence of the attention given the Jewish Question, both positive and negative, was the gradual and almost imperceptible increase in the distance between Dutch Jews and non-Jews.

The distancing that had begun in the late 1930s became the deliberate and systematic policy of the Nazis during their occupation of the Netherlands (from May 1940 to May 1945). Jews were isolated from their neighbors, step by step. Then, in May 1942, the deportations of Jews of foreign nationality began. Of the 140,000 Jews living in Holland in May 1940, 107,000 were deported. Approximately 5,500 returned from the camps. Nearly 24,000 Jews went into hiding, of whom 8,000 were discovered or betrayed; the remaining 16,000 were saved. Some Jews managed to escape to England or Switzerland. Most of those with Christian spouses were exempted from deportation, although not from discrimination and the ever-present possibility of death. The death toll for Jews in the Netherlands was 75 percent, a percentage comparable only to the mortality rates of eastern European countries.

How this could happen in a country proverbially tolerant of its Jews is an ongoing question, debated by scholars, journalists, and public figures. Several explanations have been advanced. That the occupying forces were controlled by the SS, which was much more ideologically motivated than the regular army (the Wehrmacht), accounts for some of the deadliness of the Final Solution in Holland. Further, the traditional law-abiding mentality of the Dutch, including the Dutch Jews, often played into the hands of the SS. Obedient civil servants carried out the tasks assigned to them without noticeable resistance. Then, too, the Netherlands was surrounded by other occupied countries; flight was difficult. Topographically, the country offered few hiding places or remote corners, making the sheltering of Jews a very risky enterprise. Finally, some observers point to the characteristic compartmentalization of Dutch society. Several social and religious groups coexisted but did not develop intimate relations with one another. Thus, Jews

may have thought they were more integrated and accepted than they actually were, an illusion that accentuated their vulnerability.

The stress of the war years revealed that the acceptance of Jews as fellow human beings was, at least for some Dutch people, only a facade. Significantly, antisemitism increased during the German occupation, a development recorded at the time in the illegal press and documented by survivors, journalists, and historians soon after the country's liberation. From 1943, rumors began to circulate about nervous, cowardly, and stingy Jews in hiding, who hoarded their money and denounced their hosts, thus getting them sent to concentration camps. The old stereotypes of Judas and Shylock swiftly returned, adapted to a new historical situation. They continued to poison the atmosphere after the war, when it was alleged that Jews dug up their enormous hidden wealth and were soon driving about in luxury automobiles, taking the best jobs, and lording it over the gentiles. Some of this overt antisemitism was the product of emotionally charged property disputes occasioned when returning Jews sought to regain their assets. Jewish survivors were generally perceived as competitors with regard to jobs, housing, and money in a society in which there was a shortage of everything. Moreover, Jews who survived the camps and then returned home were living accusations of the Dutch failure to render them aid against the Germans.

As ugly as this hostility was, it should be stressed that Dutch postwar antisemitism was mainly of a social and verbal character; the few propositions put forward to institutionalize restrictions on Jews in Dutch law quickly died for want of support. Jews defended themselves against antisemitic slurs, and in their struggle, they found many non-Jewish allies in public life. The Dutch government, however, adopted the ambivalent, hypocritical stance of the prewar period, at once downplaying the importance of antisemitism and using "the feeling of the people" as an argument against measures on behalf of Jews.

After 1950, antisemitism in the Netherlands once again seemed on the point of being overcome. Occasional anti-Jewish incidents, usually emanating from the extreme Right, could expect to be met with indignant protests, often on a na-

tionwide scale. The state of Israel was embraced enthusiastically by the Dutch public. Gradually, however, this sympathy began to diminish, especially after the 1967 Six Days' War. Today, on the extreme Left and within certain youthful segments of the Arab immigrant communities, the rhetoric of anti-Zionism frequently crosses into overt antisemitism. Indeed, the line between valid criticism of Israel's policies and the demonization of Israelis and Jews sometimes disappears altogether.

—Evelien Gans

*See also* Anti-Zionism; Emancipation; Holocaust; Islamic Diaspora; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews

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## Neustettin Pogrom (1881)

The anti-Jewish riots that broke out on July 17, 1881, in the Pomeranian provincial town of Neustettin (with 8,500 inhabitants, including approximately 400 Jews) and spread from there throughout Pomerania and West Prussia were the first violent excesses against Jews in Germany since the 1840s and were directly provoked by the new movement of antisemitism. In February 1881, the radical antisemitic agitator Ernst Henrici toured the region, collecting signatures for the Antisemites' Petition intended for Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. A few days after his appearance, the Neustettin synagogue went up in flames, and liberal public opinion in Germany linked the fire with his provocative speech.

Countering this, Henrici and the antisemitic press accused the Jews of setting the fire themselves, to cash in on a generous insurance policy and to damage the reputation of the antisemitic movement. Although this interpretation was based on transparent lies, rumors, and manipulated witness reports, the public prosecutor believed it was credible enough to commence proceedings against five Neustettin Jews for the crime of arson. It took two lengthy and costly trials to establish the absurdity of this accusation and to acquit the Jewish defendants.

In the highly charged atmosphere of spring 1881, relations between Christians and Jews in Neustettin rapidly deteriorated. Business and social contacts declined, Jewish shops were boycotted, and Jews were excluded from clubs and associations. To counter the antisemitic climate of opinion in the town fostered by the daily *Norddeutsche Presse*, the Jews of Neustettin launched a liberal local paper, the *Neustettiner Zeitung*, which was edited by the Cohn brothers. The accumulating tensions broke out into rioting in July 1881. A local antisemite, the building contractor Luttsch, insulted by an article in the *Neustettiner Zeitung*, attacked one of the Cohn's who was, however, able to repel the assault with the help of his brother. Bleeding from the head, Luttsch rushed around various taverns and called on those present to drive off the Jews and "beat them to death." Soon, some hundred people gathered and marched through the streets chanting "Hep-Hep!" and smashing Jewish shop windows. Following Luttsch's arrest, the situation continued to escalate over the next two days. The mob destroyed the editorial offices and printing machinery of the *Neustettiner Zeitung* and smashed the windows of Jewish shops and houses. After police reinforcements arrived, the situation calmed down on the third evening.

The Neustettin riots spread to other towns and villages in the region. They followed the same pattern almost everywhere, with mass rallies on the streets, "Hep-Hep" chants, and stone throwing. Unlike the Russian pogroms of the same year, physical attacks were by and large avoided. Actions were especially aimed at those Jews who had achieved some official status, public influence, or economic leadership. In some

towns, the state authorities brought in the military. Still, it took them six weeks (until the beginning of September 1881) to end the attacks and restore order in the region.

—Christhard Hoffmann

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Henrici, Ernst; Hep-Hep Riots; Konitz Ritual Murder; Pogroms

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## New Age

As a proper name, *New Age* (NA) refers to a mystical, evolution-based belief in a coming era of spiritual enlightenment, marked by religious conformity, world peace, and human advancement toward godhood. A necessary prerequisite for this coming era is the elimination of nationalism and other resistant ideologies dating from the "old" or outmoded age; such ideologies (together with their human carriers) are identified as "separatist" obstacles to worldwide Divine Oneness. NA often refers to both this utopian expectation and the frameworks in which it might be achieved, which go by many names in various contexts: Age of Aquarius (astrology), New World Order (politics), Benign Conspiracy (social activism), personal transformation (psychology), unity in diversity (anthropology), quantum leap or New Humanity (evolutionary theory), Gaia Hypothesis (ecology), spiritual humanism (philosophy), and the Plan of the Masters (occult religion). Even the most secularized variant presupposes a spiritual awakening in order to realize this New Age; therefore, any framework promoting NA should be considered religious at its base.

The term *New Age* and its precepts are credited by most scholars to the Theosophist Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891), whose work was further developed by the occultist Alice A. Bailey (1880–1949). However, proponents and critics agree that NA philosophy existed for millennia within older religions and esoteric systems, which

freely borrowed from one another. Examples often cited are Gnosticism, Freemasonry, Tibetan Buddhism, Hinduism, and diverse ethnic religions (Egyptian, Norse, Mayan, and so on). Some date NA's origin even further back to ancient Babylonian religion, whereas many NA mystics credit it to Atlantis, an ancient, mythical, spiritually enlightened civilization that possessed spiritual enlightenment but met destruction in the great Flood of the Jewish-Christian tradition. Atlantean enlightenment, called "the Ancient [or Ageless] Wisdom" by devotees, is said to have been handed down by disembodied spirit beings ("Ascended Masters") to selected spokespeople ("channels" and "avatars", and further passed on through chosen teachers ("masters" and "guardians") to various levels of disciples ("initiates" and "adepts"). The teachings were kept secret from hostile audiences via encrypted stories and coded language ("blinds"), preserved for the day when humanity would again be ready to receive the Masters openly and return to the spiritual heights of Atlantis.

In the twentieth century, NA guardians received directives from the Masters to begin worldwide indoctrination in the Ageless Wisdom, paced incrementally according to public tolerance. These efforts were represented in innumerable organizations and projects under varying banners: the Human Potential Movement, the World Core Curriculum, World Servers, Lucis Trust, Planetary Initiative, Share International, the Findhorn Foundation, and State of the World Forum. Many observers consider 1975 a pivotal year for NA publicity and cite *The Aquarian Conspiracy* by Marilyn Ferguson (1980) as the first overt NA manifesto. Since then, apologists have become increasingly open about goals and methods, promoting their views in communications media, public education, and popular entertainment and on the Internet. As a result, esoteric NA terms have passed into everyday parlance, and classic texts once shielded from public scrutiny have become increasingly accessible.

As a movement, NA is largely unstructured, decentralized, and unsupervised, with an abundance of self-styled leaders claiming direct communication with divine beings. Certain common

traits, however, characterize all devotees: (1) reverence for the Ascended Masters (a hierarchy of divine entities) and devotion to their "transmissions," especially "the Plan"; (2) participation in mystical experiences that awaken and develop higher consciousness, leading to interaction with "spirit guides"; (3) inconsistency in philosophy and conduct, the result of irrationalist beliefs, material reality, and objective moral standards; (4) belief in pantheism, an ageless collective consciousness ("Group Mind"), and humanity's potential godhood; (5) belief in the Hindu laws of karma, both personal and collective; (6) faith in a higher species of humans, which, according to Theosophy, will spring from the Aryan race and replace the present human race; (7) erasure of all religious dissent and "separatism," bringing victory to the Forces of Light; and (8) a united world ruled by the Masters, who will "overshadow," or possibly inhabit the bodies of human leaders.

The last three precepts require the prior elimination of groups and ideas that reject basic NA tenets. These groups and ideas are infected with the "virus of separatism," a cardinal sin holding back human evolution. Nature, understood as a divine entity, is expected to aid the elimination process by "purging" the earth of human carriers of separatism through disasters, epidemics, starvation, and "natural" extinction. Reincarnation, another core NA belief, interprets the prospect of millions of deaths as beneficial even to the victims because death is not the loss of life but rather promotion to the next life, where those unfit for the New Humanity can eventually become fit.

Although all religions are proclaimed acceptable—and indeed, many adherents try to live by that rule—seminal NA literature denounces one religion as totally unfit for inclusion: historical (erroneously termed "orthodox") Judaism. This rejection extends to any Jewish influence retained in its daughter religions, Christianity and Islam. The Jewish declaration of a universal morality, belief in a transcendent God, rejection of multiple deities (especially human deities), and serious interaction with the material world are all incompatible with NA philosophy, posing a serious challenge to its goals of religious uniformity. Zionism, which supports Jewish self-determina-

tion in the Jewish homeland, is doubly offensive in its blend of nationalism and Jewish identity, two forms of separatism. NA architects Blavatsky and Bailey, speaking for the Masters, particularly targeted the God of the Jews and the Jewish Bible as urgent priorities for elimination, believing them so perverted that they endangered human spiritual survival.

This visceral hostility toward Jewish religion and identity is supplemented with a benevolent rejection of the Jewish people “as a race.” Of ancient alien origin and at one time spiritually advanced, the Jews are now seen as obsolete and deceived, tools of the “Dark Forces” possessing a mysterious cosmic energy that influences humanity to embrace the evils of separatism and materialism. This power is collectively wielded by the Jews as a race, a condition persisting over the ages and resulting in accumulated negative “racial karma” that pursues them through their generations and both necessitates and explains their unusually frequent and severe suffering.

Because of their innate spiritual and racial shortcomings, the Jews are considered unsuited for the New Age—and more important, they are seen to hinder its emergence. NA teachers vigorously deny any antisemitism in this conclusion: the Jews are not hated for their condition, any more than AIDS carriers are hated for being sick. However, the Jews constitute a “world problem” that must be solved so that the rest of humanity can enter the New Age. Only by abandoning all traces of Jewish identity can Jews hope to find their individual cure, which includes submitting to the karmic purification of suffering and death, in order to attain improved (non-Jewish) status in their next life.

It must be emphasized that many NA adherents are unaware of these foundational teachings, ostensibly vital components of the Divine Plan but apparently shared only among disciples considered ready for such sensitive information. Ample verification, however, can be found in the writings of Alice Bailey and Helena Blavatsky, two of the most oft-quoted sources in NA teaching.

—Hannah Newman

**See also** Aquarius, Age of; Bailey, Alice A.; Blavatsky, Helena P.; Freemasonry; Internet; Jewish Force; The Plan of the Hierarchy

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### New Left

The New Left, a loosely defined group of middle-class student activists organized after the June 1962 publication of Tom Hayden’s *Port Huron Statement*, challenged the complacency of post-war American society and called for a more participatory form of democracy. Hayden’s text celebrated a new generation, “bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities.” He and his followers should have enjoyed material rewards but instead looked “uncomfortably to the world we inherit.”

In its early years, Jews joined the New Left movement in disproportionate numbers. At a time when they represented just 3 percent of the U.S. population and 10 percent of those attending college, Jews constituted a majority of the New Left’s most active members. Numerous social scientific studies pointed to strong Jewish influences in the nation’s leading New Left groups. In rallies at the University of California–Berkeley, University of Wisconsin–Madison, and Brandeis University, Jewish New Leftists demanded free speech, racial equality, and, eventually, an end to the war in Vietnam.

But by the late 1960s, political divisions began to divide the New Left as anti-Israel, anti-Zionist, and antisemitic sentiments alienated most of its Jewish constituency. In the wake of Israel’s victory in the 1967 Six Days’ War, many non-Jewish New Leftists withdrew their support for the Jewish state, which they considered an imperialist and colonial oppressor of West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinians. As Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael said at a 1968 convention of the Organization of American Students, “We have begun to see the evil of Zionism and we will fight to wipe it out wherever it exists, be it in the Ghetto of the United States or in the Middle East.” Jewish New Leftists faced criticism for opposing the U.S. colonial presence in Southeast Asia while supporting government aid to Israel.

When African American activists organized around the Black Power movement, led in large

measure by Oakland's Black Panther Party, Jewish New Leftists initially sought alliances with the Panthers; most eventually gave up on the effort. As Itzhak Epstein, a Jewish activist, explained, "Even if I were a superaltruistic liberal and campaigned among the Jews to support the Panthers' program, I would justifiably be tarred and feathered for giving aid and comfort to enemies of the Jews. I would rather it were not this way, but it was you who disowned us, not we who betrayed you" (in Jack Porter and Peter Dreier, *Jewish Radicalism: A Selected Anthology*, 1973, 70–71). In 1969, Eldridge Cleaver told a *New York Times* reporter that "the Black Panther Party in the United States fully supports Arab Guerrillas in the Middle East."

By the 1970s, the New Left lost many of its most influential Jewish members just as a more violence-prone cadre of student activists emerged. The strength and internal cohesion once enjoyed by the New Left disintegrated in the wake of several high-profile and violent protests. Many of the movement's initial founders, including Tom Hayden, opted for more conventional political lives.

—*Marc Dollinger*

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; Anti-Zionism; Black Nationalism; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

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## Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900)

Friedrich Nietzsche's thinking on a great many subjects, including Jews and antisemitism, has been widely misunderstood, in large part because of the misrepresentation of his work by his sister during the years of his mental incapacity and after his death. His attitudes toward Jews were, in fact, rather fluid and subject to external influences. Chief among these was the extent to which his perspective was informed by the more compelling

issues that engaged his imagination, particularly his implacable opposition to Christianity.

As a general rule, it would be fair to say that Nietzsche approved of Jews when he cast them as foils for contemporary Christians in general and German Christians in particular and disapproved of them when he chose to emphasize the roots of Christianity in Jewish schism and reaction against Roman subjugation. It also seems clear, however, that the changing perspective on Jews that emerged in his philosophical writings was affected, to some degree, by the progress of his stormy personal relationships. As a young man, Nietzsche evidently shared the reflexive antipathy toward Jews common to his time and place, an attitude that helped to smooth his entry into a close friendship with Richard and Cosima Wagner that lasted several years. That friendship deteriorated with the disaffection occasioned by Wagner's idiosyncratic embrace of Christian faith, manifested in *Parsifal*, and for their part, the Wagners' disenchantment with Nietzsche was only intensified by his friendship with Paul Rée, a philosopher of Jewish ancestry. The relationship with Rée soured, in turn, and Nietzsche was also deeply troubled by the marriage of his sister Elisabeth to the unstable antisemitic agitator Bernhard Förster. Yet whatever the state of his feelings toward Jews at a given moment, the mature, post-Wagnerian Nietzsche was as firm in his opposition to cultural and political antisemitism as he was in his opposition to Christianity itself.

In the immediate wake of Nietzsche's break with Wagner, references to Jews in his writings began to display the ambivalence noted earlier, with the ancient Jews of the Roman era being depicted in a negative light in contrast to a largely sympathetic portrait of modern Jews. This bifurcated perspective made an early appearance in *Human, All-Too-Human* (1878). In aphorism 114, in which the main point was to contrast Christian culture unfavorably with that of the ancient Greeks, Nietzsche referenced ancient Judaism as the source of Christianity's misanthropic view of humanity as essentially sinful; in aphorism 475, he credited modern Jews with having derived strength from a long history of suffering, while at the same time blasting the

spirit of nationalism and the concomitant spread of antisemitism that were playing increasingly visible roles in European politics. The coupling of opposition to Christianity with an attack on its Jewish roots was not original with Nietzsche; Enlightenment-era rationalists had made comparable arguments a century earlier. Similarly, singling out the Jews of the early Christian era for particular opprobrium was a gesture as old as the New Testament itself. Nietzsche's exemption of contemporary Jews from this critique, however, distinguished his position both from the rationalists, who viewed Judaism as an archaic superstition and Jews as hopelessly backward, and from those Christians who viewed Jews as bearing hereditary responsibility for deicide.

In *Daybreak* (1881), *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886), and book five of *The Gay Science* (1887), Nietzsche emphasized the beneficial influence Jews had had on the development of European civilization. He suggested in *Daybreak* that their talents would eventually lead them to assume mastery of Europe (a development he anticipated with approval); in *Beyond Good and Evil*, he modified this claim—the Jews, “the strongest, toughest, and purest race now living in Europe,” could well assume “mastery over Europe,” and intensifying antisemitism might yet compel them to do so, but they did not seek such mastery of their own will. The core notion of a beneficial Jewish influence on European culture was, again, not new. Nietzsche may have been unique, however, in arguing in favor of Jewish “mastery” over Europeans, at least if one discounts the fantasies spun in the novels of Benjamin Disraeli.

Nietzsche's most extended and harshest criticism of Jews and Judaism appeared in *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887), a work that coincided with the collapse of his friendship with Rée. Here, his attention was fixed almost exclusively on the Judaism of the prophets and of the early Christian era, and his argument rested on the contention that the Judaism of that era, thoroughly characterized by resentment against the superior strength of their conquerors, effected a decadent and pernicious inversion of values that privileged impotence, weakness, and suffering and held strength and vitality in contempt. This inverted “slave morality” was then exported to



The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). His legacy to modern antisemitism is still being debated. This quote suggests why: “Among my friends, I have no Jews ... and, certainly, no anti-semites.” (Bettmann/Corbis)

Europe in the guise of Christianity. In *The Antichrist* (1895), he ameliorated this position somewhat, claiming that the apparent adoption of slave morality by the Jews during the generations of their subjugation was, in fact, an expression of their essential strength, a measure taken to ensure their survival in “impossible circumstances.”

The intensity and consistency of his opposition to political antisemitism notwithstanding, at no time did Nietzsche challenge the generally accepted notion that behavioral differences between Jews and other European peoples reflected biological differences. Nor, as the outburst in *Genealogy of Morals* suggests, was he himself entirely free of the tendency to project conflict with an individual Jew onto the group. Nevertheless, it is clear that Nietzsche had great hopes for the continuing role Jews were to play in Eu-

ropean culture in coming generations. The apparently still unshakable popular conviction that his ideas formed the foundation for the genocidal policies of National Socialism is perhaps the ghastliest of the many indignities that have been visited on his legacy.

—David Isadore Lieberman

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; *Coningsby*; Deicide; Dühring, Eugen; Förster, Bernhard; Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth; Misanthropy; Wagner, Cosima; Wagner, Richard

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## Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom)

The German term for the pogrom of November 1938, *Kristallnacht*, highlights the expensive crystal and shop windows smashed during the night of November 9–10, all belonging to Jews. Yet this operation involved state-sanctioned violence that left 91 Jews dead, hundreds more beaten, 7,500 Jewish stores shattered, and several hundred synagogues destroyed by arsonists. Moreover, the rampage served as a prelude to the internment of thousands of Jewish men in Germany and Austria and accelerated the expropriation of the remaining businesses and wealth belonging to German Jews.

The Night of Broken Glass marked a sharp escalation in the antisemitic program Hitler had pursued since becoming chancellor. As he consolidated his power and revived his country's economy and military between 1933 and 1936, his regime disenfranchised its Jewish citizens, developed a legal definition of who was Jewish, and forced the sale of Jewish-owned companies to "Aryan" buyers. The intent behind these measures was to compel German Jews to emigrate.

The year 1936 was pivotal in restructuring the

German government and articulating new economic and political priorities that laid the groundwork for the November pogrom. On the eve of the Winter Olympic Games in February, a Jewish medical student killed a Nazi Party official in Switzerland. The presence of foreign visitors at the Olympics precluded reprisals against the Jews, for they would damage public relations, but Hitler devoted part of his eulogy for his murdered comrade to blaming the Jews in general for instigating the slaying. In the summer, he appointed Heinrich Himmler to be chief of all German police forces, and around the same time, he enhanced Hermann Göring's power over the German economy. Both moves would be crucial for the unfolding of the pogrom and its aftermath.

The annexation of Austria in 1938 opened up opportunities for the Germans to experiment with more efficient means of driving Jews out of the economy and over the borders. The Storm troopers (SA) initially were encouraged to assault, humiliate, and intimidate Austrian Jews. After their brief reign of terror, a coercive system of expropriation was instituted, which confiscated the assets of richer Jews to assist poorer ones to emigrate. Nearly 5,000 Jews were expelled into neighboring countries. By August, the new Central Office of Jewish Emigration, headed by Adolf Eichmann, simplified the process for obtaining papers needed to leave Austria. In the next year, half of Austrian Jewry emigrated, compared to 30 percent of German Jews in the first six years of Nazi rule.

The success of the so-called Austrian model for the expatriation and impoverishment of Jews had immediate repercussions on anti-Jewish policies in the Old Reich. Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union who had failed to return to the USSR as ordered in February were interned in concentration camps by May. The following month, the Gestapo arrested 1,500 German Jewish men designated as antisocials because they had prior criminal convictions.

The attempt to deport Polish Jews residing in Germany served as the immediate pretext for Kristallnacht. Polish Jews constituted the largest group of foreign Jews living in Germany. Fearing an influx of Polish refugees returning to their na-

tive land after the annexation of Austria, the Polish parliament passed a law to revoke the citizenship of Polish émigrés who did not meet certain qualifications. When it became evident that Germany might cite this law as a pretext to expel its Polish Jews, the Polish government responded with an order to cancel the passports of Poles living outside of Poland who did not submit them for certification by the end of October. On October 27 and 28, Himmler's police and SS transported approximately 17,000 Polish Jews to the Polish border town of Zbaszyn. Once there, Polish border guards refused them entry. The Jews huddled in makeshift camps in a no-man's-land between the two countries. Outraged by a letter from his sister describing the plight of their family in the camp, Herschel Grynszpan purchased a pistol in Paris and then shot the first secretary of the German diplomatic mission, Ernst vom Rath, on November 7, 1938. Vom Rath died two days later.

In the interim between the shooting of vom Rath and his death, spontaneous anti-Jewish riots had broken out in a few German cities. But the full-scale and nationwide attacks on Jews and their homes, stores, and places of worship that occurred after vom Rath died were orchestrated by the Nazi Party and approved by Hitler. The party and the controlled press called on readers to punish the Jews for inciting violence against German officials. On the evening of November 9, the party elite gathered in Munich to commemorate the anniversary of Hitler's 1923 Beer Hall Putsch. Hitler conferred there with Joseph Goebbels just before the propaganda minister announced the news of vom Rath's death to the assemblage. Goebbels clearly took the lead in unleashing the pogrom, perhaps hoping to carve out a larger role for himself in the formulation of anti-Jewish policy and to regain some of the favor Hitler had recently bestowed on his rivals, Himmler and Göring.

Goebbels whipped up the party faithful to engage in reprisals against the Jews without fear that the police would intervene. His speech was understood by party leaders as an order to stir up popular animosity toward the Jews and discreetly direct the riots, once they had initiated them. Goebbels's remarks were relayed via telegraph



A man clears away the broken glass from the Jewish Kaliski Bedding Establishment. The previous night, known as Kristallnacht, Hitler's Storm troopers murdered Jews, vandalized businesses, and burned hundreds of synagogues all over Germany. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

and telephone to party *Gauleiter* (district party leaders) and SA members throughout the Reich. A command issued to an SA cell in Munich typified Goebbels's plan to undermine the basis for Jewish existence in Germany: all Jewish businesses were to be destroyed immediately by uniformed Storm troopers. After their destruction, SA guards were to be posted to ensure that no valuables were removed. Synagogues were to be burned at once, and neither the fire brigade nor the police were to be allowed to intervene. All Jews were to be disarmed.

The orgy of violence, arson, and vandalism that ensued surpassed Goebbels's expectations; it also immediately generated friction with Göring and Himmler, who felt their jurisdiction over anti-Jewish policy had been infringed on. In the aftermath of the pogrom, they went into action. The SS favored the orderly internment of Jews

and the preservation of Jewish communal records. Himmler's subordinate, Reinhard Heydrich of the Reich Security Service, ordered his police to seize the archives housed in synagogues and Jewish communal agencies and to arrest wealthier Jewish males and hold them as hostages to speed up the pace of Jewish emigration. Approximately 30,000 Jewish men over the age of sixteen in Austria and Germany were arrested by the SS and interned in concentration camps. Although hundreds died from maltreatment, most were released in the coming months when their families obtained the visas required to leave the country.

On November 12, Nazi leaders met to discuss the impact of the pogrom on solving the Jewish Question in Germany. An irate Göring castigated his colleagues for destroying Jewish businesses rather than transferring them to Aryan owners, as envisioned in the Four Year Plan. He also expressed concern that German insurance companies would be bankrupted if they had to make good on all the claims of Jewish policy-holders. To transform this blunder into an advantage, he proposed that German Jewry as a whole be held accountable for the murder of vom Rath and fined 1 billion marks to atone for their complicity. All insurance payments to Jews would be placed in a fund to pay the fine. Denied the means of making a living and with thousands of men languishing in camps, Jews were given the clear message to emigrate—or else. The Central Office of Jewish Emigration was established in Germany at the beginning of 1939 to reinforce the message.

The Security Police gathered intelligence suggesting that not many Germans had "spontaneously" participated in the pogrom and that many others disapproved of Kristallnacht. They were shocked by the wanton destruction of property and synagogues. Yet as one historian has noted, it was the violence rather than the removal of the Jews from the economy and the country that most Germans opposed. A few Christian ministers and priests condemned the pogrom, but no mainstream church issued a denunciation.

Though more strident, the foreign criticism of the Night of Broken Glass was not backed up with diplomatic action to enable German Jews to find refuge. Of the Americans responding to a

Gallup Poll at the time, 94 percent disapproved of the German treatment of Jews and 72 percent approved of the temporary withdrawal of the U.S. ambassador to Germany as a protest. Yet 82 percent opposed changing U.S. immigration quotas. Soon afterward, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins declared that President Franklin Roosevelt would not revise the immigration quotas.

In January 1939, Hitler addressed the Reichstag and "prophesied" the destruction of European Jewry if Germany were involved in a war he believed was being plotted by Jewish financiers and Bolsheviks. Few would have predicted then that Hitler's regime would order the mass murder of European Jewry two years later. Most thought that the zenith of Nazi antisemitism had been reached in the November pogrom. They failed to foresee that the methodical annihilation of an entire people would be accomplished not by riots but rather by systematic policies for expropriating, ghettoizing, transporting, and liquidating millions of innocent victims. Kristallnacht and the events that triggered it provided the precedents for confiscating Jewish wealth, incarcerating Jews, and deporting them. It is correctly seen as a major step toward the Final Solution.

—Lawrence Baron

*See also* Aryanization; Austria; Boycott of Jewish Shops; Eichmann, Adolf; Goebbels, Joseph; Göring, Hermann; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Hitler's "Prophecy"; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Nuremberg Laws; *Ostjuden*

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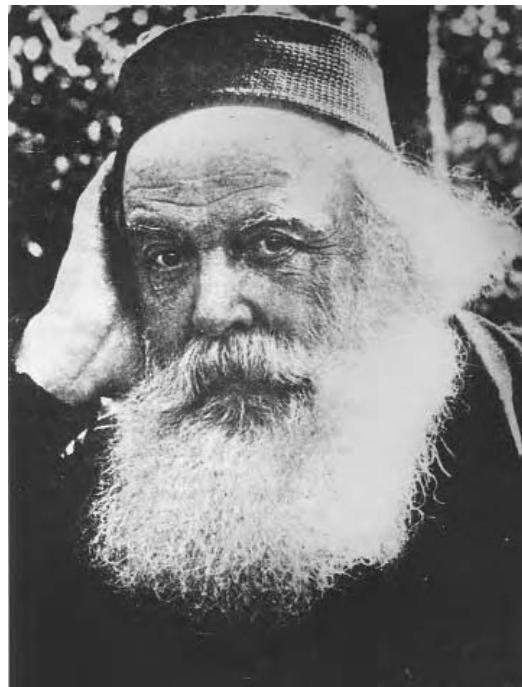
## Nilus, Sergei (1862–1929)

A Russian apocalyptic thinker and prolific religious writer of the early twentieth century, Sergei Nilus is best known as the publisher and commentator of the notorious antisemitic fab-

rication *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In the historical literature, the enigmatic Nilus appears in any number of guises: a professor, reputedly expert in Hebrew and Chaldean; a playboy; a priest or itinerant monk of the Russian Orthodox Church; even a “half-crazy pseudo-mystic.” Some believe that Nilus was not his real name; others consider him the actual author of the *Protocols*. None of this is accurate. Recent research at last makes it possible to present a more precise and nuanced assessment of this controversial figure.

Born in Moscow, the son of a minor noble landowner, Nilus was descended on his father’s side from Baltic German or Swedish forebears of Lutheran persuasion. Nilus’s father was the first to be baptized in the Orthodox rite. His maternal ancestors were Russian landed nobility. Nilus studied law at the University of Moscow and briefly worked in the judicial system but then quit the state service. He withdrew to his estate in the Orel district, which he managed (ineffectively) in the old-fashioned, patriarchal way. Toward the end of the century, the religiously indifferent Nilus succumbed to the apocalyptic mood that was becoming ever more widespread in the country. He thus joined those victims of stepped-up modernization and secularization who identified the downfall of their own world with the end of the world in general. Nilus undertook pilgrimages and met the charismatic preacher and wonder-worker John of Kronstadt (1829–1908). Out of these experiences, he fashioned his own mystical-apocalyptic faith, based on miracles and signs.

Nilus became active as a writer, winning some acclaim for what he termed the “miraculous” discovery and deciphering of Nikolai Motovilov’s manuscript detailing the latter’s famous conversation with Serafim of Sarov, one of Russia’s most popular saints, on the acquisition of the Holy Spirit. Nilus published this in 1903 in his devotional book *The Great in the Small: Notes of an Orthodox Believer*. In the second edition of this book, which came out at Tsarkoe Selo in December 1905 with a new subtitle, *The Antichrist as an Imminent Political Possibility*, Nilus took up the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* for the first time. Later editions of his book, also containing the



The writer and religious mystic Sergei Nilus, here, is best known for popularizing the fabricated *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The version of the forgery he included in a Russian book dating from 1903 was eventually translated into twenty languages and remains the most widely available in the world today. (Courtesy of Michael Hgemeister)

*Protocols*, appeared under varying titles in 1911 and 1912. The fourth edition was published in January 1917 by the famous Holy Trinity Monastery at Sergiev Posad and bore the menacing title “*It Is Near, Even at the Doors*: Concerning That Which People Do Not Wish to Believe and Which Is So Near”. As to the origins of the *Protocols*—which Nilus certainly did not author but surely edited and revised—he gave differing accounts. At first, he described them as “secret documents” stolen from one of the most highly placed leaders of Freemasonry in France; later, he referred to the “Jewish plan for the conquest of the world” and said it had been presented at the First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897) by Theodor Herzl.

Nilus’s commentary on the *Protocols* interpreted them within the framework of the apocalyptic worldview associated with Vladimir

Solov'ev (1853–1900) and John of Kronstadt. The *Protocols* according to Nilus unveiled the hidden strategy of the supernatural forces of darkness—and their worldly allies—in their unremitting struggle against the forces of light, a struggle that seemed to have entered its final stage at the turn of the twentieth century. Nilus was not a racist antisemite; rather, he shared the traditional conceptions of Christian anti-Judaism. Jews, according to his view, were part of the cosmic drama of Salvation, in which they played a villainous part: they were pathbreakers and agents of the Antichrist who contested with God for rule over the world. Ultimately, the divine plan of Salvation—after a brief reign of the Antichrist—included the collective conversion and redemption of Israel and, with that, an end to the Jewish Question. Nilus admonished his readers not to harbor enmity toward the Jewish people, who were, after all, simply blind and misguided.

Nilus spent several years near the monastery of Optina Pustyn, where he worked in the archives and conversed with the elder monks. It was in this period that he produced most of his written works, among them a diary entitled *On the Banks of God's River*, a kind of chronicle of the monastic life at Optina. Other works treated the lives of Egyptian anchorites and Russian hermits; meetings with monastic elders, miracle-workers, and “holy fools”; and reports of prophetic dreams, oracular pronouncements, and the activities of demonic powers.

To Nilus, the Russian Revolution of 1917 appeared to corroborate a number of the predictions contained in the *Protocols* and to usher in the eschatological reign of the Antichrist, the false messiah of the Jews. Nilus refused to leave Russia and joined the “Catacomb Church,” the underground movement of Russian Orthodoxy that refused to compromise with the Bolsheviks. Together with his wife, he moved from place to place, mostly living in the Ukraine. Arrested several times, he was interrogated, and imprisoned but always let go, even though his identity was known to the authorities. Finally, utterly destitute, he found accommodation with a priest in the village of Krutets, about 75 miles northeast of Moscow. He died there of a heart attack in January 1929. His only son, Sergei (1883–1941), emigrated to

Poland after the Russian Revolution of 1917. During the Bern trial in 1935, in which the *Protocols* was condemned as a fraud, Sergei acted as an expert witness by sending a report that vouched for the authenticity of the book.

In post-Soviet Russia, Nilus’s works have been rediscovered. His writings appear in new and occasionally quite substantial editions. Conferences, lectures, the establishment of an annual Sergei Nilus Prize, and his presence in the press and on the Internet all testify to the esteem in which he is held in patriotic and church circles, as well as by antisemites.

—Michael Hagemeister

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antichrist; Freemasonry; Herzl, Theodor; Jewish Question; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on Trial; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Post-Soviet; Russian Orthodox Church; Zionism

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## Nordau, Max (1849–1923)

Nordau was the author of *Degeneration* (1892), which introduced the idea later popularized by the Nazis of modern art as “degenerate.” He was also a leader of early Zionism.

Born Simon Maximilian Südfeld in Budapest in 1849, the son of a rabbi, Max Nordau was

raised an Orthodox Jew, but gave up Jewish observance in his teens. In *The Conventional Lies of Civilization* (1883), he discussed organized religion as one of those “lies.” Nordau moved to Paris in 1880 and enjoyed great success as a popularizing social philosopher and journalist who attacked the hypocrisies of modern society and preached the Darwinian idea of a morality based on natural human solidarity. His progressive and rationalist viewpoint led him to be severely critical of the “decadence” of “modern” art and literature, and he elaborated on this theme in *Degeneration* (1892). Trained as a physician, Nordau applied the medical concept of degeneration to the arts, to explain the opposition to bourgeois civilization of the most famous writers and artists of the age as a form of socially-induced insanity. He was thus central in the medicalization of cultural criticism, but he makes no connection in *Degeneration* to the Jewish Question; his one mention of antisemitism describes it as a German variety of degenerate disease, hysteria.

The effect of antisemitism was brought home to him in 1893, when he was hounded out of the resort of Borkum for being a Jew. This experience was the basis of his enthusiastic reception in 1895 of the Zionist ideas of Theodor Herzl. Nordau became Herzl’s right-hand man in the Zionist movement and one of its main spokesmen.

He saw antisemitism as causing a moral crisis for Western European Jews that had the benefit, however, of forcing people such as himself to recognize their separate, Jewish national identity. These Western Zionists could then fulfill their Jewish *national* mission by founding a Jewish homeland as a refuge for the main victims of antisemitism, the desperate Jewish masses in Russia and Eastern Europe. Antisemitism was thus central to Nordau’s Zionist argument, as the cause of the moral and material emergency of the Jewish people, which could be solved only by attaining Zionism’s goal of a Jewish homeland.

Antisemitism was, for Nordau, morally pernicious, but it was also an inevitable result of human nature, as well as, in national terms, completely understandable. It was the result of the natural tendency of majorities in human societies to regard different, abnormal, minority groups as the enemy and hence as scapegoats for society’s

problems. He was conscious of the many ways in which ruling elites had manipulated this basic instinct. As a Darwinian nationalist, though, Nordau accepted the antisemitic assertion that national societies should not accept “foreign” bodies that maintained their difference. Although he held out the prospect that individual “Jews of both worlds” could completely assimilate into their host societies, he thought that assimilation was a dead end and, moreover, morally questionable as a denial of Jews’ true national identity. The continuation of Jews as an identifiable minority in other national societies guaranteed antisemitism’s survival. The only proper solution would be to adopt the “either/or” logic of nationalism, so that Jews would have to choose between complete self-denial through assimilation, or assertion of their authentic identity by becoming Zionists and, ultimately, emigrating to the Jewish homeland.

—Steven Beller

**See also** Degenerate Art; Degeneration; Evolutionary Psychology; Herzl, Theodor; Jewish Question; *Ostjuden*; Social Darwinism; Zionism

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## Norris, Frank (1870–1902)

Frank Norris was an American novelist at the turn of the twentieth century whose best-known works depicted themes of major interest to muckraking journalists and the Populist movement. Because of the author’s positive identification with early twentieth-century reform against trusts and monopolies, literary scholars and historians have overlooked the strenuous antisemitism in his most successful novels. Norris’s derogation of Jews presented a more invasive and menacing image than either Henry Adams’s elite and snobbish eastern intellectual antisemitism or Ignatius Donnelley’s derisive populist sketch of a Jewish money broker in *Caesar’s Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century* (1890). As villains in Norris’s mug book, Zerko in *McTeague* (1899) and Behrman in *The Octopus* (1901) were toxic agents in nature itself, a death force brutalizing



Because of American novelist Frank Norris's positive identification with early twentieth-century reform against trusts and monopolies, literary scholars and historians have overlooked the strenuous antisemitism in his most successful novels. (National Archives)

California's urban and agrarian scene. These brute devils, lurking in the nature of everyman and prepared to corrupt Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization, transcended the conventional Jewish stereotypes of Shylock and Christ killers.

There is no evidence that Norris knew any Jews beyond those he ran into through chance encounters—for instance, while slumming as an apprentice writer on Polk Street in San Francisco, the lower-middle-class huckster's bazaar. Born in Chicago to a prosperous jewelry merchant and an actress, Norris moved with his family to San Francisco for reasons concerning his father's health, relocated to Paris for a year, and then returned to the Bay Area. Jews were visible in the jewelry trade, and it is possible Frank received early impressions of Jews from his father, who wanted his son to enter the business. Instead, Frank enrolled at the University of California but failed to pass the entrance examination in mathematics. Though he was unable to graduate first from Berkeley and later from Harvard, he took classes that introduced him to

literary romance and realism in the writings of Émile Zola, Rudyard Kipling, and Robert Louis Stevenson. Needing to make a living, he went to South Africa in 1895 to cover the Boer War for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and in 1898, he moved to the reform-oriented *McClure's Magazine* to report on the Spanish-American War from Cuba. Norris first came to national prominence with the novel *McTeague* in 1899 and permanently established his reputation with the best-selling *The Octopus* in 1901, followed by *The Pit* in 1903.

Opposed to smiling Victorian gentility and family values in literary philosophy, Norris became a pioneer of naturalism. "I believe," he professed, "that the future of America lies in the direction of a return to the primitive elemental life, and an abandonment of 'elegant prose' and 'fine writing'" (in Norris 1899, 486). Advocating the superior virtue of Anglo-Saxon Christian commercial values, he was implicitly drawn to the vernacular *Jew* and *Jewing* as active pejorative verbs in American English. (In British English

and continental languages, the word *Jew* functioned only as a noun—as did the names for all other nationalities in the United States.) Zerko's “clawing” prehensile fingers and Behrman's “crushing” vast stomach dominated the physical and psychological metaphors in Norris's melodramatic story lines. The character of the Jew in Norris's American West was a wild thing, uncanny and relentless in the consuming obsession with cornering wealth, including precious gold, productive property, and marketable commodities. In *McTeague*, archetypical greed perfected by the “Polish Jew,” with his bloodless lips, shriveled body, and fiery-red hair, led to the destruction of well-meaning Anglos as well as Zerko's abused Mexican wife—later the basis for Eric von Stroheim's motion picture *Greed* (1924). In *The Octopus*, Norris modeled the manipulative and duplicitous banker-lawyer-railroad agent Behrman after a real California personality, Marcus Pollasky, an infamous Jewish financier. The repugnant Behrman, with his tremulous jowls, fat forehead, heavy breathing, gold chains, and pearl vest buttons, was not merely the front man for the railroad president. He also furnished the essential mechanism that directed the diabolical system against the honest, struggling farmers, largely to satiate his own appetite for monopolizing the wheat market. As a natural resource, wheat was life-giving; as malignant forces, both Zerko and Behrman brought only annihilation. Less significant and only mildly less unattractive depictions of Jews appear in Norris's posthumously published *The Pit* (1903) and *Vandover and the Brute* (1914).

After developing peritonitis following appendix surgery in 1902, Norris died at the age of thirty-two. By 1934, nearly 425,000 copies of his books had been sold. A century after his death, he remains best known both as a pioneer in experimental literary naturalism and as a muckraking novelist, his antisemitism remaining in the closet.

—Burton Bledstein

**See also** Adams, Henry Brooks; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Deicide; English Literature of the Twentieth Century; *Passing of the Great Race*; Populist Movement; Shylock; United States

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#### Numerus Clausus (Hungary)

The catastrophic defeat in World War I generated soaring unemployment and severe financial hardship throughout Hungary. To chauvinistic popular opinion, however, Jews remained immune to poverty because of their alleged dominance of finance, commerce, industry, and most professions, notably medicine and law. In September 1920, responding to pressure from the public, the government introduced the *numerus clausus*, the first significant antisemitic statute in postwar Europe: the *numerus clausus* restricted the number of Jews admitted to institutes of tertiary education to 6 percent of all matriculants—that is, the proportion of Jews in the population. According to the government, this measure would restore national prosperity, obviously at the Jews' expense. The *numerus clausus* was the first rupture in the constitutional equality granted Hungarian Jews in 1867.

In 1921 and 1925, when British and French Jewry petitioned the League of Nations to intervene on behalf of their Hungarian coreligionists, Hungary's Jewish leaders, conscious of the country's loathing for the Allies since the defeat of 1918, condemned any attempted international interference in Hungarian Jewry's internal affairs. It was traditional for Hungary's Jewish leadership to base the community's defense on conspicuous displays of patriotism and unquestioning loyalty to the “motherland.”

Antisemites were not satisfied, however. The stipulations of the *numerus clausus* were often imperfectly realized. With the notable exception of the Military Academy, which attained *numerus nullius* (none at all) (in 1925), many Jews evaded the legislation by enrolling in foreign universities; moreover, many officials solicited “gratuities” (bribes) to ensure that quotas were administered haphazardly. A further undermining of the intent of the law occurred when the High Court questioned the act's legality in 1925. The moderate

education minister responded to this opening by ordering the *numerus clausus* to be covertly disregarded. By 1932, the official 6 percent quota had expanded, practically speaking, to a de facto 14 percent. This figure represented half the pre-war enrollment level of Jews but was still over twice that called for by the law.

Because strict enforcement of the act was a relatively brief phenomenon, the proportion of Jews in most professions declined only slightly, typically between 5 and 15 percent in the 1920s. But even though the spirit of the *numerus clausus* may have been circumvented, it nonetheless had at least one enduring and deleterious effect. It further radicalized Hungarian antisemitism, especially in institutions of higher education. With the endorsement of parliament, the *numerus clausus* revived and popularized the preemancipation notion that Jews were inherently alien and thus suitable targets of discrimination.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Emancipation; Hungary; *Numerus Clausus* (United States)

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### ***Numerus Clausus (United States)***

A *numerus clausus*, or quota, limiting Jewish students to a fixed percentage of college, university, and professional school enrollments developed in the United States during the 1910s and lasted over forty years. Beginning around the mid-1870s, however, native-born white, Protestant Americans reacted to the swelling immigration of eastern European Jews by excluding them from hotels, men's clubs, college fraternities, and residential neighborhoods. Then, from 1918 until World War II, Jewish students encountered covert quotas as a response to their enrollment in thirty leading colleges and universities, which peaked at 9.7 percent, or triple their percentage in

the national population. From elite eastern liberal arts colleges, quotas rapidly spread to hundreds of private colleges, many state universities, and professional schools, although the institutional diversity of American higher education militated against an across-the-board quota system.

Academic administrators, particularly Harvard University president A. Lawrence Lowell, defended quotas. Believing that the personal and group characteristics of immigrant Jews in particular made them undesirable when they exceeded 15 percent of the student body, Lowell urged that "character" and proper social attributes be weighed along with academic criteria. To reduce Jewish enrollment, admissions officers used various devices, such as questions on religious affiliation and nationality, personal interviews, rejection of transfer students, required campus residency, and, at some institutions, chapel attendance. Elite universities also used "gentlemen's agreements" with secondary feeder schools to identify Jews and other immigrant applicants. Following the example of Columbia University, which cut Jewish enrollment from 40 to 20 percent by 1922, Harvard introduced a 10 to 12 percent Jewish quota. Yale (10 percent), Dartmouth (5 percent), and Princeton (3 percent) also reduced their undergraduate Jewish student bodies. The "Seven Sister" colleges—Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley—limited the admission of Jewish women from 6 to 12 percent. Some 700 other liberal arts colleges also adopted selective admissions policies, with the result that between 1935 and 1946, the percentage of Jews enrolled in men's colleges declined from 10.2 to 4.7 percent and in women's colleges from 11.8 to 8.4 percent.

State universities adopted geographic quotas limiting the admission of out-of-state students to prevent a feared influx of Jewish students from the East Coast. They also raised nonresident tuition fees and offered scholarships to non-Jewish students. Yet because they submitted multiple applications, Jews were usually able to find admittance to one or another college. Jewish applicants to western and southern universities experienced less discrimination, except for some private institutions (for example, Stanford Uni-

versity). West of the Appalachian Mountains, Jews were often among the first students at new colleges and universities and were usually accepted to the extent that they did not challenge southern prejudices against African Americans or western prejudices against Asians.

Jewish quotas existed in university graduate programs and at professional schools in medicine, dentistry, and law. Between 1935 and 1946, the percentage of Jewish professional students dropped from 8.8 to 7 percent, although their enrollment in higher educational institutions stayed at about 9 percent (192,476 out of 2,140,331 students). Medical schools were the first professional schools to resort to quotas. Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons cut its Jewish enrollment from over 50 percent to less than 20 percent between 1919 and 1924; by 1940, it had dropped to 6.4 percent. The Harvard and Yale medical schools had a 10 percent Jewish quota. Commonly limiting admissions of Jews to their percentage in the state's population or imposing geographic quotas, admissions officers required a higher academic average for Jewish applicants and assessed their social skills based on required interviews, personal statements, and confidential letters. Even though the Association of American Medical Colleges asked schools to administer the relatively objective Medical Aptitude Test to premedical students between 1930 and 1931, the association soon dropped the test because it eliminated few Jews. In 1933, when Jewish medical students numbered 912, the American Medical Association's Council on Medical Education recommended that medical enrollments be sharply decreased to boost physicians' incomes during the depression. By 1940, quotas had reduced the number of Jewish medical students almost 48 percent, to 477.

Quotas began to decline following the 1947 reports of President Harry Truman's Commission on Higher Education and the Committee on Civil Rights that attacked racial and religious discrimination. Pressured by state laws on fair educational practices and later by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, colleges and professional schools removed questions on nationality, race, and religion and admitted applicants with good scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or on the new Medical Col-

lege Admission Test. Jewish enrollments increased dramatically at the best universities.

—*Marcia G. Synnott*

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; *Ostjuden*; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants; United States

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## Nuremberg Laws (1935)

The Nuremberg Laws of September 15, 1935, promulgated at the site of the Nazi Party's annual rally, were the keystone of the Nazis' legislative assault on German Jews. Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick called them the "racial constitution" of the Third Reich. The first law, a Reich Citizenship Law, fulfilled the party's long-standing promise that "no Jew can be a citizen of the German nation." The measure stripped Jews of their citizenship and reduced them to the status of "State Subjects" (*Staatsangehörige*). "Aryan" Germans, by contrast, were awarded the elevated status of "Reich Citizens" (*Reichsbürger*). A second edict, the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, commonly called the Blood Protection Law, prohibited marriages and extramarital sexual relations between Aryans and Jews. An additional provision barred German women under the age of forty-five from being employed as maids in Jewish households, for fear that they would be seduced by their male employers. This Blood Protection Law embodied one of the most basic of antisemitic demands, that there be no more so-called race mixing between Aryans and Jews. To racist antisemites, race mixing was a nightmare—one that Hitler described as the true original sin (*Ursünde*).

The initial drafters of these laws wanted to

limit their application to “full Jews.” Hitler rejected this idea, however, without stipulating to whom the laws should then apply. Until the problem of definition was resolved, the laws were impossible to implement. In 1933, the Aryan Paragraph defined as “non-Aryan” anyone with at least one Jewish grandparent. However, that definition had been provisional, and radical Nazis found it far too lenient. Julius Streicher, the Jew-baiting publisher, was adamant that “one drop of Jewish blood” sufficed to make anyone a Jew. Gerhard Wagner, head of the National Socialist Physicians Association, pushed for the more inclusive “one-eighth principle,” meaning that one Jewish great-grandparent was sufficient to make one Jewish. Bureaucrats in the Interior Ministry leaned toward a less inclusive definition. For many of them, even the Aryan Paragraph had gone too far. Some wanted to limit the concept to anyone with three or four Jewish grandparents. Others wanted to exclude the *Mischling*, or “half-Jew,” with two Jewish grandparents.

It took eight weeks of protracted and rancorous debate between party radicals and bureaucrats before the issue was decided. Bernhard Lösener led the bureaucratic contingent and Gerhard Wagner the party radicals. Wagner and his colleagues had ideological purity on their side. They not only pushed for the one-eighth principle in defining the Jew but also demanded the annulment of already existing marriages between Jews and Germans, a measure the drafters had never considered. The latter demand would have opened a Pandora’s box of legal entanglements and was easily dismissed. Wagner’s position on defining the Jew, however, was not as easily rejected.

Lösener and his colleagues countered from a pragmatic rather than an ideological base. They pointed out that going beyond the *Mischling* (who was also half-German) invited the antagonism of people who had until then been loyal Germans. It would also bring down on the regime the enmity of the Aryan relatives of every

half-Jew/German. The result would be an unnecessary upsurge of anti-Nazi feelings, which would, in turn, weaken the German economy and damage relations abroad. Lösener’s most telling argument, however, was that a more inclusive definition of the Jew would exclude from military service the equivalent of two divisions of draft-age young men.

Hitler finally resolved the issue himself. In early November, he decided in favor of the bureaucrats, and on November 14, 1935, he approved the First Supplementary Decree to the Reich Citizenship Law. Paragraph 2 of this law defined as a “full Jew” someone with three or four Jewish grandparents. A person with two Jewish grandparents was considered Jewish only if he or she was also a member of a Jewish religious community or was married to someone defined as Jewish. If neither of those conditions applied, that person was defined as a *Mischling* of the first degree; someone with one Jewish grandparent was defined as a *Mischling* of the second degree. Those with *Mischling* status were, for the most part, spared the worst Nazi persecutions.

In the following years, the Nazis wrote decrees supplementing the Reich Citizenship Law and used them to remove Jews, step by step, from virtually every area of German life and culture.

—Karl A. Schleunes

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Hitler, Adolf; National Socialist German Workers’ Party; Streicher, Julius

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# O

## **Oberammergau Passion Play**

A remote town nestled in the Bavarian Alps, Oberammergau is home to the world's most enduring Passion Play. According to local legend, the play's origins date to 1633, when plague ravaged the region. Seeking God's protection, Oberammergau's elders vowed that, should the town be spared, its people would stage a Passion Play, at regular intervals, into perpetuity. The first performance came the following spring; since that time, generation after generation has renewed the play every ten years or so. By the early nineteenth century, this homespun tradition had begun to attract outside attention, and enterprising locals started charging admission to their performances. In 1830, a new stage was built to accommodate the growing number of spectators, Protestant as well as Catholic, who flocked to the site. By 1900, the production had expanded to forty-seven performances, attended by some 174,000 pilgrims from Germany and abroad.

A new script was introduced in 1811 and revised by Oberammergau's parish priest in 1860; where earlier renditions had pitted Jesus against Lucifer and a host of lesser devils, the new version stressed the role of Jews as Christ killers. As the play moved toward a more naturalistic style, its melodramatic strategies relied increasingly on depictions of Jewish treachery and deceit. And its theatrical climax shifted to the crowd scene, taken from Matthew 27:25, in which hundreds of Jews cry out for Jesus' death: "His blood be upon us and upon our children!"

With its anti-Jewish stridency and blood-and-soil pedigree, the Oberammergau play proved a natural attraction to the Nazis. Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels attended the 1930 production; four years later, the regime heavily promoted a special tercentennial version of the play. Critics

and supporters alike noted the "Nazified" character of this 1934 performance, at which Hitler was warmly received; a high percentage of its cast members, including those playing Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and eight of the twelve apostles, joined the Nazi Party.

The Oberammergau tradition reemerged relatively unscathed after 1945. In 1949, Cardinal Michael Faulhaber blessed the town and its inhabitants, declaring their play consistent with church doctrine. Nor did Oberammergau's residents exhibit much repentance: the townsman they chose to play Jesus in the 1950 and 1960 productions, for example, had been convicted by de-Nazification courts as a Nazi follower in 1947. Only after 1965, when the Second Vatican Council repudiated the notion of Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus, did sustained protests begin to mount from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish critics. A 1970 boycott caught the attention of Oberammergau's townspeople, though substantive changes in the play's text and performance were slow to arrive. The breakthrough came in 2000 as local reformers implemented wide-ranging changes, including the removal of the "blood curse" from the play and a new stress on the Jewishness of Jesus and his disciples. Although questions remain as to the ultimate extent and meaning of Passion Play reform, the play's new preface acknowledges that past productions contributed "to preparing the soil which eventually yielded the terrible harvest of the extermination of the Jews."

—John Abbott

**See also** Deicide; Goebbels, Joseph; Gospels; Passion Plays, Medieval; Vatican Council, Second

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### **October Roundup (Rome, 1943)**

In the early hours of October 16, 1943, German forces started to comb Roman neighborhoods with the objective of identifying, arresting, and then deporting local Jews. To understand the significance of this operation, it is necessary to recall the condition of the “occupied ally” that materialized in Italy after September 8, 1943. The Italian government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, established after Mussolini was brought down in July 1943, never repealed the Racial Laws promulgated in 1938, hoping to avoid additional conflicts with the Germans; nor did that short-lived government manage to retrieve from German control the Jewish lists compiled by the Fascist authorities, lists full of details and vital statistics. When the Germans restored Mussolini to power in September 1943, these lists provided crucial information for the October Roundup.

In the German-occupied territories, the Fascist regime’s years of anti-Jewish propaganda, having given rise to suspicion and hatred toward the Jews on the part of the rest of the population, helped facilitate their active pursuit. Nonetheless, the sudden escalation of persecution came as a surprise. The antisemitic discrimination typical of the Fascist regime—which did not directly endanger people’s lives—instilled a degree of frustrated passivity among Italian Jews, to the point of lowering their guard and rendering them highly vulnerable to the sudden move by the Germans.

The shocking decision to deport the Jewish population of the capital was the result of a typical dispute between the German army and the SS. It is noteworthy that the top military commanders did not favor inclusion of the Italian Jews in the Final Solution, partly out of concern for the Vatican’s reaction. The SS leadership remained inflexible, however, and managed to obtain direct authorization from Berlin, in the form of a Führer order. A number of specialists, veterans of operations in northern Europe and later responsible for the extermination in Hungary, were employed for the deportations from Italy. An SS captain, Theodor Dannecker, was sent to Rome at the beginning of October with the order to “start” the arrest of the Italian Jews. In fact, a few operations targeting Jews had already oc-

curred in northern Italy in the previous month; these should be seen within the larger context of deportation from the occupied territories. The operation in Rome resulted in the arrests of 1,259 people. From this number, a few non-Jews and people born of mixed marriages were later released. All those remaining were loaded onto eighteen freight cars and deported. The formal protest from the Vatican, feared by the German authorities, did not emerge. Bishop Alois Hudal of Rome lodged an *unofficial* request with German headquarters to stop the operation, evidently to allow Pope Pius XII to avoid taking a public stand. Pius XII’s dilemma and the inaction of the Vatican hierarchy with regard to the October Roundup are the subjects of ongoing historical debate. Much clearer was the heroic intervention of ordinary clergy who, within the city of Rome, helped and sheltered in monasteries, convents, and churches more than 4,000 hunted Jews.

The Jewish deportation from Rome stands as the symbol of the Shoah in Italy. Commemoration, important moments of public mourning, and meditation on the racist past of Italian fascism and on the dangers of antisemitism are concentrated around the date of this event. But in reality, the October Roundup represented only the first step in the systematization of the Final Solution on Italian soil. A complex series of gradual steps followed. The first critical stage in the process came with the creation of confinement camps. The next was marked by the promulgation of the Verona Paper, issued by the resurrected Fascist Party in November 1943. The paper comprised an extensive set of rules that pointedly declared Italian Jews to be “national enemies.” From that moment on, the regime actively collaborated with the Germans in the deportations, beginning with the order issued by the Fascist minister of internal affairs on November 30, 1943: all Jews were to be collected in concentration camps distributed in the provinces. Later, Jews were moved to larger holding camps, such as Fossoli, near Modena, and then Bolzano, there to await their last, tragic journey.

—Simone Duranti

*See also* *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists;*  
Mussolini, Benito; Pius XII, Pope; Racial Laws

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### **Odessa Pogroms**

The Black Sea port of Odessa was the most pogrom-ridden city in the Russian Empire, with serious anti-Jewish riots occurring in 1821, 1859, 1871, and 1905 and smaller disturbances in 1849 and 1881.

A number of factors contributed to Odessa's proclivity for anti-Jewish violence. The city experienced explosive population growth, expanding from 2,350 persons (including 246 Jews) at the beginning of the nineteenth century to approximately 403,000 at its end (with about 138,000 Jews). The population was ethnically diverse and marked by intergroup hostility. In the last quarter of the century, the city was torn by social and political unrest, some of which resulted in attacks on Jews. Odessa also attracted large numbers of seasonal migrant workers, who joined the gangs of the indigent unemployed, "the barefoot brigade," in public disorders, including pogroms. Finally, the city was served by one of the most antisemitic newspapers in the empire, *Novorossiiskii telegraf* (New Russian Telegraph), which was widely accused of instigating pogroms in 1881.

Local officials dismissed the Odessa pogroms of 1821 and 1859 as the result of commercial rivalries and religious antipathies that divided the city's Greek and Jewish populations. But the pogrom of 1871, the first to be widely discussed in the Russian press, gave rise to explanations by journalists and government officials who asserted that violence against Jews was the response of the unsophisticated masses to "Jewish exploitation." After 1881, the "Odessa paradigm," with the additional charge that the Jews also promoted revolutionary unrest, was applied to subsequent pogroms in the city and elsewhere in the empire. The reaction of secular Jewish intellectuals to the Odessa violence was at first disillusionment and then expression in nascent forms of modern Jewish nationalism.

The pogroms between 1881 and 1882 did not assume major proportions in Odessa, in part because of extensive preventive measures taken by the police and military. The small disorders that did occur were answered by early forms of Jewish self-defense. They also inspired the proto-Zionist movement Hoveve Tsion (Lovers of Zion), which was based in Odessa and anticipated the movement of Theodor Herzl.

The Revolution of 1905 witnessed the worst pogrom in the history of Odessa. It grew out of clashes between patriotic right-wing demonstrators and left-wing elements celebrating the October Manifesto and calling for further reform. Amid a setting of revolutionary disorder and counterrevolutionary violence, at least 400 Jews were killed between October 18 and 22, 1905, and over 1,600 Jewish properties were ransacked or destroyed. The civil governor of the city, D. M. Neidhardt, and the commander of the Odessa military garrison, A. V. Kaulbars, were widely criticized for failing to coordinate their activities and for losing control of the situation. Odessa did not suffer pogroms during the Russian Civil War.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Black Hundreds; Herzl, Theodor; Kishinev Pogrom; Pale of Settlement; Pogroms; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Revolution of 1905; Russian Civil War; Zionism

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### **On the Jews and Their Lies (1543)**

Possibly the most notorious writing of Martin Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies* appeared from the Wittenberg printing house of Hans Lufft, which issued some of the most important books

of early Protestantism. Luther had once been sympathetic to the Jews, seeing their refusal to convert to Catholicism as evidence of the falsehood of the Roman Church; later, however, saw the Jews' refusal to convert to the Evangelical faith as evidence of an inexcusable obstinacy. The foil and potential adherent of an expanding church became, after two decades, the foil and implacable enemy of a religious community under siege from all quarters.

Central to Luther's view of Jewry was his belief that the people's suffering since the first century was the result of their unbelief in the Christian atonement. The lack of faith was the product of an "earthly" interpretation of Scripture in which redemption was expected in historical experience. In believing that they continued to receive divine favor and protection, the Jews irritated God with their expressions of gratitude; Luther accordingly saw Jewish devotion as flagrant arrogance. The spiritual covenant inaugurated by Christ made Jewish claims to a continuing material covenant evidence only of pride. (The Catholic system of works received similar and often harsher denunciations.) For Luther, the continuation of the Davidic line required that the Christian covenant succeed the Jewish one.

Luther proceeded from his extended argument of theological anti-Judaism to an ethnic antisemitism, accusing the Jews of exploiting gentiles with their moneylending. He urged his Christian readers not to tolerate Jews in their own midst but rather to destroy their synagogues and houses, confiscate their books, forbid rabbis to teach, suspend protection of their property, and confiscate their earnings from moneylending. With such an aggressive repression of Jews, Christians would be able to demonstrate their own piety.

As an expression of frustration over the failure of the Reform to gain adherents from the original people of the book, Luther's denunciation helped perpetuate the marginalization of Jewish communities throughout Protestant Europe. Although no Lutheran pogroms were inspired by this book, it did leave a legacy in the form of an intensified anti-Judaism in many Lutheran communities. In the twentieth century, it achieved new prominence with the rise of the Deutsche

Christen, thereby aligning Luther with the racial programs of the Nazi regime. In the post-World War II decades, Lutheran leaders and theologians distanced themselves from and even repudiated this part of Luther's work.

Luther's position suffered from one substantial weakness: the role of heredity in shaping identity. For Luther, the Jews' pride in their hierarchical order and relation to God were evidence of an obstinacy and blindness that guaranteed their damnation. Page after page, Luther denounced Jewish claims of inherited "nobility" and the privilege of circumcision, not recognizing that his own assertions of inherited guilt from original sin depended on a similar sense of succession, minus the awareness of inherited guilt.

—Ralph Keen

*See also* Churches under Nazism; Circumcision; Deutsche Christen; Ghetto; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Reformation; Smith, Gerald L. K.; Stoecker, Adolf; Supersessionism; Usury

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## Order Police

Ordnungspolizei (Order Police) were the Third Reich's uniformed police organizations, including the Schutzpolizei (precinct police), the gendarmerie, and the Gemeindepolizei (rural community police). Under the Weimar Republic, the individual state governments exercised control of the police forces within their borders. After the Nazis achieved power, Heinrich Himmler, Reich leader of the SS and chief of the German police, and Kurt Daluege, chief of the Order Police, pursued initiatives to centralize Germany's political and uniformed police forces and to transform them from civil servants into "political soldiers" and instruments of Nazi racial policy. Himmler and Daluege worked to instill in the Order Police a martial attitude and the SS military ethic. After the centralization of the individual state police forces under his command in June 1936, Himmler sought to fuse the organizations of the SS and the Order Police. The merger was, from the beginning, more than physical. It was designed to remodel the policeman's worldview and

to ensure his psychological subservience to National Socialist values. His absolute obedience to authority was to result from the carefully inculcated vision of a “higher purpose.” Ultimately, the Order Police, together with the SS, acted as common guarantors of a brutal racial ideology, characterized by rabid expressions of anti-semitism and anti-Bolshevism.

With the outbreak of war in 1939, the Order Police played a central role in the German administration of the occupied eastern territories by conducting a broad range of activities involving administrative, law enforcement, and security duties. The types of police forces operating in the East ranged from small groups in rural posts to battalion-sized units of several hundred men. In the case of the latter, the creation and employment of police battalions in the campaign in Poland set a new precedent for the use of police forces in direct combat operations and in the murderous activities of the Einsatzgruppen (mobile death squads). The invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 witnessed the emergence of the police battalions as effective and deadly instruments for the prosecution of National Socialist racial policy in the eastern territories. By the end of the war, approximately 100 police battalions had cut a bloody swath through these areas.

The Order Police routinely participated in direct combat actions across Europe and conducted so-called pacification operations against the full spectrum of Nazi enemies, including Jews, Bolsheviks, Sinti, and Roma, as well as partisans throughout the occupied territories. In fact, the term *partisan* was employed to mask Nazi efforts to decimate the indigenous Slavic population and eliminate the Jews of eastern Europe. Himmler’s Order Police played a key role in the prosecution of the Final Solution and in the racial war within the war.

—*Edward B. Westermann*

**See also** Einsatzgruppen; Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust; National Socialist German Workers’ Party

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### Origen (ca. 185–ca. 251 or 254)

Origen, one of the most important Christian theologians, had close relationships with different kinds of Hebrew- or Aramaic-speaking people. In Alexandria, he met the “Hebrews,” who were members of a group of Jewish Christians living in that city; among them was Origen’s “Hebrew master,” who taught him Jewish and Jewish-Christian interpretations of the Bible. Origen also had knowledge of the Ebionites, a group of Palestinians who thought Jesus was the Messiah but not God’s son. When he settled in Caesarea in 232, he met either Jews converted to Christianity or traditional Jews, one of whom he called “sage,” that is to say, a rabbi. These Jews instructed Origen about the Bible’s Hebrew text and perhaps its Greek transliteration, and they also imparted to him many rabbinic traditions.

In his discussions with Jews, Origen agreed to take into consideration only the biblical passages common to the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. He had a good knowledge of Philo’s works. Occasionally in his voluminous writings, he stood up for the Jews and Judaism, as he did, for instance, against Celsus, a philosopher who attacked both Judaism and Christianity. But more often, he underscored Jewish unbelief. He considered the leaders of the Jews and the common people responsible for Jesus’s death and also that of many prophets. However, he did not incriminate all Jews for having killed Jesus but only those who were “according to the flesh” and not “the spirit” (*kata sarka* as opposed to *kata pneuma*, in the biblical Greek). From the moment of the Crucifixion, Jews were abandoned by God. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple he considered a just punishment for Jesus’ death and the refusal of the Jews to accept the testimony of the apostles.

According to Origen, Jewish observances had lost their justification, but they still possessed a symbolic and high significance. Israel, whom



Origen of Alexandria, a Christian writer and teacher and one of the Greek Fathers of the church. Occasionally, he stood up for the Jews and Judaism in his writings, but more often, he underscored Jewish unbelief. (Mary Evans Picture Library)

God had called, had now fallen. The church had been called to supplant the repudiated synagogue. Thus, Christianity was true Judaism, and orthodox Christians were the real Jews: they authentically embodied in the spirit the practices Jews only performed in a material way. However, Origen proclaimed that Israel would be called a second time, when all the nations had entered the church. Then, as Paul says in Romans 11:25–26, “Israel will be saved.”

—Gilles Dorival

**See also** Deicide; Iconography, Christian; Roman Empire; Supersessionism

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### **Ostjuden**

The concept of the *Ostjude* (eastern European Jew), first used by Nathan Birnbaum, became popular at the turn of the twentieth century. Birnbaum, an early adherent of the Zionist movement, certainly attached no negative connotations to his neologism. But most of his contemporaries did. The Jews who immigrated to the West at that time, especially to Germany, were simply referred to as “foreigners,” more specifically and dismissively as “Russian, Polish, or Galician” Jews, or even more negatively as “Pollacks” or “scroungers.” In popular usage, the designation *Ostjude* combined two pejorative concepts, both with unambiguously antisemitic content: the East and the Jew. Both signaled the existence of boundaries thrown up to fend off and exclude. During World War I when the Germans occupied Russian Poland, the concept came into its own as an integrating, generic term, often in conjunction with other negatives, such as the *Ostjudengefahr* (eastern European Jewish danger) or *Ostjudenfrage* (eastern European Jewish Question).

The first verifiable settlements of Jews in Russia date from the ninth and tenth centuries, the result of migrations from the realm of the Khazars, the Byzantine Empire, the Caucasus, and Persia. The persecutions connected to the First and Second Crusades of 1096 and 1147 as well as the later expulsions from western Europe added considerably to the numbers of Jews in the East. Those emigrating to Russia from Germany maintained their cultural identity and Middle High German language, which, with the addition of Hebrew and Slavic words, lives on and continues to develop into the present as Yiddish. Up to the modern era, eastern Europe constituted the largest Jewish population center, with about 1.5 million Jews living there in the year 1800. By 1880, the Jewish population in the Russian Empire grew to nearly 4 million (70 per-

cent of the world's Jews). By 1900, it numbered more than 7 million.

Eastern European Jews developed their own style of life, only marginally connected to the culture of the lands in which they lived. They retained their religious traditions and continued speaking Yiddish. Generally, they belonged to the middle or lower strata of society. From the eighteenth century, Jews in Russia were subject to special laws that eventually restricted their right of habitation to the so-called Pale of Settlement, in which the shtetl, or village, was the typical communal form. Access to educational institutions was severely controlled, limiting the number of Jewish students to their proportion of the total population. Elementary education for boys between four and six years of age took place in the *cheder* (religious schools run by the community) and represented the extent of formal schooling.

Special laws bearing on occupations permitted to the Jews of the Pale severely constricted economic opportunities. The overcrowding of the professions and in other means of making a living endangered the existence of many Jews, forcing them to become so-called *Luftmenschen* (men who lack substance, who live in and off the air), living from hand to mouth and with no rooted place in society. Amid the great majority of eastern European Jews, who were without property or means, stood a small group that had managed to acquire great wealth through trade or industry.

The political, economic, and social crisis that shook tsarist Russia unleashed a wave of pogroms in the 1880s that, in turn, engendered a mass migration of Jews. Their primary destination was the United States, with Germany as the most important transitional way station. Before 1914, almost 3 million Jews emigrated to United States, and 50,000 more went to Germany. This movement of people spawned an active hostility toward Jews, tolerated and sometimes fostered by governmental authorities, and led to bloody pogroms well into the twentieth century and even after the Holocaust. Such evidence of Jew-hatred fed Jewish nationalism and its political expression, Zionism.

Western European Jews, in the process of conscious assimilation, reacted ambivalently to the Jewish immigrants from the East and were often

contemptuous and dismissive of those from another cultural tradition. Hasidism, for example, remained essentially incomprehensible to the westerners. They extended considerable philanthropic help but wanted the immigrants to move on to other countries as quickly as possible. In Germany, Ostjuden were considered dirty, loud, coarse, immoral, and culturally backward—representatives of the ghetto and the antithesis of the “modern,” emancipated, acculturated German Jews. The mere term *Ostjude* evoked a complex of negative associations. Antisemites pointedly lumped Ostjuden and German Jews together to make the point that the Jewish citizens of Germany were essentially also Ostjuden—or their superficially assimilated descendants and relatives.

The German image of the Ostjude took shape in the mid-nineteenth century. Parallel to the movement toward Jewish emancipation, a popular discourse developed around a negative caricature of Jews that drew from and elaborated on the stereotyped prejudices of Christian tradition. In novels, the radiant Christian German heroes had their counterparts in sinister Jews—usurers, social climbers, heartless exploiters, and foreigners who spoke a debased German jargon (*mauschelnden Juden*). To this composite was added the Jewish revolutionary, the enemy of all that was good and a danger to civilization.

The influential nationalist historian Heinrich von Treitschke, writing in November 1879, warned against the prospect of an eastern European Jewish immigration and its attendant dangers. He feared this “horde of ambitious pants-peddling youths,” pushing their way into Germany from the “inexhaustible Polish cradle,” whose children and children’s children would one day rule over the stock exchange and the press (in Levy 1991, 70). For Treitschke, the Ostjude was the Jew of the beard, sidelocks, yarmulka, caftan, and prayer shawl. These external traits embodied a national identity that many German Jews suppressed or denied in themselves. But antisemites chose to see only a variation of a single Jewish essence. Thus, when the prestigious Treitschke uttered his infamous slogan—“The Jews are our misfortune”—he gave the signal for modern, secular, racist antisemitism to launch an attack on *all* German Jews.

In the public discourse on the eastern European Jewish Question, three types of stereotypical prejudices emerged, based on national-economic, political, and cultural grounds. Between 1918 and 1923, in the turmoil of the lost war and the revolution that followed Germany's defeat, a radicalized antisemitism took shape. Ostjuden provided the catalytic agent. They were blamed for military defeat, economic depression, and political crises. Now, the term *Ostjude* became synonymous with *black marketeer, hoarder, speculator, usurer, gouger, and war profiteer*. Housing shortages in the big cities, growing unemployment, and high rates of inflation were the fault of the Ostjuden, according to the organizers of the antisemitic witch-hunt.

The Ostjuden presence in Germany was one of the dominant domestic political themes discussed in parliament and the broad public in the 1920s. Public opinion was clearly and systematically influenced by the militant agitation of German racist organizations. With a total lack of restraint, "the problem" was discussed in all strata of society, and many solutions to it were advanced. The anti-Jewish forces merged with antirepublican and antisocialist elements, mutually strengthening one another to the extent that they were able to force their antisemitic agenda into the political life of the republic. They demanded that the borders be closed to eastern European Jewish immigration, that citizenship or naturalization be withheld, and that Ostjuden be interned in concentration camps (already called by that name in 1920). An antisemically inclined civil service was fundamental to this process. Within its ranks could be found the same collection of deeply rooted anti-Jewish prejudices as in the general public, which viewed the Ostjude as the epitome of the "un-German" individual.

At the high point of the immigration in 1925, Germany had 90,000 eastern European Jews, or one-fifth of the total Jewish population. Furthermore, Ostjuden did not constitute a monolithic group. During World War I and until 1922, approximately 150,000 Jewish workers went to Germany of their own free will or were forced to go there to boost the German war economy, although such immigration was illegal after 1918. Their numbers fluctuated, with some returning

to their homelands and others emigrating again. Most settled in the large cities of Germany, where they lived in their own neighborhoods, culturally and socially isolated from German Jewish life.

Even in its isolation, however, the many-faceted and highly nuanced culture of eastern European Jews exercised a positive influence, strengthening Jewish consciousness and enriching Jewish life. "Historical" eastern European Jewry may have perished, but its culture has outlived even the Holocaust to become a part of the world's cultural patrimony.

—Ludger Heid

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Buenos Aires Pogroms; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Crusades; *Debit and Credit*; France; German National People's Party; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Judeo-Bolshevism; May Laws; Pale of Settlement; Pogroms; Pudor, Heinrich; Scheunenviertel Pogrom; Stavisky Affair; Treitschke, Heinrich von; Weimar; *Word about Our Jews, A*; Zionism

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## Oswego Camp

The Oswego Camp, also known as the Fort Ontario Camp, was an emergency refugee shelter located on a former army base in Oswego, New York, and was established by the U.S. government in 1944. Originally proposed by the War Refugee Board's director, John Pehle, the idea of

creating temporary refugee shelters in the United States was initially rejected by President Franklin Roosevelt. However, during his reelection campaign in 1944, Roosevelt agreed to the creation of one shelter. He explicitly stated that only 1,000 refugees would be admitted, that they would have no legal status, and that they would return to their countries of origin at the conclusion of the war. Roosevelt's decision did not indicate a significant liberalization of U.S. immigration policy. To maintain the restrictionist policies in force, these refugees were officially admitted only as "guests" and thus stood outside of the quota limit.

The refugees that were resettled in the United States came from an internment camp in Italy, not from Nazi-occupied territory. Over 3,000 applicants had applied for the 1,000 available slots. Roosevelt wanted those selected for Oswego to be representative of the countries oppressed by the Nazis and also to reflect the diversity of human victims. However, the overwhelming majority of the refugees chosen were Jewish, including 237 Austrians, 41 Czechs, 96 Germans, 146 Poles, and 369 Yugoslavs. All of them boarded the *Henry Gibbins* in Naples for transport to Oswego, arriving there in August 1944.

Once the refugees were admitted to the shelter, they were not allowed to leave for any reason. School and work activities were all confined to the camp. Although many of the refugees had friends and relatives living in the United States, they could not leave the camp even for weekend visits. Conflicts quickly developed, particularly among different nationalities. The refugees, pleased to be safe in United States, were nonetheless frustrated by their status as detainees. At the war's end, many had no desire to return to their country of origin, as outlined in Roosevelt's original policy. Although Congress wanted them sent back to Europe, President Harry Truman, in December 1945, granted legal immigrant status to any of the Oswego refugees who wanted to stay in the United States.

—Melissa Jane Taylor

**See also** Evian Conference; Holocaust; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Long, Breckinridge; United States

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## Our Demands on Modern Jewry

With his speech of September 19, 1879, *Our Demands on Modern Jewry*, Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker put the antisemitic movement on the map in Germany. Others had preceded him in the political arena, but none possessed his moral authority or powerful friends, and few could match his oratorical gifts.

Rapid industrialization and the crash of 1873, followed by a long period of economic instability, created conditions in the national capital that begged for political exploitation. Alienated workers, who had only recently been peasants, flowed into the city to find industrial jobs, overwhelming the municipal infrastructure and sinking into misery. Stoecker founded the Christian Social Workers' Party in 1878 to win them back to "throne and altar" by means of a number of unoriginal social-economic reform ideas and a large dose of homiletics. Workers' ills, he insisted, were the result of a decadent, materialistic spirit and a falling away from Christianity.

Workers withstood the court chaplain's oratory. Nor could the Christian Socials make a dent in the electoral hegemony of the left-liberals in Berlin. But by 1879, Stoecker was speaking to a different constituency. His audience was now composed largely of lower-middle-class elements, "little people" who had also suffered from the economic downturn of the mid-1870s and who were angry. They enthusiastically applauded the court chaplain's denunciations and proved eager to blame German woes on the rise of the Jews.

Stoecker invited his listeners to compare the decline in their personal fortunes to the visible prospering of Jews since emancipation (in 1869). Jewish participation in the business, cultural, and educational life of the capital appeared to be insupportable arrogance on the part of a people traditionally thought inferior and despicable. Thus, his first demand, "pray, a little more modesty,"

echoed the feelings of many in his audience. The remaining “demands”—for more tolerance by Jews toward Germans and more equal treatment of them—exploited the perception that Jews had moved too far and too fast in the new German Empire, that they had, in fact, become a menace. Although Jews thought they were entitled to participate in political and cultural life as free and equal German citizens, many Germans did not accord them this right and instead saw them as aliens intruding where they did not belong.

Stoecker read these resentments and nurtured them adroitly. Although scornful of a superseded Judaism, he was careful in the speech to direct his barbs at “modern” (that is, acculturated) Jews, many of whom had distanced themselves from religion. The press, in particular, came in for his heartfelt condemnation. Although it was far from clear that only “Jewish” newspapers, reporters, and editors ridiculed his political efforts, Stoecker chose to deplore his critics as Jews and to level his most serious charges at the “Jewish” press, a malign force committed to destruction for its own sake.

The speech revealed Stoecker’s political ambitions and also his enduring problems. He portrayed himself as a moderate on the Jewish Ques-

tion. A man of the cloth and with the highest social and political connections, he could not afford to be too closely associated with the rowdy antisemitism (*Radauantisemitismus*) that was beginning to disturb public life and traditional authority. As a Christian, he also distanced himself from racial conceptions of the Jewish Question. Yet he worried aloud about the “cancer from which we suffer” and “Jewification (*Verjudung*) of the German spirit”—turns of speech any racist would be comfortable with. Most ominous in his rhetoric was the unsubtle allusion to the possibility of popular violence: “Here and there the summer lightning already flashes, heralding a distant storm” (in Levy 1991, 59). Were these pious warnings about the impending danger, in fact, a suggestion that violence might be warranted or at least forgivable, given the terrible wrongs being perpetrated on Germans by the Jews?

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Berlin Movement; Christian Social Party (Germany); Henrici, Ernst; “Jewish” Press; Stoecker, Adolf; *Verjudung*

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# P

## Pale of Settlement

The Pale of Settlement (*Cherta postoiannoi osedlosti Evreev*) was the name given to those regions of the Russian Empire where Jews were required to live. There were also restrictions within the Pale itself, including a ban on Jewish habitation in the countryside of the provinces of Belorussia, restrictions on residence close to international borders, and limited settlement in some cities, especially Kiev. The Pale did not include the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, where different regulations prevailed, both before and after the limited emancipation in the kingdom in 1862. Free movement between the Pale and the kingdom was not permitted until 1868.

Certain categories of Jews were allowed temporary or permanent residence outside the Pale. These included first-guild merchants, some army veterans, professionals, and those with advanced degrees. Jews with specialized skills were also granted special rights. These Jews and their employees formed sizable Jewish communities in St. Petersburg and Moscow. In 1865, legislation permitted Jewish master craftsmen to leave the Pale, but bureaucratic obstacles prevented large numbers of them from availing themselves of the opportunity. Many Jews were illegally resident outside the Pale, dependent on and victimized by police capriciousness. The travails Jews experienced in attaining and keeping a *pravozhitel'stvo* (residence permit) was a recurrent theme in the Jewish fiction of the day.

The origins of the Pale can be traced to 1791, when the Russian Crown decreed that Jews had to reside in those territories that they inhabited when they first came under Russian rule in 1772. These arrangements were codified in the comprehensive law codes promulgated for the Jews in 1804 and 1835. The territory of the Pale in-

cluded much of present-day Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, and Lithuania. Throughout the nineteenth century, areas such as the Don Cossack Host were added or subtracted from the Pale.

The Pale was considered the single greatest legal restriction on the Jews of the Russian Empire, despite its considerable size (it was larger than France) and the inclusion of economically dynamic areas, such as Odessa. However, the fivefold increase of the empire's Jewish population in the course of the nineteenth century, the crowding of Jews into petty trade and artisan activities, and the absence of industrial growth sufficient to provide widespread employment exacerbated pauperization within the Pale.

Polemics on the Jewish Question in Russia focused on the Pale. Some Judeophobes urged its abolition so that "the burden of Jewish exploitation [would] be equitably shared" or "diluted like a drop of poison in the ocean" (in Klier 1995, 220). Other critics of the Jews, including many liberals, argued that the Jews had to be prevented from flooding into the Russian interior until the economic and intellectual level of the masses was sufficiently developed to enable the Russian peasantry to deal with Jewish competition. The central objective of liberal Jewish politics, however, was the attenuation or abolition of the Pale.

But the Pale endured almost to the end of the tsarist empire itself. In 1915, the government opened the Russian interior to Jewish war refugees evicted from the front lines by the Russian military, but their legal status was extremely ambiguous. One of the first acts of the Provisional Government in 1917 was to abolish all exceptional legislation pertaining to the Jews, including those that ruled the Pale.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Emancipation; Jewish Question; May Laws; Russia, Imperial; Zionism

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## Pan-German League

The most radical of the many patriotic societies of imperial Germany, the Pan-German League advanced an ideological program that stressed the primacy of the nation and increasingly incorporated a discourse of scientific racism. Controversial during its time and since, the league has often been identified as the ideological forerunner of National Socialism, despite disagreements about style and the nature of authority.

Carl Peters founded the German General League (Allgemeiner Deutscher Verband) in April 1891, which then changed its name to the Pan-German League (Alldeutscher Verband) in 1894. The league foundered early and was on the verge of collapse in 1893. It was reorganized and revived under the chairmanship of Ernst Hasse and the management of its executive secretary, Adolf Lehr, in Berlin. The Pan-German League’s stated objective was to promote German-National interests at home and abroad. Its claim to act as the authentic guardian of the nation brought it into conflict with the government on a host of issues, including support for Germans abroad, imperialist policy, the Polish Question, and antisemitism. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the league had consciously developed into a self-appointed national opposition.

The Pan-German League admitted Jews in theory, but there were antisemitic undercurrents detectable from its earliest days. Beyond a general certainty concerning Jewish “otherness,” there was no consensus regarding the Jewish Question. At least initially, the league embraced a discourse

of ethnicity that identified cultural rather than biological differences. Jews could, like other national minorities, assimilate into German society, a process that, for them, implied religious conversion in addition to cultural Germanization. The popularization of scientific racism in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century, however, transformed the league’s approach to the Jewish Question. Although a younger, more radical generation of Pan-Germans, led by Heinrich Class, embraced racial antisemitism, the older leadership of the league, Hasse and Lehr, initially resisted these tendencies. Class’s elevation to the position of the league’s executive secretary in 1901 facilitated a reconsideration of the role of racial theory in the organization’s ideology. Scientific racism and its corollary of racial antisemitism seemed to many Pan-Germans to offer scientific authority and legitimacy to the league’s ideological program.

The Pan-German League increasingly became a vehicle for the spread of scientific racism and racial antisemitism, particularly after Class assumed the chairmanship in 1908 on the death of Hasse. The association’s journal, the *Alldeutsche Blätter* (Pan-German Pages), featured articles on all aspects of racial theory from a wide assortment of racist authors, many of whom became frequent speakers at meetings of the league’s local chapters. The league also strengthened its ties with other antisemitic organizations in Germany. Leading Pan-Germans, including Class and Paul Samassa, the editor of the league’s journal, were active in Ludwig Schemann’s Gobineau Society, which the league itself joined as a corporate member in 1902. The ties between the Pan-German League and Friedrich Lange’s antisemitic German Union (Deutschbund) were also strengthened. Many leading figures were simultaneously members of the Deutschbund, and in 1913, almost two-thirds of the German Union’s national directors were prominent Pan-Germans, including the executive secretary of the league, Leopold Freiherr von Vietinghoff-Scheel. The league also established ties to Theodor Fritsch’s antisemitic movement and to the German eugenics groups.

Although the Pan-German League never formally incorporated racial antisemitism into its

program, it was nonetheless clear that it had adopted the principles that biological race determined culture and that racial conflict was the dynamic of history. The Pan-German understanding of ethnicity was thereby transformed from a cultural into a biological category. Pan-Germans internalized Gobineau's and, later, Houston Stewart Chamberlain's belief that the Aryans stood at the pinnacle of the racial hierarchy and that, as the most pure (or least polluted) Aryans, Germans were the superior race. The league devoted itself to maintaining that racial purity against threats from lesser races, in particular from Jews, who embodied the worst threat of race mixing. That view led the league to call for the suppression of national minorities and especially Jews, who were to be stripped of their civil rights in the name of protecting German racial purity from alien pollutants. The league also called for racial hygiene laws, directed at the physically and mentally handicapped, and pronatalist policies, to strengthen the racial stock of Germans in both quality and quantity. Class took these ideas to a radical conclusion in his 1912 tract *If I Were the Kaiser*, in which he argued that Germany should conquer lands to the east, subordinating inferior Slavs and resettling the German population surplus on their evacuated lands.

After World War I, the Pan-German League found itself competing with a host of new groups claiming to speak for the nation, of which the most important was the National Socialist movement. Although the Nazis drew much of their ideological inspiration from the Pan-German League, the two groups remained at odds over questions of authority and style. Education, property, and culture conferred the authority to speak for the nation, and it was on these terms that the league claimed its role as guardian of the nation. Hitler and the Nazis, in contrast, viewed with disdain such "bourgeois respectability." For their part, the Pan-Germans viewed Hitler as base, uncivilized, and barbaric, even though they agreed with many of his ideas. As the Nazis adopted and then radicalized much of the league's ideological framework, the league itself lost relevance in the 1920s, largely because it remained a small bastion of the upper middle class,

failing to appreciate that the German-national public realm after World War I included a much broader segment of society.

—Elizabeth A. Drummond

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Class, Heinrich; Eugenics; Fritsch, Theodor; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Hitler, Adolf; *If I Were the Kaiser*; Jewish Question; Lange, Friedrich; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Racism, Scientific  
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### Pan-Germans (Austria)

The term *Alldeutsche*, or Pan-German, denoted, in general, the radical *völkisch* (racist) wing of the German-National movement in the Habsburg Empire around 1900 and, more distinctively, Georg von Schönerer and his supporters, the Schönerianer. Ideologically, the Pan-Germans adhered to a concept of the nation defined by "blood" and "race," antisemitism, anti-Slavism, and anticlericalism, which, in the Austrian context, meant anti-Catholicism and could be summed up by the slogan *Los von Rom!* (Away from Rome). Their political ideal was the union of the "German" parts of the Habsburg Empire (including Bohemia) with the German Empire and the redefinition of Slav states as dependent satellites.

The Pan-Germans formed a minority—quite heterogeneous even among themselves—with the German-National movement. The authoritarian Schönerer was opposed by other would-be leaders such as Karl Hermann Wolf, parliamentary deputy and temporary chairman of the German-National Association (Deutschnationaler Verein). Given their inconsequential numbers,

extreme views, and inner divisions, the Pan-Germans never had much of an impact on government policy. They were far more influential as representatives of an ideology and an ethos than as a political party.

The German-National Association, founded in 1882, was, from 1885 on, an instrument of a völkisch and antisemitic movement dominated by Schönerer. However, the Schönerianer did not succeed in becoming more than the ultra-right wing of the German-National movement. They obtained their best result in elections to the Reichsrat (parliament) in 1901 when the Pan-German Union won 21 seats out of 417, with 20 of them in Bohemia. By 1900, Bohemia and the Sudetenland had become the focus of Pan-Germanism. But soon, the Pan-German and radical wing of German-Nationalism split again into small, ineffectual rival groups.

With respect to racist antisemitism, the Pan-Germans were much more effective, materially contributing to its legitimization thanks to their strident and persistent political rhetoric. Utilizing newspapers such as the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* (Pan-German Daily), the *Grazer Wochenblatt* (Graz Weekly), and the *Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte* (Genuine German Words) as well as the Alldeutsche Presse publishing house, they worked with a range of media that effectively spread their Jew-hatred. Jews were described as a parasitic nation, seeking dominance wherever they lived and bringing harm to every other people. “The struggle against Jewry,” according to the *Pan-German ABC* handbook, “can succeed only through racial antisemitism.” The conversion of a Jew to a Christian denomination did not erase the injurious qualities of the Semitic race, and baptism could not make the “Semite into an Aryan or Teuton.” (Iro and Lischka 1911). Fear of “the extinguishing of Nordic blood” figured often in the Pan-German discourse, as did a more generalized xenophobia that warned against “the swelling of the non-Teutonic but German-speaking population in town and country: ‘German’ Jews, Gypsy offspring, Avar Slavs, and the like.” Teutons and Slavs in Austria-Hungary were locked “in a battle to the end.” The menacing “Black-Red-Gold (Catholic-Marxist-Jewish) International” had to be resisted at all costs. The modern metropolis—

that cesspool of ethnic mixing and degeneracy—posed a deadly threat to the vitality and purity of the race.

The components of this ideology lived on after World War I, when the German Workers’ Party of Bohemia, having seceded from the Pan-German movement, made contact with the emergent German Workers’ Party, later renamed the National Socialist German Workers’ Party. The Nazis eventually turned the murderous potential of Pan-Germanism into ghastly reality.

—Werner Suppanz

*See also* Austria; Linz Program; National Socialist German Workers’ Party; Pan-German League; Schönerer, Georg von; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## **Papacy, Modern**

When Napoleonic troops flooded into Italy at the end of the eighteenth century proclaiming liberty, equality, and fraternity, they released the Jews from the ghettos in which they were confined and granted them equal rights. It was, however, only a brief respite for those Jews most directly under papal authority, the Jews of the Papal States. At the time of the French invasion, under Pope Pius VI, the repressive measures connected with the sixteenth-century ghettoization of the Jews remained in effect. Jews could only live in a handful of cities where ghettos existed; they had to be locked in at night; they had to wear Jew badges so everyone would know of their reviled status; they could practice only menial occupations; and they were not to have any social contact with Christians. Jews were also regularly forced to hear sermons in churches by priests seeking to convince them of the evil of their religion.

On the restoration of papal authority in 1814, with the return of Pius VII to Rome, the pope re-

instituted the ghettos and most of the old restrictions. The popes of the following years—Leo XII, Pius VIII, and Gregory XVI—all reiterated the evil of the Jews and the necessity of keeping them in a servile status and away from the larger Christian population. Jewish children were also subject to forced baptism, most notoriously in the Mortara case of 1858. When Pius IX took up the papacy in 1846, he briefly attempted ameliorative measures to relieve the miserable conditions in which the Jews lived. However, following the revolution of 1848 and 1849, during which the pope was driven out of Rome and the Jews were once again freed from their ghetto, Pius IX embraced a conservative agenda and reintroduced most of the old restrictions on the Jews.

As Jews were progressively emancipated in other parts of Italy and Europe, the popes of the nineteenth century vociferously protested, arguing that Jewish equality was a threat to Christian society. Change proved irresistible, however, even in the pope's temporal realm. With the crumbling of papal power in much of the Papal States in 1859 and 1860, Jews were liberated from their ghettos in such cities as Ferrara and Ancona, where they were given equal rights, including the right to choose where to live. The last ghetto under papal control fell in 1870 when Italian troops flooded into Rome, bringing an end to a millennium of papal secular rule. A year later, Pius IX shared his sentiments in an audience with a visiting women's group. In ancient times before Jesus, Pius IX told them, the Jews were “children in the House of God.” But all this had changed, for “due to their obstinacy and their failure to believe, they have become dogs.” Speaking just months after Italian forces had freed the Jews of Rome’s ghetto, the pope moaned the result: “We have today in Rome unfortunately too many of these dogs, and we hear them barking in all the streets, and going around molesting people everywhere” (in Kertzer 2001, 130).

In reaction to the painful loss of the papacy’s temporal power, both Pius IX and his successor, Leo XIII, lashed out against modernity, including, as Pius IX put it in the Syllabus of Errors (1866), the belief in freedom of religion and freedom of the press. The Vatican increasingly

viewed the Jews—beneficiaries of the demise of the church’s temporal rule—as part of the array of dangerous forces ranged against it. In 1880, with evident papal blessing, the journal *Civiltà Cattolica* kicked off a decades-long campaign against the Jews, accusing them of all the old sins and then many new ones, such as being responsible for both capitalism and communism, and of being disloyal to the countries in which they lived.

As modern political antisemitism began to gain force in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the position taken by Pope Leo XIII varied, depending on the national context. In France, the Assumptionist fathers were a pillar of the budding antisemitic political movement; they published the largest-selling Catholic daily newspaper in the country, *La Croix*. Hopeful of developing amicable relations with the republican government, the pope became alarmed by the strident antigovernment tone of the Assumptionists. When their leadership of the drive against Capt. Alfred Dreyfus, the Jewish army officer framed for treason, turned into attacks on the government, the pope called for the Assumptionists to tone down their rhetoric. Even in this case, however, he never specifically criticized them for promulgating antisemitism. Austria was different, for there, the pope did everything he could to protect and back the virulently antisemitic Christian Social Party and its leader, Karl Lueger, the hero of the young Adolf Hitler.

Other churchmen sent pleas to the pope to do something about the spread of antisemitism, particularly that promulgated by the church itself. In England, especially, where Catholics themselves were a persecuted minority, there was great unease among the Catholic leadership about the Vatican’s identification with renewed charges of Jewish ritual murder. Following the November 1899 publication of an article in the Vatican daily newspaper, *L’Osservatore Romano*, titled “Judaic Ritual Murder,” the archbishop of Westminster wrote to the Vatican secretary of state. He called for an end to the ritual murder campaign, pointing out that in earlier centuries, popes had often defended Jews from such outrageous charges.

Leo XIII referred the matter to the Holy Of-

fice of the Inquisition for an opinion. In July 1900, the cardinals reached their conclusions, rejecting the archbishop's plea. A note accompanying the decision explained that "ritual murder is a historical certainty." It continued: "Such murder furthermore was charged and punished many times by lay courts." The conclusion was thus clear: "Given all this, the Holy See cannot issue the statement that has been requested, which, while it may please a few dupes in England, would trigger widespread protests and scandal elsewhere."

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw something of a thaw in papal relations with the Jews. Pius X, who became pope in 1903, had been friendly with a number of Jews from his earlier days as a bishop in northeastern Italy, and he continued these friendly contacts after assuming the papacy. However, in 1904, when he met with Theodore Herzl, leader of the Zionist movement, the pope—according to Herzl's account—espoused a traditional Catholic view of the Jews. "The Jewish faith was the foundation of our own," Pius X said, "but it has been superseded by the teachings of Christ, and we cannot admit that it still enjoys any validity" (in Kertzer 2001, 225).

Benedict XV, who became pope at the outbreak of World War I in 1914, was the first pontiff to abandon the antimodern line of his nineteenth- and early twentieth-century predecessors and so was much less close to the most antisemitic circles in the church. Concerned by reports that priests were involved in fomenting the pogroms that were spreading throughout Poland following the war, he sent secret instructions to his representative in Warsaw, Achille Ratti, to investigate the charges. Ratti, who would become Pope Pius XI on Benedict XV's death in 1922, undertook such an investigation but concluded that the anti-Jewish violence was likely the result of the Jews' own provocations. In these reports, the future pope described the Polish Jews as the "most evil" influence in the country. In 1928, a church organization, the Friends of Israel, founded two years earlier to work for the conversion of the Jews and counting many Catholic clergy as members, was dissolved on orders of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Although the original goal of working for the Jews' conversion

was thoroughly orthodox, the Inquisitors—with the pope's blessing—faulted the organization for going too far in the direction of promoting brotherhood with the Jews.

As Nazi violence against Jews mushroomed in the mid-1930s, Pius XI began to have second thoughts about his attempts to come to terms with the Nazi regime. In September 1938, the physically ailing pontiff met with a group of visiting Belgians and, in accepting a prayer book they had given him, told them that "antisemitism is not compatible with the thinking and the sublime reality that is expressed in this text." Indeed, in reflecting on the Jews' plight, the pope was clearly moved, and tears began to well up in his eyes as he concluded, "Antisemitism is inadmissible. We are all spiritually Semites" (in Kertzer 2001, 280). Earlier that summer, he had called in an American Jesuit, John LaFarge, and asked him to draft an encyclical against racism and antisemitism. However—partially because of attempts by the superior general of the Jesuit order to undermine the effort—the pope did not receive the draft in time to issue such an encyclical before his death in early 1939. His successor, Pius XII, apparently was worried that such an encyclical would damage Vatican relations with the German government and thus took no action on it. Yet the draft encyclical itself was full of antisemitic language. What it opposed was not a negative view of the Jews as threats to Christian society but a racial view of the differences between Jews and Catholics, along with the notion that violence against Jews was acceptable.

Especially revealing is the fact that at the same time, in the fall of 1938, the Italian government in Rome issued its so-called Racial Laws, aimed against the Jews and barring them from schools, from public employment, and from scientific and literary organizations and prohibiting them from employing Christians in their homes. The pope voiced opposition only to one of the provisions of the racial laws, that which treated Catholic converts from Judaism as if they were Jews.

No subject has raised as much furor in the history of the popes' relations with the Jews as Pius XII's failure to speak out publicly against the slaughter of the Jews of Europe during World War II. As the Vatican's publication of eleven

volumes of correspondence between the Holy See and the bishops throughout Europe makes clear, the pope was well aware of this mass murder by 1942. Yet in the years that followed, despite an avalanche of pleas from both Catholic and Jewish sources, he refused explicitly to condemn the Nazi murder of the Jews, much less to excommunicate Hitler or other nominally Catholic Nazi leaders.

It was only with the ascension to the papacy of John XXIII in 1958 that the rejection of antisemitism would become enshrined as church doctrine, set out in *Nostra Aetate* in 1965, following the pope's death. Promulgated by Paul VI, the encyclical explicitly condemned "any form of antisemitism as going against the spirit of Christianity." When John Paul II assumed the papacy in 1978, he sought to improve relations with the Jews further. In 1979, he visited the memorial at Auschwitz; in 1986, he visited the main synagogue of Rome; and in 2000, he paid a dramatic visit to Israel. Everywhere, he spoke against the evils of antisemitism. It was also under John Paul II, in 1993, that the Vatican finally established full diplomatic ties with Israel.

Yet the issue of the papacy's historical role in promulgating antisemitism remains an uncomfortable one in the church. The Vatican investigation of this issue, initiated by the pope himself, resulted in the release of "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah" in 1998. That report was criticized for failing to recognize the role played by the Vatican itself in the demonization of the Jews and for utilizing a historically untenable distinction between anti-Judaism (in which, the Vatican admitted, members of the church had been involved) and antisemitism (which was said to have derived entirely from sources that were antagonistic to the church) in order to distance itself from responsibility for the latter.

—David I. Kertzer

**See also** Christian Social Party (Austria); *Civiltà Cattolica*; Dreyfus Affair; Emancipation; Ghetto; Herzl, Theodor; Inquisition; Lueger, Karl; Mortara Affair; Pius XII, Pope; Racial Laws; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Suppressionism; Vatican Council, Second; Yellow Badge  
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### **Passing of the Great Race (1916)**

Madison Grant's *Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* makes the short list of the most influential twentieth-century racist diatribes in the United States on the subject of the mongrelization of superior Anglo-Saxons by inferior nationalities and races. In the wake of domestic hysteria following World War I, this best-seller became a bible for a nativist movement championing immigration restriction. Mainstream periodicals such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *American Historical Review*, the *Yale Review*, the *Nation*, and the *Literary Digest* reviewed the book approvingly. Only Franz Boas in the *New Republic* and Horace Kallen in the *Dial* dissented. Between 1916 and 1921, 16,000 copies were sold. By 1930, the work had been translated into German, French, and Norwegian and gone through thirteen editions. In 1925, J. F. Lehmann, the most important publisher of radical rightist and racist works, issued the book in the German translation that Hitler claimed to have read. Grant later boasted of having received a fan letter from Führer calling the book "his bible."

The reasons for the popular appeal of this philippic, especially among the eastern literary and cultural intelligentsia, were threefold. First, the argument was sweeping in its reach and boldly presented, exuding confidence. A declarative style devoid of circumlocutions and jargon highlighted memorable passages for the reader. Moreover, Grant covered an eclectic array of evidence with the patina of scientific truth. In the style of a grand Victorian synthesis, he deployed a pseudoanthropology, genetics, zoology, Darwinism, and history and succeeded in impressing amateurs in these disciplines.

Second, the euphemistic “*passing of the great race*” divulged a grievous insult—the supplanting of an older hegemonic leadership aristocracy in American cultural institutions, commerce, and politics. The argument asserted that the “great race” had been victimized by a “misguided sentimentalism” represented by the philanthropy of Christian humanitarianism, the democracy of the “melting pot,” and the liberal gift of universal education. Values serving to dumb down the common denominator in civic society functioned to transfer power from superior Nordic peoples to inferior Mediterranean, Balkan, and eastern European breeds. According to Grant’s operating laws of evolutionary progress, those of Nordic lineage had populated early America with their “splendid fighting and moral qualities” and endowed the antebellum slave-owning master class with its virtues. The dominant race was visibly identifiable by inherited physical features. Its exemplars were lean and muscular and fair of skin, with light hair, blue eyes, and straight noses. However, Grant warned, the swarthy and pug-shaped immigrant dregs of southern and eastern Europe saturating the industrial labor force were about to plunge modern America into the “racial abyss.” The older aristocratic lineage faced inevitable mongrelization by promiscuous mixing with the human trash engrafting itself “on the stock of the nation.” Accelerated by the “spread of socialism,” vulgarization of the tone of American life became unavoidable as “the weak, the broken, and the mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest stratum” triumphed in society.

Third, with his Anglo-Nordic nerves rubbed raw, Grant turned his derisive resentment against a most hated and visible target, the hordes of a “wretched, submerged population of the Polish Ghetto” swarming over the streets of New York. Dwarflike in stature, ruthless in the pursuit of their self-interest, and crassly pushing the “old stock” out of its elite sanctuaries, Jews, no matter where they came, were a menace. For one thing, their reproductive potency was irrepressible: “The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a Negro is a Negro, the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross be-

tween any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew.” Moreover, they wielded a malign cultural influence, made all the more dangerous by means of their cleverness and co-option. Although the Jews proceeded to assimilate the language of the native American, wear his clothes, take his names, and steal his women, seldom did they “adopt his religion or understand his ideals.”

Reprints of the book, including the German edition, have continued to appear in the early twenty-first century. Its appeal for the mainstream, however, began declining in the 1930s with the hardship of the Great Depression, the surge in Nazi antisemitism, and the strenuous objections raised by an anthropology profession that complained of “dogmatic assumptions which cannot endure criticism” (Boas 1917, 305). If this is science, a philosopher sarcastically remarked, it is “so pure that it is altogether imperceptible” (Kallen 1917, 433).

—Burton J. Bledstein

**See also** Armed Forces of the United States; English Literature of the Twentieth Century; Eugenics; Evolutionary Psychology; Hitler, Adolf; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Moseley, George van Horn; Racism, Scientific; Social Darwinism; United States

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## Passion Plays, Medieval

Passion Plays belonged to a large genre of spiritual dramas found throughout central Europe. They were based on the accounts of the four Evangelists of the New Testament, frequently supplemented by popular religious texts. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the plays developed into grandiose events lasting several days,

often involving hundreds of lay actors and thousands of spectators. Theological instruction was not their paramount purpose. Rather, the plays sought to bring sacred history to life and to draw actors and onlookers into an emotionally bound community of Christian believers. The staging of the performance, documentary evidence of which has survived in various forms, was central to the experience.

The plays took place in great open spaces, without the accoutrements of the modern stage. Performance and spectator areas tended to be intermingled, except when a wooden barrier was erected to remind the public not to intervene in the action of the play, apparently a common occurrence. This kind of staging, without a meaningful separation of actors and the audience, engendered in the spectator a direct emotional involvement in the events of the Passion. The actors continually appealed directly to the audience, encouraging it to lend *compassio* (sympathy) and share grief. The sacred characters, consciously represented in the play as real and "human," spoke the same rough, earthy, everyday language as those watching the performance, helping to fuse the worldly experience of the audience and actors. The late medieval plays were purposefully produced to be living illustrations of sacred events. Intense scenes depicting violent confrontations, often with the obscene language familiar from contemporary life, were just as much a part of the experience as moments of sublime religious spirituality. The element of shared experience was enhanced by accompanying ritual: plays began in the morning with a communal mass followed by a procession to the performance space. The actual play lasted from midday until twilight. It could take place over a single or several days.

The Passion Play stood totally in the service of the Christian Gospels, building on the conflict between good and evil, heaven and hell, belief and unbelief. In most of the extant examples, Jews as a group embodied the evil counterworld. Often, they incarnated unbelief and blindness and were made to bear the guilt for the suffering and death of Jesus. They were to be considered—the point was hammered home again and again—the murderers of God. According to sur-

viving directorial notations, actors portraying Jews were instructed to adopt a negative body language. Like the devil himself, these other deniers of God gestured grotesquely, made infernal noises, and danced wildly to the accompaniment of menacing songs, parading their vileness even during the scenes of the Crucifixion.

Among the most popular features of the plays was the exposure of the usurious Jew. The Judas scenes were particularly suitable for representing Jews as money-hungry and unscrupulous, catering to the familiar prejudices of the public; in some of the plays, the Jewish characters were even given the names of recognizable local money-lenders.

Especially in the scenes of the Crucifixion, which made unrelenting demands on the pity of the onlookers, Jews were presented as cruel torturers, merciless helpers of the executioner, and comrades of the devil. The emotional impact of such portrayals must have been powerful. Apparently, there was a constant danger that audience members, inflamed by what they had witnessed during the play, might band together to attack the Jewish quarter. Some surviving town ordinances make it clear that extra guards had to be posted to protect the Jews from the wrath of the mob. And in some towns, performances were forbidden because a particular play's depiction of Jews was thought to be too negative and provocative.

Like medieval texts and the graphic arts, the Passion Plays helped propagate a potent negative image of the Jew for mass consumption. By the end of the fifteenth century, the "evil Jew" had been established as stereotype and furnished with concrete physical attributes—he was grotesque in manner and physically ugly, and he spoke an eerie, bewildering language. This stereotypical Jew made his way into the new era and broke ground for modern antisemitism.

—*Edith Wenzel*  
*Richard S. Levy, translation*

**See also** Deicide; Gospels; Iconography, Christian; Middle Ages, Late; Oberammergau Passion Play; Usury

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### **Patton, General George (1885–1945)**

A brilliant military leader and revered national hero, George S. Patton Jr. also exemplified the antisemitism pervading the U.S. Army officer corps of his generation. At the very point of his great military triumphs over Nazi Germany, he repeatedly articulated views that, in their assumptions about inherent Jewish traits and in their vehemence of tone, mirrored the extremism of racial theorists.

Although born and raised in California, Patton was, from his earliest years, imbued with an intense consciousness of his heroic and aristocratic Virginia lineage—a self-image of an elite that perpetuated itself through good breeding culturally and selective marriage genetically. Inspired by the stature and exploits of his colonial and Confederate ancestors, reinforced by heroic military literature and history, the young Patton felt he, too, was destined for greatness as a military man. After a year at the Virginia Military Institute, he was appointed to West Point (class of 1909). Dedicated and ambitious, he developed into a skillful and insightful master of military history, strategy, tactics, and leadership. These abilities and his audacious personality account for his military successes in World War II.

Family background and a military education infused with racism also help explain his antisemitism. For most of his career, however, Patton's assignments kept him isolated from the Jewish Question that so concerned those officers, particularly in military intelligence, who engaged with it at home and abroad. But while he was commander in North Africa in 1942, his antisemitism surfaced, and he strongly opposed lifting Vichy-style restrictions on indigenous and refugee Jews in the region. After his historic victories in Europe, Patton became military governor of Bavaria (in 1945), the region that contained most of the Holocaust survivors in the U.S. occupation zone. Until his removal in September,

he interpreted events, problems, and people through a crude Darwinian political biology, delineating superior and inferior races. Lamenting the decline of the "great race" of Germans, he warned of the racial threat to Western civilization posed by "savage" Asiatic Russians. Patton displayed no sympathy for the Eastern European displaced persons (DPs) and Holocaust survivors whose immediate fate he determined. The DP was not a human being, he wrote, "and this applies particularly to the Jews, who are lower than animals" (in Bendersky 2002, 357). He attributed the lethargy and unsanitary habits of survivors not to their traumatizing genocidal camp existence but to their Jewish heredity. Jews were a "sub-human species" whose innate mental, moral, and physical traits reflected their long-standing racial degeneracy. Patton impeded de-Nazification and condemned efforts to improve conditions for Jewish survivors, especially taking resources and housing from Germans for this purpose. He also believed powerful American Jews conspired to undermine him, take "Semitic revenge" against the Germans, and communize Europe. It was not his antisemitism but his obstruction of de-Nazification that led to his removal. He died in an automobile accident in December 1945.

Although Patton's bombastic personality and outbursts made him unique, his postwar response to Jews typified the attitudes of other top and lower-level officers. When his antisemitism finally emerged, it significantly affected his leadership and policies, with dire consequences for Holocaust survivors.

—Joseph W. Bendersky

*See also* Armed Forces of the United States; General Orders No. 11; Jewish Question; Moseley, George van Horn; *Ostjuden*; United States; Vichy

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### **Pauker, Ana (1893–1960)**

Born to Orthodox Jewish parents on December 13, 1893, Ana Pauker (née Rabinsohn) worked

as a Hebrew and Jewish religion teacher in Romania's capital, Bucharest. The rampant antisemitism of the country propelled her to the revolutionary Left. She entered the Romanian Social Democratic Party in 1915, joined the Communist movement after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and gradually rose up through the ranks of the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow. Emerging as the "Iron Lady" of Romania during the Soviet occupation of the country in 1944, Pauker served as the unofficial head of the Romanian Communist Party in 1944 and 1945 and remained its behind-the-scenes leader for several years thereafter. In November 1947, she was appointed foreign minister, the first Jew to serve as a government minister in Romania and the first woman in the modern world ever to hold such a post. In that capacity, she promoted the emigration of roughly 100,000 Romanian Jews to Israel between 1948 and 1952 and opposed the Kremlin-ordered show trial of Romanian Zionists in 1950 and 1952. The latter was an important factor in her abrupt removal from power in May 1952 and her arrest seven months later. Accused of espionage in the service of the United States and "Zionist Internationalism," she was slated to appear as the principal defendant in an antisemitic show trial. Stalin's death in March 1953, however, aborted the trial. Freed from prison but still in disgrace, Pauker resided with her family until her death from cancer on June 3, 1960.

Ana Pauker's story—and that of Jewish Communists generally—is an important part of the history of twentieth-century antisemitism. Throughout that period, Jews were continually castigated as "Judeo-Bolsheviks" and widely seen as being preeminent in the Communist movement. Although they did not lead the Soviet Union or the Communist International, Jews had been prominent in various Communist, Marxist, and Social Democratic parties. From the mid-nineteenth century, an increasing number had turned to revolutionary movements, whose universalism seemed the best weapon against discrimination. Indeed, Jews appeared to be the only revolutionaries who took universalism seriously: throughout Europe, they were the only true intra-European element on the Continent;



In November 1947, Ana Pauker was appointed foreign minister in the communist government of Romania. She was the first Jew and the first woman in the modern world to hold such a post. (Corbis)

in Russia, they were practically alone among their fellow radicals in embracing cosmopolitan, that is, universalist or internationalist, socialism.

But antisemitism remained a potent force even within the revolutionary movements. By the 1930s, Stalin began officially embracing "Great Russian Nationalism" as official state policy, and after World War II, he waged relentless campaigns against the "bourgeois nationalism" of ethnic minorities and the "rootless cosmopolitanism" of individual internationalists. Both campaigns targeted Jews and were coordinated with tactical moves to appease popular sentiment by waging antisemitic purges.

Animating popular antisemitism in the Soviet sphere was the fact that Jews were seen in positions of power for the first time. Although the majority of Jews did not adhere to communism, the

trauma of fascism and Nazism led many to throw their support to the Communist regimes during the immediate postwar period. Often the only elements not tainted by fascism, these Jews were relied on to replace purged officials of the previous regimes. The sight of Jews in middle- or lower-level government posts triggered a pronounced antisemitic backlash among non-Jewish populations. As economic conditions worsened in the Soviet bloc and popular discontent mounted, the Kremlin opted to deflect popular hostility onto Jews it had conspicuously placed in the party leadership and bureaucracy. In this manner, by simulating a “nationalist” response to Jewish “domination,” antisemitic purges such as Ana Pauker’s were devised to provide a modicum of support for immensely unpopular Communist regimes.

—Robert Levy

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Judeo-Bolshevism; Purges, Soviet; Romania; Slánský Trial; Socialists on Antisemitism; Stalinization of Eastern Europe

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## Paul

Just as Paul created Christian theology, so did he create Christianity’s attitudes toward Jews. These attitudes regularly are perceived through what Paul wrote in the Epistle to the Romans. Too rarely is a look cast at his other Epistles, especially Galatians and Corinthians.

Romans is the seat of Paul’s central theological exposition: the inadequacy of man to achieve salvation through deeds. By this, Paul meant the failure of the commandments of the Torah to afford saving grace, and it has been said that he re-created Judaism and the Torah in propounding this doctrine. The new Torah was to be Christ, and the new Sabbath referred to the eternal repose Christ offered. Yet this concept of salvation was essentially not Jewish. A Jew observes commandments because they are God’s law, to be followed out of simple obligation. Further, God will

intervene to reward the righteous at the end of days; observance in this world ensures God’s ongoing concern. But Paul was plagued with the idea that man is evil, from which anxiety he sought liberation and internal peace.

Had Paul only “reinvented” Judaism, he might have gone his own way, leaving Jews apart. However, he was deeply anchored in his Jewish roots, as he proclaimed in chapters 9, 10, and 11 in Romans: he was a Jew, and he worried for Jews, whom, he stressed, God had not rejected. They were a root to be grafted on, God’s friends because of the Patriarchs, although now enemies because of the Gospel. In Romans, citing Genesis 25:23—“The elder shall serve the younger”—Paul wrote that the Jews were the older (son), who would serve the younger. Here, Paul inverted identities. In the Bible, the older son is Ishmael or Esau and the younger is Isaac or Jacob, the two sons of Abraham and Isaac, respectively, who were enemies. According to Genesis, Jacob = Israel (the name God gives Jacob after Jacob wrestles with an angel) is the Jews, and Ishmael signifies the Jews’ enemies. For Paul, however, and for subsequent Christian exegesis, Jacob, the new and *Verus Israel* (True Israel), was Christianity and the Christians. This idea became central to Christian theology; it was the Christians who were now God’s chosen. Yet at the end of days, the Jews would join Christianity, an event, furthermore, that would occur only when the Jews accepted Christ. Christianity thus became dependent on the Jews. In the meantime—these are the implications that would be drawn from Paul—Jews had to truly serve Christianity, realizing Paul’s figure in fact, not in theory alone. Augustine, in the early fifth century, emphasized that Jews were *capsarii*, or slaves who bear the (younger) master’s books. Later medieval canons ensured that this pecking order would not be disturbed, enacting a long series of restrictions on Jewish activity.

Romans was composed for gentile Christians in Rome (Paul called himself the apostle to the gentiles). But they were joined in one Christian conventicle with Jews who believed in Christ. These gentiles were troubled by Jewish Christian behavior. Putatively liberated from Judaism and Jewish observance, Rome’s Jewish Christians

maintained their Jewish practice; this was the case among Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, too, which also must have bothered Rome's gentile Christians. Paul tried to smooth this contradiction over in Romans, chapters 12 through 15, by saying that although each Christian was a limb of Christ's body, different limbs had different functions and needs and that Christians had to accept each other "as Christ accepted us" (Romans 12:4–6, 14:1–4, 15:7). The first eleven chapters of Romans seem to lead to this point. However, it is a point that centuries of scholars immersed in studying the theology of chapters 1 through 8 or the outlines of a program toward Jews in chapters 9 through 11 have overlooked.

The problem in Romans was more acute yet. Rome's gentile Christians had surely read Paul's earlier Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, wherein he confronted not Jews nor Jewish Christians but gentile converts to Christianity who were "Judaizing." The Christianity of such converts, as Paul saw it, perforce rested on unconditional faith. Jewish observance by them—Paul singled out circumcision—bespoke imperfect faith; it had to be excised. More, Paul forbade anyone who participated in alien ritual—especially idolatry but by implication Jewish practice, too (or so later generations understood Paul)—to partake of the table fellowship that united all Christians in the one body of Christ. Reading this, the gentiles in Rome must have questioned the practices of Rome's Jewish Christians. Romans, especially the later chapters (noted earlier), may have been a reply, distinguishing Jewish Christians, people who had observed Jewish ritual all their lives, from the new (gentile) converts Paul had chided for Judaizing in Galatians and Corinthians.

To underline the obligation to excise Jewish practice, Paul, in Galatians, invoked the same pair of opposing figures, Ishmael and Isaac, he would later invoke in Romans. Yet whereas in Romans, the pairing identified the True Israel, in Galatians, it was paradigmatic of proper and improper Christian behavior, which shunned the Judaizing identified with the servant woman's son Ishmael—who was to be expelled in favor of the faith of Isaac, the son of the free woman Sarah. Eventually, the Ishmael of Galatians was

said to refer to the Jews themselves, enticing and endangering Christians through "overfamiliarity." Canon laws thus forbade domestic service to Jews and dining at a Jew's table. They also required Jews to wear special dress, lest they have sexual contact with Christians, which would invert the social pecking order of "Christians on top" and, even more, "pollute" and "contaminate" Christians themselves, making them unfit to accept the Eucharist. Beside the canons, these concepts also appeared in Christian Roman law and various theological tracts, such as those written by John Chrysostom and Agobard of Lyons. In the fourteenth century, to rid Christianity of Hagar's son became a (theoretical) legal pretext for expelling Jews. Avoiding *pericolosa familiarità* (dangerous proximity), especially in schools, was being advocated even at the end of the nineteenth century. All of this was thanks to the interpreters of Paul—but no less to the ambivalence of Paul himself. The concepts of Jewish friends and enemies (in Romans), linked to anxieties about Judaizing (in Galatians and I Corinthians), underlie all subsequent Christian teachings—and practice—on Jews.

—Kenneth Stow

**See also** Agobard; Augustine of Hippo; Chrysostom, John; Circumcision; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Gospels; Lateran Council, Fourth; Middle Ages, Early; Middle Ages, High; Supersessionism; Yellow Badge

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## Pavelić, Ante (1889–1959)

Ante Pavelić headed the Ustasha regime that governed the Independent State of Croatia between 1941 and 1945. Born in northern Herzegovina, he graduated from the university in Zagreb and

practiced law there in 1918. He became politically active in the Croatian Party of State Rights (Hrvatska stranka prava [HSP]), entered the city council of Zagreb in 1921, and won election to the parliament in Belgrade in 1927. After the imposition of a royal dictatorship in Yugoslavia in January 1929, Pavelić fled the country. In 1932, with Italian help, he founded the Ustasha movement.

In his *Principles of the Ustasha Movement* (June 1933), Pavelić stated that the aim of the organization was Croatian independence, to be achieved by any effective means, including violence. He was directly engaged in the organization of the Velebit uprising against the royal dictatorship in 1932 and implicated in the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseille in 1934. Bowing to international pressure, the Italians imprisoned him for two years but refused to surrender him for trial in France.

In his memorandum on the “Croatian Question,” presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nazi Germany in 1936, Pavelić designated the “Serbian government, international Freemasonry, Jewry and communism” as the enemies of Croatian liberation. After the German-Italian invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, he took the title of *Poglavnik* (leader) and also assumed the offices of prime minister and foreign minister. Pavelić was the main author and propagator of the Ustasha political program. He created a “New Order” based on the Italian-German fascist model that featured the cult of the nation, the state, and the leader. Racial laws similar to those in Nazi Germany were swiftly put in place. Under Pavelić’s leadership, a system of concentration and death camps was established. Martial law was proclaimed, and the opposition was repressed; Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies were murdered. In May 1941, he promised that the “very serious” Jewish Question would be radically solved. He spoke openly of the need for a swift liquidation of Jews. Pavelić, together with members of his family, was among the first to pillage the Jewish villas in residential parts of Zagreb.

During the war, he loyally followed the lead of the Nazis, cooperating with them in the last deportations of the Jews from the Independent State of Croatia (in August 1942 and May 1943).

After the defeat of the Axis powers—and allegedly with looted property—Pavelić managed to escape to Austria, moved on to Italy, and then went to Argentina. After an attempt on his life was made in 1957, he lived under assumed names. He died two years later in Spain.

—Ivo Goldstein

*See also* Croatia; Croatia, Holocaust in; Holocaust; Ljotić, Dimitrije; Ustasha

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## Pelley, William Dudley (1890–1965)

Leader of the Silver Shirt Legion of America, William Pelley was one of the best-known “American Führers” during the depression decade. His unique melding of spiritualism and antisemitism attracted a large following, until legal problems effectively silenced him.

Born into a religious family in Lynn, Massachusetts, Pelley worked as a reporter while still in his teens. He eventually became the editor of a series of unsuccessful New England newspapers before turning his attentions to writing fiction. By the late 1910s, he established himself as a prolific and well-regarded purveyor of genteel short stories, published in a variety of mainstream publications. He gained his first exposure to antisemitism while traveling in Russia under the auspices of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) during the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1922, Pelley moved to Hollywood, where he spent the rest of the decade as an in-demand screenwriter. In 1928, having worked himself to exhaustion, he had an out-of-body experience that changed his life. Claiming to have visited souls on the “other side of the veil,” Pelley developed his own religious system.

Two years later, he debuted his Liberation Doctrine, complete with a monthly magazine, several full-length monographs, and a correspondence school based in Asheville, North Carolina. This religious system, which mixed spiritualism, Theosophy, pyramidism, and millenarian Christianity, gave Pelley his initial following and

served as the underpinning of his future public career. Disgruntled over his inability to establish a large national movement, which he attributed to Jewish machinations, Pelley created the para-military Silver Shirts in 1933. He maintained his Liberation theology but added a heavy layer of antisemitism to the organization's teachings. Claiming that Judaism was synonymous with communism and that the New Deal was part of the communist conspiracy to enslave gentiles, Pelley promoted the creation of his Christian Commonwealth as an alternative. The commonwealth would have established a corporate state that guaranteed housing, education, fair pay, and the creation of "Beth Haven" ghettos for American Jews. The Silver Shirts succeeded in attracting 15,000 members, primarily on the Pacific Coast and in the industrial Midwest.

His conviction for violating North Carolina security laws in 1934 hampered Silver Shirt expansion, but Pelley continued to operate his failing movement under the terms of a suspended sentence. After an abortive 1936 presidential bid on the Christian Party ticket, he tried to resuscitate the Silver Shirts. More legal entanglements stymied his efforts. He was sentenced to prison for violating the probation terms of his 1934 conviction, and while out on appeal in 1942, he was found guilty of sedition. Sentenced to fifteen years, Pelley was allowed out of prison to stand as a defendant in the 1944 mass sedition trial. He was paroled in 1950, but as a term of early release, he was enjoined from engaging in political affairs. He spent the 1950s reviving his religious career through his proto-New Age cult, Soulcraft. He died in obscurity in 1965 in Noblesville, Indiana.

—Scott Beekman

**See also** Judeo-Bolshevism; New Age; Theosophy; United States

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## Peter the Venerable (ca. 1092–1156)

Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156, was an influential polemicist of the twelfth-century renaissance. Often described as a temperate protector of the church, guarding it against heterodoxy, he saw his task as refuting the church's enemies from within—the Petrobrusian heretics—and from without—Jews and Muslims. Whereas his book against the Saracens opens with an invitation to a discussion based on love, strong invective characterizes his *Adversus iudeorum in-veteratam duritiem* (Against the Inveterate Obstinacy of the Jews). His book presents the theoretical side of his anti-Jewish polemic; the more practical aspects appear in his letters.

The first four chapters of *Adversus iudeorum* use traditional arguments to prove the truth of Christian doctrine: the Jewish inability to read the Bible properly, the result of deficient reasoning; the contrast between Christian hegemony and Jewish lack of sovereignty; and the question of the current validity of biblical precepts. Its fifth chapter, "De ridiculus et stutissimis fabulis Iudeorum" (On the Ridiculous and Stupid Jewish Legends), breaks new ground as the first full-fledged explicit invective against the Talmud. Peter the Venerable thought it a secret Jewish doctrine that blinded Jews to the verity of his treatise (5:30–40), and he viewed the talmudic legends, which he assumed the Jews accepted literally, as their alternative to the true *mysteria* (mysteries, in a religious sense). The Talmud was *intima sacramenta tua* (your inmost mysteries), a parallel to the Christian sacraments, and as such, it constituted the reason for obstinate Jewish refusal to convert (5:21–53).

Peter characterized the Talmud as "a vast sea of impiety" collected in great volumes for thousands of years (5:354). His main accusation against the work focused on its blasphemous nature, vested in its legends' anthropomorphic features. Evidently, he was familiar only with an anthology of legends and knew nothing of the Talmud's legal aspects. Among the passages singled out as blasphemous are the ones depicting God studying the Talmud in heaven (*Berakoth* 8a, *Abodah Zarah* 3b) and describing God as weeping daily (*Berakoth* 3a). For these and other instances, Peter's narrative is more elaborate than

the actual talmudic versions; it therefore seems likely that he used a longer midrashic source. Of the fourteen legends attacked, five figured in the Disputation of Paris, which led to the burning of the Talmud in 1239. His angry outburst, “I would justly condemn it and its authors to eternal fire” (5:1444–1446), although not meant to be taken literally, exacerbated an already volatile situation. Peter further claims that the Talmud is immoral because it contains “evil and filthy stories.” Citing the salacious tale of Sirach’s mother’s impregnation, not actually found in the Talmud (5:2004–2045), he implies that this story was just one of many similar obscenities.

Peter notes only one specifically anti-Christian example from the Talmud: a midrash in which Christians are being punished in hell (*Tosephtha Sanhedrin* 13:5—again, not explicitly in the Talmud). Peter ascribes their damnation not to their failure to fulfill talmudic law but rather to their not “believing in the Talmud.” This was apparently an embellishment on his part.

Peter’s letters reflect another, less theoretical aspect of his anti-Jewish attitude, which targeted Jews for economic and social oppression. In his letter to King Louis VII in 1146, he advocates taxing Jews, not Christians, to finance the Second Crusade: “Let their lives be saved and their money taken away so that the blasphemous Jews’ money would help the Christian to fight Saracens.” Supporting this idea is the allegation that Jews became wealthy by selling stolen church vessels. This economic delegitimization is combined with allegations that Jews somehow injure the body of Christ through these transactions, a defamation not far removed from later accusations of host desecration.

Peter’s theoretical treatise had a restricted readership, but his collected letters were more widely disseminated. Therefore, his practical portrayal of Jews as social parasites beyond the accepted social framework may have had a more destructive effect. Notwithstanding his denial of Jewish humanity and his virulent attacks both on the Jews and on talmudic legends, Peter did not overstep the bounds of the church’s traditional policy: “Who would contain the hands of our people from your blood, but for the commandment of the Scripture” (5:603). He demanded

subjugation but also toleration. Peter’s anti-Jewish hatred, more grounded in steadfast Jewish adherence to Judaism than in his aversion to the Talmud, did not deviate from this established principle. Nonetheless, his enmity toward Jews and Judaism influenced his own era and contributed to the growth of Jew-hatred through the Middle Ages.

—Yvonne Friedman

**See also** Crusades; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Host Desecration; Middle Ages, High; Talmud; Talmud Trials

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### Petliura, Symon (1879–1926)

In the aftermath of the Bolshevik seizure of power in the Russian Empire in October 1917, the Central Rada, originally established as the representative of the Russian Provisional Government in Petrograd, declared national independence for Ukraine. Although the Central Rada signed a peace treaty with the Central Powers, it was replaced by a pro-German puppet government, the Hetmanate, in April 1918. German troops withdrew after the armistice of November 11, 1918, and the governing authority was assumed by the so-called Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic. Symon Petliura, a Ukrainian nationalist journalist, became prime minister of the directory and *Ataman*, or commander of its military forces, in February 1919. The forces of the directory were defeated by the Red Army in the course of the Russian Civil War, and Petliura and his government went into exile in Poland. The remnants of his army joined the Polish side in the inconclusive Soviet-Polish War of 1920, also choosing to remain in exile thereafter.

The forces of the directory were guilty of atrocities and pogroms against the Jewish population of Ukraine. Most of these acts were the result of simple banditry, rather than ideological antisemitism, and were carried out by local warlords. Other pogroms ostensibly had military objectives, such as those perpetrated by the notorious *Otan-man* (commander) Semesenko in Proskuriv and Felshtin in February 1919, which left almost 1,500 Jews dead.

In 1921, the Revisionist Zionist leader Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky entered into a controversial agreement with a representative of Petliura's government-in-exile, Maksym Slavinsky, for the creation of a Jewish militia to defend the Jewish population should Petliura's forces succeed in invading Soviet Ukraine.

On May 26, 1926, Petliura was assassinated on a Paris street by Shalom Schwartzbard, a Jewish émigré from eastern Europe. At his trial, the counsel for the defense turned Schwartzbard's act into an indictment of the directory and its leader, Petliura, holding them accountable for the pogroms that occurred under their authority. The trial attracted worldwide attention, and Schwartzbard was acquitted.

Those who condemn Petliura as a *pogromchik* (pogromist) emphasize his failure to control those troops under his command who carried out a wave of brutal pogroms in 1919. Defenders of Petliura note that he issued decrees that outlawed such violence in August 1919. They stress that for much of 1919 and in most places, Petliura and the directory did not exercise effective control over the forces that nominally fought in their name. The actions of Petliura as leader of the directory and the uncritical support given to his assassin by many Jewish organizations became issues that severely complicated Jewish-Ukrainian relations.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Judeo-Bolshevism; Pale of Settlement; Russia, Imperial; Russian Civil War; USSR;

Zionism

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## **Pfefferkorn, Johannes (1468/1469–1522)**

Following his conversion from Judaism to Christianity (along with his wife, Anna, and son, Laurentius), Johannes Pfefferkorn became a missionary in 1504. From 1513, he was head of the hospital of St. Ursula and St. Revilien in Cologne. He was famous in his own day as the author of numerous anti-Jewish works.

Pfefferkorn's conversion involved him in the intense political and theological controversies that characterized the period leading up to the Reformation. As a convert, he was put under especially close scrutiny. Absolute devotion to the faith was expected of him, but since he was a renegade, not many wanted to trust his sincerity. He found sanctuary among the powerful Dominicans in Cologne and proceeded to accommodate himself to their anti-Jewish, antireformist agenda. The pressure of his mentors' expectations in this regard added to his anxieties and fanned his hatred. In his first work, *Judenspiegel* (The Jews' Mirror [1507]), he claimed to want to missionize the Jews. In reality, he wanted to force them to choose between baptism and repression. He called for the confiscation of their books, especially the Talmud, knowing full well that, deprived of their spiritual succor, Jews would feel compelled to emigrate. Supported by influential noblemen and the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor, he began an extensive campaign of book confiscations in Frankfurt am Main and in imperial cities along the Rhine, having prepared the way by arguing that Jewish books were responsible for the Jews' "unbelief" and that they were inherently dangerous and evil.

Pfefferkorn's calling into question the very humanity of the Jews contributed to the birth of modern antisemitism. But ironically, his denun-

ciations and the excessiveness of his rhetoric returned to haunt him. In 1510, when the highly regarded jurist and humanist Johann Reuchlin responded to an imperial query with a defense of Jewish books, Pfefferkorn immediately and stridently attacked him in a number of pamphlets. He accused Reuchlin of being a “Judaizer” and a heretic and suggested that he ought to be drawn and quartered by the Inquisition. The Dominicans of Cologne also entered the fray, publishing tracts against Reuchlin’s heresy and urging that he be brought up before the Inquisition. Reuchlin defended himself against these scurrilous and life-threatening charges and rallied to his cause leading humanists, including Erasmus of Rotterdam and Ulrich von Hutten, who proceeded to attack Pfefferkorn as a malicious Jew. Pfefferkorn also failed to deprive the Jews of their sacred books, which were returned to them.

The dramatic first steps of the Lutheran Reformation led to a sharp decline of public interest in the so-called Reuchlin affair. By that time, Pfefferkorn had been worn down by the disputations, and after a protracted illness, he died in Cologne in 1522.

—Ellen Martin  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Dominican Order; Inquisition; Reformation; Reuchlin, Johann; Self-Hatred, Jewish; Talmud; Talmud Trials

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## Philosemitism

The hatred of Jews has long been shadowed by a contrary impulse toward fascination and idealization. The use of the term *philosemitism* to describe this phenomenon is, for some, controversial, as it can seem to suggest an unambiguously positive stance, whereas this is far from always the case. Philosemitism does not imply normaliza-

tion. Alongside antisemitism, it is a form of “allosemitism”: the view that Jews are, in some sense, radically different or exceptional. Nonetheless, positive attitudes toward Jews, even when heavily tinged with ambivalence, have played an important role in Jewish history and in Jewish-Christian relations at numerous junctures.

For the early church, the survival of the Jews as a dispersed minority was both meaningful and necessary. In Augustine of Hippo’s classic formulation, the Jews, as a “witness people,” preserved and transmitted crucial evidence for the truth of Christianity. Their suffering was also not to be permanent: the final completion of the church’s mission would be signaled by the conversion of even these most obdurate enemies of Christ. As guardians of this mission, various medieval monarchs and in particular the papacy periodically asserted themselves as “protectors” of the Jews, a role reinforced in documents such as Pope Innocent III’s *Constitutio Pro Judeis* (Edict in Favor of the Jews [1199]). Such “protection” was, of course, by no means incompatible with humiliation, and it also frequently overlapped with economic motives for promoting the presence of a vulnerable and readily taxable Jewish community. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the rise of Christian Hebraism intensified the intellectual dimension of the Christian fascination with Jews. In England, a powerful strain of philosemitic interest in Jews, fueled both by Hebraist scholarship and by conversionist zeal, played an important role in the readmission of Jews between 1655 and 1666.

In the eighteenth century, a discourse on the “improvement” of the Jews emerged. Although this was widely based on very negative assumptions about the nature of Judaism and Jewish life, it was also not infrequently inflected with an idealizing anticipation that, once freed from their exclusionary burdens, the Jews might rediscover the agricultural and military prowess of their biblical forebears. As early as 1714, the English Deist John Toland evoked the great prosperity and power that would ensue if the Jews were to resettle in Palestine. The exceptional theological status of the Jews made the prospect—and, in the nineteenth century, the reality—of their social transformation heavily overdetermined with

meaning, in which admiration for the Jews' cultural or economic virtues were often closely intertwined with a more negative view of these same traits as being based on a conspiratorial or atavistic clannishness.

The German dramatist Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's play *Nathan the Wise* (1779), in which the Jew Nathan is presented as an idealized mouthpiece for the Enlightenment principles of toleration and human fellowship, remains a classic of modern philosemitism. As the most obvious beneficiaries of the establishment of civic rights in the wake of the Enlightenment, Jews were also closely associated with these values. Support for the Jewish cause in such incidents as the Damascus blood libel (1840) and the Mortara Affair (1858), as well as during the pogroms in Russia in 1881 and 1882 and later, was widespread among non-Jewish liberals, especially in the English-speaking world. A heightened sympathy for Jews among evangelical Christians contributed to support for these causes, as did an eagerness to condemn the intolerance of the Islamic, Catholic, or Slavic worlds: the fair treatment of Jews was, for many anglophone liberals, a key marker of the superiority of their own societies.

In the post-Holocaust era, philosemitism has become much more widely expressed. This is particularly the case in Germany, where, during the early postwar years in the West, an idealized enthusiasm for Jews and for expressions of Jewish culture emerged in public discourse and where Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* has risen to great popularity. This idealization, however, can often appear uncritical or fantastical. The religiosity, cultural traditionalism, or ethical nobility of the Jews of the philosemitic imagination often do not match the realities of contemporary Jewish existence. These philosemitic stereotypes also undoubtedly distort perceptions of the Israel/Palestine conflict. The strong attachment of many American evangelical Christians to Israel plays a significant role in contemporary U.S. politics. The Zionism of some of these groups, however, is based not only on a conversionist stance toward Jews but also on an eager anticipation of the unfolding in the Holy Land of apocalyptic biblical prophecies. Philosemitism could scarcely take a more double-edged form.

—Adam Sutcliffe

**See also** Augustine of Hippo; Damascus Blood Libel; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Innocent III; Middle Ages, High; Middle Ages, Late; Mortara Affair; Pogroms; Zionism

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#### Physics, “German” and “Jewish”

The anti-Jewish measures put into effect after the Nazis rose to power in 1933 had catastrophic consequences for physics research in Germany. Almost a quarter of the physicists were dismissed, 80 percent of whom emigrated. Among them were many Nobel Prize winners, including Albert Einstein, James Franck, and Max Born, as well as their numerous assistants and students. Physics in Germany suffered losses it has never made up.

The expulsion of Jewish physicists from German universities and research institutes was followed by an attack aimed at banishing their achievements from Germany. The struggle against “Jewish physics” waged by supporters of Nazism targeted the “Aryan” colleagues of the Jews who remained behind and who continued to practice modern theoretical physics, especially in regard to the theory of relativity and quantum theory. To combat the supposedly ever-growing and baleful influence of “Jewish physics,” the weapon of “German physics” was called into being. Jewish physics was defined as the destructive adversary of German physics. Its origins considerably predated the Third Reich, however. During the 1920s, periodical literature in the field was already displaying racist political tendencies. The increasing importance given to the theory of relativity and the use of mathematical methods in modern research generated controversies that were later embraced by the German



Philipp Lenard receives congratulations from the rector of Heidelberg University, Dr. Paul Schmitthenner, for his honorary degree. (AIP Emilio Segre Visual Archives, Physics Today Collection)

physics assault. But only after 1933 did this trend assume crass and threatening forms.

Although the champions of German physics constituted a group of only about twenty-five individuals, the support they drew from the Nazi regime enhanced their power and influence. The phenomenon was limited to Germany and lasted just fifteen years or so. Its founders were the Nobelists and convinced Nazis Philipp Lenard (1862–1947) and Johannes Stark (1874–1957). Lenard set forth his views on the subject in a four-volume work, *German Physics* (1936), arguing that only the naive could believe that science was “international” rather than the product of blood and race. The physics of the Jews had gained enormous influence at the end of World War I, when, to his way of seeing things, Jewish power had become paramount in the Weimar Republic. Einstein sought nothing less than to revolutionize and dominate physics, but Jews lacked the Aryan’s understanding and appreciation of truth: “Jewish physics is no more than an

illusion, the degenerate offspring of fundamental Aryan physics” (Lenard, *Deutsche Physik*, IX–XI).

Lenard made Nazi racism and antisemitism the unambiguous basis for German physics and placed the rejection of Einstein’s theory of relativity at its core. However, his book did not make clear just how the work of German physics could be carried out. Nor did German physics ever produce a basic program. Certain “guidelines” could be culled from a collection of speeches on the opening of the Phillip-Lenard Institute in Heidelberg (in 1935), in lectures on Jewish and German physics by Wilhelm Müller and Johannes Stark, and in articles printed in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Naturwissenschaft* (Journal for the Natural Sciences). German physics adhered to the universally recognized theories of matter—excluding quantum mechanics and relativity theory. Lenard’s ideas concerning ether and Stark’s model of the atom were meant to replace these essential elements of modern physics. The research of the German physicists was to be carried

out in utter “harmony with nature” and to rely on exact observation and experiment. Mathematical tools were to be used as sparingly as possible, serving only as a means of clarifying experimental results.

It was, however, on the basis of the two rejected modern theories that Stark and his associates believed the opposition between Jewish and German physics could best be demonstrated. The two racially based physics stood for totally opposite values: on one side lucidity, on the other ambiguity. Order, clarity, law, and precision based on solid evidence supposedly distinguished German physics from the chaos, vagueness, license, and relativizing mental gymnastics of Jewish physics. Pitted against each other were the “deep-penetrating mind of the Aryan” and the surface-skimming formalism and “cold intellect” of Jewish physicists, who renounced all principle. As Stark formulated it, the “German pragmatic mind” contested the “Jewish dogmatic mind.” There were two species of physics, but only one was legitimate. The polemic against the theory of relativity became increasingly shrill by the end of the 1930s, resorting to insult and censure. The “general relativity madness” was among the “trivial pet notions of mathematicians,” the product of “conspiracy and mass suggestion,” and finally no more than the “great world bluff of the Jews” (Stark and Müller, *Jüdische und deutsche Physik*, 1941).

Stark became increasingly strident, changing the thrust of his attack to include not only the Aryan physicists whom he accused of teaching Jewish physics but also younger scientists whose research, he proclaimed, breathed the same spirit as Einstein’s. His main target was Werner Heisenberg at the University of Munich. In 1937, Stark gave his blessing to an article that appeared in the SS journal *Das Schwarze Korps*, entitled “White Jews in the Sciences” (*Weisse Juden in der Wissenschaft*). In it, Heisenberg was cited as a typical example of those who acted as proxies for Jewry in the intellectual life of Germany; they, just like the Jews, would have to vanish (*Das Schwarze Korps*, July 15, 1937). The fallout from this effort was that Heisenberg was unable to succeed to the chair held by the eminent Arnold Sommerfeld; instead, it was bestowed on

the wholly unqualified aerodynamics specialist Wilhelm Müller, zealous party member and champion of German physics. With this victory, German physics achieved the high point of its influence and was emboldened to demand that a distinction be made between “responsible and irresponsible theory.” Its supporters held six chairs in physics at the time.

The atmosphere of hostility and politicalization proved unbearable for the pursuit of modern theoretical physics in Germany. Matters came to a head when an attempt was made to bring exponents of German physics and other physicists together to arrive at some sort of compromise. On November 15, 1940, the ironically labeled Munich “religious disputation” sought to bring the German physics group to accept and acknowledge scientifically verifiable facts and tools, notably relativity and quantum theory, and to desist from conducting polemics in the guise of science. The Munich deliberations, followed by another meeting, resulted in a signed agreement by the German physics group. It acceded to the demands of modern theoretical physics, especially in regard to relativity and quantum theory, but shorn of their potential metaphysical or political ramifications. For example, the agreement solemnly rejected any connection between the theory of relativity and a universal philosophical relativism. Another face-saving gesture declared it desirable that physics move beyond mere formalism to gain a deeper understanding of the atom.

For most physicists, the agreement was doubtlessly a banal exercise, simply acknowledging what was obviously necessary for the pursuit of scientific research. It did, however, clear the air, allowing scientists to teach and elaborate modern theory without limitation and to base their own work on modern concepts. Most physicists held to the agreement. German physics, however, steadily lost influence. With the end of the Third Reich, the phenomenon of “German physics” and “Jewish physics” speedily disappeared.

—Charlotte Schönbeck  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Degeneration; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Psychoanalysis; *Schwarze Korps*, *Das*; Weimar

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### Pius IX, Pope (1792–1878)

Pius IX was the pope responsible for convening the First Vatican Council, which opened in December 1869 and continued until permanently suspended in October 1870 in the wake of the fall of the Papal States. This council's most famous decree involved the definition of papal infallibility. Pius IX hoped that the council might instill new vigor into European Catholicism in particular, as it confronted the challenge of Enlightenment liberalism and the related attack on the Catholic Church's political power.

Pius IX had the second-longest tenure of any pope in history (1846–1878), and his papacy had a significant impact on the church worldwide. The shape he gave the church persisted in significant ways until the reforms undertaken by Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council he convened, which largely reversed the generally hostile posture toward the secular order that prevailed during Pius IX's pontificate. The difference between Pius IX and John XXIII is especially stark on the question of the church's relationship to Jews and Judaism.

Pius IX impacted the Catholic-Jewish relationship in two significant ways. The first involved his strong attack on liberal modernism,



Pope Pius IX. Following the revolution of 1848 and 1849, Pius IX embraced a reactionary agenda and re-introduced most of the old restrictions on the Jews. (Library of Congress)

which he regarded as the archenemy of the church and of a moral social order. Although he tended to associate primarily Protestants and secularists with such liberal modernism—or Freemasonry, as it was called in many circles—liberal Jews also felt the brunt of his attack directly or by implication.

In his confrontation with the liberal and socialist political movements that were transforming the face of Europe by insisting on human rights and religious freedom, ideas regarded as fundamentally pernicious by the popes of the nineteenth century, Pius IX struggled to maintain papal authority and influence over European states. At the beginning of his papacy, he was considered somewhat more moderate in his attitude toward liberalism than his immediate predecessors, who regarded notions of religious liberty as satanic in origin. But as the threat to the Vatican's continued sovereignty over the Papal States intensified, Pius IX grew ever more vocal in his condemnation of liberalism and its insistence on religious liberty. This papal attitude profoundly affected the situation of Jews, both religiously and in terms of civil rights, in countries where Catholicism was the dominant religion. This was

especially the case in the Papal States at the moment when Pius IX's attack peaked in his famous Syllabus of Errors, issued in 1864, in which he described religious liberty as an "absurd principle."

In subsequent years, the church's attack on liberalism increasingly centered on the Jews, who were explicitly connected with Freemasonry in countries such as France and Poland. At the time of the rise of Nazism, the attack on Jews as Freemasons became a major source of antisemitism, which significantly muted the church's response to Hitler's mass murder of the Jews. Pius IX clearly laid the groundwork for a "new antisemitism" through the Syllabus of Errors and other writings.

The second situation involving Pius IX and the Jews had to do with the infamous kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara. Edgardo was secretly baptized as a child by a Catholic servant girl while he was ill. When this was discovered, the Catholic Inquisitor ordered the police to take Edgardo from his parents and send him to live in a Catholic institution in Rome; there, Edgardo was instructed in the Catholic faith. The incident became an international cause célèbre, with interventions made to Pius IX by Napoleon III and Sir Moses Montefiore. But the pope would not budge on the issue. The Jesuit newspaper *Civiltà Cattolica*, with close Vatican ties, launched a campaign against Edgardo's parents, arguing that they were motivated by hostility to the Catholic Church. Eventually, Edgardo was ordained a priest.

This case permanently tarred Pius IX and the Vatican. In Italy, it led to new legislation regarding parental rights that undercut the church's traditional control over all aspects of people's lives.

—John T. Pawlikowski

**See also** Alliance Israélite Universelle; Center Party; *Civiltà Cattolica*; Freemasonry; Mortara Affair; Papacy, Modern; Vatican Council, First; Vatican Council, Second

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## Pius XII, Pope (1876–1958)

The response of Pius XII (r. 1939–1958) to the challenge of the Holocaust has been the subject of much controversy since the 1963 appearance of Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*. This discussion has often become polemical, as evidenced by John Cornwell's book *Hitler's Pope*. For some scholars, such as Peter Gumpel, S.J. (who has been officially examining the cause of Pius XII for possible canonization), there is little question that the pope responded with great courage and humanity to the plight of the Jews and other Nazi victims. He was responsible, according to Gumpel, for saving hundreds of thousands of Jews and therefore deserves eventual sainthood. Gumpel's view is reflected in the 1998 Vatican document on the Holocaust, *We Remember*.

Those arguing for a positive evaluation of Pius XII's response often cite statements by Jewish leaders such as Joseph Nathan of the Italian Hebrew Commission, A. Leo Kubowitzki of the World Jewish Congress, and Israeli prime minister Golda Meir, who, at the time of his death, praised the pope publicly for his efforts on behalf of Jews. Although these testimonials need to be included in any comprehensive assessment of his papacy, they do not represent the totality of thinking on Pius XII. Within the Jewish and Christian communities, there are trenchant critiques that also must be taken seriously in any overall assessment of Pius XII's record during the critical period of the Holocaust. It is unfounded to claim that criticism of this pope only began with the appearance of Hochhuth's play.

Pius XII's critics, both Christian and Jewish, argue that his public silence regarding Jews contributed to the staggering loss of Jewish lives under the Nazis. They seriously question the claim made by Gumpel and *We Remember* that he saved "hundreds of thousands" of Jews. Rather, they portray Pius XII as a rather cold and even callous person, a man with a deeply inward spirituality whose principal concern was preserving the institutional well-being of the church and consolidating papal power. As some of these critics would admit, Pius XII made a few efforts to save Jews, but their rescue never became a high priority for him.

An objective evaluation of the scholarly re-

search thus far yields a very mixed picture of his papacy. Clearly, he made some important diplomatic interventions in Hungary, Italy, and Slovakia. He also let rescue efforts by convents of nuns and priests, as well as by certain papal nuncios, continue without interference. It seems that certain Catholic resistance groups, especially in France, understood his generic pleas for victims as applying specifically to the Jews.

But important questions remain. Did Pius XII wait too long to make any significant interventions, a point stressed by the late Gerhart Riegner of the World Jewish Congress? Did he use the tools at his disposal—for example, the diplomatic representatives of the Holy See (papal nuncios)—as effectively as he might? What about his positions right after the war toward the guilt of German Catholics and his attitude toward the Catholic efforts to help Nazis flee to South America? Such questions require additional research.

The case of Pius XII regarding the Holocaust is far from closed. New documents of significance continue to be found, such as one that indicates the papal secretary of state had delivered a rather strong, private letter to Ambassador Joseph Kennedy denouncing Nazism and its treatment of the Jews. From what we know at present, Pius XII was neither the great moral hero that some of his defenders make him out to be nor a man totally unconcerned about Jewish suffering and death under the Nazis, as many of his critics contend. What the final evaluation of his moral leadership will be remains an open question.

—John T. Pawlikowski

**See also** Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; October Roundup; Papacy, Modern; Slovakia, Holocaust in; Ultramontanism

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## The Plan of the Hierarchy

The Plan of the Hierarchy, according to initiates, is the multistage program for establishing the New Age on earth. Its disciples regard “the Plan” as designed and directed by the “Hierarchy of Ascended Masters,” a cadre of divine disembodied beings, evolved over many lifetimes, who offer their accumulated wisdom to guide humankind to divinity. According to Alice Bailey, the New Age spokesperson who first outlined the Plan in the 1930s (as dictated to her by Hierarchy member Djwhal Kuhl), this program is a nonnegotiable package to be embraced in its entirety by all who desire to enter the coming age.

The Plan’s details appeared in Bailey’s *Externalisation of the Hierarchy* (1957), a book restricted to an inner circle until 1975, when disciples received a Hierarchy directive to go public. Many New Age leaders have since expanded on Bailey’s outline, but her version remains the authoritative blueprint. The Plan’s centrality is emphasized in the introduction: “It is this revelation which lies behind all the activities which now engross the attention of the Hierarchy.” Of prime interest for the subject of antisemitism is “the Plan for World Religion,” which begins with two goals: (1) “the reorganization of world religions” to purge them of “ridiculous” beliefs, singling out “the churches” for this spiritual overhaul, and (2) “the gradual dissolution of the orthodox Jewish faith.” Orthodox is defined here as all Jewish theology with a “separative emphasis” (monotheism), “hatred of the gentiles” (particularism), and “failure to recognize the Christ.” Bailey noted repeatedly in her writings that this “Christ” is not the Jesus of Christianity but the New Age divinity known as Maitreya—a member of the Hierarchy’s triune Logos, who, together with Sanat Kumara and Lucifer, will direct the Plan on earth.

Only after these two stages are accomplished will the third stage commence: “preparation for a revelation which will inaugurate the new era and set the note for the new world religion [and] the appearance of the Hierarchy on earth.” Bailey predicted that by the time this “world religion” is implemented, “the old theological activities will have been completely broken; Judaism will be fast disappearing.”

Elsewhere in *Externalisation*, Bailey described this plan to eliminate Judaism in the context of a cosmic war between “the Lords of Light” and “the Dark Forces,” an ancient struggle in which the latter won the last round and defeated the New Age Hierarchy, forcing these entities to withdraw from the earth. The Plan, therefore, is a strategy enlisting human involvement in the Hierarchy’s ongoing war, enabling them to return to earth and vanquish their Dark Foe, alternately identified by Bailey as the Jewish God, faith, and/or people.

—Hannah Newman

**See also** Aquarius, Age of; Bailey, Alice A.; Jewish Force; New Age

### Pobedonostsev, Konstantin (1827–1907)

Konstantin Pavlovich Pobedonostsev was born into an intelligentsia family of clerical–petty bureaucratic origins in Moscow. He was educated in the imperial School of Jurisprudence in St. Petersburg and embarked on a long career of state service in 1846. He served as an official in the Russian Senate, the supreme legal institution of the empire, and as a lecturer in law at Moscow University. He moved to St. Petersburg and served as tutor to the heir to the throne until the heir died in 1865, and then he tutored the future Emperor Alexander III. Pobedonostsev played an active role in the design of the reforms that transformed the Russian legal system in 1864. He was appointed a senator in 1868, and in 1880, he was made the director general of the Holy Synod, the bureaucratic governing body of the Russian Orthodox Church, a post he held until his forced retirement in 1905.

Pobedonostsev had a strong political influence on Emperor Alexander III and, to a lesser extent, on his son and successor, Nicholas II. This was of crucial importance because Pobedonostsev became increasingly conservative in the later years of the “Era of the Great Reforms.” He was especially dismissive of popular democracy and constitutional government, which he famously branded as “the great lie of our time.”

The high point of Pobedonostsev’s influence came in the crisis period that followed the assas-

sination of Emperor Alexander II in 1881. The Council of Ministers urged the new tsar to confirm an action that Alexander II had taken in the last hours of his life—a decision to create an elective, consultative assembly. Pobedonostsev was the lone dissenting voice, but he persuaded the new emperor to discard this quasi-constitutional experiment and safeguard his full autocratic powers. This decision launched the “Era of the Counter-Reforms.”

The secondary literature has consistently depicted Pobedonostsev as a leading antisemite and a proponent of an aggressive campaign to convert Russian Jews to Christianity. Branded the “Grand Inquisitor of the Russian Orthodox Church,” he is alleged to have said that the solution to the Jewish Question in Russia would come about when “a third [of Russia’s Jews] will be converted, a third will emigrate, and a third will die of hunger.”

In fact, Pobedonostsev was not a doctrinaire antisemite, although he came to see Jews as a symbol of change—which he detested—and used the pejorative word *Yid* as a synonym for *liberal* or *progressive*. In large part, he borrowed these attitudes from his social milieu, which included writers such as Fyodor Dostoevsky and the journalist Ivan Aksakov. They, in turn, acquired these sentiments from non-Russian sources, largely German antisemites. Pobedonostsev never encouraged the wholesale conversion of Russian Jews. Indeed, he considered many Jewish converts to be unprincipled renegades. He was more concerned with possible religious influences of Judaism on the peasant masses, fearful that it would promote religious sectarianism. Between 1881 and 1882, Pobedonostsev ordered Orthodox priests to deliver sermons denouncing the widespread pogroms.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Pogroms; Russia, Imperial; Russian Orthodox Church

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## Pogroms (Russian, 1881)

The Russian term *pogrom*, etymologically related to words meaning “break,” “smash,” and “plunder,” came into common usage in Russia and abroad as a result of the approximately 250 anti-Jewish incidents in the southwestern provinces of the Russian Empire from the spring of 1881 to the summer of 1882. The term replaced the usual bureaucratic terminology referring to “disorders” (*bezporiadki*) or “clashes between the Jews and the Christian population.” In the early twentieth century, the meaning of the term expanded to include violence directed by right-wing groups, the so-called Black Hundreds, against Jews and other national minorities and liberal political elements. In the Soviet Union, the term became synonymous with *counterrevolutionary*, losing the anti-Jewish associations that it continues to retain in the West.

The 1881–1882 pogroms, which began with an outbreak in Elisavetgrad (Kirovgrad) on April 15, 1881, according to the Julian Calendar, were extremely diverse. They ranged from major urban riots (Elisavetgrad, Kiev, Smela, Balta), which were characterized by extremes of looting and destruction of property, to minor tavern brawls and petty vandalism. The military was often obliged to assist the suppression of the urban riots. Approximately twenty-five Jews were beaten to death in the course of the pogroms; about the same number of perpetrators, the *pogromchiki*, were killed by the armed forces. There were occasional rapes, but they were not the mass phenomenon of contemporary legend. The pogroms traveled in waves along communication arteries, such as railroads and rivers, spreading out from urban epicenters to peasant villages in the surrounding countryside. Pogrom mobs carefully differentiated their targets: only Jews and their property were victimized.

The pogroms generated a vigorous national debate in the Russian Empire. The government initially attributed the outbreak to the same revolutionaries who, a month earlier, had assassinated Emperor Alexander II. The conservative press and much of the liberal press attributed the violence to a popular protest against Jewish exploitation. Under Minister of Internal Affairs N. P. Ignatiev, the government eventually ac-

cepted this interpretation, which was reinforced by the reports of provincial commissions that were created by Ignatiev in 1881 to investigate Jewish–non-Jewish relations.

Some liberal publications and virtually all of the Jewish press attributed the violence to the restricted legal position of the Jews, especially in the Pale of Settlement. In the eyes of the unsophisticated peasant masses and the urban rabble, they argued, restrictions placed Jews outside the protection of the law and made them an inviting target for “the lovers of other people’s property,” as many official reports of the time referred to the rioters. Some members of the revolutionary movement welcomed the pogroms as a starting point for a wider social revolution. A manifesto, later repudiated by the revolutionary Narodnaia Volia (People’s Will Party) as a whole, praised the masses for attacking the Jews, while urging them to move against other class enemies.

Ignatiev’s acceptance of the “exploitation” theory of the pogroms induced a dramatic reversal of Russia’s Jewish policies, which previously had involved a variety of strategies aimed at acculturation, integration, and assimilation. Ignatiev’s so-called May Laws of 1882 were designed to segregate Jews by removing them from peasant villages and to reduce their economic power within the Pale.

Historians have seen the events of 1881 and 1882 as a major turning point in modern Jewish history in eastern Europe, as well. Jewish intellectuals, they affirm, moved away from liberal, integrationist ideals toward a modern Jewish politics characterized by political activism and a higher ethnic consciousness. This thrust was expressed in the proto-Zionist movement Hoveve Tsion (the Lovers of Zion) and the emergence of Jewish forms of socialism, especially the wing of the Social Democratic movement known as the Jewish Workers’ Bund. Nonetheless, some Jewish liberals remained committed to reform rather than emigration or revolution.

The pogroms prompted a surge of Jewish emigration from eastern Europe and a debate as to whether the preferred destination should be Palestine or the United States. Approximately 30,000 refugees left the empire in the immediate aftermath of the violence. Despite the dra-

matic symbolism of the pogroms, however, after 1882 the absence of economic opportunities for a pauperized Jewish population remained the chief “push factor” promoting the extensive emigration.

The 1881–1882 pogroms gave rise to a mythology that endured well into the twentieth century. It was claimed that the outbursts were organized, possibly by a group of loyalist court officials known as the Holy Brotherhood or by the Jews’ mercantile rivals in Moscow. Historians such as S. M. Dubnow asserted that the pogroms broke out simultaneously in far-flung areas and that they followed a common, three-day pattern. Provincial officials were accused of tolerating the pogroms, if not actually fomenting them, and there was allegedly a sustained press campaign that prepared the climate for the pogroms by accusing the Jews of having killed Tsar Alexander II.

The opening of the tsarist-era archives, briefly after 1917 and more widely after 1991, has led contemporary scholars to challenge the main elements of this myth. There is no archival evidence of advanced planning of the pogroms, nor any evidence that they were welcomed or tolerated by the national or local authorities. A thorough reading of the press failed to discover a press campaign blaming the Jews for regicide. There were, however, widespread rumors among the population that this was the reason the ruler had issued a decree to “beat the Jews.” The origin and nature of these rumors remain unclear.

The pogroms of 1881 and 1882 were an exception to the generally peaceful relations between Jews and their Christian neighbors in eastern Europe. They were also an indication of growing interethnic tensions in the Russian Empire. In particular, they created a dangerous precedent and a model for future pogroms, which proved to be much more violent and deadly.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Black Hundreds; Kishinev Pogrom; May Laws; Pale of Settlement; Russia, Imperial; Socialists on Antisemitism; Zionism

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## Poland (1918–1989)

### 1918–1939

Divided between Germany, Austria, and Russia for 123 years, Poland regained its independence on November 11, 1918. Much of eastern Europe was then in the grip of revolution, war, and civil war. Caught in the middle of numerous ethnic conflicts, Jews were the victims of thousands of pogroms, dozens of them in Poland. The American observer Henry Morgenthau estimated that the eight largest pogroms on Polish soil between 1918 and 1919 cost 230 lives.

Ethnic Poles made up 70 percent of the population of the reborn state, together with Ukrainians (14 percent), Jews (10 percent), Germans, Lithuanians, and Belorussians. The Jews, distinct not only by religion but also by culture and language (85 percent spoke Yiddish), were considered a national rather than a religious minority; numbering 3.3 million by 1939, they formed by far the largest Jewish community in Europe. Jews made up 30 percent of the population of Warsaw and some other large cities; in the smaller towns, or shtetls, of eastern Poland, they were often the majority.

Nearly all Polish political parties (the Jews had their own) agreed that the Jews were, in some sense, a problem for Poland, but they differed on the diagnosis and cure. For the parties of the Left, the problem was the Jews’ “separateness,” and the solution was assimilation on the Western pattern. The right-wing parties regarded the Jews as un-



A demonstration against repression and antisemitism by Polish Jews at Łódź, Poland (1933). (Mary Evans Picture Library)

similable and a threat; they promoted discrimination and emigration, economic boycotts, and sometimes violence. Only a small group of liberals were prepared to accept Jews as they were, but this group included Józef Piłsudski, the dominant political figure of the interwar period. After taking power in a coup in 1926, Piłsudski formed a new political party that was ideologically amorphous and based on loyalty to the leader himself; it was nicknamed “the Sanacja” (sanitation) for its promise to clean up political life. The Sanacja stayed in power until the outbreak of war, but after Piłsudski’s death in 1935, the more right-wing elements gained control of it. Although the Sanacja clamped down on the wave of anti-Jewish violence that broke out between 1935 and 1937, it allowed schools and universities to introduce anti-Jewish quotas (the *numerus clausus*), endorsed the right-wing National Party’s eco-

nomic boycott of the Jews, nationalized some industries in which Jews were predominant, and limited ritual slaughter. In the international sphere, it proposed that Madagascar be made a Polish colony for the purpose of resettling Jews. When war broke out in 1939, the Polish government was actively considering its own version of the Nuremberg Laws.

Despite antisemitism and widespread poverty, the Jewish community in interwar Poland was the most vibrant and one of the freest in Europe. A wide range of Jewish political parties operated, and although they had little success nationally, they wielded some influence at the local level. An alliance of the Jewish Workers’ Bund and the Polish Socialist Party was the dominant force in city politics in Warsaw and Łódź; Krakow elected a Jewish mayor. There was a thriving literature in Yiddish that included the work of the future

Nobel Prize winner Isaac Bashevis Singer, and many daily newspapers in Yiddish and Polish catered to a Jewish readership. A Yiddish-language theater and movie industry flourished, in which many leading figures in Hollywood and vaudeville got their start. There were Jewish sports and social clubs, as well as a scientific institute, the Jewish Research Institute (YIVO), in Vilna. A majority of Poland's doctors and lawyers were Jewish, and Jews predominated in many spheres of business. Though it was difficult for Jews to advance in the military and the civil service, Poland did have one Jewish general, Benjamin Mond. Julian Tuwim and Antoni Słonimski, both Jewish, are considered two of the finest poets in the Polish language; pianist Artur Rubinstein and violinists Bronisław Huberman and Henryk Szeryng enhanced Poland's reputation abroad.

### 1939–1945

Nazi Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, launching World War II. On September 17, Soviet forces also invaded, under a secret agreement with the Nazis, and the two countries divided Poland between them. Eastern Poland fell under Soviet rule, western and northern areas were annexed to the German Reich, and central Poland became the German-administered General Gouvernement. Over 300,000 Jews fled from the German to the Soviet zone between 1939 and 1940 (and 50,000 went in the opposite direction). In the Soviet zone, all non-Communist political parties and social organizations were suppressed, and some 800,000 Poles and 200,000 Jews were deported to Siberia. In the German areas, Poles were rounded up for forced labor in Germany, killed in mass executions, and imprisoned in concentration camps. The camps at Auschwitz and Lublin (Majdanek) were first established in 1940 to house Polish prisoners. Eventually, more than 1.5 million Poles died under German occupation. Jews, in the meantime, were forced into ghettos, where starvation rations and overcrowding caused mass deaths from famine and disease. Jews were also forced to work in labor camps, where harsh conditions resulted in a high mortality rate. The Nazi-created Jewish Councils and the Jewish underground tried to alleviate the conditions in the ghettos,

but their resources were very limited. Half a million Polish Jews died in the ghettos and labor camps, but in some ghettos, underground cottage industries and large-scale smuggling brought in enough food and income, illegally, to keep the majority alive for a time.

In June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union, and the Soviet-occupied areas of Poland came under Nazi control. Mobile killing units (Einsatzgruppen) operated behind the front lines, massacring Jewish men and then women and children as well. The Nazis also succeeded in inducing the local population to carry out pogroms in a few towns in Poland and elsewhere. Jews who survived the massacres and pogroms were forced into ghettos.

Experimental gassing of Soviet prisoners was carried out at Auschwitz in the fall of 1941, and the methodical killing of Jews began at the newly built extermination camp in Chelmno in December. Starting in the spring of 1942, new extermination camps at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka began implementing Project Reinhard, the complete destruction of the Jews of the General Gouvernement. Small gas chambers also went into operation at Auschwitz; large installations were added a year later. It is estimated that 150,000 Jews were killed at Chelmno, 1.1 million at Auschwitz, 1.6 million in the Project Reinhard camps, and 60,000 at Majdanek.

By the fall of 1943, the great majority of Polish Jews were dead. The Project Reinhard camps were razed; Jews remaining in labor camps in the Lublin district were massacred in the "Harvest Festival" action on November 3, 1943, and the last of the large ghettos in Lodz was liquidated in July 1944.

The Jews were kept in the dark, and the liquidation of the ghettos took place too quickly to give them much chance to respond, but when they could, they hid inside the ghettos, fled from them, or organized armed resistance. The Warsaw Ghetto uprising (in April and May 1943) is the best-known example of armed resistance, but there were dozens of smaller episodes, including prisoner revolts at Treblinka, Sobibor, and Auschwitz. Thousands of Jews also took to the woods and fought as partisans, and about 1,000 Jews fought in the Polish uprising in Warsaw in 1944.

## 1945–1989

About 350,000 Polish Jews survived the war, the great majority in the Soviet Union. Of those who had lived under German occupation, 40,000 survived in concentration and labor camps, 46,000 in hiding or passing as Aryans, and 13,000 as partisans or in “family camps.” About 20,000 ended the war in western Europe and never returned to Poland. Thousands of Jewish children, adopted by Polish families, learned of their Jewish roots only years later, if ever.

Those who returned frequently encountered hostility. More than a thousand Jews were murdered in property disputes or by right-wing diehards who blamed them for bringing communism to Poland. Several pogroms broke out, most notoriously in Kielce on July 4, 1946, when as many as forty-two Jews were killed. When some of the perpetrators were tried and hanged by the Communist authorities, protest strikes and demonstrations took place all over Poland.

The Communists tried to reestablish Jewish life, founding Yiddish-speaking Jewish communities in territory gained from Germany, but the postwar violence induced most Jews to leave the country. Zionists organized the *bricha* (escape) movement, through which many Jews reached Palestine and (after 1948) Israel. By 1950, only 45,000 Jews remained in Poland, many of them active Communists.

De-Stalinization in 1956 brought the new, more nationalist regime of Władysław Gomułka to power and with it a purge of party apparatchiks, especially Jews, who became scapegoats for the “mistakes” of the Stalinist era. Thousands of Jews emigrated, but several thousand more returned to Poland in 1957 in the final wave of postwar repatriations from the Soviet Union.

Most of the remaining Jews emigrated as a result of the anti-Zionist campaign of 1968, when prodemocracy demonstrations in March, in which some Jews were prominent, led to a crackdown and a renewed search for scapegoats. The Warsaw Pact’s alliance with the Arab states, recently defeated in the Six Days’ War, provided the excuse for a campaign to root out “Zionist spies.” Jews were forced out of government posts and pressured to emigrate; after the campaign, only

4,000 Jews remained in Poland, and Polish-Jewish relations became a forbidden subject.

The rise of the Solidarity movement in 1981 revived discussion of Polish-Jewish issues. Claude Lanzmann’s 1984 documentary *Shoah*, which painted an unflattering picture of Poles, was shown on Polish television, and a vigorous debate followed. Subsequent conferences in Oxford (in 1984), at Brandeis University (in 1986), and in Jerusalem (in 1988) reestablished dialogue between Polish and Jewish academics, leading to the establishment of Jewish studies institutes at several Polish universities and a modest revival of Jewish life in Poland. In the final years of the Communist era, a dispute arose between Jews abroad and the Catholic Church over the construction of a convent 2 miles from the ruins of the gas chambers at Auschwitz. After long delays, the convent was finally moved in 1993.

—Steven Paulson

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Boycott of 1912; Dmowski, Roman; Einsatzgruppen; Ghetto Benches; Holocaust; Jedwabne; Jewish Question; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kielce Pogrom; Kosher Slaughtering; National Democrats; Nuremberg Laws; Poland since 1989; Purge of 1968; Stalinization of Eastern Europe; Zionism

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## **Poland since 1989**

Since the end of communism in Poland in 1989, a full range of tendencies has surfaced in political groupings, including parties modeled on the National Party (with its antisemitic ideology), supported by some elements in the Polish Catholic Church. Most notable is the openly antisemitic radio station Radio Maryja, headed by Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, which is opposed by the Catholic hierarchy but claims 4 million listeners. Most post-1989 governments have been liberal in their outlook, however, and many Polish intellectuals have faced up to the challenges of the past. Exemplary scholarly studies of the Kielce pogrom, the “anti-Zionist” campaign, and other issues have appeared, and Polish scholars now make a full contribution to Holocaust journals and conferences. Jewish concerns about the representation of the Holocaust at the Auschwitz State Museum and other issues connected with the camp site led to the appointment of a joint Polish-Jewish advisory committee, which, working with the government and museum staff, has resolved most of the problems. Warsaw has a long-established Jewish theater, which performs plays in Yiddish; there is a chief rabbi once again, a functioning synagogue in Warsaw, and a synagogue and yeshiva in Krakow, where a festival of Jewish culture is an annual event. The Museum of Jewish History is being built in Warsaw with government support. The Ronald Lauder Foundation helps to maintain Jewish memorial sites in Poland and to promote the revival of Jewish life.

Troubling issues continue to arise, however. The “battle of the crosses” at Auschwitz started with a well-meaning attempt by Polish high school students to memorialize the camp’s victims by planting both crosses and Stars of David at the “field of ashes” near the crematoria. These were removed after Jewish protests. But in 1998, requests to remove a giant cross from a site near the camp prompted extremists to erect hundreds of crosses at the site. The government intervened, fining the organizer for spreading hatred and moving the additional crosses to a nearby monastery, but the main cross remains. Officials explain that it marks the spot where Pope John Paul II said mass on his 1979 visit, a highly significant moment in Polish history, and that it

overlooks a part of the camp that was mainly occupied by Polish prisoners.

The publication in 2000 of Jan Tomasz Gross’s book *Neighbors*, documenting the 1941 pogrom that destroyed the Jews of the small town of Jedwabne, sparked both an official inquiry, which substantially confirmed Gross’s findings, and an unprecedented public debate in all Polish media. President Aleksander Kwaśniewski offered a symbolic apology on behalf of his nation, and the primate, Cardinal Józef Glemp, said a solemn commemorative mass. Glemp’s remarks acknowledging the participation of Catholics in the massacre were highly qualified, however, and no church representative attended the sixtieth-anniversary ceremony in the town. The parish priest led the townspeople in a boycott of the ceremony, and the new plaque unveiled on that occasion does not mention the perpetrators.

The issue of property restitution is still unresolved. A law providing for the restitution of communal property was passed in 1997, but individual claims pursued through normal legal channels have been delayed or obstructed. A law that would have provided individual restitution or compensation only for current Polish citizens and residents, effectively excluding Jewish claimants, was passed by the Sejm (parliament) in 2001 but vetoed by Kwaśniewski after international protests.

—Steven Paulsson

**See also** Jedwabne; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kielce Pogrom; National Democrats; Poland; Stalinization of Eastern Europe

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## **Polná Ritual Murder (1899)**

In April 1899, Leopold Hilsner (1876–1928), a lowly Jewish shoemaker, was falsely accused of the “ritual murder” of the nineteen-year-old Christian girl Anežka Hružová in Polná, Czech Republic (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). The “blood libel” case created a political sensation that was sometimes compared to the contemporaneous Dreyfus Affair. However, un-

like Alfred Dreyfus, who was exonerated after a twelve-year investigation and reinstated in the army, Hilsner was never vindicated.

At his first trial in September 1899, Hilsner was convicted on indirect testimony and despite a lack of convincing forensic evidence. He was sentenced to death, a verdict immediately confirmed by the Supreme Court in Vienna. Hilsner's attorney, Zdenko Auředníček, and sociology professor Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (eventually the first president of Czechoslovakia) succeeded in a call for a legal review. In October 1900, Hilsner was brought before a second court on the same charge and was convicted again. This time, an additional murder dating from 1898 was attributed to him, with the same key witnesses as in the first trial. This verdict, too, was swiftly confirmed by the Viennese Supreme Court. There were many protests from abroad, especially from France and Germany, by legal experts, journalists, and moral authorities. But within the Habsburg monarchy, only a few protested, notably Masaryk and Rabbi Joseph Samuel Bloch. Bowing to foreign opinion rather than domestic pressure, Kaiser Franz Joseph commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment in 1901. Thereafter, all subsequent pleas for rehabilitation were rejected.

The aftermath of the case is important. Not until March 1918, in a general amnesty granted to all hardened criminals, was Leopold Hilsner given his freedom. Later that year, he was the protagonist in a film called *Der Fall Hilsner* (The Hilsner Case). The film was censored immediately by the police, and its release in altered form was delayed for a year; once released, it was only shown in the Jewish district of Vienna. In 1922, earning his living as a traveling salesman, Hilsner changed his name to Heller in an attempt to escape his continuing notoriety. But even after his death in 1928, the case continued to be exploited. Adolf Hitler was familiar with it, and Julius Streicher made Polná part of a special ritual murder edition of *Der Stürmer*, an act he was later called to account for at the Nuremberg Trials of Major War Criminals.

During his life and after his death, Hilsner met with very little sympathy from Jews and non-Jews alike. The Prague Jewish community

refused to help him find work after his release from prison, and the Jewish luminaries of his day remained silent about the injustices he had suffered. In the year 2000, the private initiatives to commemorate Hilsner and renovate his grave in Vienna brought only an indifferent response from the Austrian authorities. Even though the Czech minister of justice overturned the two verdicts of the lower courts regarding Hilsner's guilt (in 1998), the decisions of the Supreme Court in Vienna remain in force, and all pleas for their annulment in past years have been rejected.

—Petr Vašíček

*See also* Austria; Bloch, Joseph Samuel; Dreyfus Affair; Ritual Murder (Modern); Streicher, Julius; *Stürmer, Der*

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## Populist Movement

The history of the United States has had many populist movements. *The Populist movement*, however, was a short-lived rebellion of farmers and their allies during the 1890s. Officially organized in the People's Party, the Populists sought to deepen economic and political democracy by contesting corporate control of transportation, money, land, and the ballot box. They won several seats in Congress and also gained control over some state legislatures and governorships. The Populists' main strength was in the Great Plains and the South. Yet their national visibility, along with their radicalism, made them the most powerful third-party movement in the history of the United States.

The extent and nature of Populist anti-Semitism is one of the most contentious intellectual issues for those seeking to understand Jew-hating in the United States. Indeed, over the course of the last eleven decades, the *interpreta-*

*tion* of Populist antisemitism has become a historically and culturally important subject in its own right. Up through the New Deal, most scholars treated the Populists as staunchly democratic, part of the country's tolerant, progressive tradition of reform. With the ascendance of Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s, however, many intellectuals self-consciously turned against the masses who seemed to have inspired and certainly supported the bombastic demagogue.

The result was a full-scale rethinking of the Populists. Prominent historians from the Northeast, such as Harvard University's Oscar Handlin and Columbia University's Richard Hofstadter, wrote compelling indictments of the Populists' less attractive "soft side." In 1955, Hofstadter said, "The Greenback-Populist tradition activated most of what we have of modern popular anti-Semitism in the United States" (Hofstadter 1955, 80). Others went further, accusing the Populists not just of casual verbal antisemitism, as had Hofstadter, but also of laying the foundation for a homegrown tradition of American fascism.

With the restoration of confidence in the American radical tradition in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars reexamined populism and gave it a nearly clean bill of health. From the late 1950s, John Higham, Norman Pollack, Walter Nugent, and Lawrence Goodwyn began to recapture "the Tolerant Populists," which became the title of a book by Nugent. Pollack, following in the footsteps of the prestigious southern historian C. Vann Woodward, was particularly emphatic that the attack on the Populists went beyond what the archives supposedly revealed about the "myth of populist antisemitism" and was, in fact, part of a larger cultural battle between defenders and critics of popular democracy.

At the start of the twenty-first century, the pendulum has swung once again, and it is now possible to look at the issue of Populists and antisemitism in a less heated environment. The historical record is mixed and confused. Many Populists did engage in a search for the "Shylock" bankers who had come to control the global economy. Several prominent Populist authors blamed the House of Rothschild for agrarian misery, and still others told of scheming, devious, inbred commercial Jews. The fiery orator Mary

E. Lease labeled President Grover Cleveland "the agent of Jewish bankers and British gold" (Hofstadter 1955, 79).

Such antisemitism—as significant as it was—seems pale in comparison to the upper-class Judeophobia of the national elite. The Populists never made antisemitism part of their formal political program. Ignatius Donnelly, one of the most prominent Populists, represents the ambivalence of the movement on the Jewish Question. He condemned the historical persecution of the Jews while deploying classic stereotypes in his popular writings.

In the end, the Populist moment of the 1890s bequeathed to its various successors a suspicion of elites and a taste for conspiratorial explanations that have, at times, nurtured antisemitism. Yet to point to the Populists as the exclusive or even a primary source of modern American antisemitism is itself an exercise in scapegoating.

—Robert D. Johnston

**See also** Agrarian League; Banker, Jewish; Ford, Henry; Norris, Frank; Rothschilds; Shylock; United States; Watson, Tom; Wharton, Edith

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## Pork

Although the understanding of Judaism in Christian popular culture is often rudimentary, it is evident that one of the few widely known facts about Jews is their religious avoidance of pork. Dietary prohibition of the flesh of the swine (Lev. 11:7–8) and distant recollection of the story of Eleazar (2 Macc. 6), who endures a terrible death by torture rather than submit to eating pork, lie behind the perverse antisemitic linkage of Jews

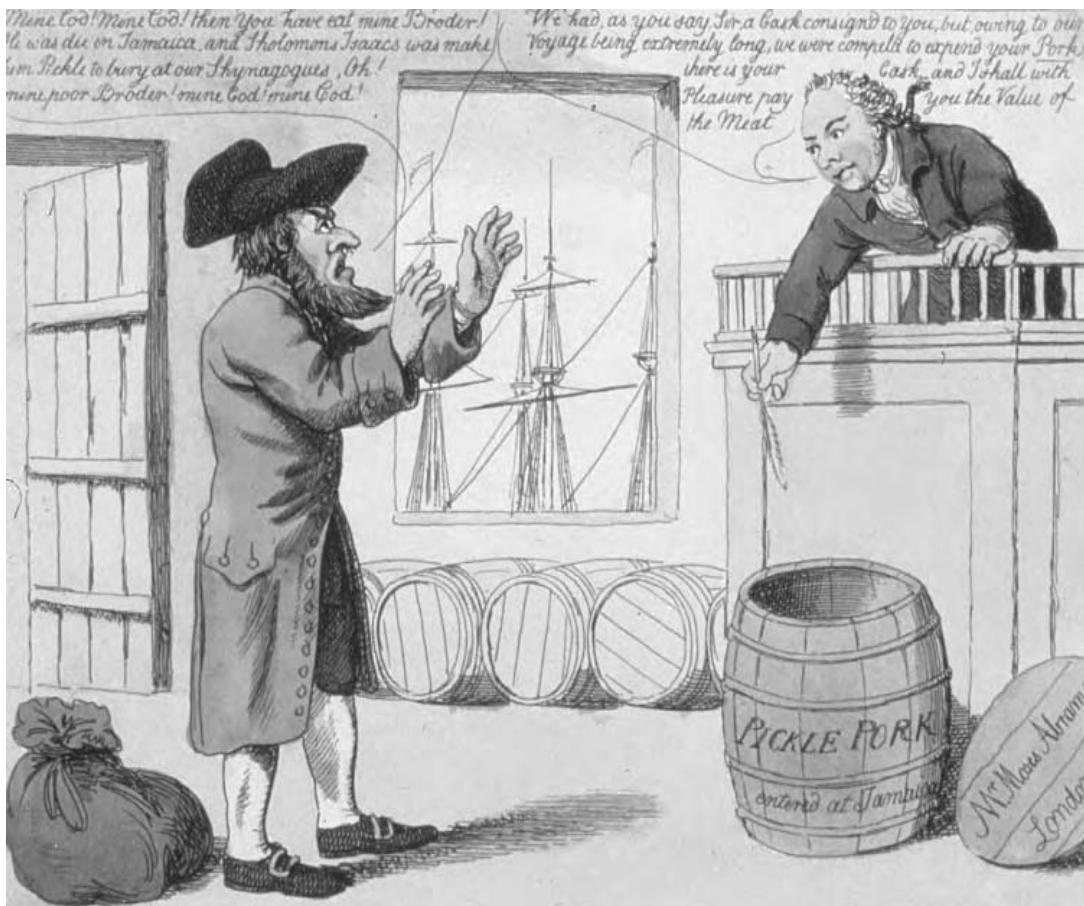


Eleazar Refuses Pork. A leading citizen of Jerusalem, Eleazar refuses to eat foods proscribed by the Jews' dietary laws and is killed by order of the king Antiochus IV. (Mary Evans Picture Library)

and pigs. At its most terrifying, the linkage manifests itself through the image of the *Judensau* (Jew's pig), but folkloric tales, proverbs, and antisemitic jests abound that play on the same connection (See illustration in *Judensau*). "Invite not a Jew to pig or pork," instructs a seventeenth-century English proverb, advice that is reiterated by the antiquary John Aubrey (1626–1697), who claims that "'twas always the Fashion for a [Christian] man to have a Gammon of Bacon, to shew himself to be no Jew" (*Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ca. 1686). Bizarrely, Jews are often associated with that which they most abhor. In a tale that can also be traced back at least to the same period, the daughter of a convert to Judaism is born pig-faced, but when she eventually reverts to Christianity, her visage transforms to that of a beautiful young woman.

Representation of the Jews as porcine can be found on European cartoons and postcards from

as recently as the first half of the twentieth century. Through several states in eighteenth-century Germany, road tolls were levied at turnpikes for Jews and pigs. Another tale that may have its origins as far back as the fifteenth century relates that after the death from natural causes of a Jewish merchant living abroad, his brother arranges for his body to be cut up and pickled before being shipped home for burial in a barrel marked "pork." En route, the ship is becalmed, and the hungry sailors pry open the barrel to consume its contents. An early nineteenth-century English caricature, *Pickled Pork* (1802; Rubens, no. 913, *The Jew as Other*, no. 45), captures this fictitious incident, which also survives as a contemporary street ballad (Ashton 1968, 170–172). Recollecting the treatment of Eleazar, an ultimate insult was to force-feed an observant Jew with pork, though conjoined with this was the conviction that once a Jew tasted swine's meat, he would



*Pickled Pork.* This early nineteenth-century English caricature tells the grisly tale of a man who arranges for his brother's body to be cut up and pickled before being shipped home for burial in a barrel marked "pork." (Jewish Theological Seminary)

recognize the error of his ways and become a good Christian. An English print of 1764, *The Conversion of Nathan* (Rubens, no. 866, *The Jew as Other*, no. 46), captures such an episode.

Although the Jews' taboo of pork was well known, it was often put out that their overt detestation concealed a secret desire for the forbidden meat. In Thomas Bridges's novel *The Adventures of a Bank-Note* (1770–1771), we witness "the ugliest dog of a Jew [falling on] the pork with such eagerness, that I expected he would not so much as leave the shank unswallowed." Charles Dickens probably had this notion in mind in *Oliver Twist* (1837–1839) when he depicted Fagin employing a devilish toasting-fork to turn the saveloys (pork sausages) that he is preparing to

eat. Finally, in one of the most overtly antisemitic representations of the Jews' supposed hankering after pork, *Humors of Houndsditch* (1813; B.M. Cat, no. 12146; Rubens, no. 940), the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson recaptured the grossness of the Judensau in depicting a plump Jewish woman gratifying her carnal impulses by embracing a young sucking pig.

In all these instances, the use of pork is intended to iterate fundamental differences between Christian and Jew. In modern Jewish humor, as Christie Davies reminds us, the prohibition is sometimes employed as a comic reminder of the bounds of one's faith in an age of religious laxity.

—Frank Felsenstein



*The Conversion of Nathan*, 1764. Although the Jews' taboo of pork was well known, it was often put out that their overt detestation concealed a secret desire for the forbidden meat. (Jewish Theological Seminary)

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Dickens, Charles; Iconography, Christian; *Judensau*; Rowlandson, Thomas

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## Pound, Ezra (1885–1972)

After graduate study in Romance languages at the University of Pennsylvania, the American poet

Ezra Pound moved to Europe in 1908. In London before and during World War I, he made himself the mentor of a group of writers who would soon become famous: teaching them, finding money for them, and badgering editors into publishing them. Just one of his accomplishments during that period was the shaping of an unsorted pile of verse fragments into the most influential poem in twentieth-century literature—T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*. To look at the facsimile of this manuscript is to understand that Pound was to literature what Sergei Diaghilev was to dance and music: the impresario who changed everything. It is impossible to overstate Pound's historical importance.

But World War I was cataclysmic for him. Though he did not serve himself, his closest friend, a brilliant young sculptor, was killed in the war, and the senseless loss left him searching his mind for an explanation. During the course of two more moves—to Paris in 1921 and then to Rapallo, Italy, near Venice, in 1924—he began writing what he called “a poem including history,” *The Cantos*.

That work, which would occupy the rest of his life, is a vast lyric on the scale of an epic; it is longer than *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* together, organized not as a linear narrative but as an anthology of what Pound called “luminous moments,” and written not just in English but in French and Italian, with passages in other languages ranging from Greek to Chinese to Egyptian hieroglyphics. Beginning with an episode translated from *The Odyssey* into a modern English version of Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse, *The Cantos* in its polyphonic language tells what Pound hoped would be the story of humanity itself—including humanity in its economic aspect. The son of an official in the Philadelphia mint, Pound had always been interested by the concepts of money and exchange. Now living in newly Fascist Italy, he sang to the world that it might heal itself of poverty, war, and debasement by casting off Jewish economics and the Jewish God. In his spare time, he also recovered the forgotten music of Antonio Vivaldi from the Venetian archives.

During World War II, without renouncing his U.S. citizenship, Pound made propaganda broadcasts to England and the United States from Fascist Rome. This activity, of course, constituted the capital offense of treason, for he was giving aid and comfort to the enemy while the United States was at war. Arrested by U.S. forces at the war’s end, he was flown to Washington, found unfit to stand trial by reason of insanity, and committed to a mental hospital. There, for the next thirteen years, he added to *The Cantos*; translated Sophocles and Confucius; sent forth a stream of letters; and held court for visiting poets, scholars, students, Jew-haters, and eccentrics with “ideas about money.” Released in 1958 at the urging of a group of the most distinguished writers in the United States, he returned to Italy, giving the Fascist salute as he stepped off the ship. At his death, *The Cantos* remained unfinished.

From the 1930s onward, a number of his fellow poets (notably Basil Bunting, Marianne Moore, and James Laughlin) tried to talk Pound out of his antisemitic obsessions, but on the subject of Jews, Pound was beyond reason. Indeed, hospital records and his recently published letters

from the 1940s and 1950s make clear that his antisemitism was a mental illness. But even at its most acute, the antisemitism was nourished by the same culture that had brought forth Pound’s great work of cultural synthesis. In fact, Pound’s oeuvre is an exemplary case of the historical groundedness of antisemitism. How, then, are we to read it? The question remains unanswered, and an answer is required. Readers who wish to begin thinking about it may consult the references in the list that follows.

—Jonathan Morse

**See also** Eliot, T. S.; English Literature of the Twentieth Century; Mussolini, Benito

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## Prague Massacre (1389)

The first document mentioning Jews in Prague dates from the tenth century; the first evidence of a Jewish community comes from the end of the eleventh century. Many Jews in the city were murdered, robbed, or forced to convert during the Crusades. Nonetheless, a vibrant and important community developed in the city during the High and Late Middle Ages and in the early modern period, and a number of important scholars resided there.

The general insecurity of Jews throughout Europe in that era was made evident when many Jews in Prague were killed on Easter Sunday and one of the last days of Passover in the year 5149 of the Jewish calendar (April 18, 1389). The immediate cause was a charge of host desecration levied by a priest, who claimed that he and the host had been pelted by rocks thrown by Jews. The Prague events were recorded in various Jewish chronicles and described in a *selihah* (penitential prayer) written

by the renowned Prague rabbi and Kabbalist Avigdor Kara (d. 1439):

Great dismay we had to bear,  
Countless wounds drew our blood.  
Yet no sufferings could tear  
From our hearts the trust in God . . .  
Yet the worst of our foe's crimes  
Occurred in the year 5149,  
When heavy fell our Lord's scorn  
On Golden Prague, the city of beauty we  
mourn  
Towards the end of the holy days  
Of Passover blood stained our ways.  
Without any reason they drew their knives  
And slaughtered our men, children and  
wives.  
Our homes, our precious homes, they  
burned,  
Together with all our dear ones within.  
Helpless and shuddering we learned,  
What it is to lose one's home and kin.  
Woe to the day that made us to suffer  
When wild grew the mob, the drunkard,  
the duffer,  
With axes and other weapons of dread  
Our brothers' and sisters' blood was shed.

It is estimated that thousands of Jews were murdered during the devastation in Prague. Further, some took their own lives to escape their enemies, the synagogue was burned, holy books and scrolls were desecrated, and gravestones were overturned and destroyed. Despite the pressure for conversion mentioned in Kara's *selihah*, the few who converted to Christianity were probably older women and small children. Although the pope issued a bull on July 2, 1389, condemning the actions against the Jews and prohibiting forced conversions and efforts to keep them from their observances, the Jewish community of Prague had already been devastated, and Jews living in nearby communities were also being persecuted. The secular authorities, who, according to most accounts, were interested in appropriating Jewish possessions and resources, did little to assist them. In answer to the Jews' complaints, the Holy Roman emperor responded that they deserved the punishment they had received for

leaving their homes on Easter, when they were forbidden to do so.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Crusades; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Host Desecration; Middle Ages, Early; Middle Ages, High; Ritual Murder (Medieval)

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**Pranaitis, Justinas (1861–1917)**

Justinas Pranaitis was a Roman Catholic priest, Hebraist, and author of antisemitic tracts. Born to peasant parents in Panenupiai, Lithuania, he studied at the seminary of Sejny and the Roman Catholic Theological Academy in St. Petersburg; he graduated in 1887 with a master's degree and remained at the academy to teach Hebrew.

In 1892, he published *The Christian in the Talmud of the Jews, or The Secrets of the Rabbinical Teachings Concerning Christians*, a work based on his dissertation. By means of numerous citations in Hebrew and in Latin translations, he sought to demonstrate that the Talmud obliged Jews to injure Christians in multifarious ways and to work for their elimination. Pranaitis drew on the works of the German anti-Talmudists Jakob Ecker and August Rohling. The book received the imprimatur of the church and was published by the press of the Academy of Sciences. The Viennese priest Joseph Deckert produced a German edition in 1894, supplemented by quotations from the most recent antisemitic literature and reports of ritual murder trials. Pranaitis's work was translated into Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Italian, Spanish, and English (as *The Talmud Unmasked*). Today, it is still being distributed by extreme right-wing and clerical

circles and can be accessed from a number of antisemitic websites.

Pranaitis was active in the life of the Lithuanian community in St. Petersburg, where he gave religious instruction at several cadet schools. His special interest remained the “mysteries” of the Talmud, the Jewish religion, and their alleged close ties to Freemasonry. He published a series of articles in this vein, but they were criticized by contemporaries as slapdash and dilettantish, the work of a pseudoscholarly antisemite. From 1902, he lived in Tashkent, where he served the Roman Catholic community and did missionary work in Turkestan.

Pranaitis achieved dubious fame through his participation in the Kiev trial of Mendel Beilis, who was accused in 1911 of murdering a Christian boy for ritual purposes. In September 1912, as the trial gained worldwide attention, Pranaitis was commissioned as an expert witness for the prosecution because of his supposedly intimate knowledge of Judaism. Two months later, he laid before the court his “documentation,” titled “The ‘Secret of the Blood’ among the Jews” (*Tajna krovi u evreev*). In it, he sought to prove that Jewish religious law prescribed the murder of Christians and the use of their blood for magic and ritual purposes. The Beilis case, he claimed, bore all the characteristic features of a typical ritual murder. At the jury trial in Kiev in October 1913, he appeared in person as an expert on the Talmud, but his competence was challenged by knowledgeable Jewish and Russian theologians, who rejected the charge of ritual murder. The members of the jury, however, even though they acquitted Beilis, confirmed the blood accusation and allowed antisemites to claim at least a partial victory.

Seriously ill, Pranaitis returned to St. Petersburg for medical treatment and died there in January 1917. But according to antisemites, as legend would have it, he was tortured and murdered by Jewish agents of the Soviet secret police (Cheka), following the October Revolution of 1917.

—Michael Hagemeister  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Beilis Case; Freemasonry; Judeo-Bolshevism; Ritual Murder (Modern); Rohling, August; Russia, Imperial; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Talmud Trials

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### Preziosi, Giovanni (1881–1945)

Considered one of the most important Italian antisemitic theorists and propagandists, Giovanni Preziosi directed journals specifically aimed toward creating and winning adherents for a political and cultural struggle against Jews. Thanks to his inspiration, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was introduced and popularized in Italy.

Preziosi was born into a middle-class southern Italian family, studied philosophy, entered the priesthood, and became a strong supporter of conservative Catholicism. In 1911, he left the priesthood, although he retained a strong inclination toward the authoritarian moral positions of the Catholic Church.

He became a journalist and entered the debate about Italian emigration, founding *Vita italiana all'estero* (Italian Life Abroad), a magazine strictly dedicated to emigrants’ problems; this, in turn, led to the establishment of his famous monthly *Vita italiana* (Italian Life). In July 1915, he urged Italian entry into World War I, violently criticizing as defeatist and anti-Italian all those who advocated nonintervention. After the humiliating defeat of the Italian army at Caporetto in 1917, he joined the Parliamentary Front for National Defense, one of the several nationalist and anti-democratic movements that would eventually merge into Italian fascism.

A Fascist militant and participant in Benito Mussolini’s March on Rome in 1922, Preziosi distinguished himself as an aggressive crusader against socialism. However, it was in the struggle against the Jews that he exercised his greatest influence on Italian history. *Vita italiana* essentially became a journal for the organization and dissemination of antisemitic thought; belligerent

racism and bullying rhetoric were its hallmarks. Interestingly, antisemitism had not been part of Preziosi's outlook before the defeat of Italian imperialist aspirations at the end of World War I. From that point on, however, the machinations of the Jews became his habitual explanation for all of Italy's woes, and antisemitism became the keystone of his entire outlook.

From 1919, *Vita italiana* grew increasingly shrill on the subject of the Jews. Their "double loyalties" and their sinister Zionism disqualified the thoroughly integrated and acculturated Jews from truly belonging to the Italian nation, as far as Preziosi was concerned. In this respect, the August 15, 1920, article titled "The Jewish International" can be seen as typical of his thinking; it also exemplified the several components that would come to characterize Fascist antisemitism generally—that is, the insidious and dangerous forces of plutocracy, Bolshevism, Freemasonry, democracy, and Judaism. Together, these evils constituted a gigantic international conspiracy that had denied Italy its fair share of the spoils of World War I and then continued to threaten the well-being of the nation. The many-sided threats to Italy and to all of Western civilization posed by international Jewry and its willing allies or hapless dupes remained constant concerns for Preziosi throughout the rest of his life.

His antisemitism, however, was not nurtured from Italian sources. Although not unknown in the nineteenth century, antisemitic literature did not have a great impact on Italian politics or society, with the exception of the entrenched anti-Judaism of the Catholic Church. Preziosi relied most heavily on *La Libre Parole* (The Free Word), the newspaper founded by Édouard Drumont, which had already injected the concept of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy into French politics. Preziosi's infatuation with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was fed by a series of articles published in 1920 by the *Morning Post* (London) and then as a book, *The Cause of World Unrest*. Henry Ford's more exhaustive treatment of the same themes in the *Dearborn Independent* also influenced him. Preziosi relied utterly on the fraud known as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to substantiate his every claim about Jewish evil. He published the work in Italian in 1921 and

edited further editions in 1937, 1939, 1944, and 1945, always arguing for its "inner truthfulness," even after the document's falseness had been well demonstrated.

Through the 1920s, Preziosi aligned himself with the most radical antisemites in Europe, especially with the National Socialists in Germany. Never satisfied that his own Fascist regime took the Jewish Question as seriously as it should, he tirelessly hammered away, demonstrating how the prophecies of the *Protocols* were coming true. With the acceleration of the Fascist campaign on racism in the aftermath of the Ethiopian War and with the passage of the antisemitic Racial Laws of 1938, Preziosi at last came into his own, publishing his views not only in his own paper but in the national press as well. He reached out to Catholic readers by republishing anti-Jewish articles from the 1890s, in the hope that the pious would be persuaded by a language and an imagery more familiar and less exotic than that of the *Protocols*. Preziosi's influence filtered into the daily press, where young and ambitious Fascist writers emulated his style and extreme rhetoric.

Preziosi zealously served the regime as a propagandist on the Jewish Question, but he yearned for the power that would allow him actually to direct the war against the Jews. He was incensed by the numerous exceptions to the Racial Laws that the authorities granted to individual Jews. He ceaselessly condemned this softness and attacked the so-called pietists, people inside and outside the government who resisted a rigorously enforced antisemitism. He gained governmental power as a minister of state in 1942, but after the fall of Mussolini and his restoration as a German puppet in September 1943, Preziosi was transferred to Germany, where he played an important role as Hitler's expert informant on the Italian situation. His last attempt to obtain enough personal power to achieve the ultimate solution to the Jewish problem was successful. On March 15, 1944, on direct German instigation, he was named Inspector General for Race, finally having achieved control of a governmental agency that would allow him, he hoped, to exterminate the Jews in Italy. Although he proceeded to the work with enthusiasm, putting in place a legal system mod-

eled on Germany's Nuremberg Laws of 1935, the progressive collapse of the German and Italian regimes limited the effectiveness of his work. While on the run with his wife and son, he committed suicide on April 26, 1945, and thus avoided having to answer for his crimes.

—Simone Duranti

**See also** *Cause of World Unrest, The; Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew; Drumont, Édouard; Ford, Henry; Gwynne, H. A.; Holocaust; Manifesto of the Racial Scientists; Mussolini, Benito; Nuremberg Laws; Protocols of the Elders of Zion; Racial Laws*

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### Protocols of the Elders of Zion

The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is a faked document that purports to describe the secret plan of a Jewish world conspiracy to gain world domination through the destruction of Christian states. Manufactured around the turn of the twentieth century, the *Protocols* can claim to be the most famous and most widely distributed antisemitic work of all time.

The *Protocols* allegedly is the verbatim record of a speech by an unnamed Jewish leader, delivered at the meeting of the fictitious Elders of Zion in an undisclosed location on an unspecified date. The speech—it is meant to be taken as a surreptitiously overheard confession—minutely details the strategy by which the Jews have been carrying on their destructive work. That work, with the help of the Freemasons, will come to fruition in the near future. With cynicism and brutal candor, the chief elder sets forth how class conflicts, rebellions, wars, and revolutions grind down the nations, while the manipulation of gold brings them to economic ruin and rationalism, materialism, and atheism utterly demoralize them. On the ashes of the old order, a ruthlessly efficient police state will establish the world government of the Jews under a king from the House of David. This king will be said to possess

charismatic powers; he will be honored and even deified by the people. Together with the Elders, who will designate themselves the benefactors of mankind, he will rule firmly over a peaceful, united, and ordered world whose inhabitants will live out their uneventful lives in satiated peace and quiet. Lurking behind this dull utopia, however, will stand a totalitarian regime manipulating the blind, spiritless mass of men and women by means of incessant propaganda, severe censorship, and an all-pervasive network of spies.

The first mention of the *Protocols* appeared in April 1902 in an article by the Russian journalist and notorious antisemite Mikhail Menshikov (1859–1918), who dismissed the work as a clumsy fake. The first documented publication occurred between August and September 1903 in Pavolaki Krusheván's St. Petersburg newspaper, *Znamia* (The Banner). It was entitled “Program for the Conquest of the World by the Jews.” The text of the *Protocols* used at that time, according to Krusheván, was a Russian translation from the original French transcription of the meetings of the so-called World Union of Freemasons and Elders of Zion. In the years before World War I, more than a dozen editions were published in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the provinces. The number of sections, or “protocols,” varied between twenty-two and twenty-seven; their contents also varied considerably, as did the information concerning the origins of the book. A connection to Zionism was sometimes claimed and sometimes denied. The version that became world-famous, consisting of twenty-four protocols, appeared for the first time in Tsarskoe Selo in 1905 in a devotional book entitled *The Great in the Small*, by Sergei Nilus. A Russian religious writer, Nilus interpreted the text in the framework of his apocalyptic vision as an omen of the imminent coming of the Antichrist.

Before the Revolution of 1917, the book struck few sparks in Russia. Nor is there any convincing proof that the *Protocols* led directly to antisemitic violence. The upheavals of war, collapse of monarchies, world revolution as proclaimed by the Bolsheviks, and postwar economic and social crises created a dire need for simple explanations and the naming of those responsible for the chaos. The *Protocols* perfectly fulfilled this need.



This 1934 cover for “The Jewish Peril,” one of the titles under which the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* circulated in French-speaking lands, makes use of familiar graphic motifs: a spider (a vulture, serpent, octopus, or vampire were common variants) endowed with grotesquely caricatured Jewish features, sitting atop the globe. (Courtesy of Michael Hagemeister)

Carried to western Europe and the United States in 1918 and 1919 by Russian refugees, the work was quickly translated into all major languages and disseminated in successive new editions.

The *Protocols* made a powerful impression in England, where a part of the respectable press, including the *Times* (London), was inclined to accept it as authentic. In the United States, Henry Ford found it to be a mighty tool in the struggle against “International Jewry.” In Germany, it immediately appealed to the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) Right, including the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg and the “Nestor of German anti-semitism” Theodor Fritsch, both of whom took

a large part in its dissemination. Hitler mentioned the *Protocols* in his early speeches and commented on it in *Mein Kampf*. Later, too, he expatiated on the Jewish world conspiracy but only rarely alluded expressly to the *Protocols*. Joseph Goebbels preached struggle against Jewish world domination and employed the image of the Jew as the “Antichrist of world history,” but he, like Hitler, rarely mentioned the book. Only once in his voluminous diaries does he refer to the *Protocols*, leaving open the question of whether it was genuine. The Nazi propaganda machine, however, issued new editions throughout the 1930s. The question of authenticity was finessed with references to the “inner truth” of the text.

The end of the Nazi era did not bring the public career of the *Protocols* to an end. Rather, 100 years after its first appearance, it is being distributed more widely than ever today, thanks largely to the Internet. Since the Holocaust, a broad assortment of groups has adapted the book to suit whatever specific antisemitic agenda is being pursued. Christian fundamentalists, Black Nationalists, Islamic extremists, neo-Nazi pagans, Holocaust deniers, New Age zealots, and communists who would replace the “class enemy” with “Zionist world conspirators” have all found what they required in the *Protocols*. When, why, by whom, and to what purpose the *Protocols* was originally fabricated remain unanswered questions. The most frequent assertion is that the text was produced in the late 1890s, at the time of the Dreyfus Affair and the First Zionist Congress, by operatives of the tsarist secret police (Okhrana) working in France. Commonly identified perpetrators are Piotr Rachkovskii (1851–1910), head of the Okhrana abroad, and his collaborator Matvei Golovinskii (1865–1920). The alleged intention of the book was to counter the modernization policies of the tsar’s finance minister, Sergei Witte, by portraying him as a tool of the Jews. There is, however, no concrete evidence for any part of this scenario. Recent research by Cesare De Michelis disputes the very existence of an original French manuscript as well as the actual involvement of the Okhrana or any other state agency. De Michelis has tried to demonstrate that the *Protocols*, as we know them today, are the result of a

complex reworking of a text that must have been written in Russia between April 1902 and August 1903 by reactionary antisemitic publicists. Their aim was to discredit the Zionist movement.

Since 1921, there has been indisputable evidence that large segments of the *Protocols* were compiled from older texts that had nothing to do with one another. The unknown plagiarists relied most heavily on the work of the French lawyer Maurice Joly (1833–1878), titled *Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu, or the Politics of Machiavelli in the Nineteenth Century*. Published anonymously in Brussels in 1864, this work was a biting political satire aimed at the authoritarian regime of Napoleon III. It makes no mention of Jews at all. Comparative textual analysis shows that more than 160 passages in the *Protocols*—two-fifths of the work—and even the chapter divisions are lifted directly from Joly. Another of the plagiarists' sources was *The Rabbi's Speech*, composed from a chapter of Herrmann Goedsche's potboiler novel *Biarritz* (1868). Borrowings from French and Russian light entertainment literature as well as from Fyodor Dostoevsky's novels supplied the rest of what the fabricators needed. Without exception, everything came from fictional texts.

Hannah Arendt pointed out that, with its depictions of a police state, leadership cult, mass propaganda, denunciation, the power of organization, and striving after world conquest, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* anticipated the characteristic features of totalitarianism in the twentieth century. The *Protocols* can certainly be read as a malign dystopia. But it is the thematic emphasis on the notion of a world conspiracy that has made the book undyingly popular. It retains—for some audiences—the power to simplify a confusing reality and to render it wholly transparent but only after the reader accepts its essential fiction of a world controlled and manipulated by a “hidden hand.” Beyond this, the *Protocols* offers a crystal-clear distinction between friend and foe—a Manichaean world that invites a community to band together *in* itself and *against* “the Other.” Finally, it promises a future consolation. Once the unseen enemy and his terrible plan have been exposed and overcome, the time of suffering ends and redemption beckons.

—Michael Hagemeister  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antichrist; *Biarritz*; Dearborn Independent and *The International Jew*; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Freemasonry; Fritsch, Theodor; Hitler's Speeches (Early); Internet; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Mein Kampf*; New Age; Nilus, Sergei; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on Trial; *Rabbi's Speech, The*; Rosenberg, Alfred; Russian Orthodox Church; Zionism

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#### **Protocols of the Elders of Zion on Trial**

The most extensive public inquiry into the nature of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* resulted from a suit brought by the Jewish community of Bern and the united Jewish communities of Switzerland against the Swiss National-Socialist League. The legal action was based on article 14 of the Bern cantonal law on offensive literature (defined as writings that might incite or teach someone to commit a crime, to endanger good morals, to violate gravely the feeling of decency, to exert a corrupting influence, or otherwise to arouse serious objections). The four individuals accused of distributing the *Protocols* included newspaper editor Theodor Fischer and Silvio Schnell, manager of the book department of the antisemitic Swiss National Front.

The trial began on November 16, 1933, lasted nearly two years, and involved three separate

court sessions. At the start, the court decided that it would consider whether the *Protocols* was genuine; the trial judge asked each of the parties to select an expert on this issue, and he appointed his own expert as well. The second session, from October 29 to November 1, 1934, was devoted to presentation of documents and testimony by witnesses, most of whom appeared on behalf of the plaintiffs. The witnesses included several participants at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, most notably Chaim Weizmann; two distinguished Freemasons; and a group of Paris-based émigrés from Russia, Jews and non-Jews, including Vladimir Burtsev, Count Alexander du Chayla, and several others. The third session lasted from April 29 to May 14, 1935, with much of it spent on statements by the expert for the defendants—Ulrich Fleischhauer, a retired colonel and head of the antisemitic Weltdienst (World Service) propaganda organization in Nazi Germany.

The legal action had a wider purpose: to challenge publicly a major component of the propaganda distributed worldwide by the Hitler regime. The international circumstances made it possible to conduct an exceptional collaborative inquiry into the *Protocols*. Elias Tscherikower, head of the Historical Section of the Jewish Research Institute (YIVO), coordinated the research effort in Paris, commissioning several studies on various aspects of the document's Russian context; the lawyer Aleksandr Tager, author of a notable book on the Beilis Affair, coordinated a search for relevant documents in Soviet libraries and archives. The circumstances of the collaboration are yet to be clarified, and much of the material produced by Tscherikower and his associates remains unpublished.

In turn, the Weltdienst organization mobilized considerable resources in support of the defendants. A number of Russian émigrés with right-wing and Nazi connections participated in this endeavor.

On May 14, 1935, trial judge Walter Meyer ruled that the *Protocols* was a forgery based largely on Maurice Joly's *Dialogues* and that it was "liable to excite hatred against a part of the population and lead to agitation and violence" (*Times* [London], May 15, 1935). Defendants

Fischer and Schnell had to assume a significant portion of the trial costs; the others were acquitted on technical grounds. Two years later, the Court of Appeal of Canton Bern set the verdict aside. In its judgment, although the *Protocols* constituted "writings of a very low class," it did not fall under the definition of the law on offensive literature (*Times* [London], November 5, 1937). Underscoring its view of the *Protocols* as "scurrilous" and "immoral," the appellate court did not award the defendants any damages. This legal "victory" on the appellate level has been used by defenders of the *Protocols* as "proof" of the book's authenticity.

—Henryk Baran

**See also** Beilis Case; Freemasonry; National Socialist German Workers' Party; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rosenberg, Alfred

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**Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1809–1865)**

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a journalist and early socialist political theorist, developed ideas that became the basis for many concepts in modern radical politics, especially international socialism, communism, and anarchism. Born into poverty in the Jura city of Besançon, Proudhon was self-taught and eventually became a printer. While practicing his craft, he became acquainted with the socialist theories of his day, especially those of the utopian socialist Charles Fourier, also from Besançon. Far more than Fourier, however, Proudhon attacked the Jews. He characterized them as parasitic forces of evil in the world, who had "made the European bourgeoisie, high and

low, in his image,” that is to say, the force behind the economic exploitation he saw as inherent in modern capitalism (in Poliakov 1974, 2: 207). In his writings, Proudhon sometimes used traditional anti-Jewish tropes, for example, calling the Jew “Satan,” but at times, he also employed xenophobic, racial, and conspiratorial categories of a distinctly modern cast. His rhetorical style influenced late nineteenth-century French antisemitic theorists, many of whom acknowledged his work explicitly.

Proudhon is perhaps best known for his radical statement, “Property is theft,” offered as an answer to the question he asked himself in his 1840 work *What Is Property?* Influential among workers, Proudhon described his system, which he called Mutualism, in his journal *Le Réprésentant du peuple* and in his most important works, *Economic Contradictions, or the Philosophy of Poverty* (1846), *The General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (1851), and *The Principle of Federation* (1863). As opposed to Karl Marx, his longtime opponent, Proudhon envisioned a world society without national borders or centralized authority. The world federation would not have states or laws but rather free contracts between workers organized in small, local associations with communal institutions of credit to support them. The revolution, he believed, would come not through a centralized authority, political action, or violence but through the free economic actions of the workers themselves. A participant in the short-lived French republican government of 1848, Proudhon was imprisoned in 1849 because of his outspoken criticism of President Louis Napoleon, who became emperor of France in 1852. Released from prison in 1852, Proudhon continued to criticize the government and was forced to flee to Belgium, where he continued to publish radical works until his death in 1865. His theories have remained a source of inspiration for working-class activists, anarchists, and theorists of a decentralized, nonnational world order; one could even argue that his influence can still be seen today in the antiglobalization movement.

Proudhon’s anti-Jewish statements were not systematically developed in comparison to those of the Fourierist Alphonse Toussenel, a contem-



Journalist and early socialist political theorist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon characterized Jews as parasitic forces of evil in the world. His rhetorical style influenced late nineteenth-century French antisemitic theorists, many of whom acknowledged his work. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

porary. Proudhon was, however, outspoken in calling for the expulsion of Jews from France, identifying them as foreigners, polytheists, and obstinate enemies of Christ who had thus placed themselves “outside of the human species” (in Poliakov 1974, 2: 208). Proudhon’s penchant for combining religious anti-Jewish stereotypes with decidedly new racial and economic prejudices makes him an important transitional figure in the history of antisemitism.

—Lisa Moses Leff

**See also** Fourier, Charles; France; Socialists on Antisemitism; Toussenel, Alphonse

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## **Psychoanalysis**

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalysis, was born in Freiberg, Moravia, a rural backwater within the Austrian Empire. He was the son of a Jewish wool merchant and grew up in a family environment of secular Judaism. In search of better economic opportunities, the family moved to the Austrian capital of Vienna, where liberal reforms removed the last vestiges of legal discrimination against Jews by 1867. But a severe economic downturn beginning in 1873, the year Freud entered university to study medicine, led to a revival of antisemitism and a search for a scapegoat in the large Jewish community of Vienna. For Freud, this wave of prejudice recalled a story his father had told him of having his cap knocked off by a Christian in Freiberg and being told to walk in the muddy street instead of on the dry sidewalk. Freud vowed never to be so subservient, and his conception and development of psychoanalysis, though rigorously scientific in its ambition, was thus marked by considerable defiance of convention and authority, reflective of his position as an oft-maligned outsider in Christian civilization.

The eruption of racial antisemitism in the last decade of the nineteenth century all but ended liberal Jewish influence in the governance of Vienna and of Austria. The upheaval, along with the controversial nature of the theories he was developing on the unconscious sexual origins of neurotic behavior, played a role in stalling Freud's academic career. His quotation of the seventh book of Virgil's *Aeneid* as the epigraph for his seminal *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) reflected both the disappointment and the defiance that helped prompt his exploration of the chaotic and unplumbed depths of the psyche: "If I cannot bend the higher powers, I will move the infernal regions."

The emphasis in psychoanalytic theory and practice on the sexual nature of human emotions and relationships from early childhood on was certainly objectionable to the strong Catholic and Protestant traditions in European society. But it was only after World War I that a widespread effort was made to associate Jews in particular with such "degenerate" ideas. The charge that psychoanalysis was an exercise in "pansexualism," for

example, often arose from a common cultural stereotype that associated Jews with mental and physical illness and with sexual disorder. By the 1920s, Freud himself was, with some justification, ascribing much of the resistance to psychoanalysis to antisemitism. That most of the early members of the psychoanalytic movement were Jews only exacerbated the problem. This preponderance was largely a response to the less-than-friendly reception Jews found in the medical profession in Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest in particular, which prompted Jewish physicians to seek refuge within the psychoanalytic movement. Freud consequently worried that psychoanalysis would continue to be regarded as a "Jewish science," a major reason why he so warmly welcomed Carl G. Jung, the son of a Swiss pastor, into the ranks of psychoanalysts. Freud tapped Jung as his heir apparent, to promote psychoanalysis as a widespread and confessionally neutral science.

Jung disappointed Freud badly, first by breaking with central tenets of Freudian analysis and later by flirting with the "Aryanization" of psychoanalysis in Nazi Germany. Jung's apostasy was, moreover, one especially dramatic instance of the growth and diversification of psychotherapeutic theory and practice in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century. Particularly in Germany, university psychiatry continued to be dominated by a model of the mind that insisted all mental illness was a result of physical dysfunction. Psychoanalysts were the most visible and organized of those who argued that mental illness was mostly psychological in origin. Their position was strengthened when psychiatrists proved unable to do much about the phenomenon known as shell shock during World War I. Individual psychoanalysts and psychotherapists, however, claimed significant success in addressing the symptoms of shell shock by means of psychological methods of treatment. A variety of psychotherapeutic—that is, non-Freudian—theories and practices became organized in Europe after the war and were particularly common in Germany, where psychoanalysts established training institutes in Berlin and Vienna.

In 1933, antisemitic agitation against psychoanalysis became official policy under the Hitler

dictatorship. For the Nazis, Freud's psychoanalysis was just another part of the Jewish conspiracy to undermine the Aryan race. In May 1933, Freud's books, along with those of many other Jewish and non-Jewish authors, were burned in the quadrangles of German universities. By the end of 1935, all Jewish members of the German Psychoanalytic Society had been forced to resign. The Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute was assimilated into the German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy, whose members sought to advance the professional fortunes of a properly "German" psychotherapy under the leadership of Matthias Göring, a cousin of Nazi bigwig Hermann Göring. It was the proclaimed task of the institute to unite the various schools of psychotherapy into a single theoretical and practical entity in service to the state and the nation. Along with this went systematic vilification of "Jewish psychoanalysis" as materialistic "dismemberment of the soul," even though non-Jewish psychoanalysts were allowed to train, teach, and practice at the institute.

In 1938, the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany meant the end of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute. Freud was allowed to emigrate to England when the Nazis concluded that his international fame, advanced age, and infirmity precluded his arrest. Jung, his former heir, had been recruited in 1933 as president of the International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy by German psychotherapists eager to prove their "non-Freudian" (that is, non-Jewish) professional credentials to a Nazi regime still officially and dangerously suspicious of a field so closely identified with the Jew Freud. Jung took the opportunity to advance the interests of his own school of analytical psychology, which substituted an emphasis on the religious depths of the collective unconscious for Freudian concern with individual sexual conflict. In the first years of the Third Reich, Jung made public statements on fundamental differences between "Germanic and Jewish psychology" and praised the course of events in Italy and in Germany that had culminated in the emergence of strong leaders in accord with the collective soul of their peoples. In the later 1930s, Jung began to view Nazism and

fascism with a more critical eye, and after the war, he denied that he had said anything of an antisemitic nature.

Paradoxically, perhaps, antisemitism among psychotherapists in Nazi Germany became less important as both the institute and the nation turned to the task of mobilizing German resources in the struggle for hegemony in Europe. German psychotherapists and psychoanalysts argued that they had an important role to play in keeping Germans psychologically fit to meet their national responsibilities. This turn away from the ideological assault on "Jewish psychoanalysis" meant that the distant and vacillating Jung became irrelevant to the affairs of psychotherapy in Germany and, after the outbreak of World War II, in Nazi-occupied Europe as well. By this time, almost all of the Jewish psychoanalysts had fled the Continent, eventually providing much of the basis for the huge postwar psychoanalytic boom in the United States. Since there were no longer any Jewish therapists or (with a few partial exceptions) patients in Europe, psychotherapists and psychoanalysts there turned to the practice of their newly organized discipline, leaving the wartime culmination of Nazi racial antisemitism to a specialized hierarchy and bureaucracy of mass murder.

The Holocaust largely discredited antisemitism, but in Europe, Nazism had almost completely destroyed the practice of psychoanalysis by Jews, at least in the years immediately following the war. For these reasons, antisemitic accusations about so-called Jewish psychoanalysis lost credibility. Ironically, in Germany, the protected practice of psychoanalysis at the Göring Institute from 1936 to 1945 contributed to the reemergence of organized psychoanalysis in the postwar era. In the process of professional reestablishment, few questions were raised about the conduct of psychoanalytic practitioners under the Third Reich. It was only in the 1970s that younger members of the psychoanalytic community in West Germany began investigating the history of their professional elders. (In East Germany, psychoanalysis was officially suppressed, not so much because of a specific antisemitism but because of the Marxist conviction that Freud was representative of bourgeois capi-

talist values.) In a final irony, the enthusiasm for psychoanalysis among younger practitioners often stemmed, in part, from psychologically complex and even problematic identification with Jews who had been so hideously victimized by Germans in the recent past.

—Geoffrey Cocks

**See also** Austria; Billroth, Theodor; Book Burning; Freud, Sigmund; Homophobia; Jung, Carl Gustav; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews

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## Pückler, Count Walter von (1860–1924)

Count Walter von Pückler was one of the strangest characters in the waxworks of antisemitic agitators in imperial Germany. From 1899 to 1907, he inherited Hermann Ahlwardt's mantle as Germany's most outrageous agitator. He by and large avoided the antisemitic political parties of his day and was also avoided by them. He made no contribution to antisemitic ideology and never published anything aside from leaflets replicating his numerous inflammatory speeches. He was eventually certified insane. Notwithstanding all these factors, it would be a mistake to dismiss the significance of Pückler or his radicalizing influence on antisemitic agitation. Julius Streicher's journal, *Der Stürmer*, lionized him in 1934 as a great National Socialist before National Socialism yet existed.

Born into a well-known and widely ramified Silesian aristocratic family, Pückler studied law and graduated from the University of Heidelberg in 1887 but then withdrew from the practice of law in 1891. Three years later, he acquired an estate in Klein-Tschirne, Lower Silesia. According to his own testimony, he became embroiled in a series of legal disputes in which he lost out to Jewish lawyers. This experience revealed to him that the Prussian state in general and the judiciary in particular were in the clutches of the Jews. He shared this new knowledge of overweening

Jewish control with local gatherings of agricultural organizations. The favorable reception he met with in this venue persuaded Pückler to present his antisemitic exposés in Berlin and its environs. There, he was taken up by Wilhelm Bruhn, editor of the unsavory and antisemitic *Staatsbürger-Zeitung* newspaper. Bruhn's unscrupulous promotional skills soon made Pückler Berlin's most prominent agitator, able to attract hundreds or even thousands to his rallies. Like no one before him in the relatively staid German Empire, Pückler openly urged the use of physical violence—including pogroms and mass murder—as the only solution to the Jewish Question. He also called on the burglars of Berlin to loot Jewish shops and homes. His picturesque, if brutal, language earned him the nickname “Dreschgraf” (scythe count).

Pückler repeated the attempt of Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker to bring antisemitism to the working classes of the capital, hoping to undermine the influence of the “Jewified” Social Democratic Party. He called on workers to practice what he called “Berlin Socialism,” that is, the peremptory expropriation of all Jewish property. But like Stoecker before him, Pückler failed to impress the proletariat. Instead, his rallies turned into circus performances that drew Berlin's sensation-hungry crowds of no particular class or politics.

Count Pückler was not a racist antisemite but rather a deranged religious fanatic who claimed that it was Jesus Christ himself who urged him to fight Jews and Jewry to the death. Apparently, there were enough like-minded individuals to organize a small but devoted circle of supporters into the Pückler Association (Pückler-Vereinigung). Six months of confinement in a fortress, three months of imprisonment, and numerous fines failed to stop him.

His lofty social standing and the influence of his family afforded him a degree of protection for quite some time. But when he finally extended his condemnations to the “Jewified” aristocracy, including the Hohenzollern dynasty, the judiciary, and the entire civil service—excepting only the army—the relative immunity he enjoyed when merely attacking Jews quickly evaporated. In 1908, he was judicially certified insane and in-

stitutionalized. His subsequent attempts to return to the political arena failed. Pückler died in obscurity in 1924.

—Christoph Jahr

**See also** Ahlwardt, Hermann; *Antisemitic Correspondence*; Antisemitic Political Parties; Stoecker, Adolf; *Stürmer*, *Der References*

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### Pudor, Heinrich (1865–1943)

During the imperial era in Germany, Heinrich Pudor was but one of many activists on the antisemitic scene. In the early years of the Weimar Republic, however, he gained special notoriety by explicitly condoning violence. His fame was short-lived. Early in the 1920s, his obsessive dogmatism served to marginalize him; even fellow extremists on the Right thought him mad.

Born in Dresden, the son of a member of the famous Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, Pudor experimented with the alternate lifestyle movement (*Lebensreform*) before World War I. Vegetarianism, anti-immunization, nudism, the "reform of clothing"—he neglected none of these trends of the moment. While engaged in such activities, he also became active, by 1890 at the latest, in antisemitic politics. He joined Theodor Fritsch's Organization of the German Middle Class (Deutsche Mittelstandsvereinigung) and the German Social Party (Deutschsoziale Partei) but became disillusioned as a result of the latter's lack of electoral success. Pudor confronted the failure of the antisemitic parties with publications calling for concrete measures against the Jews. In his "How to Get Them out of Here" (*Wie kriegen wir sie hinaus* [1913]), he, more categorically than many others, demanded the peremptory disenfranchisement of Jews.

His antisemitic writings were banned by the military censors during World War I, by which time his extremist antisemitism had begun to strain his loyalties to the German Empire. He ignored the political truce declared by all the parties at the outbreak of the war and became increasingly susceptible to violent solutions for the

Jewish Question. After the Revolution of 1918, he was one of the first antisemites to go onto the offensive, far in advance of the still passive German National People's Party and its sympathizers on the Right. In a pamphlet published in August 1919, Pudor managed to inject his views into the heated discourse on antisemitic tactics. Under the headline "Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?" he seriously recommended to his readers the value of the pogrom. He declared any means justified if it "frees us from the Jews" and that if the pogrom fulfilled this aim, there was "nothing to be said against it." Even Hitler felt compelled to enter the debate at that point, rejecting the pogrom (in the so-called Gemlich Letter of September 1919), while nonetheless advocating, somewhat enigmatically, the "general elimination [*Entfernung*] of the Jews."

Pudor isolated himself from the mainstream antisemites of the Weimar Republic. He remained skeptical about the Nazi Party and is not known ever to have been a member, although he occasionally penned articles for Hitler's newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (Racial Observer). He produced a host of lesser writings, including an autobiography, *My Life*, which contains interesting details about his prewar experiences but breaks off in 1914. In 1927, he was imprisoned for threatening the foreign minister of the republic, Gustav Stresemann. Not much is known about Pudor's life after 1933. He claimed to have received an honorary pension from Hitler's chancellery, but nonetheless, his publications were banned by the Nazis from 1940 forward.

—Dirk Walter  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; *Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?*; Fritsch, Theodor; Gemlich Letter; German National People's Party; Hentschel, Willibald; Hitler, Adolf; Settlement *Heimland*

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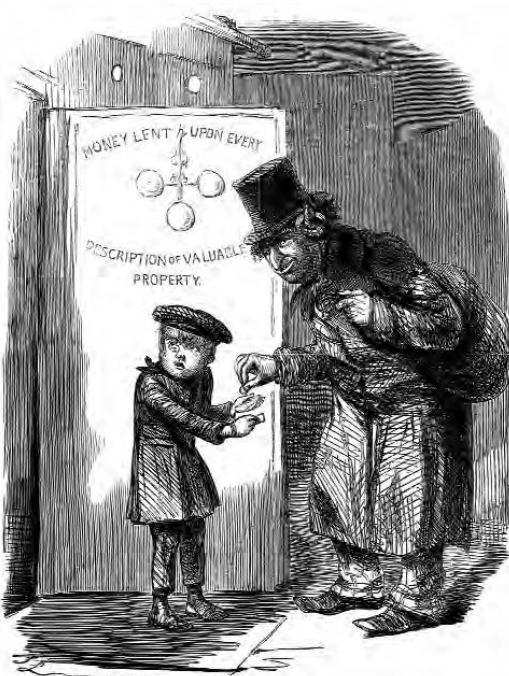
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### **Punch**

The British humorous and satirical illustrated magazine *Punch, or the London Charivari* was founded in 1841 and continued to appear without interruption until 1992. It was revived briefly in 1996 but ceased publication in 2002.

Purporting to be the mouthpiece of Mr. Punch, a humpbacked figure with a protruding nose whose ancestry harked back to puppetry and also perhaps to traditions of sixteenth-century Italian *commedia dell'arte*, the magazine projected itself, often with a strong strain of sardonic mockery, as the voice of the British people. Its attitude toward Jews, particularly in its earlier years, has been the subject of debate. Among its first contributors were a number of writers and illustrators, including the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray and the cartoonist John Leech, whose antisemitism pervaded their works. However, some scholars have questioned the significance of *Punch's* putative antisemitism, contending that the objective of the magazine was no more than to poke innocent fun. In the view of Anne and Roger Cowen, "One could accuse *Punch* of being unsympathetic to the Jews but when coming out with its views *Punch* was honest and forthright and not anti-semitic" (Cowen and Cowen 1999, xxii). Their remarks echoed those of M. H. Spielmann, *Punch's* nineteenth-century apologist, who had argued that some readers too easily "failed to appreciate *Punch's* robust irony" and that its hatred of Jews "was really only skin-deep, or, at least, was directed against manners rather than against men" (Spielmann 1969, 104).

Despite its earlier negative stance, *Punch* did finally show lukewarm support for Jewish emancipation, which Parliament acceded to in 1858. But in upholding such a position, Mr. Punch was not necessarily showing a new warmth toward Jewish rights. More probably, he was echoing the fundamental liberal beliefs of the day concerning the rights of man that stemmed from the Enlightenment and from the abolition of the slave trade throughout the British Empire in 1833. In 1851, for instance, during the year of the Great Exhibition in London, *Punch* frequently pointed to the paradox of the United States as a land of liberty that would not free its black slaves. Yet in



THE DEALER IN OLD CLOTHES

TEACHING THE YOUNG IDEA HOW TO STEAL.

John Leech's cartoon, perhaps inspired by Charles Dickens's character Fagin, portrays the corruption of English youth by the Jews. (Punch, Ltd.)

the same year, the Jews were invariably represented as less than holy in their incessant wheeling and dealing and anything but worthy of being granted the full liberties of British citizenship. Leech's cartoon, "The Dealer in Old Clothes: Teaching the Young Idea How to Steal" (XX, 25, 1851), portrayed a Faginesque scoundrel bribing a young English boy, suggesting the deleterious influence of the Jews. Richard Altick was closer to the mark than the Cowens in recognizing that, although *Punch* may have endorsed "Jewish emancipation as a civil-rights principle," its liberalism was too frequently "qualified by the prejudices of its day" (Altick 1997, 265, 269). In a parallel study, L. Perry Curtis Jr. found similar ambivalences in *Punch's* caricatural portrayal of Irishmen and noticed that during the early years of the journal, its "leading writers and artists . . . reveled in anti-Semitic gibes" (Curtis 1997, 117).



#### DRESSING FOR A MASQUERADE.

MR. D—SE—LI AS A GREAT PROTECTIONIST LEADER

*Punch* reminded its readers, once again, of the celebrated Benjamin Disraeli's inescapable Jewish roots. (Punch, Ltd.)

Throughout that period, *Punch*'s depiction of Benjamin Disraeli, who had converted from Judaism at an early age, never allowed the celebrated writer and politician to shake off his ethnic and religious ancestry. As Altick pointed out, he was alternately portrayed as "a clothes horse past the peak of fashion, a tailor of the Moses sweatshop ilk, and an old clothes dealer, thus running the gamut of the sartorial as well as the Hebraic theme" (263). An example of this is "Dressing for a Masquerade. Mr. D-sr-li as a Great Protectionist Leader" (XX, 87), one of many prints that represent Disraeli as a dandy but also perhaps suggesting a kinship, however distant, to the dealer in rags and to the "pawnbroker within" that are camouflaged here by the masquerade of fashion. Little work has been done as of yet on *Punch*'s treatment of the Jews during the twentieth century.

—Frank Felsenstein

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Dickens, Charles; Disraeli, Benjamin; Emancipation; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; *Fliegende Blätter*; *Gartenlaube, Die*; *Kladderadatsch*; *Simplicissimus*

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## Pure Blood Laws

From the middle of the fifteenth century in Spain, Pure Blood Laws (*limpieza de sangre*), aimed at excluding those who could not prove Christian descent from posts in ecclesiastical, local, or state institutions; from certain professions; or, in isolated cases, from the right to settle in a village or town. In principle, the laws were also to apply to Muslim converts and their descendants. But in practice, these measures had the greatest impact on former Jews, called *conversos* (New Christians) or—more contemptuously—*marranos* (converts who continue to practice Judaism secretly).

Pure Blood Laws were introduced for the first time in 1449 in the city of Toledo, where, shortly before their imposition, a rebellion against royal prerogatives took place. Leaders of the rebellion objected to a forced war loan. Soon, they focused their opposition on the conversos, who, it was widely believed, had provided the initiative for the loan. The Pure Blood Laws, an act of retali-

ation, excluded converts from all secular and ecclesiastical functions in Toledo.

However, differentiating between Old and New Christians contradicted the principles underlying Christian missionizing efforts and undermined their effectiveness by denying the equality between all who had been baptized. Therefore, only a few months passed in 1449 before Pope Nicolas V moved to abolish the Toledan Pure Blood Laws; the Castilian king followed suit.

The next attempt to introduce the laws came in 1486. In this instance, the immediate cause was the discovery by the religious order of the Hieronymites of "Judaizing" monks within its ranks. This time, the archbishop of Toledo vetoed the implementation of the laws with the backing of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. In 1496, however, Pope Alexander VI sanctioned the Pure Blood Laws, making them the first such laws accepted by the church hierarchy. In the same year, the Dominican monastery of Ávila enacted similar statutes, as did the Colegio de San Antonio in Sigüenza in 1497.

In 1501, the laws were issued for the first time by the central royal authorities: no person found guilty of heresy and no son or grandson of such a person could exercise a public function without special permission. This formulation represented a somewhat more lenient version of the Pure Blood Laws, which normally excluded all converts, even if they had not been found guilty of heresy.

Slowly, the Pure Blood Laws spread throughout Spain. In 1515, they were introduced in the bishopric of Seville; in 1525 and 1531, respectively, they were adopted by the Spanish Franciscans and the Dominicans. In the secular world, the Colegio of San Ildefonso took the lead in 1519, with the Universities of Salamanca, Valladolid, and Toledo following in 1522. Emigration to the Americas also became subject to several decrees forbidding conversos the right to participate. Enabling the process of exclusion was the purpose behind the mid-sixteenth-century *Libro verde de Aragón* (Green Book of Aragon), which claimed to document Spanish noble families and members of the clergy whose ancestors had converted from Judaism in the previous cen-

tury. Later on, the work also included information about the developing Spanish bourgeoisie. Proving or disproving "purity of blood" was a complicated process, involving oral testimony and documentation covering great spans of time.

Pure Blood Laws never covered all of the Spanish state or society. Some institutions openly refused to introduce such regulations. The degree of enforcement always depended on personal relations or the possibility of bribery. Nevertheless, the laws hindered integration of the New Christians, identifying them as a group apart, and had a paralyzing effect on Spanish life. This was especially true in the higher reaches of the social scale because most of the converts were from the upper classes—the very classes that normally enjoyed the privileges revoked by the laws. In fact, the laws may be understood as a kind of plebeian revenge against noble prerogatives, aimed at the conversos because they were more vulnerable than the "Old Christian" upper classes. Several attempts to abolish the Pure Blood Laws, mainly in the seventeenth century, failed. They were finally abrogated only in 1865.

—Bernd Rother

**See also** Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Inquisition; Nuremberg Laws; Torquemada, Tomás de

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## Purge of 1968 (Poland)

The government of Władysław Gomułka took power as part of the de-Stalinization wave of 1956. Gomułka cleared out the Stalin-era apparatchiks to distance himself from Stalinism, to make room for his own supporters, and to reduce the number of Jews in the party apparatus, hoping thereby to counter the popular association of communism with Jews. Later, Poland, as part of the Warsaw Pact, found itself allied with the Arab states against Israel; anti-Israeli propaganda thus became a part of the party line. By the time of the

Six Days' War in 1967, the Gomułka regime's popularity had waned. Its early promise of reform had been sidetracked, and the humiliating Arab defeat was gleefully registered in the Polish street as a defeat for the regime as well. The secret police, monitoring public opinion, reported these attitudes, particularly among Jews. The events of 1968 unfolded against this background.

In January 1968, the authorities shut down a Warsaw production of Adam Mickiewicz's anti-Russian play *Forefather's Eve*, a classic of nineteenth-century Polish theater. This action provoked anger and frustration among students and intellectuals, culminated in demonstrations in favor of free speech, called the "March events," in which a few of the prominent leaders were Jews. The Gomułka regime responded with a ferocious campaign of denunciation, blaming "Zionists" for the unrest. Denunciation was soon followed by a purge.

Behind the scenes in the meantime, there was a power struggle within the party between Gomułka and the interior minister, Gen. Mieczysław Moczar, who had built a base of support among war veterans, called the "Partisan" faction. It was Moczar who engineered the anti-Zionist purge, hoping to install his Partisans in positions vacated by the Jews and to win support from a Kremlin already unhappy with Gomułka's failing liberalism. Gomułka outmaneuvered Moczar, however, by sending armed forces to help suppress the "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia and co-opting the anti-Jewish campaign.

Between March and July, local party meetings were held across the country, at which Jewish members were bullied into admitting to Zionist sympathies and then fired from their jobs and expelled from the party on grounds of disloyalty. It was then made clear to them that they would not be able to get other jobs in Poland. If they sought to emigrate, they were told that exit permits would be issued only to Israel and on the condition of renouncing their Polish citizenship. The subsequent exodus to Israel was taken as confirmation that the loyalties of those expelled had indeed lain with Israel rather than Poland.

More than 15,000 Jews emigrated from Poland as a result of the anti-Zionist campaign, reducing the number of Jews in Poland to a few

thousand. Most of the emigrants settled in Israel, the United States, and Western Europe. After the campaign was over, Polish-Jewish relations became a taboo subject, and they remained so until the next round of liberalization, in 1981.

—Steven Paulsson

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Judeo-Bolshevism; Moczar, Mieczysław; Poland; Stalinization of Eastern Europe

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## Purge of the German Civil Service (1933)

On April 7, 1933, Hitler made his first use of the dictatorial powers granted him by the Enabling Act of March 23 to make Jewish policy. His Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service was meant to give the Nazi regime the power to reshape the civil service into a reliable tool for administering its National Socialist revolution, so that, as the interior minister Wilhelm Frick, among other Nazis, explained Germans could once again be governed by Germans. This law was an essential step in what the Nazis called the *Gleichschaltung*, that is, the step-by-step expansion of their political control over all aspects of the state.

The word *restoration* in the law's title is instructive. The Nazis believed that the vaunted German civil service had been corrupted during the Weimar years by the infiltration of leftists, liberals, and Jews, all of whom were considered dangerously unreliable. Under the new law, these groups could now be purged. Paragraph 3 called for the dismissal of all civil servants of "non-Aryan descent" (Jews). There were exceptions. President Paul von Hindenburg insisted on exemptions for those who had been in service before August 1, 1914, had themselves served at the front during World War I, or had fathers or sons killed in that war. Paragraph 4 allowed the Nazis to discharge from service those with suspect political affiliations: liberals, democrats, socialists, and commu-

nists. In fact, the “infiltration” of Jews and the politically suspect into the civil service had, with certain exceptions, been minimal. In democratically governed Prussia during the 1920s, for example, Jews had for the first time found acceptance on a somewhat equal footing. And in some of the newer ministries, such as the Labor Ministry, union leaders and socialists had managed to make inroads. Overall, however, the civil service had remained an overwhelmingly conservative body.

The drafters of paragraph 3 failed to provide a clear definition of the concept “non-Aryan descent.” Pending such a definition, the provision remained impossible to implement. A supplementary decree issued on April 11 supplied the definition that came to be known as the Aryan Paragraph. Henceforth, a “non-Aryan” was defined as anyone “who is descended from non-Aryan, especially Jewish, parents or grandparents.” To be classified as such, one parent *or* grandparent sufficed to make one non-Aryan. The Aryan Paragraph provided the official Nazi definition of the Jew and was appended to every piece of racial legislation until September 1935, when it was revised in the Nuremberg Laws.

The precise effects of the civil service law and the Aryan Paragraph are difficult to measure. The number of people expelled from the German civil service can only be estimated, for official records have been lost or destroyed. An unusually well-informed U.S. consular official in Berlin, Raymond Geist, estimated that as of July 1934, some 17,000 Jewish civil servants had been dismissed. The most immediately measurable effect was the requirement that all civil servants provide documentary evidence—in the form of marriage records and baptismal certificates—to verify their Aryan ancestry.

—Karl A. Schleunes

**See also** Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Nuremberg Laws; Weimar

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## Purges, Soviet

According to the original statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (from 1919), a “cleansing” or “purge” was a process whereby members were to be scrutinized at irregular intervals and, if necessary, expelled for activities deemed harmful to the party; if the infractions were grave enough, a member in question might be criminally prosecuted. The first purge occurred in 1921 and led to the expulsion of a quarter of the party membership. In this early phase, antisemitism played no role. In fact, at the time, there was a sizable jump in the number of Jewish members of the party and within its apparatus of repression.

The term *purge* is most often associated with the show trials and the massive persecutions that accompanied them from 1935 to 1938 and again from 1948 to 1953. The first set of purges served to fortify Joseph Stalin’s rule. Almost the entire old party elite was arrested; accused of participating in a Trotskyist, anti-Soviet conspiracy; and then executed. Many of the prominent veteran Bolsheviks were Jews, a fact made abundantly clear in the show trials. From exile, Leon Trotsky spoke out against the antisemitic character of the spectacle. The chief prosecutor referred to him as “Judas” Trotsky. But Jews were neither the only nor the major victims of the purge. Stalin’s goal was to build a wall of terror around himself and to eliminate real and potential opposition to his rule from within the party. By 1938, party membership had declined by almost half to 1.9 million. Of those associated with the Central Committee of the party, nearly 100 (70 percent) were murdered.

The second great wave of purges, from 1948 to 1953, were meant to solidify the position of the party in the USSR and the satellite states of Eastern Europe and to remove national obstacles in the way of socialism. Suspicion fell particularly hard on those persons who had once had relationships to other socialist parties or movements, those who had fought in resistance movements not controlled by Stalinists, and/or those who survived exile during World War II in the West instead of in the USSR. The prominent main defendants, however, were almost exclusively loyal Stalinists who, in part, had helped prepare the show trials before succumbing to them.

This wave of purges was antisemitic in two respects. In the first place, it coincided with the appearance of anti-Zionism as an essential element of Soviet ideology. Primarily Jewish communists were accused of Zionism, that is, participation in a worldwide, Zionist-fascist-imperialist conspiracy against the socialist camp. The accusation was absolutely central to the Slánský trial (in 1952) and the so-called Doctors' Plot (in 1953). The purges affected all social spheres. Thus, for example, almost all the Jewish officers in the Red Army, including sixty-three generals, were cashiered. Although Jews were disproportionately victimized by the purges, non-Jews suffered more in terms of absolute numbers.

The second antisemitic aspect of the purges, covered again by the accusation of Zionism, concerned the destruction of all attempts to preserve the cultural identity of Eastern European Jewry. These efforts had revived after the persecutions of the 1930s ended. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, founded during the war as a Jewish umbrella organization, was abolished in 1948; its leading representatives were arrested and murdered. The committee's *Black Book*, detailing Nazi crimes against Jews on Soviet territory, was never published in the USSR. With the dissolution of the committee began a wave of persecution targeting the cultural elite of Soviet Jewry, especially its Yiddish-language writers; many were arrested, and many were murdered. After 1953, organized Yiddish-language cultural life virtually came to an end. The number of synagogues steadily dwindled until, in 1962, there were only sixty-two left in the entire country. Although Jews as individuals could remain party members (there were 260,000 in 1982) and pursue professional careers in a number of areas, the resuscitation of a corporate Jewish cultural life was prevented, even in the post-Stalin thaw following the Twentieth Party Congress of 1956.

—Klaus Holz

Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors' Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; *Ostjuden*; Purge of 1968; Slánský Trial; Stalin, Joseph; Stalinization of Eastern Europe; USSR

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## Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich (1879–1920)

A prominent right-wing political activist in late imperial Russia, noted for his virulent antisemitism, and a leading participant in the murder of imperial favorite Gregori Rasputin, Vladimir Purishkevich was born to a wealthy landowning family in Kishinev, Bessarabia Province (present-day Chisinau, Moldova). After attending Novorossiisk University in Odessa, he participated in the work of the district and provincial *zemstvos*, the organs of local self-government in the Russian Empire. In 1900, he entered the civil service in St. Petersburg, pursuing a short-lived career in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Purishkevich was an active member of the Russian Assembly (Russkoe Sobranie), an upper-class body that was initially devoted to supporting Russian culture before evolving into a right-wing political organization. The Russian Assembly regarded the autocracy and the Russian Orthodox Church as the safeguards of national integrity. "Troublesome" national minorities, especially the Jews, met with that body's hostility.

After the Revolution of 1905, Purishkevich helped A. I. Dubrovin found the militantly right-wing Union of the Russian People (Soiuz Russkogo Naroda [SRN]), a political party known for its attempt to build a broader rightist political coalition. He served as deputy chairman of the SRN's council and contributed to its paper, the *Russian Banner* (*Russkoe znamia*).

Purishkevich was elected to the Second, Third, and Fourth State Dumas, the Russian parliament, where he was an articulate critic of the Left and Center and a gadfly to the government over such issues as Prime Minister Peter Stolypin's effort to extend the *zemstvo* system to the western

provinces, which had a large Polish population. He was also a frequent critic of alleged Jewish influence in the Russian universities. Purishkevich broke with Dubrovin and the SRN in 1908, founding his own Union of the Archangel Michael, which also included antisemitism as one of its ideological props. These and similar bodies constituted the so-called Black Hundreds, some of whose adepts were responsible for street violence and political terrorism against the Center and Left.

At the outbreak of World War I, Purishkevich was a leading organizer of civilian efforts in support of the army. Soon, however, he became disenchanted at the incompetence and malfeasance that he encountered. In a celebrated Duma speech in 1916, he blamed the failures of Russia's war effort on "dark forces" surrounding the throne. Purishkevich played a major role in organizing and carrying out the removal of one such force in the assassination of Rasputin on the night of December 16, 1916.

Purishkevich was imprisoned by the Bolsheviks after the 1917 October Revolution. Released under an amnesty, he made his way to the south, where he joined the White, anti-Bolshevik movement in the Russian Civil War. He

died of typhus in February 1920 in Rostov-on-Don.

Purishkevich's brand of antisemitism was typical of the political Right in fin-de-siècle Russia, depicting the Jews as a corrupting force undermining the foundations of Christian Europe. His special contribution was to play on the insecurities of Russia's landed elite by developing the motif of a Jewish plot to gain control of Russia's landed wealth. This plot was exemplified by the land-redistribution policies advocated by centrist parties, such as the Constitutional Democrats, which also advocated full and equal rights for Jews. Like his associate Pavolaki Krushevan, Purishkevich was a "man of the borderlands," using Russian superpatriotism to compensate for his own non-Russian origins.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Black Hundreds; Kishinev Pogrom; Krushevan, Pavolaki; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Revolution of 1905; Russian Civil War; Russian Orthodox Church

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# R

## Raabe, Wilhelm (1831–1910)

The history of Wilhelm Raabe's reputation is one of the more peculiar in the annals of German letters. After achieving a *succès d'estime* with his first novel, *Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* (The Chronicle of Sparrow Alley [1856]), he pursued three not fully congruent goals over the rest of his life: to remain faithful to a thematically and stylistically idiosyncratic voice and vision, to be recognized as a preceptor to his nation, and to make a living exclusively from fiction writing. In the 1860s, he attempted to force a breakthrough with ambitious novels. One of these, *Der Hungerpastor* (The Hunger Pastor [1863–1864]), parallels the career of Hans Unwirrsch, whose German virtues of moral introspection and selfless idealism led to a life of humble service, with that of Moses Freudenstein, who, with "Semitic" heartlessness, becomes a Frenchified intellectual renamed Théophile Stein, a violator of women, and a government spy. The novel was indifferently received at first, but as Raabe increasingly escaped readers' horizons with subtle narrative experiments, the public returned to it until it became his best-known and most enduring work.

He attracted a petty-bourgeois coterie that admired him less as a literary artist than as a wise man and nationalist icon. After his death, the group constituted itself as the Society of the Friends of Wilhelm Raabe, the second-largest literary society in Germany. The largest such group was the Goethe Society, which, when Nazified, celebrated *The Hunger Pastor* as an antisemitic masterpiece. This imputation burdened Raabe's reputation after World War II until, beginning in the 1960s, he was wrested from his "friends" by scholars who emphasized his variety of narrative perspective, generating a critical renaissance.

Nevertheless, the shadow of antisemitism persisted among less specialized observers.

It is plausible that Raabe modeled his novel on Gustav Freytag's best-seller, *Debit and Credit*. Raabe did not admire Freytag or his novel and likely thought that, if that was what the public wanted, he could do it better. In this, he was correct. Especially his Jewish antagonist is more capable, dangerous, and suavely captivating than Freytag's scruffy Veitel Itzig, to whom the hero is never attracted. However, in the long run, Raabe's tactic was an error in judgment. There are parallels to Charles Dickens's situation in the wake of *Oliver Twist*. Raabe, too, replied defensively to a sorrowful reproach from a Jewish lady, and he, too, compensated with positive Jewish figures, among them the tragic dancer Jemima from the Prague ghetto in *Holunderblüte* (Elder Blossom [1863]) and the wise, brave Jewish banker's widow in *Frau Salome* (Madame Salome [1875]).

As with Freytag, there is no indication of antisemitic attitudes in Raabe's personal life. He had normal relationships with Jewish friends and acquaintances and attracted numerous Jewish admirers. For many years, a literary historian of Jewish origin was vice-president of the Raabe Society and president of the Berlin chapter until he was expelled in 1933. Nevertheless, today's understandable desire to liberate Raabe from the burden of his reception history sometimes fails to acknowledge his responsibility for a novel too easily assimilable to malevolent purposes.

—Jeffrey L. Sammons

*See also* Biarritz; Dahn, Felix; *Debit and Credit*; Dickens, Charles; Emancipation; Freytag, Gustav; Jewish Question; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich

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### **Rabbi's Speech, The**

Touted by antisemites as "proof" of a Jewish world conspiracy, *The Rabbi's Speech* derives from the chapter "In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague" in the multipart novel *Biarritz* (1868) by the minor German writer Herrmann Goedsche (whose pseudonym was Sir John Retcliffe). The chapter features a clandestine meeting held in 1860 by the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel, where each man, speaking in Chaldean (in Prague!), outlines his past activities and future plans aimed at suborning and enslaving the gentiles. These proceedings, in which the conspirators worship the Golden Calf, are secretly observed by a German and a baptized Jew, who commit themselves to unmasking the conspiracy.

*Biarritz* was translated into several languages, including Russian (under the title *To Sedan!*), and as a result, the "Jewish Cemetery" chapter took on a life of its own and became a link in the chain of spurious documents leading to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In 1872, the chapter was published in Russia in the form of an anonymous brochure, *The Jewish Cemetery in Prague and the Council of Representatives of the 12 Tribes of Israel*. In 1876 and again in 1880, the brochure appeared under a title that explicitly identified it as an excerpt from "Retcliffe's" novel. Sometime during the 1880s, a new text arose, in which the separate statements of the participants in the cemetery merged into a single speech, supposedly given by a famous rabbi to a gathering of his coreligionists in 1880 (in some versions, 1869). The identity of the person responsible for this reworked document has not been established. By the 1900s, *The Rabbi's Speech* (appearing under varying titles), by then regarded as the record of a real event, had appeared in several languages. The author of the *Protocols* was clearly familiar

with it; parallels between the two works have been noted by scholars. Conversely, since the first appearance of the *Protocols*, those who insist that work is genuine—for example, Georgii Butmi in his 1906 edition—have pointed to this similarity as evidence of their claim.

Throughout the twentieth century, both the original chapter from "Retcliffe's" novel and its reworking continued to appear. As recently as February 2002, a version of *The Rabbi's Speech* was published in the Russian extremist newspaper *Kazachii krug* (Cossack Circle), which led to the newspaper receiving an official warning from the Press Ministry.

—Henryk Baran

*See also Biarritz; Protocols of the Elders of Zion;*

*Russia, Imperial*

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### **Racial Laws (Italy)**

With the collection of Racial Laws passed in September 1938, the Fascist government officially launched systematic antisemitic politics in Italy. New laws appeared serially, following the general trend from a gradual loss of rights to complete the disenfranchisement of the Jewish population. A vital preparatory step to the introduction and the successive application of the racial measures was the census of August 22, 1938, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. The updated census of 1942 provided the basis for Jewish forced labor; that of 1943 provided an essential tool enabling the German occupiers to extend the Final Solution to Italy. The principal legislative dispositions were based on the census of 1938 and were drawn up between the beginning of September and November of that year. These laws profoundly impacted the civil and then the human rights of Italian Jews. By design, the first measures sought to separate Jews from the rest of the population. For example, the law

of September 5, 1938, initiated by Minister of National Education Giuseppe Bottai for *la difesa della razza nella scuola fascista* (the defense of the race in the Fascist schools), essentially expelled Jewish students from public schools and universities. Simultaneously, the issuance of the first articles restricting the rights of Jews necessitated creation within the Ministry of the Interior of the Office of Demography and Race, known as the Demorazza. This body functioned as the administrative and bureaucratic nerve center and carried out Fascist anti-Jewish policy; it issued many directives, usually in the form of circular letters, ranging from the pettily vexatious to the seriously immiserating. During these years, the Jewish birthrate declined, even as the suicide rate rose.

Aside from the initial ban on school attendance, most of the laws focused on eliminating Jewish economic activities, another process made easier by the essential Census of 1938. Jews were driven from the professions and prohibited from working in banking or insurance, owning property beyond a fixed value, marrying non-Jews, or employing them. They could no longer serve in the military or civil administration.

Traditional historiography has attempted to portray the Racial Laws and other measures leading up to the deportation and murder of Italian Jews as forced on Benito Mussolini by the Germans; antisemitism, the argument runs, was not really intrinsic to Italian fascism. Yet there is no historical evidence to support the contention that the Racial Laws were inspired or dictated by the Nazis or that they can be understood as anything other than voluntary. True, the deportations did not begin until the fall of Mussolini and his return as a German puppet in the Italian Social Republic (in September 1943). But well before that moment, his regime had categorized Jews as "enemy aliens" or Bolshevik agents. A press campaign aimed at Jewish anti-Fascists, equating them with Zionists, appeared in Fascist journals in 1934. In 1938, the press campaign spread from known antisemitic vehicles into the national press in general, focusing on foreign Jews and scapegoating them for high food prices and unemployment. No dissenting voices about the uselessness, the harmfulness, and the worthlessness of Jews were heard. Fi-

nally, the *Manifesto of the Race* (July 1938) provided a "scientific" basis for the Racial Laws, declaring that Jews did not belong to the pure Aryan Italian race.

Although these interventions by the Fascist state did not directly threaten the lives of Jews, they prepared the climate and laid the foundation on which the persecution ultimately rested. Although hunted Jews often received the help of neighbors and strangers, the example of the corruption of the regime was bound to spread to the people. Individuals and groups readily took advantage of the elimination of Jewish competitors or enriched themselves with the expropriation of their property. In the economic crisis of the war years, it was not unusual to petition the government to take occupancy of a house previously owned by Jews. Some went so far as to become bounty hunters, earning paltry sums by betraying Jews to the Fascist and German authorities.

—Simone Duranti

*See also* Holocaust; *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists*; Mussolini, Benito; October Roundup; Papacy, Modern; Preziosi, Giovanni

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## Racism, Scientific

Scientific racism (or biological racism) was an ideology with roots in the Enlightenment that became especially prominent in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western culture. It alleged that biological differences between races were considerable, not only in their physical and mental traits but also in their moral characters. Scientific racists assiduously gathered empirical evidence about the anatomy, intellectual abilities, and moral character of humans from all over the world, believing it would support their racial egalitarianism. They were zealous about measuring body parts, especially cranial capacities and facial features, by which to compare different races. Though claiming the authority of science, proponents ignored contrary evidence and sys-



The anatomist Robert Knox played a key role in spreading scientific racism (and antisemitism) in the United Kingdom through his book, *The Races of Men* (1850). (National Library of Medicine)

tematically interpreted all evidence in light of their racial prejudices.

Scientific racism thus reinforced Europeans' overblown opinions of their cultural and biological superiority and provided justification for European oppression of other races. Most scientific racists constructed racial hierarchies with Europeans (and their descendants) at the top of the scale. They wrongly assumed that since Europeans, on the average, had larger cranial capacities than people of other races, they must also have greater intellectual powers. They believed this accounted for the technological and cultural superiority of the Europeans, which they generally assumed.

From the University of Edinburgh medical school, the anatomist Robert Knox played a key role in spreading scientific racism (and antisemitism) in Britain through his book *The Races of Men* (1850), wherein he wrote, "Race is everything: literature, science, art—in a word, civi-

lization depends on it" (7). James Hunt, first president and leading figure of the London Anthropological Society in the 1860s, likewise portrayed race as the most influential factor in history and culture, and he strongly opposed racial egalitarianism and universal human rights. Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (1853–1855) was highly influential in spreading biological racism on the Continent, although it enjoyed greater popularity in Germany than it ever did in his native France.

The introduction and growth of Darwinism in the late nineteenth century gave impetus to scientific racism by emphasizing biological inequality. Like many of his contemporaries, Charles Darwin thought non-European races were inferior intellectually and morally, and this belief provided him and his followers a powerful argument for human evolution, since biological evolution required variation within species. Thus, many Darwinists believed that black Africans, American Indians, Australian Aborigines, and other non-Europeans were less advanced members of the human species. Some Darwinists went even further in emphasizing human variation by classifying different human races as distinct species. The leading Darwinian biologist in Germany, Ernst Haeckel, was intensely racist, not only separating humans into twelve distinct species and four genera but also claiming that the intellectual difference between the highest humans and the lowest humans was greater than that between the lowest humans and dogs or elephants.

Although scientific racism was not always antisemitic—often categorizing the black and yellow races even lower than Jews on the hierarchy—it nonetheless played an important role in perpetuating and bolstering antisemitism among secular intellectuals from the late nineteenth century onward. The rise of religious toleration in nineteenth-century Europe and the United States benefited Jews, but the replacement of religious bigotry with scientific racism ultimately resulted in even greater discrimination against Jews. When the famous German pathologist and anthropologist Rudolf Virchow carried out a scientific study of racial features among schoolchildren in Ger-

many in the 1870s, he clearly distinguished between German and Jewish “racial types” in his study. Though he was not antisemitic in his personal disposition, his study taught Germans to differentiate between Germans and Jews as separate races. Ironically, some Jewish scientists and physicians embraced scientific racism in one form or another in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even though they often did so in order to use racial theory to combat the antisemitism rampant among scientific racists, they nonetheless unwittingly contributed to an ideology that would later underpin the Holocaust.

From the late nineteenth century, scientific racism provided secular antisemites with a rationale for perpetuating many of the prejudices inherited from Christian tradition. In Germany, Wilhelm Marr and Eugen Dühring began promoting a biological racist form of antisemitism in the late 1870s, and later, Theodor Fritsch and his Hammer movement disseminated antisemitism as an integral part of the Darwinian racial struggle. Madison Grant’s influential book *Passing of the Great Race* warned Americans that the Anglo-Saxon racial stock was being “driven off the streets of New York City by the swarms of Polish Jews” (1916, 91). At the beginning of the twentieth century, some antisemitic racial theorists, such as the extremely influential Houston Stewart Chamberlain, blended scientific racism with elements of mysticism. Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels, a Viennese occult race theorist emphasizing Aryan supremacy, also synthesized mystical and scientific racism in his journal *Ostara*, which Hitler may have read as a young man in Vienna.

These antisemites argued that stereotypes commonly attributed to Jews—greed, deceit, materialism, sexual depravity, and numerous other vices—were biological traits fixed in the Jewish racial constitution. Thus, they construed these immoral characteristics as unchanging, inherent features of the Jewish personality. If Jews could not alter their moral character, as this biological determinist vision of human nature implied, then assimilation was ultimately impossible. Neither baptism nor education could alter the biological character of the Jew. The “logic” of this thinking suggested that the only way to com-

bat the purportedly pernicious Jewish influence was to eliminate the Jews, either by segregation, expulsion, or yet harsher means.

Scientific racism was influential throughout Western culture. It was rampant in the German and Austrian press in the early twentieth century and was especially pronounced among eugenacists and in Pan-German circles, where Hitler imbibed it. Hitler’s worldview was impregnated with scientific racism, as is apparent in his speeches and in *Mein Kampf*. He defined the Jews as a biological race, not a religion (even though the Nazis found it impossible to use this definition when they actually formulated antisemitic policy).

In Western culture, scientific racism declined after the 1920s, except in Germany, where its precipitous decline dated instead from the collapse of the Nazi regime. Most scientists and other scholars in the mid- to late twentieth century recognized that racial differences were not as prominent or as provable as scientific racists had imagined. Many rejected biological determinism altogether, especially when it purported to explain human behavior, and even when biological determinism was revitalized in the late twentieth century by sociobiology and evolutionary psychology, most sociobiologists denied that their views were racist.

—Richard Weikart

**See also** Austria; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Dühring, Eugen; Eugenics; Evolutionary Psychology; Fritsch, Theodor; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Hitler, Adolf; Imperial Hammer League; Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg; Marr, Wilhelm; Pan-German League; *Passing of the Great Race*; Social Darwinism

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### Rathenau, Walther (1867–1922)

The German industrialist, intellectual, and public servant Walther Rathenau was the son of Emil Rathenau, the founder of the German General Electric Company (AEG). Despite his artistic and literary inclinations, the young man took a doctorate in physics in 1889. He served his requisite one year of military duty in the elite cavalry guards in Berlin, but Prussian proscriptions against Jewish officers dashed his hopes of an army career. Rathenau worked as an engineer before joining the AEG as a director in 1899, becoming chairman of the board in 1907. While also serving as a director or board member of over 100 German and foreign firms, he built the AEG into the largest electric conglomerate in Europe. As his prominence grew in Germany, Rathenau became the target of antisemites, who viewed him as the symbol of supposed Jewish dominance. He was denounced in the antisemitic press as one of the so-called Three Hundred Elders of Zion, who were accused of secretly manipulating the fate of Germany and the world.

Rathenau remained an eclectic intellectual and social critic throughout his life. He supported the arts and was close to several leading European artists and intellectuals. At home both with high society and the avant-garde, he won acclaim as a provocative essayist writing on social, economic, and cultural issues of the day. His major books include *Zur Kritik der Zeit* (Criticism of the Age [1912]) and his best-selling *Von Kommenden Dingen* (In Days to Come [1917]). Following World War I, he addressed the new situation in Germany in widely read pamphlets on the economy, state, and society.

Rathenau's nature abounded in self-contradiction. He was a monarchist who yearned for a peoples' democracy; a capitalist who was greatly disturbed by the problems of wealth, urging a rationalized planned economy and heavy, progressive taxation; and a connoisseur who decried luxury. Throughout his life, there was a tension between the pragmatic and the romantic and a tendency to self-dramatize. His relationship to Judaism exemplified the man's complexity.

Rathenau strove for assimilation, and in opposition to the Zionists, he refused to see Jews as a separate people. "My people are the Ger-



Industrialist, organizer of the German war effort, and first foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, Walther Rathenau was assassinated in 1922 by rightwing extremists who claimed he was one of the so-called Three Hundred Elders of Zion. (Library of Congress)

mans, nothing else," he stated, arguing that it was culture rather than religion that defined a people. Although he rejected Judaism as a religion, he remained conscious of his Jewish background. Disdaining opportunism, he refused baptism despite the social advantages it entailed and also rejected it as a solution to the so-called Jewish problem. His lifelong preoccupation with the role of Jews in German society expressed itself in major works on the subject, *Höre, Israel* (Hear, Israel [1897]) and *Staat und Judentum* (The State and Judaism [1911]).

Rathenau's direct involvement in politics began in World War I with his leadership of the War Materials Department. In 1918, he advocated sweeping democratic reforms and a *levée en masse* (mass national rising) to sustain the war effort. He ghostwrote the German notes to Presi-

dent Woodrow Wilson in preparing the way for the Armistice of 1918 and served as a government expert at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and at subsequent economic conferences. His views about economic reconstruction, voiced in the German Socialization Commission, won him the enmity of his fellow industrialists. Although a vehement opponent of the Versailles Treaty, he accepted the position of reconstruction minister in the government of Joseph Wirth. Together, they backed the policy of fulfillment, which sought to revise the Versailles Treaty by demonstrating its unworkability. With reluctance, Rathenau also took the position of foreign minister in January 1922. Continuing to work for revision of the Paris Peace Settlement, he sought the intervention of the United States and cooperation within Europe. The lack of progress in these efforts led him to sign the Treaty of Rapallo, establishing equal relations with the Soviet Union during the Genoa conference on European reconstruction.

The spread and radicalization of antisemitism following the war greatly disturbed Rathenau. Already embattled with the extreme nationalists over his fulfillment strategy and as the most prominent Jew in German politics, he experienced numerous threats on his life. The Rapallo Treaty served to confirm the worst suspicions of the antisemitic Right—that Rathenau was in league with the Bolsheviks. On June 24, 1922, he was murdered by young nationalist and antisemitic officers, proud that they had struck a blow against the Weimar Republic and the Jews.

—Mark Swartzburg

**See also** Fritsch, Theodor; German National People's Party; Germanic Order; Jew Census; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Self-Hatred, Jewish; "Three Hundred," The; Versailles Treaty; Weimar; Zionism

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## Ratzinger, Georg (1844–1899)

Georg Ratzinger, a Catholic social critic and publicist, devoted most of his career to addressing the plight of the German peasantry, for which he held Jews uniquely responsible. A peasant's son raised near Deggendorf in Lower Bavaria, he was able, through church support, to gain a higher education, first at preparatory school in Passau and then at the University of Munich, where he received a doctorate in theology in 1868.

For the following two decades, he juggled a prolific journalistic career with various clerical offices, until he finally left the priesthood in 1888 to devote himself fully to political activism. An early influence was the Catholic notable Count Ludwig von Arco-Zinneberg, whose *Weekly for the Catholic Nation* Ratzinger edited between 1868 and 1870. On Arco's death, Ratzinger transformed his mentor's reform proposals into *The Preservation of the Peasant Estate* (1883), a book that gained widespread discussion in the Catholic and Bavarian press.

In this work, Ratzinger sounded the themes that defined his subsequent career: the scourge of usury and the ways in which increasingly liberalized real estate markets were allegedly fragmenting landed property, family farms in particular, into small and unproductive parcels. Both evils Ratzinger blamed on the stereotypical "big capital" of the Catholic social imagination, in which Jewish banking and speculative interests supposedly dominated. His proposed solutions to these problems grew more ambitious over the years; his early writings focused chiefly on social insurance schemes, but by 1893, he was promoting legislation to create closed "economic communities" in the countryside, mandatory corporative bodies that would control all economic transactions and thus keep outside creditors and real estate brokers at bay. What remained consistent in his vision was his abiding pessimism about peasants' abilities to manage their own affairs. Credit, he insisted, would inevitably lead most peasant producers to ruination; as for cooperatives, he deemed them a noble but unrealizable idea, given the lack of "the right men" from among the peasantry to run them. In idealizing the peasant past, Ratzinger largely replicated the hierarchical assumptions of his aristocratic mentors. His atti-

tudes toward the real peasantry of his day were unabashedly paternalistic, and his fussy moralizing earned him the disdain of many peasant leaders of the 1890s.

In 1893, Ratzinger won a Bavarian Diet mandate as a candidate for the insurgent Bavarian Peasants League. His relations with the movement's more populist factions proved tempestuous, however, and he departed acrimoniously in 1894; his corporative schemes, in particular, rankled peasant audiences more interested in extending their property rights than surrendering them. His influence remained substantial in the Bavarian Diet, where aspects of his corporative program were adopted by those politicians, mainly Catholic or Conservative, who also identified "the Jew" as a mortal threat to a struggling peasantry. In 1898, he added a Reichstag mandate to his Diet seat, holding both until his death from stomach cancer in the following year. Among his other works are *Peasants, Unite Yourselves!* (1897) and two overtly antisemitic tracts written under other names: *Jewish Occupational Life: Sketches from Today's Social Life* (as "Robert Waldhausen" [1892]) and *Jewry in Bavaria: Sketches from the Past and Proposals for the Future* (as "Gottfried Wolf" [1897]).

—John Abbott

**See also** Agrarian League; Antisemitic Political Parties; German Peasant League; Memminger, Anton; Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich; Usury

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## Raymund of Peñafort (1175/1180?–1275)

The Dominican jurist, moral theologian, and master general of the Order of Preachers, Raymund of Peñafort retired from administrative work in 1240 to devote the last decades of his life to the conversion of Jews and Muslims to Christianity.

Raymund was born at Peñafort, in Villafranca del Penedes, near Barcelona, between 1175 and 1180 and began his academic studies in Barcelona, where he also taught. He studied

canon law at Bologna from 1210 to 1218, returned to Barcelona, and joined the Dominican order (Order of Preachers) in the early 1220s. In 1229, he was called to the papal curia by Gregory IX and charged with compiling Gregory's proposed collection of canon law. Raymund's work, the *Liber Extra*, was published in five books in 1234 and officially dispatched by the pope to the law school of Bologna and to the University of Paris. It remained part of the canon law of the Catholic Church until 1917. Shortly after 1234, Raymund published the second edition of his "summa" on penance, a handbook for confessors in which he included his revision of an earlier treatise on matrimony.

Involved in the establishment of the papal inquisitorial office in Aragon in 1232, Raymund returned to Catalonia in 1236 and was elected master general of the Dominican Order in 1238. His revision of the Dominican constitutions remained in force until 1924. In 1240, Raymund resigned as master general and spent the remaining thirty-five years of his life converting Spain's Jews and Muslims to Christianity; he also established Dominican schools in Murcia and Tunis that taught Arabic and Hebrew to missionaries and religious disputants. Among his disciples were Pablo Christiani and Raymund Martini, both of whom would later become influential disputants.

In 1259, Raymund urged his fellow Dominican Thomas Aquinas to prepare a statement of Christian doctrine that could be used by preachers to convert Muslims and Jews. Aquinas responded with the *Summa contra gentiles*, a defense of Christian doctrine allegedly based on human reason alone. In the work of Aquinas, the *Liber Extra*, the language schools, and his disciples, Raymund exerted enormous influence on Jewish-Christian relations in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1601, Raymund of Peña, who had died in 1275, was canonized.

—Edward Peters

**See also** Dominican Order; Inquisition; Middle

Ages, High

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### **Rebatet, Lucien (1903–1972)**

Born in a French village of the Drôme region, Lucien Rebaret had an undistinguished scholarly career, abandoning studies in religion, law, and philosophy. In 1929, he began contributing to the Catholic royalist *Revue de l'Action Française* and served briefly as personal secretary to its founder, Charles Maurras. When Rebaret's views grew more radical, he turned to the fascist paper *Je suis partout* (I Am Everywhere), for which he organized two special issues on Jews (in 1938 and 1939). With virulent harangues and assertions that Alfred Dreyfus was, indeed, guilty, Rebaret's antisemitism harked back to the era of Édouard Drumont. After the 1940 armistice with the Germans, Rebaret worked briefly for Vichy radio and the fascist collaborator Jacques Doriot's *Le cri du peuple* (*The People's Cry*). Under the pseudonym François Vinneuil, Rebaret published *Les tribus du cinéma et du théâtre* (*The Tribes of Cinema and Theater* [1941]), which attributed a corrupting hegemony to Jews in these arts. His increasingly aggressive stance also led him to castigate the traditional Right: Philippe Pétain (for not collaborating thoroughly enough with Nazi Germany), the Catholic Church (for having in his eyes succumbed to the influence of the Jews), and his former idol Maurras (for being a Germanophobe and obstinately against taking action). Rebaret's breakthrough came in 1942 with the publication of *Les décombres* (*The Ruins*). An insult-laden diatribe that is one of the most extreme expressions of French fascism and antisemitism ever published, it became the Occupation's best-selling work, with demand far exceeding the rationed paper available for new editions. At a time when France's deportation of Jews was already under way, the book was rife with ominous threats much in the vein of Louis-Ferdinand Céline: "Jewry offers the sole example in the history of humanity of a race for whom collective punishment is the only just recourse" (Carroll 1995, 212). By the end of the war, Rebaret was one of the most extreme supporters of French collaboration, extolling the virtues of a fascist Europe.

In August 1944, while fellow fascist authors Robert Brasillach and Pierre Drieu la Rochelle chose to stay behind, Rebaret fled with the Vichy government to Sigmaringen, Germany. Flight doubtless saved his life. He was eventually arrested and sentenced to death, but after Brasillach's execution in February 1945 provoked disapproval in some quarters, Rebaret gained a reprieve in late 1946. (Arguably, a reversal of roles would have been just as equitable.) He left prison in 1952 with a completed manuscript, the 1,312-page novel *Les deux étendards* (*The Two Banners*). Although Rebaret is still almost universally reviled as an individual, this work about a love triangle has nonetheless won begrudging praise from a few contemporary critics.

In 1976, Jean-Jacques Pauvert brought out a posthumous edition of Rebaret's *Les mémoires d'un fasciste* (*Memoirs of a Fascist*), an autobiography that included a version of *Les décombres* that elided 135 of the book's most offensive pages. Because there was no editorial indication of these crucial deletions, the public received a thoroughly misleading view of Rebaret's prior public pronouncements.

—Ralph W. Schoolcraft III

**See also** *Action Française*; Brasillach, Robert; Céline, Louis-Ferdinand; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; France; Maurras, Charles; Vichy

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### **Reformation (1517–1648)**

The term *Reformation* denotes the Christian movement that replaced the illusory medieval vision of united belief and administration in Western Christendom with the diverse beliefs and denominations that characterize modern Christianity. Church groups that stem from this break with the Roman Catholic Church are termed Protestant. The movement's origins lay in the intensification of piety after 1400, complaints

about financial and administrative abuses within the church, and Renaissance humanism. The Reformation was influential in England, France, the Netherlands, German-speaking areas, and North America. The hallmark of the Reformation is the belief that humans are justified by divine grace and not through their own works. But the Reformers attacked many other aspects of traditional piety, particularly the church's ritual and magical components. Reformers supported retranslation of the Bible into vernacular languages, in order to correct errors in the Vulgate, provide broader access to Scripture, and narrow the relationship between doctrine and biblical teachings.

The Reformation began during an expulsion of Jews from western Europe (under way by the 1480s) that shifted the population center of European Jewry to Poland by 1550, where it remained until the Chmielnicki massacres. The Reformation did not cause the persecution of Jews, however; Christian hostility toward Judaism based on supersessionism—the idea that Jesus' resurrection abrogated God's covenant with Abraham's progeny, replacing his descendants with the church as the "new Israel"—was established at Christianity's origins. Since the 1980s, scholarly consensus has called this belief anti-Judaism rather than antisemitism because Jews could often convert to Christianity to avoid persecution. The Reformation also coincided with a peak in the persecution of Jews based on fantasies that they ritually murdered Christian children, used their blood to make matzah, or tortured the consecrated host, which Christians of the time believed had been transubstantiated into the body of Christ during Holy Communion. It is possible that Reformation attacks on transubstantiation and the Eucharistic piety so focused on blood imagery contributed to the decline in ritual murder accusations after about 1550. The Reformer Andreas Osiander published works denying ritual murder allegations. Scholars also argue that antisemitism in its nineteenth- and twentieth-century forms (the wish to expel or exterminate Jews based on racial or social Darwinist views) did not exist during the Reformation, since race thinking emerged in Europe only later. Reformation theological writing

on the Jews, it has been argued, suggests that Jewishness was not an indelible characteristic.

Moreover, with their focus on Bible translation, Reformers inaugurated a widespread Christian interest in original Hebrew texts and Jewish commentaries, an intellectual trend called Christian Hebraism. Johann Reuchlin, Philipp Melanchthon, Ambrosius Blaurer, Konrad Pellikan, and others introduced Hebrew language as a compulsory topic in theological and liberal arts education. Reformers were typically instructed in Hebrew by converts from Judaism. Jewish commentaries were frequently consulted in Martin Luther's definitive 1534 German Bible translation. At the same time, as the Pfefferkorn affair and the uproar surrounding it suggest, the willingness to profit from the Jewish intellectual tradition disturbed contemporary intellectuals. Protestant authorities were not more hostile toward Jewish texts than Catholics, however; incidents of Talmud burning or suppression typically occurred under Catholic (often Inquisition) auspices. Indeed, some Reformers (Wolfgang Capito, Osiander, Sebastian Münster, Paul Fagius) conducted extensive exchanges and conversations with Jews. These exchanges always included attempts at mission, however, and without exception, the most notable mainstream Reformers (Luther, Melanchthon, Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin) can be considered supersessionists. Only Reformers on the margins, such as the notorious Michael Servetus, maintained a positive attitude toward Jews and Judaism. Catholics and Protestants agreed that Servetus's views on the Trinity were heretical, and he was burned at the stake in Geneva in 1553 shortly after evading the Inquisition, which would have executed him as well had he not escaped from its prison.

Given the dispersion caused by the persecution of Jews in territories affected by the Reformation (in the sixteenth century, there were no Jews in England and very few in Germany), most Reformers had contact with Jewish ideas rather than Jewish individuals. Perhaps because of this state of affairs, initial Reformation attitudes toward Jews were less condemning than those of the Catholic tradition. Luther's writing was both influential and typical in this regard. An early

sympathy expressed in his 1523 pamphlet *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* caused Jews to be hopeful about what the consequences of the Reformation might mean for their toleration in Europe. But Luther's disappointment with the Jews' failure to convert marked his last years and was expressed in works such as *Against the Sabbatarians* and *On the Jews and Their Lies*—writings that urged forced conversion, expulsion, compulsory labor, and the suppression of Jewish books in order to convince the Jews of their errors. Contemporaries found this work extreme; Jews in such as Strasbourg successfully petitioned to have *On the Jews and Their Lies* suppressed or not reprinted. Because of the complex administrative arrangements that governed Jewish communities in Germany, city governments could not always expel Jews granted residence by territorial lords or the Holy Roman emperor. Still, it is often clear from Christian dealings with Jewish communities that Jews were tolerated as long as the city thought that conversion would be possible; this religious form of pressure to assimilate presaged similar expectations placed on Jews during the German Enlightenment.

Although it has been questioned, the distinction between anti-Judaism and antisemitism is preferable to the ahistorical presentation of the Reformation in recent works, which conflate at least three variants of anti-Jewish sentiment. Nonetheless, it is difficult to know where to draw the line. Mark Edwards noted that the language of antisemitism and that of anti-Judaism are similar because nineteenth-century antisemites drew on imagery from the earlier anti-Jewish tradition. Particularly considering the importance of scholarship as a component in Jewish culture, as Andrew Gow noted, it is difficult to see the desire to eliminate Jewish beliefs and teachings as anything less than the desire to eradicate Jewish life as such. In sixteenth-century preaching, Protestants did not distinguish between Old Testament Israelites, New Testament Jews, and contemporary Jews; this sloppy characterization, which equated "Israel" and "Jews" with sinful humanity, introduced the suggestion of an indelible taint of sin to be associated with Jews and may have foreshadowed the concept of the Jews' irremediable character. Removed from its religious roots, the idea of an

incorrigible Jewish essence was later advanced through the rhetoric of race.

Because of the cultural weight of the Reformation, its reception by subsequent scholars is also significant. Reformation historiographers Johannes Mathesius, Cyriakus Spangenberg, and Johannes Sleidan recounted anti-Jewish superstitions, but Johann Andreas Eisenmenger cited them in the eighteenth century to add authority to very different works. Similarly, German National Socialists, drawing on Luther's role as a hero of German nationalism as it developed after the nineteenth century, reprinted *On the Jews and Their Lies* in support of their political goals. In the Anglo-American world, the Reformation has often been cited as a cause of German totalitarianism and the Holocaust, in that Protestantism stressed obedience to secular authority and allegedly failed to develop a theory of political resistance to the unjust sovereign. Although Reformation historians refute this claim, troubling questions about the connection between the Reformation and the subsequent persecution of European Jews have yet to be resolved.

—Susan R. Boettcher

**See also** Chmielnicki Massacres; Churches under Nazism; *Entdecktes Judentum*; Erasmus; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; Host Desecration; Inquisition; Lavater, Johann Kaspar; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Michaelis, Johann David; *On the Jews and Their Lies*; Pfefferkorn, Johannes; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Stoecker, Adolf; Supersessionism; Sweden; Talmud Trials  
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## Régis, Max (1873–1950)

A charismatic leader of the anti-Jewish movement in late nineteenth-century French Algeria, Max Régis helped establish antisemitism as a key component of settler political culture in Algeria. Born Massimiliano Milano to parents of Italian origin, Max Régis, as he was called, grew up in a comfortable, middle-class, and Frenchified milieu near the capital city of Algiers. At the time, the settler-dominated civil territories of Algeria were official parts of France and governed by many of the same legal and political institutions as the metropole. Régis became active in settler politics in his early twenties as economic depression and the Dreyfus Affair hit Algeria in the 1890s. He joined with autonomists, socialists, and antisemites in their campaigns for increased independence from France and limits on the rights of Jews. As a law student, Régis, together with his brother Louis, organized student protests against the appointment of a Jewish professor. In 1897, veteran antisemites installed him as president of the Anti-Jewish League of Algiers, from which they built a broadly based settler political movement. They led petition drives, mass demonstrations, and attacks against Jews and French government officials. In May 1898, Régis's league helped elect four anti-Jewish deputies, including Édouard Drumont, to the French National Assembly.

After Régis's brief stint as mayor of Algiers in late 1898, his political power went into decline as the French government quelled anti-Jewish activities and appeased moderate autonomist settler elites. His support dwindled to a small but fiercely antimetropolitan faction from lower-class Spanish neighborhoods. His youth groups were banned and favorite meeting places closed; he often holed up in his "Villa Antijuive" or lived as a fugitive in Spain. In 1901, he made a last stand in an Algiers café in a bar brawl with an old rival. This event, along with the conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair, precipitated the end of the anti-Jewish crisis in Algeria and issued in a general discrediting of Régis and his anti-Jewish movement. He disappeared from the historical record after 1905, although numerous legends describe his life in later decades.

Even though Régis's public career was brief, it

signaled an important shift in the dynamics of European antisemitism. Not simply an intellectual current or wave of extralegal violence, antisemitism in Algeria—or *antijudaisme*, as it was called there, to distinguish the Jews from Semitic Arabs—had become a mainstream social movement that used the tools of popular democracy to challenge the supremacy of central state power. This situation made Régis's movement appealing to the Left in the late nineteenth century and to right-wing organizations in the twentieth. According to Hannah Arendt, the crisis in Algiers in 1890 was a harbinger of the formidable antisemitic regime that waged war in Europe in the 1940s. Régis's career also reflected the troublesome relationship that persisted between hardcore Algerian settlers and French Republican governments in Paris until the end of French rule in Algeria in 1962.

—Lizabeth Zack

*See also* Algeria; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; France

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## Renan, Ernest (1822–1893)

Ernest Renan was one of the towering intellectual figures in French society during the nineteenth century. A man of exceptional breadth and knowledge, he had a profound interest in many of the overriding cultural concerns of his day—religion, language, science, nationhood, and government—and wrote extensively on all of them. Many of his books and essays became classics of the era, most notably *The Life of Jesus* (1863), *Intellectual and Moral Reform* (1871), and the famous lecture *What Is a Nation?* (1882). His interest in Jews, Judaism, and Palestine figured prominently and resulted in his five-volume *History of the People of Israel*, completed toward the end of his life. Renan's arguments on the nature of Christianity and Judaism intensively engaged a circle of Jewish writers and thinkers who rejected his characterization of Judaism as an inferior religion.



French philosopher, philologist, and historian, Joseph Ernest Renan (1822–1893). Renan's interest in Jews, Judaism, and Palestine resulted in his five-volume *History of the People of Israel*. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Reared for the priesthood, Renan left his theological training in 1845 and turned to philosophy and history, retaining his attachment to Christianity, which he counted as one of the great creations of the human spirit. A positivist, he accepted its Judaic source but concluded that Jesus succeeded in creating a wholly new entity, freed from a narrow-minded, formalistic, ritualistic, and extremist Judaism. According to Renan, the Pharisees had recognized Christ's rupture with Judaism and responded vehemently, calling for his crucifixion. Though Renan questioned the religious tradition of Christianity, arousing, in turn, angry opposition among French clerical figures, he did not absolve the Jewish nation of responsibility for the Crucifixion. Furthermore, he attributed Christianity's manifestations of intolerance to its Jewish origins.

But Renan, who reappraised his opinions on the relationship between Judaism and Christianity on many occasions, did not see Judaism as a mere fossil following the appearance of Christianity; he was fascinated by its staying power and highly regarded its contribution to civilization. Yet his philological studies and his inquiry into the study of the origin of language brought him to see an intrinsic connection between religion, race, and language. Though the Jews were not considered pure Semites, he argued, their identification with this "inferior race" was distinct and the source of their innate deficiencies. In his comparative historical analysis of the Semitic languages (1855), Renan characterized the Semitic race as lacking mythology, science, fiction, plastic arts, abstract thinking, and other basic qualities that were intrinsic to the Indo-Europeans.

Nonetheless, he did not turn his adherence to racial theories into support for antisemitic legislation or suppression of the Jews. Not only did Renan acknowledge that contemporary Jews had distanced themselves considerably from the "fanatical" Pharisaic tradition, he also rejected antisemitic manifestations during his lifetime, supported Jewish emancipation and integration in France, and gradually accepted the tenets of democratic rule.

—Richard I. Cohen

**See also** Antisemitism, Etymology of; Deicide; Devi, Savitri; Drumont, Édouard; France; Supersessionism

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## Restitution (Switzerland)

In 1995, the question of what became of Swiss bank accounts belonging to Jewish victims of

Nazism surfaced and prompted a reexamination of Switzerland's role in World War II. The banking scandal also occasioned a new wave of anti-semitic discourse.

In 1934, Switzerland had passed a law guaranteeing bank secrecy that attracted many banking customers from all over Europe, including Jews in German-controlled territories. Beginning in 1945, World War II survivors began to appear in Switzerland in search of accounts opened before the war. Most were told either that their documentation was insufficient to prove they owned the accounts or that the accounts had been closed (at the behest of Nazi agents working under cover). The great majority of victims gave up and moved on.

In May 1946, the Washington Accords were signed between Switzerland and the Allies, calling for the Swiss to pay an indemnity of some 250 million Swiss francs for the Nazi gold the country had stored during the war. Switzerland also agreed to consider "with sympathy" the question of the unclaimed bank accounts of victims of Nazism.

The Swiss Banking Association (SBA) foiled governmental attempts at implementing a policy of transparency, even though a federal mandate to deal with "the property in Switzerland of foreigners or stateless persons persecuted on religious, racial, or political grounds" went into effect in December 1962, requiring Swiss banks to locate dormant accounts and match these to owners. The sum of 9.5 million francs suddenly appeared, 75 percent of which found legitimate owners. However, of the approximately 7,000 people listed, only 1,000 claimed funds.

In early 1995, Israeli media criticized the SBA's action. The bankers' association denied that "billions" might still be stored in Switzerland. Nonetheless, under pressure from the World Jewish Congress and with the involvement of U.S. senator Al D'Amato, the first of several commissions to deal with the banking scandal was formed and reached an early agreement, in 1996, to investigate the matter of dormant accounts and restitution. Such measures were insufficient, however, as "new" evidence (actually available in academic publications since the 1970s) came to light regarding Swiss eco-

nomic cooperation with Nazi Germany. World media scrutiny of Swiss behavior in World War II fostered a sense of encirclement in Swiss political and banking milieus.

Unfortunately, many members of the Swiss elite, seeking to defend the nation, issued oral and written statements that smacked of old religious and political antisemitism. The Swiss ambassador to United States, Carlo Jagmetti, was forced to resign in early 1997 following his descriptions of a "war with organized Jewry" in a confidential report. The former president of Switzerland Jean-Pascal Delamuraz also made inflammatory comments, for which he later apologized. Even as several funds were being set up privately and nationally in early 1997 to deal with the need for restitution, the scandals continued—for example, the Zurich bank guard Christoph Meili reported that his employer was destroying archival material pertaining to World War II. This and other accusations soon prompted more barbs, many of them characterized by a mix of antisemitism, anti-Americanism, and nationalistic isolationism, particularly among some conservative groups.

In October 1997, the head of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities and director of the Swiss Fund for Victims of the Holocaust issued the first check, to a Holocaust survivor from Latvia. The SBA's noncooperative attitude had elicited multiple lawsuits, but most were dropped when Swiss banks reached an agreement with plaintiffs' lawyers on damages in March 1998. In August, the World Jewish Congress, the U.S. government, and the SBA signed an agreement calling for banks to pay out between \$1.2 and \$1.9 billion. The special fund of 273 million francs begun in 1997 was expended, having paid nearly 110,000 Holocaust victims.

The crisis of the Swiss banks and Jewish dormant accounts opened the doors to the questioning of neutral countries' behavior in World War II. In the Swiss case, it also raised anew the specter of antisemitism, prompted a reexamination of Swiss identity, and called into question the country's humanitarian tradition. This debate continues, in both public and academic circles.

—Guillaume de Syon

**See also** Aryanization; J Stamp; Switzerland

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## Restricted Public Accommodations, United States

Groucho Marx, offered membership in a restricted country club on the condition that his family not use the swimming pool, reportedly quipped in response, “My daughter’s only half-Jewish—can she wade in up to her knees?”

Social discrimination against Jews in hotels, resorts, and clubs was, at least as a widespread and thorough phenomenon, a creation of the late nineteenth century. Before the famous Seligman-Hilton controversy of 1877, Jews were occasionally denied access to such establishments. But by the 1880s, many elite venues excluded Jews, and by the early twentieth century, a systematic pattern of exclusion had solidified. The pattern’s exact configuration changed over time. In the 1920s, hotel and resort discrimination weakened as the automobile made travel a mass experience and thereby expanded the leisure market. But early twentieth-century suburbanization also popularized country clubs, many of which were built by real estate developers to enhance the elite reputation of their home offerings. As an extension of the elite resorts’ leisure lifestyle, most country clubs employed rigid barriers against Jews of any economic station.

Just as Jews had established their own hotels and resorts in response to discrimination, Jews established their own country clubs—more than fifty of them by 1925. Initially, the clubs catered to German American Jews, many of whom hoped to demonstrate their assimilation of gentile values, tastes, and behaviors and to distance themselves from newer east European immigrants. During the depression, when many country clubs of all kinds closed under financial pressure, upwardly mobile east Europeans began to be admitted.

In 1865, Massachusetts had banned racial discrimination in public conveyances, accommodations, and places of entertainment, and New York State did so in 1875. By 1900, similar laws existed in eighteen states, including those where most Jews lived. But enforcement was lax, and courts interpreted these laws narrowly. Jewish organizations, especially the American Jewish Committee (founded in 1906) and the Anti-Defamation League (founded in 1913), were active in efforts to expand state protections against discrimination in public accommodations. (Federal civil rights laws were not yet applicable to individual actions.)

Ethnic restrictions in country clubs persisted long after other areas of American social life opened up; restrictions on Jews were common through the 1950s. By the 1980s, more clubs opened up in response to pressure from prominent members and golf associations (racially restricted clubs cannot host Professional Golf Association tournaments) and as courts tightened the definition of “private” establishments exempt from new federal civil rights laws. In the meantime, Jewish country clubs helped integrate German and east European Jews in the creation of new patterns of Jewish philanthropy and defense activism.

—Amy Hill Shevitz

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; *Ostjuden*; Restrictive Covenants; Seligman-Hilton Affair; United States

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## Restrictive Covenants

Restrictive covenants are provisions of deeds that restrict the activities of the deed holders. Since the nineteenth century, they have been used by developers and homeowners’ associations in the

United States and Canada to prescribe standards for residential developments, ranging from materials used in construction to minimum sales prices for homes. Within the United States and Canada, they have also been used to restrict the rights of owners to sell, lease, or otherwise make their properties available for occupancy by members of racial, religious, and ethnic groups deemed undesirable.

The primary group targeted in both the United States and Canada was African Americans. However, individuals of Asian, Hispanic, and Jewish ancestry were also victims of covenant campaigns. Identified by racial (“Semite,” “non-Aryan,” “Hebrew”) and religious (“non-Christian”) rubrics, Jews were banned by such agreements from establishing residence in areas of Boston, Denver, Miami, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Montreal, and other cities, as well as suburbs including those outside Chicago, Los Angeles, New York City, Phoenix, San Diego, and Washington, D.C. One study observed that in central Canada in the mid-twentieth century, Jews were the primary targets of covenants. Concurrently, Jews also participated in covenant campaigns against African Americans and other groups.

The primary period of covenant use ran from the 1910s through the 1940s. Enforcement efforts varied greatly because of the cost of litigation, the energy devoted by advocacy organizations to challenge covenants in court, and the reluctance of some judges to enforce them. Only one state, Minnesota, banned their use through statute (in 1919)—on the basis of religious, not racial, classifications. By the 1940s, liberal sentiment against discrimination, documented by organizations such as local chapters of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and human relations commissions, led to additional attempts to ban their use. One key success was the Ontario Supreme Court’s ruling in *Drummond v. Wren* (1945) that racial and religious covenants were unconstitutional.

The ideals of racial and ethnic tolerance that emerged with the Allied defeat of Hitler’s Germany in 1945 accelerated movements in the United States and Canada to ban racial or religious covenants through judicial challenges nationally. These culminated in the U.S. Supreme

Court’s *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision in 1948, ruling that public (that is, judicial) enforcement of the private agreements was unconstitutional, thus deeming them unenforceable. Although the cases heard in *Shelley v. Kraemer* involved restrictions against African Americans, organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the ADL submitted “friend of the court” briefs against the restrictions (this was the first such brief for the ADL). The *American Jewish Year Book* also kept readers abreast of the case. A footnote in the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision referred to the use of such agreements against Jews and included them in the ban on enforcement. Then, in the 1950 case *Noble and Wolf v. Alley*, the Canadian Supreme Court ruled that the restriction against Jewish purchase and occupancy of a home in an Ontario resort area was unlawful. The Canadian Jewish Congress took a leading role in the case.

Racial and religious restrictive covenants continued to be included in real estate contracts, although to a far lesser extent, after these decisions. A 1958 report by the ADL described their use against Jews in sections of Colorado, Maryland, suburban Washington, D.C., and Florida. Battles were fought with title companies that refused to issue clear titles to Jewish families trying to buy restricted properties, even though the restrictions could no longer be enforced. In the 1960s and thereafter, public figures such as Richard Nixon and Supreme Court Justice William H. Rehnquist were forced to dissociate themselves from the covenants for properties they owned, and others, such as Estes Kefauver, took additional steps to have covenants removed from the deeds.

The use of restrictive covenants was only one of many private strategies to prevent Jews and other groups from settling in certain areas across both the United States and Canada, before and after they were judicially outlawed. From the late nineteenth century on in sections of many cities, owners and landlords frequently refused to deal with Jewish buyers and renters, and “No Jews” signs were common. Unwritten “gentlemen’s agreements” to withhold residential property from Jews were even more common. A popular novel of the post–World War II era, Laura Hobson’s *Gentleman’s Agreement*, publicized their ex-

istence in 1947. When local, state, and federal fair housing laws (including the 1968 Fair Housing Act in the United States) banned most private housing discrimination, real estate firms and community members developed more subtle tactics. Cooperatives and other housing developments required "board approval" or club membership as a condition of occupancy. Realtors established secret codes to indicate when homes were not available to Jews or members of other groups.

Over time, discriminatory attempts often succumbed to economic, social, and political pressures for integration. For example, La Jolla, California, had to forgo its discriminatory tactics against Jews in order to attract the new campus of the University of California, which had a large number of Jews on its faculty. And many formerly restricted places, such as Delray Beach in Florida and Northbrook and Highland Park on Chicago's North Shore, eventually became known for their large Jewish communities.

Clearly, restrictive covenants and gentlemen's agreements reveal a past in which Jewish housing choices were circumscribed externally, but it is likely that residential discrimination against Jews has diminished greatly in the United States and Canada, although it has not entirely disappeared.

—Wendy Plotkin

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Canada; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Seligman-Hilton Affair; United States

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## Reuchlin, Johann (1455–1522)

A Christian humanist and advocate of Judaic study, Johann Reuchlin was born in Pforzheim, Germany, and educated first at Freiburg, then in Paris, and finally in Basel, where he received his B.A. (in 1475) and M.A. (in 1477) and began the study of Greek: he was one of the first Germans to learn that language. In 1480, he received a law degree at Poitiers and then practiced and taught law at Tübingen and Heidelberg, becoming counselor to secular rulers. But humanistic interests continued to draw him to the study of languages and ancient literature. Reuchlin's interest in Hebraic studies led him to Bologna, where he studied Hebrew language and Talmud with Rabbi Obadiah Sforno, one of the more prominent exegetes of his time.

As a Christian humanist who sought a synthesis of classical, Jewish, and Christian traditions, Reuchlin was drawn to the Kabbalah and published *On the Miraculous Word* and *On the Kabbalistic Art*, as well as a Hebrew grammar that remained a standard for decades. Significant as these were for introducing Jewish thought to the Christian West, they are eclipsed by one of the defining episodes in the history of Christian attitudes toward Judaism in the early modern period. The Pfefferkorn Affair, involving a Jewish convert to Christianity who embarked on an ambitious mission of proselytizing among the Jews of the major Rhineland cities, concerned the utility of censorship and banning of Jewish books. Johannes Pfefferkorn had advocated the collection and destruction of the traditional books of Jewish learning and had staged several spectacular book burnings. Reuchlin countered Pfefferkorn with a defense of Jewish literature, insisting that only those works plainly disagreeable to Christian sensibilities should be suppressed.

The pamphlet war that ensued was an early demonstration of the power of the printing press, as Reuchlin's allies and opponents all entered the fray with letters and defenses both serious and satirical. The conflict pitted a number of parties against each other but did not, in any real sense, oppose Jews and Christians themselves, as no unconverted Jews entered the dispute. The importance of the conflict lay in its ramifications for Christian attitudes toward the study of Judaism,

and in that, Reuchlin's role was unambiguously supportive of the study of Hebrew and the close reading of the Hebrew Scripture and its interpreters.

It seems evident that there were two aspects to Reuchlin's interest in Hebraic studies. On the one side was his desire to gain and maintain the goodwill of the Jews for the sake of converting them to Christianity. On the other was the humanistic desire to probe more deeply into the biblical text with the aid of Jewish exegesis and learning. The difficulty of determining whether these two were related is symbolic of one of the more perplexing enigmas in our understanding of humanism, especially the more pious tradition that flourished in the northern Europe.

Reuchlin lamented the outbreak of the Reformation and entered the priesthood shortly before his death in 1522.

—Ralph Keen

**See also** Dominican Order; Franciscan Order; Middle Ages, Late; Pfefferkorn, Johannes; Philosemitism; Reformation; Talmud Trials

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## Reventlow, Ernst zu (1869–1943)

Born of a noble Schleswig-Holstein family in 1869, Ernst zu Reventlow served in the German navy from 1888 to 1899 and then turned to a career in journalism and politics. He gained notoriety by his unsparing criticism of the official fleet-building policies of the Imperial Naval Office. His call for a more aggressive naval and foreign policy brought him into close contact with many organizations, newspapers, and lobbying groups on the German Right, including the chauvinistic Pan-German League. Reventlow's books, *Kaiser Wilhelm und die Byzantiner* (Kaiser Wilhelm and the Byzantines [1906]) and *Der Kaiser und die Monarchisten* (The Kaiser and the Monarchs [1913]), were highly critical of the

policy and governing style of Wilhelm II. His journalistic activities, together with his “unsuitable” marriage to a French woman, led to a break with his family. In 1907, he went before a military court of honor because of his disparagement of the Officer Corps. But Reventlow's disregard for class and position and his reputation as a maverick won him popularity with the new and more active populist Right in Germany.

Following World War I and the Revolution of 1918, he became a vehement critic of the Weimar Republic. He had been close to the antisemitic parties before the war; now, he became even more emphatically antisemitic and racist (*völkisch*) in outlook. In 1920, he founded the journal *Der Reichswart* (Reich Guardian), which adopted an increasingly social revolutionary tendency. Reventlow became one of the most vigorous propagators of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Germany, although he clearly was aware of the manuscript's fraudulence. Abandoning the German National People's Party, he became a leader of the breakaway völkisch German Racial Freedom Party in 1922. In 1924, he won a seat in the Reichstag and then, together with a greater part of the north German racists, transferred his political loyalties once again, this time to the Nazi Party (in 1927). He served as a Nazi deputy in the Reichstag until his death in 1943, first as a follower of the socially minded Strasser faction and then as a steadfast supporter of Hitler.

A key figure in what George Mosse called the “interlocking directorate of the Right,” Reventlow contributed greatly to Nazi success by bringing north German nationalists and racists into the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), thereby expanding its base at a critical juncture. In the 1930s, his interests shifted to religious matters; he became a leader of the German faith movement, dedicated to the formulation of a German Christianity cleansed of its Jewish origins.

—Mark Swartzburg

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; *Deutsche Christen*; German National People's Party; Hugenberg, Alfred; Ludendorff, Mathilde; Pan-German League; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar

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### **Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich (1823–1897)**

In the genealogy of German antisemitism, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl occupies a singular place. A near contemporary of Karl Marx, Riehl focused his attention on the ways modern class society was destroying the cultural and social integrity of Germany's old estate (*Stände*) system. In so doing, he developed an antiurban, agrarian-romantic critique of modernity that proved highly serviceable to subsequent generations of German *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) ideologues, up to and including the National Socialists.

Born into a lower-middle-class family in the Rhineland, the young Riehl aspired to a clerical career; while pursuing his theology degree at Bonn, he came under the influence of Ernst Moritz Arndt, whose stirring history lectures impelled Riehl onto the more engaged path of journalism. Over the 1840s, Riehl developed his journalistic approach, a kind of intuitive ethnography that sought its story at the intersection where natural landscape, social custom, and folklore met. This journalism would serve as the foundation for Riehl's magnum opus, the multi-volume *Natural History of the German People* (1851–1855).

The *Natural History* made his reputation and led to his appointment as Munich University professor. More important, it provided the foundation text for the emerging discipline of *Volkskunde*, a distinctly German approach to ethnography that, in its retrieval of fading customs and folklore, combined empiricist rigor with frequently hazy speculations about landscape, race, and culture. Writing in the soured aftermath of Germany's failed 1848 revolution, Riehl idealized the rural order for its authenticity and traditional ways, presenting it as the chief social bulwark against the destructive "proletariat" he saw haunting Europe. Among these proletarians, he considered "the Jewish intellectual proletariat" especially destructive, motivated as it was by its "hatred of society and the state." Riehl also

found in Jewry "the true priesthood of the modern cult of wealth," (Riehl 1907, 336–337) and his account of rural society included pungent descriptions of Jewish rural peddlers and "hucksters" and their corrosive function (Diephouse 1990, 84).

Small wonder, then, that later *völkisch* thinkers frequently identified Riehl as the spiritual forerunner to their own views. Riehl's forest reveries, his rejection of urban cosmopolitanism, and his idealization of an antique peasantry provided a language congenial to antisemites in particular, and there is much to support Klaus Bergmann's contention that in Germany, "anti-urbanism and the romantic cult of the countryside have always been variations on a theme by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl" (Bergmann 1970, 38). The National Socialists were also quick to embrace Riehl: his *Natural History* enjoyed four new editions under the Third Reich, with a special 1944 edition issued expressly for Wehrmacht consumption. In 1934, Germany's leading *Volkskunde* scholars established a new Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl Prize, to be awarded only to regime loyalists of "Aryan, German descent"; over the following years, the *Volkskunde* discipline would be enlisted wholesale into serving the agendas of Nazi "racial science."

None of this necessarily argues that Riehl should be viewed as a proto-Nazi, and his public stance regarding Jews was, in fact, ambiguous. His brief against Jewish intellectuals in the *Natural History* specifies those who "have abandoned true Judaism without converting to Christianity," and his criticism of Christian-Jewish marriage targets only those unions that neglect religious tradition, whether Christian or Jewish. His portraits of the countryside mention the "shameful persecution of Jews in many southern communities" and so on. It seems that for Riehl the antimodern polemicist, "the Jews" were, at least in part, a metaphorical device that he, like many others, found useful as a weapon of moral condemnation. Yet for Riehl the would-be social scientist, the Jews were also an empirical proposition, and he was honest enough to recognize that there could be a contradiction between the two. Indeed, in later editions of the *Natural History*, he regretted that certain of his earlier lines might

be “construed as anti-Jewish agitation, something I despise from the bottom of my heart and would also have despised at the time I wrote them if such calumny had even been conceivable in Germany in those days” (Diephouse 1990, addendum). Yet even as Riehl thus distanced himself, his celebration of the German peasantry’s “naive instinct and tradition” continued to provide intellectual legitimization for those *völkisch* thinkers who saw in Germany’s rural antisemitic traditions a vital wellspring for racial purification and national renewal. However selectively they might have appropriated Riehl, his contributions to Germany’s *völkisch* movement were genuine enough.

—John Abbott

**See also** Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Bauer, Bruno; Böckel, Otto; Dahn, Felix; 1848; *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon*; Marx, Karl; *Völkisch Movement and Ideology*

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## Rindfleisch Massacre (1298)

In the immediate context of circulating accusations of ritual murder (in Mainz, Munich, and Oberwesel in the 1280s) and host desecration (in Paris in 1290), Jews in the Franconian city of Röttingen were accused of host desecration shortly after Easter 1298. Twenty-one Jews were attacked and murdered by a mob led by a knight named Rindfleisch (although some scholars have contended that his name perhaps alluded to his possible profession as a butcher). In the following months, widespread pogroms erupted in 146 different communities or settlements scattered throughout Franconia, Upper Palatinate, Swabia, Hesse, and Thuringia, claiming between 3,500 and 5,000 lives. In brutality and number of victims, these pogroms far exceeded the violence

against Jews in that area during the First Crusade in 1096.

The Rindfleisch massacre of 1298 resulted in the murder of many Jews in smaller towns and greater numbers in the larger south German population centers: 470 in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, over 700 in Nuremberg, and over 800 in Würzburg. To escape death, many fled to far distant communities. Among the Jews killed were some of the most prominent rabbinic scholars of the era, such as Jechiel ben Menachem haKohen and Mordechai ben Hillel in Nuremberg.

In most cases, the mobs responsible for the violence came from the lower and middling urban classes, although often with the tacit approval, if not the outright assistance, of the ruling strata of various locales. In some places, clergymen attempted to stop the mobs, but only in Augsburg and Regensburg were the Jews successfully protected from the violence. The first wave of murders ended with the ascension of the Habsburg Albrecht I in September 1298, but a number of subsequent massacres occurred during the early years of the fourteenth century.

According to one historian, the Rindfleisch massacres marked a new and deadly tendency in violence perpetrated against medieval Jews. Accusations such as host profanation, originally lodged against individual Jews, could no longer be confined to the locales where they first appeared. Massacres radiated outward from these places to engulf whole regions.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Crusades; Host Desecration; Middle Ages, High; Ritual Murder (Medieval)

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## Ritual Murder (Medieval)

The ritual murder accusation, first recorded in England in the case of William of Norwich (d.



An early depiction of a ritual murder in which Jews were said to kill Christian children in order to use their blood for religious rituals. The first such charge occurred in England in 1144. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

1144) around the time of the Second Crusade, is often distinguished from that of the blood libel. The first recorded accusation involving the blood libel occurred in Fulda, Germany, in 1235, when Jews were accused of collecting blood and body parts for secret rituals; they allegedly used the blood to make Passover matzah, for medicinal reasons, or for some magical purpose. The terms *blood libel* and *ritual murder*, however, were coined only in the modern era. The medieval accusation, which dates to the twelfth century, seems to have been less specific. The basic elements of the charge were that Jews were obligated to kill or torment a Christian youth (almost always a young boy); that they participated as a group either in the killing, the alleged ritual, or the cover-up; and that they did so in mockery of Christ and as a form of reenactment or punishment for the claim made in the Gospel of Matthew that Christ's "blood be upon us and our children."

In the early cases, accusations of ritual murder were not always distinguished from other claims of malicious murder made against Jews, with or without the mention of blood or crucifixion. The discovery of a Christian corpse found in a well or river could prompt the charge based on proximity to Jewish homes or alleged markings on the body that seemed to resemble Hebrew. By the later Middle Ages, the belief was so commonplace that Jews were the first to be blamed when a child went missing or suffered an accidental death.

Jewish law prohibits the consumption of blood, and no case of ritual murder has ever been proved. But the libel has continued for nearly a millennium despite frequent investigations and denunciations by popes, emperors, and kings. Ritual murder was at once secular (homicide) and religious (deicide). It was the forerunner of accusations of host desecration, which charged

Jews with abusing the communion wafer used in Christian masses. It may be that ritual murder, a felony prosecuted by the state, mutated into the blood libel and then into the charge of host desecration, through which, it was claimed, Jews tortured the actual body of Christ in its eucharistic form on the holy altar. Desecration of the host, a charge more serious even than murder, was also easier to prove in a court of law.

The origins of the ritual murder accusation have yet to be determined. It occurred outside Christian communities only in the modern period, which suggests that the idea derived, in part, from Christian theology or popular culture, not merely as a misunderstanding of some actual Jewish ritual, as was thought in the nineteenth century. Jews caught up in the events frequently expressed bewilderment about the myth. Under torture, some confessed their “guilt” but maintained that they did not understand the crimes that they had supposedly committed.

Some scholars speculate that the accusations of ritual murder or blood libel were psychological projections of Christians who were wrestling with their own understanding of the central ritual of the mass, in which the body and blood of Christ are consumed. Others point to Jewish practices, such as the rite of circumcision, in which observers saw Jewish leaders holding a knife near a child, drawing blood, and sucking the wound to staunch the flow. The dietary laws that require Jews to drain an animal of blood thoroughly before cooking it may also have contributed to ideas of the blood libel. More recently and far more controversially, it has been suggested that accounts of Jewish ritualized martyrdom during the First Crusade in 1096, echoing accounts of the Temple sacrifice, may have prompted subsequent Christian ideas about Jewish blood vengeance. None of these explanations has unqualified support, and there is no agreement whether the ritual murder accusation began in popular culture and folk beliefs or in scholarly and elite circles of theologians and church officials.

Some rulers who gave little credence to the charge nevertheless seized on it as a convenient excuse to expropriate Jewish property and increase their own political and religious authority. Scholars continue to debate whether the charge

was created in England or imported from Germany, where the discovery of a Christian corpse during crusade preparations in 1147 provoked attacks on Jews. The accusation had a longer and more malignant history in the German Empire. The few cases in England were widely reported, but those recording the accusations were often skeptical. It remains to be proven, however, that the accusation was substantially different in England and on the Continent in the thirteenth century—a notion that gained acceptance in the English-speaking world in the early twentieth century.

The ritual murder accusation flourished during the High Middle Ages. The most famous cases were those of St. William of Norwich, St. Hugh of Lincoln (1255), and St. Simon of Trent (1475). Other early cases were those of Harold of Gloucester (1168), the unnamed child of Blois (1171), Richard of Pontoise (1179), St. Robert of Bury (1181), a case in Winchester (1192), five children in Fulda (1235), and a young girl in Valreas (1247). Only the Blois case appears in Jewish sources of the twelfth century. The bodies of other purported victims, such as the Holy Infant of LaGuardia made famous by Lope de Vega, St. Andreas of Rinn (1462), and St. Werner of Oberwesel (1287), became objects of pilgrimage, with the relics of the holy martyrs said to produce miracles. Cases proliferated in Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and northern Italy: Lewis of Ravensburg (1249), Dominic of Val (1250), Troyes (1288), Rudolph of Berne (1294), Conrad of Weissensee (1303), and Lorenzino Sossio (1485). However, many of the elaborate “medieval” tales of ritual murder are, in fact, literary creations of later times. Of the 52 cases produced in the eighteenth century for the canonization of Andreas of Rinn and frequently cited in modern studies, many cannot be substantiated from medieval sources. Nonetheless, it was widely believed in the medieval period and beyond that Jews committed or were capable of committing ritual murder, even if knowledge of specific cases was lacking.

In later years, the ritual murder myth took on a more secular character, serving both as the excuse for civil attacks on Jews and the pretext for levying huge fines on them, expropriating their

lands, and eventually expelling them. In many alleged cases, no body was ever found; rumors alone produced the desired result. In others, elaborate show trials took place. In 1235, when Emperor Friedrich II undertook one of the rare investigations, he created a panel of Jewish converts to Christianity and wrote to other countries to learn about this accusation. As a result of his findings, he denounced the charge. But his investigation seems merely to have advertised the idea, for it soon spread elsewhere.

Stories of medieval ritual murder persisted in the popular imagination long after Jews were expelled from England and France and the number of trials and investigations diminished on the Continent. The stories lived on in ballads, in Marian miracle tales, and in secular literature. Shakespeare's Shylock demanded a "pound of flesh," an allusion to the blood vengeance of the Jews. The legend was spread most viciously by itinerant Franciscan and Dominican preachers such as Bernadino da Feltre, who promulgated the cause of St. Simon of Trent, and the Praemonstratensians, who maintained a long list of alleged ritual murders. The ritual murder accusation retained its power because it addressed basic fears about blood and the vulnerabilities of children.

The ritual murder fantasy resulted in the deaths of thousands of Jews in the Middle Ages. Some were killed after judicial inquiries and the use of torture (Blois, Lincoln, Troyes, Trent); many more perished in riots after word of their "heinous deeds" spread through the town. There is now a conscious effort among many church officials to quash the ritual murder accusation. For more than a generation, the cathedral at Lincoln has had a prayer for victims of prejudice at the site of Hugh's shrine; the cathedral at Norwich has a similar prayer near the altar once dedicated to William. Simon of Trent was removed from the Roman Catholic calendar of saints in 1965, and the Bishop of Innsbruck ordered the suppression of the cult of Andreas in 1984.

—Emily Rose

**See also** Circumcision; Dietary Laws; Dominican Order; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Expulsions, High Middle Ages; Franciscan Order; Host Desecration; Hugh of Lincoln; Iconography, Christian; Kosher

Slaughtering; Passion Plays, Medieval; Ritual Murder (Modern); Simon of Trent; Sorcery/Magic; William of Norwich

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### Ritual Murder (Modern)

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade and a half of the twentieth—following a hiatus of close to 300 years—accusations against Jews for the crime of ritual murder (the killing of Christian children or adults for the purpose of employing the victim's blood in religious ritual) proliferated throughout central Europe and as far east as the Russian Empire. This is not to say that the medieval blood libel had disappeared from the Christian imagination after the Reformation; rather, it was increasingly relegated to the margins of serious political and legal discourse, considered by most state officials to constitute superstition or discredited knowledge. Although narratives of Jewish ritual murder continued to circulate within popular culture and even emanate from local church pulpits, they failed, for the most part, to move police officials and magistrates during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and most of the nineteenth centuries to conduct criminal investigations or trials against Jews on that account. The major exception to this rule was found in Poland-Lithuania, which, though it did not have a medieval tradition of ritual murder accusations against Jews, produced scores of such accusations (some leading to formal criminal proceedings) from the Counter-Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century.

The Damascus Affair of 1840 bore characteristics of both the medieval and the modern blood libel. As in premodern times, confessions were



This photograph is reprinted from the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* of Cologne, an area of Germany in which the ritual murder accusation had been popular for centuries. (Bettmann/Corbis)

extracted from suspects through the use of torture (some of those arrested died as a result), and local authorities, including the French consul, appeared to accept the traditional blood accusation at face value; at the same time, the imperial protector of the Jews, the Ottoman sultan, responded in the traditional manner, issuing a *firman* (edict) condemning the charge. The case's modern dimensions included the dissemination of purportedly "neutral" coverage of the ritual murder accusation in mass-circulation newspapers in England, France, and Germany (including the *Times* of London); the implication of the affair in nineteenth-century international diplomacy; and the political mobilization of Jewish communities across Europe to achieve justice for

their coreligionists. Finally and obviously, the Damascus Affair occurred not in Europe but in the Ottoman Empire.

In Europe itself, the modern transformation of the ritual murder accusation would not take place for another forty years. When it did reemerge on the political and cultural horizon, however, it did so with great vitality. One turn-of-the-twentieth-century observer, combing largely through German and Austrian newspapers, detailed no fewer than 128 public accusations of Jewish ritual murder between 1881 and 1900. He also claimed to have uncovered only 44 blood libels during the preceding six centuries. The spate of modern accusations actually increased as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

According to a Jewish defense organization based in Berlin, at least 79 “bona fide” ritual murder accusations were leveled against Jews from 1891 to 1900—primarily in Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Bulgaria. The majority of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century claims of Jewish ritual murder may never have gone beyond rumormongering or sensational reporting in the mass media. It is equally conceivable that dozens of accusations were followed up by criminal investigations of varying duration and intensity. Four central and east European states—Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia—chose to prosecute Jewish defendants at six public trials between 1879 and 1913, thereby breaking with a long-standing tradition of skeptical neutrality.

The trials in question took place in Kutaisi (Russian Georgia, 1879), Tiszaeszlar (Hungary, 1882–1883), Xanten (Germany, 1891–1892), Polná (Austrian Bohemia, 1899–1900), Konitz (Germany/West Prussia, 1900–1901), and Kiev (Russian Ukraine, 1911–1913). Each of the trials received extensive coverage and publicity both at home and abroad, but three appear to have generated the most discussion in the foreign press: (1) Tiszaeszlar because it was the first modern prosecution in central Europe and, as such, elicited widespread questioning of the compatibility of ritual murder discourse and modern culture; (2) Polná because it coincided with the Dreyfus Affair in France and was implicated in the heated national controversy between Germans and Czechs and because it featured a dramatic intervention on the Jewish defendant’s behalf by Tomáš Masaryk, a leader of the progressive wing of the Czech national movement who would go on to become the first president of independent Czechoslovakia; and (3) Kiev—the Beilis case—because it seemed to epitomize to the Western world both the backwardness of imperial Russia and the hopelessness of its oppressed Jewish population.

It would be mistaken, however, to view the ritual murder trials of modern Europe as a return to medieval superstition. In each of the states in question, prosecutors and ministry officials who made the decision to conduct formal criminal investigations and, eventually, to prosecute the Jewish defendants in open trial did so while try-

ing to maintain their identity as scientifically trained, bureaucratic rationalists. Their cases also relied, to a large extent, on the opinions of a variety of expert witnesses—including physicians, forensic scientists, criminologists, theologians, and academic scholars of Judaism—whose testimony appeared to provide the modern ritual murder accusation an aura of scientific respectability. Far from being a throwback to the Middle Ages, the modern ritual murder trial was, in fact, a product of post-Enlightenment politics, fears, and conventional wisdoms. It succeeded for as long as it did because it was articulated through the idioms of scientific discourse and rationality.

Eventually, the very sources of authority on which the modern proceedings rested began to undermine the credibility of the ritual murder accusation. A case in point is the Polná affair, in which Leopold Hilsner stood accused of the murder of Anežka Hrůzová, a nineteen-year-old peasant woman from a neighboring village. The prosecution had built its case on what it claimed was a foundation of forensic evidence: a sweep of the crime scene, blood on the trousers of the defendant, and a medical autopsy of the victim’s corpse. At the same time, it left open the question of motive—a void quickly filled by local rumor, the daily press, and the attorney who represented the victim’s family in court. Yet when the medical faculty at the Czech University in Prague redid the forensic examinations and publicized their results, which were highly critical of the original findings, the high court in Vienna ordered a retrial for the defendant. That Hilsner was also convicted of murder at his second trial and sentenced once more to death indicates the depth both of public antipathy toward him as an individual and of societal suspicions of Jews as a whole. But the ritual murder accusation in its modern form—and the willingness of state agents to prosecute trials on its basis—was to have a finite lifespan. Outside the realm of Nazi rhetoric, the ritual murder accusation would not survive as a viable object of social knowledge beyond World War I.

In light of this history, what were the political and cultural meanings of the modern ritual murder accusation? What was it saying about the world in which one lived? Why was it an attrac-

tive or compelling belief to those people who held it? A partial answer is that the modern accusation of Jewish ritual murder functioned politically as a rhetorical assault on the recently completed emancipation of the Jews of central Europe and on the liberal state that acknowledged the legal equality of the Jewish religion. Proponents of the accusation claimed to have discovered precisely in the religious culture of the Jews the code that determined their unsociability and, hence, their disqualification from the political category of citizen and the social category of neighbor. The cultural meanings of the accusation were bleaker still. It articulated a new sense of danger stemming from the social effects of modern life, located in the secret proclivities of the recently emancipated Jews, and inscribed on the mutilated bodies of their victims.

—Hillel J. Kieval

**See also** Alliance Israélite Universelle; Beilis Case; Damascus Blood Libel; Emancipation; Konitz Ritual Murder; Lithuania; Liutostanskii; Ippolit; Poland; Polná Ritual Murder; Pranaitis, Justinas; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder; Xanten Ritual Murder

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## Rockwell, George Lincoln (1918–1967)

George Lincoln Rockwell, a leading figure in the neo-Nazi revival, established the strategic foundation that facilitated the transition from Hitlerian National Socialism to a form of the Nazi ideology that was more politically viable in the United States in the late twentieth century.

To gain a political foothold in the United States, Rockwell knew he would have to appeal

to a constituency broader than "pure Aryans" of Anglo-Saxon heritage and Protestant beliefs. Such narrow parameters would have confined American Nazism to too small a base. So, in one bold stroke, Rockwell redefined a "white" as anyone who was not born black or a Jew, thus opening his movement to a vast pool of potential members. To attract them, he coined the slogan "White Power," an attempt to tap into the white middle class's growing resentment of the contemporaneous Black Power movement.

Rockwell also understood that Nazism needed to resonate with cherished American values if it was to flourish and that fundamentalist religion could serve him as the necessary tool of mobilization. Seizing on the obscure Christian Identity sect, Rockwell placed several of his most trusted lieutenants within its ministry and began the process by which its congregations became active neo-Nazi political cells. He did not live to see the full implementation of the strategy that has become a mainstay of the neo-Nazi movement.

Rockwell devised yet another strategy he hoped would make Nazism work in the United States. He helped launch the trend of Holocaust denial in an attempt to soften the future generation's historical memory of Hitler and his era, making possible the reemergence of Nazism as a force in world politics. His plan was to challenge the very existence of the Holocaust, not for the generation that witnessed it but for the next generation, thereby sowing the doubts that would make the claim that the Holocaust had never occurred a legitimately debatable matter. Although documentary evidence does not exist to detail with certainty the specific roles Rockwell and his associate Willis Carto played in devising the Holocaust denial strategy in the mid-1960s, it is clear that Rockwell took the lead in popularizing the myth that there had been no Holocaust.

In practical terms, however, George Lincoln Rockwell was a failure. A tall, handsome, intelligent, and charismatic student with considerable skill as both a public speaker and an artist, he left Brown University to join the U.S. Navy during World War II. After distinguishing himself as a navy pilot and rising to the rank of lieutenant commander, he left active duty and drifted into a series of unsuccessful business ventures and ex-

tremist political crusades. For reasons that have never been adequately explained, he embraced Adolf Hitler and Nazism in 1959 and founded the American Nazi Party (ANP). Thanks to his flamboyance and showmanship, the ANP briefly won great public attention. Even so, the party never gained a national following and never moved from the fringe into mainstream politics.

Rockwell was murdered in Arlington, Virginia, on August 25, 1967, by John Patler, a member of the ANP, a captain in its Storm troopers, and a young man whom Rockwell looked on as a son.

—Frederick J. Simonelli

**See also** American Nazi Party; Carto, Willis; Christian Identity Movement; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Ku Klux Klan; Militia Movement; White Power Movement

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## Rohling, August (1839–1931)

Educated in Rheine and Münster, August Rohling started advanced studies at the Theological Academy of Münster in 1858. Five years later, he was ordained as a priest and then served as a private tutor in Paris and Brussels. Back in Germany, he was appointed curate at Rheinberg/Moers. In 1865, having submitted an Old Testament study on Moses' remarks on the immortality of the soul, he received the theological licentiate qualifying him as a university lecturer for Old and New Testament in Münster. One year later, Rohling also became a *Privatdozent* (unsalaried lecturer) at the Academy of Münster.

In search of a better-paying appointment—he had been offered only an associate professorship in exegesis at the Academy of Münster—Rohling went to the seminary in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1874 and taught moral theology there. The next year, he returned to Europe, traveling first to Italy and Great Britain and then to Austria. Finally, he was offered a full professorship in Old Testament exegesis at the German University of Prague. When his 1897 study on the *Zukunftsstaat* (state of the future) was forbidden by

church authorities, Rohling gave up his position and moved to Salzburg, where he was active as a scholar and publicist.

Rohling's early publications show an old-fashioned but highly competent knowledge of the Old Testament and its interpretations. But it was his writing of anti-Jewish books that truly engaged his energies. Although he had never studied the Talmud and the Jewish tradition of its interpretation, Rohling, by that time a fanatical Ultramontanist, wrote an exposé that fully distorted the work. To prove that the Talmud commanded Jews to commit sins and practice vice, he manipulated pieces of the text and forged evidence. His most significant contribution to anti-talmudic literature was *Der Talmudjude* (The Talmud Jew), first published in 1871 and reprinted a total of twenty-two times. The book was distributed widely by the Boniface Society for Catholic Germany.

*Der Talmudjude* reflected the traditional anti-Judaism of the Catholic Church but was also influenced by the new social, economic, and cultural arguments of the developing secular antisemitic movement. This collection of false and corrupted quotations from the Talmud, based on Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Judaism Exposed [1711]), accused Jews of ritual murders and triggered fierce controversies. Rohling himself instituted proceedings against his critics but finally had to withdraw his action. He was suspended from his chair in 1885 but nevertheless continued to write and publish anti-Jewish works.

—Carsten Kretschmann

**See also** Austria; Bloch, Joseph Samuel; Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; Drumont, Édouard; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*; Talmud Trials; Ultramontanism

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## Roman Empire

Around the time of the birth of Christ, 5 to 6 million Jews dwelled under the Roman state, which stretched from the British Isles to the Euphrates River and from Germany to Africa. They constituted approximately 10 percent of the population, with their main centers in Palestine and Syria, Egypt, and its metropolis Alexandria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. From the second century BCE, however, new Jewish communities arose in the western parts of the Mediterranean, especially in Rome. In the aftermath of the Jewish-Roman wars that began in the first century BCE, greater numbers of Jews moved westward to Italy, Spain, and Gaul, either of their own free will or under compulsion. The sources (Josephus, Philo, Strabo) tell us that there was hardly a town to be found in the Imperium Romanum in which Jews had not formed a strong community. Beyond these generalities, however, little can be said about the size of these settlements. An estimated 30,000 Jews lived in Rome; in Alexandria, the number was several times larger. In most cases, Jewish social status was low. Jews usually worked in the skilled trades and in agriculture. In Rome, they were often beggars, a fact that subjected them to the scorn and anger of contemporaries. In late antiquity, many owners and traders of slaves were Jewish.

The Roman Empire underwent three major transformations affecting all its subjects.

The Roman Republic gave way to the monarchical form of government—the Principate—in 27 BCE. In 218 CE, the Emperor Caracalla conferred civil rights on all the empire's inhabitants (*constitutio Antoniniana*). Under Diocletian, the Principate was reformed; this work continued under Constantine, who moved the capital from Rome to Constantinople and began the process of Christianization in the early fourth century CE. The end of the antique Roman Empire is marked by the reign of Justinian, who ruled from Constantinople between 527 and 565 CE.

The policy of the Roman state toward the Jews varied in response to multiple factors and was neither consistent nor uniform. Generally, Jewish existence was protected throughout the history of the empire. The practice of the Jewish religion was permitted and safeguarded by privi-

leges. However, the increasing importance of the idea that the empire's parts should be better integrated and, at the same time, conflicts over the status of the Jewish Diaspora settlements brought about a change for the worse in the relationship between Jews and the Roman state.

The Roman Republic encouraged the Jews in the fight waged by the Maccabees against the Seleucidian state, signing at least six treaties with them between 161 and 104 BCE. But during the same period, Jews were expelled from Rome (in 139 BCE) because of fears regarding the negative influence of eastern cults on the traditional agrarian character of Roman society. Nevertheless, their infiltration, along with other foreign elements, could not be effectively hindered. The Emperors Tiberius (in 19 CE) and Claudius (in 41 and 49 CE) tried in vain to strengthen the hold of Roman customs (*mos maiorum*) by expelling the Jews. The granting of civil rights to them in 218 CE put an end to these temporary measures.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BCE, Judea lost its independence; after the reign of the vassal King Herod (37–4 BCE), it became a Roman province in 6 CE. This integration into the Roman Empire, which both Rome and the Jews had advocated, turned out to be a complete failure. The powerful insurgent movements that erupted in the heartland of Judea around Jerusalem testify to this fact. Between 66 and 74 CE, the Jewish War ended with the demolition of the Temple. The defeat of the Bar Kochba Revolt (131–135 CE) transformed Jerusalem into a Roman colony. The consequences of these uprisings were severe. From 70 CE, Jews had to pay a special tax to Rome (*fiscus Iudaicus*), which was rigorously enforced starting with the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE); after 135 CE, Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem. Romans increasingly thought of Jews as innately rebellious. They were also regarded as irreparably eccentric, impossible to integrate, and practitioners of an outlandish religion. Roman policies designed to coerce Jewish integration in the Diaspora settlements also led to conflict, especially in Alexandria, where long-standing enmity between the Greek and Jewish populations led to a great pogrom in 38 CE. In the reign of Trajan, the

whole eastern part of the empire was engulfed by the Diaspora Revolt (115–117 CE), during which Jews and the local gentile populations came to blows. Over the next two centuries, the historical record indicates incidental anti-Jewish measures and further Jewish revolts, but it seems as though an acceptable modus vivendi had been arrived at by both sides. Although the evidence for this period is quite sparse, the uneasy peace may have been the result of the increasing influence of the Jewish patriarch of Jerusalem, who was able to act as an effective mediator between the Jews and Rome. Gamaliel, the last incumbent of this office, died at the beginning of the fifth century.

The general situation of the Jews in the Roman Empire was determined by the principle *Iudeorum sectam nulla lege prohibitam satis constat* (the Jewish religion is not forbidden by any law, as everybody knows). The constitutional character of the Roman state did not permit a prohibition of Judaism, whose practitioners could cite legally binding privileges and guarantees (*religio licita*) valid since the time of Caesar and Augustus. The Jews had their own (limited) judicial and financial institutions, and they were exempted from military service, performance of public duties on the Sabbath, and participation in the municipal councils. When threatened with violence by their non-Jewish neighbors, they could usually depend on the physical protection of the state. All Roman emperors were bound to recognize these privileges, even though they ran counter to their desires to reduce the empire's regional and ethnic particularities. The Jews experienced the greatest pressure to conform to Roman ways under the Emperors Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Hadrian, Septimius Severus, and Diocletian, who were most serious about subordinating the disparate parts of the empire under one Hellenistic-Roman aegis.

The policy of the Roman state toward the Jews did not materially change with the Christianization of the empire during the reign of Constantine (306–337 CE). But the rivalry between Jews and Christians, by no means new or one-sided, became more severe. Christians staged assaults on synagogues and individual Jews in a number of locales. In Menorca, compulsory conversions were carried out. Such acts were re-

garded as infringements on the power of the state and were, for this reason, severely punished.

In the last stages of late antiquity, the pressure on Jews to give up their special status and privileges became more intense. The situation in the towns (*civitates*) became desperate as the financial exactions to support the administration of the empire grew more and more onerous; at the same time, the central authority found itself unable to protect the borders from a variety of invaders and marauders. The impact of these conditions on the Jews is recorded in the corpus of the Roman law, especially the Theodosian Code of 439 and the Justinian Code of 534. The freedom of worship was preserved, and persons and property were still protected. But Jews were drafted for services in the towns (as members of the curiae) and the country, functions they had hitherto been spared on religious grounds. This change was now possible because, with the triumph of Christianity, all sorts of religiously based or "heathen" exemptions from such duties had vanished. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the pressure on a distinct Jewish identity continued to build, even as the weakness of the Roman state became more pronounced. The Emperor Justinian, in a last desperate bid to unify the empire, decreed its complete Christianization. He did not dare to interdict Judaism, but he removed Jews from their offices in the administration and burdened them with the performance of all public functions, without conferring the usual honors that went with them. With his reign, the empire of late antiquity reached new levels of compulsion.

In late antiquity, the Roman state's pressure on Jews to conform had further and far-reaching consequences for Jewish life, culminating in Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Justinian Code). Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604) "interpreted" these Roman laws for the Jews and created a tolerant legislation, even though its basic aim was to convert them to Christianity. His policy, which recognized the right to live as a Jew, formed part of ecclesiastical law and constituted the basis of medieval European legislation governing Jewish life. In contrast, the eastern Roman Empire moved toward the prohibition of Judaism altogether.

—Ernst Baltrusch and Dagmar Beate Baltrusch

**See also** Alexandrian Pogrom; Arch of Titus; Bar Kochba Revolt; Chrysostom, John; Claudius; Constantine, Emperor; Diaspora Revolt; Gregory the Great, Pope; Justinian Code; Middle Ages, Early; Roman Literature; Slave Trade and the Jews; Theodosian Code

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## Roman Literature

There are no traces of the Jewish people to be found in Roman literature before Cicero, despite the quite intensive relationship that had existed between the Hasmonean state and Rome since 161 BCE and the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 139 BCE. After Pompey seized Jerusalem in 63 BCE and turned Judea into a client kingdom, however, the interest in the Jews and their religion grew. The first commentary and judgments of Roman writers about the Jews appeared in the first century BCE. In his didactic poem "*De rerum natura*" (On the Nature of Things), the Epicurean Lucretius spoke exclusively about the strange character of the Dead Sea. Somewhat earlier, Marcus Tullius Cicero and the polymath Marcus Terentius Varro dealt with the religion and the habits of these new Roman subjects. From that time until the end of the sixth century CE, special Jewish topics were treated repeatedly in the heathen Latin literature.

The following Latin terms were used for the Jewish land and people: *Judaea* and sometimes *Idumaea* (the name of the Jewish province until 135 CE), *Syria Palaestina* (the name of the

province from 135 onward), and *Judaei* and *Hebraei* (for the Jews themselves). The latter term was common in the Greek language area but was used in Latin only from the end of the first century CE (with the poet Statius being the first to employ it). The work *De Iudeis* (On Jews) by a certain Antonius Silvanus of the first century has not survived. Frequently, detailed discussions of the Jews can be found in geographic, scientific, or historical works.

For the growing interest of the Romans in Jewish affairs, three factors were decisive: first, the Roman wars against the insurgent Jews in the first and second centuries CE; second, the growing Jewish community in Rome; and third, the rise of Christianity, which, from the second century onward, was considered threatening enough to warrant greater literary attention to the Jewish mother religion. Sources of information were personal contacts with Jews as well as Greek and Roman writings but, strangely enough, not Jewish works, although these were fully accessible in Greek translations. Quintilian spoke about *primus Iudaicae superstitionis auctor* (the founder of the Jewish superstition) without naming Moses, who was known to him; further, many Jewish rites and customs were described wrongly (for example, it was commonly believed that observance of the Sabbath required fasting). Only from the second century are there signs that the Bible was known to Latin writers. One of the last heathen authors with strongly antisemitic tendencies was Rutilius Namatianus (in the fifth century), who delivered tirades about a Jewish fishpond owner in his poem *De reditu suo* (On His Return).

The image of the Jews in Latin literature was determined by interest in the land and people as well as their religion. Although the natural history of the area was presented rather neutrally, the history and culture of the Jews were treated, for the most part, disapprovingly, angrily, and contemptuously. Literary accounts dealt with the environment around the Dead Sea and its characteristics, mineral resources, and useful plants. Judea was especially famous for the extraction of asphalt, according to Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* (Natural History).

Historical treatments, especially concerning

the Jewish-Roman wars in the time of Pompey, mainly emphasized his capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE and its reconquest by Titus in 70 CE. The point of view in these histories was exclusively Roman and was intended to furnish proof of the rebellious character of the Jewish people. Although Greek literature was concerned with the more distant era of the Exodus and the kings of biblical times, these topics were of less interest to Latin authors.

The religion of the Jews appeared throughout as *supersticio* (superstition), the characteristics of which were monotheism and the noncorporeal conception of God. Following Livy, the poet Lucan called the Jewish God *incertus deus* (uncertain god); others considered the Jews worshipers of heaven (Juvenal, *Florus*) and proverbial for their credulity (Horace, *Sermones* 1, 100). The only positive judgment about the nonfigurativeness of God in heathen Latin literature is found in Varro, who compared Jahwe with Jupiter and believed that humans would honor God more if He were not represented pictorially.

The Jewish way of life was thought outlandish, especially because of the minute religious regulations that pervaded the Jews' everyday existence and differentiated them conspicuously from the Romans. The meaning of Jewish rituals such as keeping the Sabbath and other holy days and of practices such as circumcision and the dietary laws were more often ridiculed than discussed. Tibull, Horace, and other writers used Jewish motifs metaphorically, usually with satirical or derogatory intent.

Jews, as a large minority in Rome, shared a very bad reputation with other alien elements who came from the eastern parts of the empire. Juvenal said about Rome in 100 CE: "Oh fellow-citizens, I cannot abide a Rome of Greeks; and what fraction of our dregs comes from Greece?" (Juvenal 3, 60–62). The numbers, coherence, law-abidingness, or inclination toward unrest of foreigners determined the degree of Roman xenophobia. By these standards, the Jews were judged most negatively. They attracted attention with their observance of the Sabbath and were identifiable as they crowded the streets carrying baskets lined with hay (in which they kept food warm without lighting a fire). The worst stench

Martial knew was that of Jewish women "fasting on the Sabbath" (*Sabbatariae* 4, 7). The day of rest was declared to be a celebration of indolence of both the people and their God, even though the Roman calendar also numbered a great many feast days. This interpretation of Jewish slothfulness was confirmed by the low social position of most Jews. Large numbers of Jews could be found loitering around the gates of Rome, begging alms and molesting passersby (Juvenal, Seneca). Romans, of course, never needed to resort to begging because they had a right to state-financed maintenance. Another misinterpreted rite, that of circumcision, became part of the literature on love and sex. Circumcision, it was thought, was responsible for the excessive sex drive of the Jews and also gave them an unfair advantage with Roman women. They were described by Tacitus and Rutilius Namatianus as an *obscena gens* (an obscene people).

The biggest source of concern, however, was political in nature. Romans feared the lack of self-control, inability to assimilate, and innate rebelliousness of the Jews. Eerily prefiguring the claims of later antisemites was the judgment of Rutilius Namatinus: "And it is their own conquerors that a conquered race keeps down" (*De reditu suo* 1, 398). Seneca echoed this dread of alien conquest. Many Romans had all but pathological fears not only of riots, infiltration by foreign elements, and proselytism (Horace, Martial, Tacitus) but also of the appeal of Jewish feasts and rites for high-ranking Roman women. Bishops such John Chrysostom preached vigorously against the lure of the Jewish religion. Specifically in this regard, the Jewish *gens* (people) was characterized throughout much of Latin literature as *impia* (impious), *fera* (fierce), or *perniciosa* (a curse to others).

These prejudicial views of Jews and Judaism, generalized in the culture of Rome, were refined by the classic authors of Roman literature and transmitted through the ages to the entire civilized world.

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), the most prolific speaker and prose writer of the Latin language and one of the most distinguished politicians of the Roman Republic, was the first Latin author whose comments about the Jews have been preserved. His literary work comprised

philosophical and theoretical treatises on statecraft, speeches, and letters to friends and politicians. He mentioned Jews only twice: in the year 59 BCE in a speech defending Flaccus (*Pro Flacco*), who was the governor of the Roman province of Asia, and in the year 56 BCE when Cicero pleaded in a speech *de provinciis consularibus* (on the provinces administrated by ex-consuls) for removal of the governor of Syria. Both texts are seminal in the formation of Roman hostility toward Jews. Centuries later, Cicero's judgments made their way into numerous antisemitic anthologies.

Although his words must be seen in the context of his defense counsel and prosecutorial functions, Cicero expressed the fundamental Roman antagonism toward people who essentially wished nothing more than to retain their identity. In the speech *Pro Flacco*, he castigated the Jews as a shadowy, quasi-conspiratorial community that illegitimately—they were not citizens—sought to influence political decisions in Rome. Cicero insinuated an undefined danger emanating from the Jews. They had gathered into a mob near the site of court; thus, he claimed, he had better talk in a low voice. In order to clear Flaccus of the charge that he had lined his pockets with money from the Jewish Temple, thus angering the Jews, Cicero branded the Jewish religion as barbaric superstition and the Jewish community as untrustworthy, perfidious, and contrary to Romans and their customs. The most important sentence in his defense of Flaccus read:

Each state . . . has its own religious scruples, we have ours. Even while Jerusalem was standing and the Jews were at peace with us, the practice of their sacred rites was at variance with the glory of our empire, the dignity of our name, the customs of our ancestors. But now it is even more so, when that nation by its armed resistance has shown what it thinks of our rule; how dear it was to the immortal gods is shown by the fact that it has been conquered, let out for taxes, made a slave. (*Pro Flacco*, 69)

Cicero went on to make an issue of Jewish status in the Roman Republic. There should, he

said, be less tolerance shown toward foreign religions in general. The liberality of Pompey toward the Jews was mistaken because they were completely unable to assimilate to any other human community; they were also subversive and rebellious and had weapons in hand. True, defeat and diaspora caused them to suffer, but such was a just, divine punishment for their contrariness.

In his second speech, *De provinciis consularibus*, Cicero added one further element to his characterization of the Jews. In 56 BCE, he represented the interests of the equestrian leaseholders of taxes against the governor of Syria Aulus Gabinius who, he charged, “led [the leaseholders] into slavery to the Jews and Syrians, themselves born for slavery.” Since Aristotle, the association between barbarian people and slavery had been axiomatic. Cicero’s term *servituti nati* (born to be slaves) for the Jews and Syrians simply expressed the general Roman contempt for these peoples.

Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus, 63–8 BCE), the son of a freed slave from Venusia, began his literary career in the time of the civil war in the thirties of the first century BCE. He was supported by Maecenas, who recommended him to Octavian/Augustus. In his wide-ranging work, he spoke three times about the Jews. Horace, unlike Cicero, did not have any political office or function; neither did he have to consider the political implications of the Jewish religion or have occasion to use anti-Jewish arguments in courts of law. Rather, he observed Jewish practices and commented on them in passing in his poems, especially in his *Sermones* or satires, which he published between 41 and 30 BCE. These contained criticism of everyday life and manners and included a number of Jewish subjects. Clearly, Horace was familiar with Jewish mores and largely unsympathetic toward them. The missionary activity of the Jews (*Sermones* 1, 4, 143), their deep religiosity (*Sermones*, 1, 5, 100), and the rigorous observance of the Sabbath (*Sermones* 1, 9, 69f) he equated with obsessiveness, stubbornness, credulity, and narrow-mindedness. He helped establish the Roman notion that Jews were irrational and superstitious. The assertion that frankincense would melt without fire was a joke for Horace, about which Jewish believers were un-

able to laugh. Only the “circumcised Jew” could believe such nonsense, he said.

Horace had no agenda with regard to the Jews, nor did he draw a coherent picture of them, but his depictions defined them as unmistakably Jewish to his contemporary and posthumous readers. His literary stature was such that the traits he ascribed to Jews came to be regarded as synonymous with being Jewish. Other authors of the Augustan age, such as Tibull and Ovid, worked in a similar fashion. However, later poets, including Martial, Juvenal, and Rutilius Namatianus, expressed their prejudices much more radically and forcefully.

Seneca the Younger (1–65 CE) was born in Cordoba, Spain, the son of a famous orator of the equestrian order. He gained considerable political influence in Rome by educating and advising Emperor Nero, until he was forced to commit suicide after having participated in a conspiracy against his former pupil in 65 CE. His literary work was extensive and comprised philosophical treatises, tragedies, satires, and speeches. Along with Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian, he represents the Spanish sector of Latin literature; its attitude toward the Jews can be classified as anti-semitic in a broad sense, combining the love of Roman traditions with the rejection of pernicious eastern influences. Seneca praised Jews for the earnest conduct of life, but this rare positive assessment was lost amid his more extensive and detailed criticism of them.

Seneca’s work contained the first philosophical discussion of Judaism to be preserved, although the religion of the Jews always remained essentially alien to him. In his early years, he had been a vegetarian under Pythagorean influence, but he once again began to eat meat later in life, when he held dietary laws to be un-Roman (*alienigena sacra*). Presumably, the abstinence from pork and other meats by the Jews was what was meant by “un-Roman rites.” Seneca, showing his total ignorance of the meaning of Jewish ritual, also disapproved of lighting Sabbath candles because “gods do not need any lamps” (*Epistulae morales* 95, 47). In his lost treatise *De superstitione*, he expressed his opinion on the Jews in a most aggressive way; Augustine still knew and quoted it in the fifth century (*Civitas*

*Dei* 6, 11). Of all Jewish rites, Seneca most deplored the Sabbath, which he called a useless institution. One day of rest in every seven was a waste of time; Jews lost nearly a seventh part of their lives, he calculated. Apparently unaware of any contradiction, he praised those legislators of the Greek and Roman past who had arranged feast days for recreation. Presumably, it was not merely the frequency of the Sabbath but also the eccentric way the Jews spent the day that annoyed him. Romans partook in entertainments and games on their holidays. The Jews did not.

*De superstitione* passed harsh judgments on the Jews and found them a disturbing people. They were a *sceleratissima gens* (accursed race) whose customs had spread through all the world: “The vanquished have given their rules to their victors” (*Civitas Dei* 6, 11). Seneca never deepened his knowledge or understanding of Jewish writings—at least there are no traces of his having done so. His works were widely read in antiquity and during the Middle Ages. His formative influence on the image of the Jews can hardly be overrated.

Cornelius Tacitus (55–120 CE) was a Roman senator and high-ranking politician from Forum Iulium. After the death in 96 CE of the Emperor Domitian, whose tyranny he despised, he began to work as a writer, earning fame in his own day and down to the present as a prolific historian. In addition to several works of smaller scope (*Germania*, *Agricola*, *Dialogus de oratoribus*), he wrote two large-scale histories of Rome in the first century CE. The *Annals*, which covered the time of the dynasty of the Julio-Claudians (14–68 CE), and the *Historiae*, which recorded the rule of the Flavian dynasty (68–96 CE), have both survived in their original, complete forms. Tacitus was a severe critic of his times. The principate did not meet his expectations of political order, and the individual emperors, with the exception of Vespasian, also fell short of his standards.

In his two major works, he very often referred to the Jews, mostly reporting events. However, an excursus at the beginning of the fifth book of his *Historiae* (5, 1–13) in connection with the Jewish War of 66–74 CE obliged him to explain what made the Jews enemies of the Roman Empire, and in the process, he revealed his preju-

dices. Attempting a thorough treatment of the subject, he relied on several unnamed sources (but not on the Bible) for his depiction of the inimical Jews. His topics were: Roman authority in Judea at the beginning of the year 69 (1), legends of the origins of the Jews (2), the Exodus and Moses (3–4), rites (5), the land and its towns (6–7), pre-Roman history (8), Rome and the Jews since Pompey (9), the beginning of the Jewish War (10), and the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem (11–13). Long before the Romans knew them, the Jews, according to Tacitus, were driven out of Egypt by the pharaoh as a people odious to the gods. Under the leadership of Moses, they marched through the desert and six days later, after the expulsion of the indigenous population, they founded Jerusalem and its Temple. Moses promulgated laws that isolated the Jews from all other peoples; he made them venerate the head of an ass in the Temple because this animal had helped them to cross the desert. He installed the Sabbath as a feast day in memory of their troubles and added the sabbatical year as a comfort for them; he forced them to abstain from pork because this animal was leprous and allowed them to eat only unleavened bread. Because of the innate reprehensibility of this people, further measures had to be instituted, which, however, only made them worse. These laws and customs produced a “hostile hatred against all other people” (*adversus omnes alios hostile odium*). Circumcision was the outward sign of their difference; a strong sex drive, ritual human sacrifices, xenophobia, and self-love were but some of the negative traits ascribed to Jews by Tacitus.

Tacitus’s historical treatment of the Jews occasionally seemed to be neutral, but, in fact, it was loaded with insults. He was less censorious about the Jews’ incorporeal concept of God, but he was offended by their refusal to venerate the Roman emperor. Contrary to others, he refrained from comparing the cult of Dionysus with that of the Jews. The first was joyous and festive, the latter preposterous and mean. The topography of Judea and the world of its plants were gloomy, which again explained the character of the people. Classified among the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, the Jews were the most contemptible of these subject peoples (*despectissima pars servien-*

*tium*). He praised Antiochus IV because he had tried to abolish Jewish superstition and to introduce Greek civilization. He scolded the Jewish kings because, under the mask of religion, “they banished citizens, destroyed towns, killed brothers, wives and parents, and dared essay every other kind of royal crime” (*Historiae* 5, 8).

Although Tacitus admitted to errors in Roman policies leading to the outbreak of the Jewish War, Jewish resistance was characterized as stubborn and suicidal. His text pretended to be objective, based on exact research and knowledge of (undisclosed) sources. But prejudice was clearly at work. The excursus differed both literally and historically from Tacitus’s criticism of other foreign peoples, such as the Germans or Britains. In order to glorify the generals Vespasian and Titus, the opposing Jews had to be shown in a very bad light indeed. The rebel Jews, although long a part of the Roman Empire, nonetheless refused to assimilate and give up their identity. With this trope, Tacitus sounded a theme repeated by antisemites of every succeeding age.

Juvenal (Decimus Junius Juvenalis, 67–140 CE) was born in Campania in Italy. He was the most distinguished poet of satires at the time of Emperor Hadrian, who fought against the Jews in the Bar Kochba insurrection. Juvenal disseminated his negative picture of the Jews in five of his sixteen satires. Unlike Tacitus, he was especially critical of the infiltration of foreign elements into the Roman capital. Juvenal decried the Jews as beggars and condemned the incestuous relationship between the Jewish king Agrippa II and his sister Berenice. Otherwise, he repeated the by then familiar accusations that the Jewish religion was mere superstition and that Jews were narrow-minded and unable to abandon their self-imposed isolation. Like other Roman authors, Juvenal did not probe the meaning of Judaism, satisfied to show instead how Jewish customs and rites adversely impacted Roman life. In his satire on Rome, a certain Umbricius leaves the capital filled with revulsion, for he has been accosted at the *porta Capena* by Jewish beggars who have driven away the Muses and given the whole wood over to begging (*Satura* 3, 16). Their synagogues are the beggars’ sitting rooms (3,

290–296). Equally annoying are Jewish female soothsayers who offer to interpret dreams at knock-down prices. Juvenal's satire on Roman matrons (6) rebuked them for being enamored of Egyptian and Jewish superstition.

In his satire on education (14), he expressed with great thoroughness his views on the deleterious influence of Jews. He listed the main elements that Romans identified with the Jews as the Sabbath, the immaterial character of God, the prohibition against pork, circumcision, disobedience to Roman laws in favor of Jewish laws, the menacing secrecy of the occult Mosaic law, and their insularity and refusal to communicate with strangers. Juvenal worried that these uniformly negative traits—negative because they were specifically Jewish—were affecting Roman behavior. He blamed fathers for miseducating their children, passing these bad Jewish habits on to succeeding generations.

—Ernst Baltrusch and Dagmar Beate Baltrusch

*See also* Augustine of Hippo; Bar Kochba Revolt; Chrysostom, John; Circumcision; *Handbook of the Jewish Question*; Kosher Slaughtering; Marr, Wilhelm; Misanthropy; Paul; Pork; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Roman Empire

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## Romania (1878–1920)

The unification of the Danube principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859 marked the birth of modern Romania. The winning of independence from the Ottoman Empire moved the unresolved question of the Jewish minority's legal status onto the center stage of European politics. At the Congress of Berlin (in 1878), the assembled European Great Powers pressured Romania

to amend article 7 of its constitution, which restricted citizenship to Christians. The demand that Romania honor the principle of equality of status for all its people unleashed a stormy debate and a wave of antisemitic violence, after which the government acceded to the pressure and changed the law. Even then, however, only 883 of more than 135,000 Jews actually gained full rights of citizenship.

Early in the country's history, intellectuals and politicians spoke out against the political and social emancipation of Jews, whom they generally regarded as unassimilable aliens. Influenced by foreign antisemites, writers such as Vasile Alecsandri (d. 1890) produced a series of works describing Jews as parasites and exploiters. The press denounced the Jews' lust for profit without labor and blamed them for many economic problems. "Despised by all nations," they were called usurers, purveyors of adulterated alcohol, spies, and bloodsuckers. Instead of the neutral word *evreu* (Jew), the derogatory *jidan* (Yid) gained currency.

"Wandering Jewry has flooded into Romania's towns infecting our people with its moral and physical decadence," wrote the national poet Mihai Eminescu in 1881. One of the Romanian pioneers of a Christian, economic, and *völkisch* (racial) antisemitism, Eminescu demanded that Jews be put to productive "muscle" work and warned ominously that in the defense of the Romanian race and soil, all means were justified (Eminescu, *Opere* 12: 359, 367, 373). The philosopher Vasile Conte pleaded for an ethnically homogeneous national state based on unity of race and religion. He saw no room for non-Orthodox Christians. Nae Ionescu later expressed this notion in the form of an equation that became one of the ideological cornerstones of Romanian fascism: Romanian = Orthodox Christian. Conte was also the proponent of the theory of a Jewish world conspiracy that claimed Jews schemed to transform Romania into "their Palestine."

The militant antisemites A. C. Cuza and Nicolae Paulescu helped transform a largely literary anti-Jewish ideology into a common denominator of party politics. Cuza, whose theories rested on biological arguments and owed much to the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain,

was also an aggressive politician. Paulescu preferred French models, especially the works of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. Both men integrated the traditional anti-Judaism of the Romanian Orthodox Church into their outlooks. Paulescu wrote increasingly paranoid works exposing the satanic dangers posed by the Talmud, Freemasonry, liberalism, socialism, and communism. These forerunners of Romanian fascism, although differing on details, were united in their opposition to the Jewish presence in the land—a danger to the “Romanian national essence.”

The antisemitic movement also produced new institutions to combat the so-called Jewish danger. The International Antisemitic World Alliance was founded in Bucharest in 1886. In 1895, Cuza and the historian Nicolae Iorga helped establish the Romanian Antisemitic Alliance. Iorga published the ultranationalist newspaper *Neamul românesc* (Romanian Community of the Race), which was one of the most important platforms for antisemitic agitation prior to World War I.

In 1907, what has been called the last great peasant uprising in Europe swept over Romania, the result of a structural crisis in the agricultural economy. Agitators blamed the suffering of the rural population on “exploitative” Jewish leaseholders, many of whom lost their lives in the ensuing bloody revolts. In the wake of the disturbances, Cuza and Iorga founded the Democratic Party (in 1910) on the basis of an unambiguously antisemitic program. Later, Cuza and Paulescu brought out the antisemitic newspaper *The National Defense*, using it as a tool of indoctrination among the radical rightist university students who ultimately formed the core membership of various fascist organizations.

The peace treaties that ended World War I added new territories to Moldavia and Wallachia, forming Greater Romania and giving rise to a nationalistic euphoria with pronounced racist underpinnings. These territorial acquisitions made the country much more of a multi-ethnic entity, with nearly a third of the population now consisting of non-Romanians, including a larger Jewish minority (778,100, or 4.9 percent). In the immediate postwar years, university students engaged in wild antisemitic

acts as well as attacks on the forces of order. Nostalgia for the war, hostility toward minorities, and fear of “bolshevism” spawned, in 1920, the Guardian of National Consciousness. The organization advocated a peculiarly Romanian blend of biological and Christian antisemitism and claimed to represent “national, Christian, and antisemitic socialism.” One of its members was Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, who founded Romania’s most important fascist organization a few years later—the Legion of the Archangel Michael, also known as the Iron Guard.

—William Totok  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Cuza, A. C.; Emancipation; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Iron Guard; Judeo-Bolshevism; Usury

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## Romania, Holocaust in

Before World War I, Romania was ethnically relatively homogenous, with a minority population of under 5 percent. As a result of the peace treaties ending the war, the country experienced an enormous increase in the non-Romanian population with the addition to its territory of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia. In the 1920s and 1930s, at least in part because of these changes, numerous antisemitic and fascist organizations became politically active. LANC—National Christian Defense League founded in 1923 and Corneliu Codreanu’s Legion of the Archangel Michael founded in 1927, renamed the Iron Guard in 1930, were the most significant.

In 1937, the government of Octavian Goga, the leader of the rightist National Christian Party, introduced a series of anti-Jewish laws that marked the beginning of the juridical disenfranchisement and isolation of Romania’s Jews. A quarter million Jews (36.7 percent of the Jewish

population) lost their citizenship by 1939. Mixed marriage was outlawed in 1940, and prohibitions on public school teaching and army and civil service careers followed. Jews excluded from the military had to pay a special tax and do compulsory labor. From the summer of 1941, the Moldau and Bukovina districts mandated the wearing of the yellow star.

Following the abdication of King Carol in September 1940, Gen. Ion Antonescu became leader of the National Legionnaire state, ruling with members of the fascist Iron Guard, as well as nonpartisan experts, and initiating a more methodical persecution of the Jews. “Romanianization” of the economy, administered by a special office, expropriated Jewish businesses and nationalized agricultural and forest lands owned by Jews.

Shortly after the invasion of the USSR, in which the Romanian army participated, a deadly pogrom took place (on June 29, 1941). Military officials spread the rumor that the Jewish population was supporting Soviet troops. Antonescu ordered retribution for an alleged attack on German soldiers. Jews were taken into custody, amid plundering and murder. Several thousand were herded onto the grounds at police stations, whereon they were shot by Romanian and German soldiers. Survivors were loaded onto sealed cattle cars and left without food, water, or sanitation while the trains traveled around the countryside. The number of victims in this pogrom is estimated at anywhere from 3,000 to 10,000.

As a reward for its military aid in the Soviet campaign, Romania received the right to administer Transnistria, formerly a part of the Ukraine, on August 31, 1941. Gheorghe Alexianu, the newly installed governor, proceeded to erect ghettos and concentration camps. Between September 1941 and the end of 1942, 150,000 Jews from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the Dorohoi region were deported to Transnistria. They suffered great deprivation and succumbed to disease, forced labor, and arbitrary executions. Only a third of them survived beyond 1943. This was a purely Romanian enterprise, carried out by the military and the gendarmerie, without the participation of German units.

In October 1941, a bomb that killed several Romanian officers stationed in Odessa prompted

Antonescu to order the arrest of 20,000 Jews, who were then driven to the outskirts of the city and shot. Only the intervention of the mayor stopped the reprisals. But two months later, Antonescu ordered the deportation of the 65,000 surviving Odessa Jews to the Golta region of Transnistria, where most of them perished.

In July 1942, a census of the remaining Jews was conducted, and other preparations were made in concert with German officials to deport them to the death camps in occupied Poland. However, military defeats and strong domestic and foreign pressure led the authorities to abandon the deportation plans. Further pressures from international organizations and large sums of money persuaded Romanian officials to allow approximately 10,000 deportees to depart Transnistria, leaving the majority to languish there. In the summer of 1944, after protracted negotiations, 3,000 Jewish orphans were allowed to leave for Palestine. Finally, the Red Army liberated Transnistria in March 1944, and the ghettos and concentration camps were emptied.

Estimates of Romanian Jewish mortality in the Holocaust vary according to which population groups are counted. They range from 250,000 to 400,000, when the Odessa mass murders are included. Ion Antonescu and Gheorghe Alexianu stood trial for war crimes in 1946. Both were condemned to death.

—Brigitte Mihok  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antonescu, Ion; Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Iron Guard; Romania; Yellow Star

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## Romania, Post-Soviet

The fall of the regime of Nicolae Ceausescu in December 1989 signified the disappearance of

the communist state but the survival and revival of some unsavory nationalist traditions. Romania's nationally tinged communism was an unoriginal amalgam of Stalinist and prewar radical rightist elements. From the beginning of his reign in 1965, Ceausescu oversaw the state's monopolization of prewar nationalism and chauvinism, which necessitated the relaxation of official antifascist policy. He more or less laid fascist and nationalist antisemitism to rest but then reactivated many of its features for his antiliberal national communism.

When Ion Antonescu, Hitler's loyal partner, was executed as a war criminal in 1946, he was reviled as the epitome of the anticommunist fascist. In the Ceausescu era, his image underwent a gradual modification in a positive direction. Soon after Ceausescu was murdered in 1989, Antonescu, the antisemitic politician and "heroic anticommunist," a man of "complex personality" and a "great patriot," was transformed into a figure of national integration. The forces that carried out this rewriting of history made little or no mention of his antisemitic policies, their Jewish victims, or the country's role in the Holocaust.

Postcommunist antisemitism in Romania was inextricably bound up in the Antonescu revival and the atmosphere of general insecurity that followed the fall of communism. Antonescu's ghost, newly cleansed of all blemishes—especially his direct responsibility for the deaths of tens of thousands Jews—rose up to answer the need for a postcommunist national icon. The arguments for his rehabilitation advanced in 1990 and then embellished in the following years were first voiced by Radu Campeanu, chairman of the new National Liberal Party, who claimed that Antonescu was a great Romanian, deserving honorable commemoration. He described the Antonescu dictatorship as more moderate than many others and certainly not responsible for extremist antisemitism—in fact, Campeanu said, Antonescu had attempted to protect the Jews from annihilation and from the Hungarians who were actually responsible for the deportations. Finally, Campeanu denounced the "historical untruth" that 400,000 Romanian Jews had been killed.

The context for such arguments was provided by the radical transformation of the early 1990s, which was accompanied by the return to an exaggerated nationalism and pronounced hostility toward Jews, Hungarians, Roma, and Slavs. The antisemitic component of reborn Romanian nationalism found expression in a few prominent postcommunist publications and made its home in several political parties whose right-wing extremism could draw, at least in part, on prewar fascist and nationalist traditions. Among the most blatant of the antisemitic gazettes, *Europa* asserted in 1991 that Romania had fallen victim to a Zionist world conspiracy and that Jewish agents wanted to turn the country into "Israel's colony" (*Europa*, no. 24, 1991). Anti-Romanianism, *Europa* and like-minded papers thundered, had to be punished. The student leader Marian Munteanu's Movement for Romania, before it was forcibly dissolved, appealed directly to the legacy of the fascist Iron Guard and its founder, the Orthodox Christian and nationalist Corneliu Codreanu.

Between 1992 and 1996, however, a nonpartisan nationalism asserted itself in Romanian politics, initiating a period of liberal middle-class rule (from 1996 to 2000). In response to the international outcry, the government rescinded Antonescu's officially proclaimed rehabilitation and, as a consequence, renewed the debate about him and about Romania's role in the Holocaust. Ion Coja, leader of the League for Combating Anti-Romanianism, explained away the bestial murder of Jews in Bucharest in 1941—many were hung up on meat hooks in slaughterhouses—as an invention of irresponsible publicists. He also denied that there was any proof thousands of Jews were murdered in the ghettos and camps of Transnistria during the war.

In the spring of 2002, the radical Right's massive circulation of antisemitic literature, including Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and the continued flourishing of the Antonescu cult prompted the government to promulgate an emergency decree banning the establishment of fascist, racist, or xenophobic organizations. Membership in such organizations, as well as the distribution, possession, or display of their symbols, was punishable with imprisonment. Public denial of the

Holocaust or its effects could bring up to five years in prison.

—William Totok  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antonescu, Ion; Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Iron Guard; Romania; Romania, Holocaust in

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## Rosenberg, Alfred (1893–1946)

An eminent scholar of the Third Reich has called Alfred Rosenberg “the single person most responsible for what happened to the Jews in Europe under Nazi domination.” Although this claim may “unfairly” slight some of Rosenberg’s more active and influential colleagues, such as Heinrich Himmler and Joseph Goebbels, it is more than sheer exaggeration, for Rosenberg relentlessly—and with great effectiveness—disseminated an intense brand of racist antisemitism. He blamed Jews for the major ills of Western culture, for the “dirty flood of the Jewish press,” and for “Jewish international capitalism” and accordingly treated them as a “counter race” (*Gegnerasse*) and as the most pressing threat to the health of the German *Volk* (people). Rosenberg’s most famous book, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (1930), sold approximately 1 million copies.

During the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, Rosenberg was able to spread his scurrilities through a whole array of periodicals. He wrote, edited, or served as publisher for the Nazi Party’s newspaper, *Völkischer Beobachter* (Racial

Observer), from 1921 onward, and he edited the *National Socialist Monthly*, the party’s theoretical journal. In addition, he occupied crucial political offices and was able to translate horrific theory directly into horrific practice.

Even before Hitler took power, Rosenberg had installed himself as head of the Nazis’ shadow foreign affairs office. In this capacity, he lobbied for an invasion of the East and later helped govern the eastern occupied territories, which is where the mass murder of Jews was carried out. Rosenberg also served from 1934 on as Hitler’s “commissioner for the supervision of the entire intellectual and philosophical schooling and training of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party.” To use the modern expression, Rosenberg was the Nazis’ ideology tsar.

He was born to solidly middle-class parents on January 12, 1893, in Reval, which was then part of imperial Russia but had a significant community of “ethnic Germans,” or *Volksdeutsche*. Orphaned early, he was raised by two paternal aunts. According to his own accounts, he began his reading of Arthur Schopenhauer, Indian philosophy, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain at an early age. Later, he stylized himself as the philosopher of Nazism. First, however, he studied architecture at the Technical University of Riga, which was evacuated to Moscow during World War I. There, Rosenberg is thought to have begun working on *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*. He also may have encountered the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* for the first time. He maintained a lifelong attachment to that text, reediting and commenting on it in a widely circulated and often reprinted version of 1923. He also introduced it to colleagues and friends, possibly including Hitler.

Like most early members of the party, Rosenberg experienced Germany’s defeat in World War I as a terrible shock and trauma, explicable only as the result of betrayal. Indeed, even before he relocated to Germany, he began to hold the Jews responsible for Germany’s military collapse. Rosenberg made his way to Munich, where, in 1919, he joined the German Workers’ Party, slightly after Hitler and even before it was renamed the National Socialist German Workers’ Party in 1920. When Hitler was imprisoned after

the failed putsch attempt of 1923, he entrusted one of his earliest intimates, Rosenberg, with stewardship of the outlawed party, now operating under a new name.

During this period, Rosenberg fell out of favor with Hitler, perhaps because of his poorly disguised ambition to exercise independent power within the movement or perhaps because he did such a bad job of holding the party together. On leaving prison, Hitler ostracized Rosenberg from his most intimate circle, the place from which all power flowed. Hardly a formidable personality, Rosenberg thereafter tended to come out on the losing end of clashes with Hitler's chief henchmen, especially Goebbels, his longtime rival for control over Nazi propaganda. Rosenberg not only lacked vital direct access to Hitler but was also unable to counter Goebbels's political savvy, tactical finesse, and complete lack of scruple. A true believer, Rosenberg seems never to have doubted any of his obscure ideological principles, although others in the party, including Hitler, found him a ludicrous blowhard. His rhetoric, though at times useful, was often clumsy and inappropriate to the political situation.

Rosenberg remained on the periphery, but he continued to accumulate titles, establish prominent organizations, and exercise control over the lives and especially the property of Europe's Jews. Found guilty at Nuremberg, he was executed on November 16, 1946.

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Goebbels, Joseph; Himmler, Heinrich; *Myth of the Twentieth Century, The*; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Research on the Jewish Question; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Thule Society

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## Rosenberg Trial

On July 17, 1950, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's director, J. Edgar Hoover, announced the arrest of Julius Rosenberg, an electrical engineer

who lived in New York City with his wife and two young sons. Rosenberg was accused of being a central organizer of a spy ring that was planning to pass vital U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. On August 11, his wife, Ethel, was also arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit espionage. When the Rosenbergs' trial began in March 1951, the prosecution requested that the couple receive the death penalty if convicted, even though it did not make the same demand for a third codefendant, Morton Sobell.

To a remarkable degree, not much commented on at the time, the conspiracy trial of the Rosenbergs was a Jewish affair. Rosenberg himself was a second-generation Jew from an immigrant Orthodox background. Ethel Rosenberg also came from an East European Jewish family. The federal judge, Irving R. Kaufman, was Jewish, and so, too, were the district attorney and counsel for the defense. The district attorney's special assistant, Roy M. Cohn, of German Jewish heritage, would soon achieve national prominence as chief counsel in the McCarthy hearings. Additional key figures in the trial were also Jews. Notably, David Greenglass, who confessed that he had been a spy for the Russians and whose testimony for the government helped convict the couple, was Ethel's younger brother. And David's wife, Ruth, charged as a coconspirator, also provided crucial testimony against her sister-in-law.

Also not commented on at the time was that the jury was composed entirely of non-Jews. The Rosenberg trial thus became a kind of political show trial performed by Jews for the morbid fascination of a wider and gentile American audience. Relevant, as well, is that the indictment, trial, and conviction of the Rosenbergs occurred exactly as the Cold War approached its zenith. Julius was arrested only months after Sen. Joseph McCarthy began his national campaign to ferret out communist infiltrators in the State Department and other important government posts. The Korean War had begun only a month before the arrest. By the time that war was over and the televised Army-McCarthy hearings had concluded—and the Cold War had passed its peak—the Rosenbergs were dead.

It had not taken long to convict them. Less than a month after their trial began, the couple

was found guilty of conspiracy to commit espionage. In April 1951, Judge Kaufman sentenced them to death. Despite an international campaign that sought to have the death sentence commuted, President Dwight D. Eisenhower denied a final clemency plea, and the Rosenbergs were executed in the electric chair on the evening of June 19, 1953.

It is difficult to say with certainty what role antisemitism played in the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Certainly, they (and Ethel in particular) frequently described the charges against them as evidence that the United States had succumbed to fascism. Soviet bloc countries such as East Germany orchestrated mass demonstrations that hailed the Rosenbergs as martyrs and accused the U.S. government of antisemitism. A small remnant of pro-Stalinist American Jews made comparable accusations, arguing that in the Cold War era, the United States employed antisemitic tactics reminiscent of Nazi Germany.

No leading American Jewish group dared to suggest that antisemitism played a role in the espionage trial. To the contrary, prominent Jewish organizations (such as the American Jewish Committee) energetically drew the opposite conclusion, namely, that the Rosenbergs were cynical opportunists who now harped on their own Jewish identities merely because it might help save their own lives. Prominent Jewish commentators forcefully condemned every inference made by the couple's supporters that antisemitism had a part in the trial or the convictions. These Jewish spokespersons advised the Jewish community to turn a deaf ear to the couple. To a great degree, this advice was heeded.

The Rosenbergs did not die because the organized Jewish community failed to come to their defense. But the Rosenberg case provides a most painful example of the tragic limitations of postwar American Jewish liberalism. Hostile to the possibility that antisemitism may have been a factor in the Rosenberg trial, fearful of being tainted themselves by the antisemitic slur that associated Jewishness with communism, American Jewish organizations sought to dampen hostility against Jews in general through an active embrace of the Cold War anticommunist consensus. Iron-

ically and tragically and despite the chance that the Rosenbergs may have been scapegoated in part because they were Jews, this meant that open debate about this possibility was placed completely off-limits. The topic remains embittering for many American Jews to this day.

—Michael E. Staub

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Judeo-Bolshevism; United States

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## Roth, Alfred (1879–1940)

Alfred Roth, active in Theodor Fritsch's Imperial Hammer League (Reichshammerbund) before the war, became better known by the alias Otto Arnim, author of the popular antisemitic pamphlet *Die Juden im Heere* (*The Jews in the Army*). Roth served as an officer in the German army, and it was probably this position that allowed him to gain access to some of the statistics collected for the military's Jew Census of November 1916. The 1919 publication of his book caused a sensation, adding more force to the gathering wave of antisemitism that had begun flooding a defeated Germany. For those Germans who already believed Jews were responsible for Germany's military collapse and the subsequent Revolution in 1918, Roth's statistical study provided a thin veneer of "scientific" respectability to their baseless antisemitic accusations.

Alfred Roth maintained, without citing any relevant statistics, that most Jews involved in World War I were spies, smugglers, or profiteers. He thus provided an agreeable explanation as to why the German army failed on the battlefield. Most German soldiers, he wrote, were "Jewified" by their officers (this despite the very small num-

ber of Jews allowed to serve in the officer corps). Even before the battle was joined, Jews had succeeded in infusing Germany with a decadent “shopkeeper spirit” and overwhelming the traditionally heroic German spirit. Roth concluded that it was this defeat of German values prior to the war that led ineluctably to Germany’s military humiliation. In *The Jews in the Army*, he traced the history of Jewish military cowardice by reciting old accusations about Jews performing badly in the Russian military during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). After citing such bogus historical precedents, Roth delivered his version of the Jew Census, the centerpiece of the book. Most scholars agree that he was fed Prussian War Ministry correspondence related to the census, including some of the raw numbers provided by the military commands; the information was, in all likelihood, leaked by sympathetic officers. Roth combined antisemitic invective with impressive-looking but essentially meaningless statistical data. Compared to most of the antisemitic pamphlets that circulated after the end of the war, however, *The Jews in the Army* appeared polished and rigorous. It discussed Jews in every branch of service, in the occupation authorities, at the front, in industry, in the volunteer forces, and in civilian positions. In each chapter, it delineated how Jews supposedly undermined the war effort, while exploiting the national struggle for survival to enrich themselves and inflate their own importance.

Roth claimed that *The Jews in the Army* was the official result of the Jew Census conducted in November 1916. The Prussian War Ministry never released the results, he further stated, because unnamed powerful Jews prevented publication. Roth considered himself a hero and the publication of his book a service to the German nation. He remained active in radical rightist politics during the Weimar Republic, serving as leader of the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutz-Bund (German Racial League for Defense and Defiance) and, briefly in 1924, as a member of the Reichstag, sitting for the right-wing German National People’s Party.

—Brian Crim

**See also** Fritsch, Theodor; German National People’s Party; German Racial League for Defense

and Defiance; Imperial Hammer League; Jew Census; Masculinity

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## **Rothschilds**

The founder of the Rothschild dynasty, Mayer Amschel (1743–1812), was the descendant of undistinguished merchants and money changers in the Jewish ghetto of Frankfurt. He took his first major steps, especially during the Napoleonic period, in amassing a legendary fortune by serving as the financial agent for a German count (Landgraf) of Hesse-Kassel. His descendants branched out into the major cities in Europe, most notably London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples; before long, the name Rothschild became associated with fabulous capitalist opulence, charitable causes, and support for the arts, as well as horse racing and other activities previously dominated by the nobility and royalty. In Sholem Aleichem’s original Yiddish text, Tevye’s celebrated soliloquy “If I were a rich man” is “*Ven ikh bin Rothschild*” (“If I were Rothschild”).

For nineteenth-century antisemites, the Rothschilds loomed as a symbol of the rising power of the Jews under modern capitalism. It became a commonplace, even among those without particular hostility toward the Jews, that the Rothschilds were becoming the “kings” of an age when money was the ultimate source of power. Jewish leftists were perhaps even more ardent than left-wing gentiles in denouncing the Rothschild family as the epitome of destructive capitalist greed and corruption. Traditional Jews often shared with gentiles a sense of unease about these astonishing nouveaux riches, but in the Jewish case, that fear was often mixed with hopes and fantasies about the Rothschilds as modern protectors of the Jews who—with their great wealth—could effectively intervene behind the scenes among the gentile powerful.

Typically caricatured as many-tentacled octopi, reaching everywhere and strangling the common people, the Rothschilds as a symbol were prominent in the blending of anticapitalism, antimodernism, and antisemitism in the

nineteenth century. However, much of the favorable commentary about Jews, especially in Britain, also concentrated on the Rothschilds. In particular, Lionel Rothschild (1808–1879), a friend of Benjamin Disraeli and a recognized leader in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in Britain, enjoyed remarkable esteem, both among the gentile common people and the ruling elites. He assumed a seat as the first Jewish member of Parliament in 1858. The powerful and admirable character Sidonia in Disraeli's influential novel *Coningsby* was widely believed to have been modeled after Lionel. Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild (1840–1915) became the first Jewish peer of the realm in 1885.

Favorable attitudes were not uncommon among the royalty and nobility on the Continent, as well. In the course of the nineteenth century, titles of nobility were granted to the Rothschilds, and by the end of the century, there were even a number of intermarriages between branches of the family and European nobility, including a few minor members of the royalty. Early in the century, such conservatives as Prince Klemens von Metternich established friendly contacts with the founding members of the family—as well as negotiating loans from them. For antisemitic observers, such connections revived memories of the court Jews, believed to be evil and corrupt advisers to the reigning princes of earlier centuries. But even on the Continent, positive and negative imagery often blended; some, in particular those of social Darwinist bent, saw the material success and the alleged manipulation of the modern economy and politics by Jews (with the Rothschilds as prime examples) to be indications of racial superiority, a theme much emphasized by Disraeli and, in related ways, perpetuated by figures as different as Beatrice Webb, Winston Churchill, and Lord Balfour. Those who respected success, as long as they were not particularly threatened by it, tended to esteem the Rothschilds. Lord Granville, for example, advised Queen Victoria that it was highly desirable to “attach them to the aristocracy rather than drive them into the democratic camp” (in Ferguson 1999, 2: 253).

Given the fears and the hopes that their wealth and prominence awakened, the Roth-



A caricature of Alphonse de Rothschild, crowned by the Golden Calf and whose talonlike hands have France in their grasp. (Mary Evans Picture Library)

schilds inevitably became entangled in extravagant charges made not only by antisemites but also by the many factions of the Jewish communities of Europe. Theodor Herzl saw them as a “national misfortune” for the Jews when they expressed serious reservations about his Zionist program—a particular irony given the charges by antisemites that the Rothschilds were a major power behind Zionism. Bitterness and resentment within the Jewish community toward the Rothschilds also arose because of some of the family members’ supercilious attitudes concerning Jews from eastern Europe, the hesitations and reservations some of them expressed in regard to immigrants and refugees (whether in the late nineteenth century or in the Nazi period), and their tendency to blame antisemitism on the actions of the Jews themselves.

Although the Rothschilds were well known during much of the nineteenth century for secrecy, clannishness (especially in their hos-

tility toward intermarriage), and a concern to keep their wealth within the family, a number of family members not only married Christians by the end of the century but also distanced themselves from Jewish causes and attitudes. Their failure to establish a solid outpost in the United States has been seen as one of several reasons for their relative financial decline in the twentieth century; that failure also helps explain why the Rothschilds played a relatively less prominent role in anticapitalist symbolism in the United States. By the second half of the twentieth century, the image of the Rothschild family had distinctly diminished in the rhetoric of antisemites.

—Albert S. Lindemann

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); *Coningsby*; Court Jews; Disraeli, Benjamin; Emancipation; Herzl, Theodor; Webb, Beatrice; Zionism

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## Rowlandson, Thomas (1756–1827)

Although comparatively little attention has been devoted to his depiction of Jews, Thomas Rowlandson, the English illustrator and engraver, has long been acknowledged, along with James Gillray, as one of the two most influential graphic satirists in England in the era after William Hogarth. Whereas Gillray's powerful cartoons are primarily political and, in their occasional depiction of Jews, not particularly antisemitic, Rowlandson's drawings and prints are far more evidently social and, in their recurrent representation of Jews, often derogatory. Perhaps because he lodged for much of his career in their vicinity near the street market of Rag Fair in Hounds-ditch, he took delight in sketching and etching London's Jewish poor. At least sixty graphic works (as well as a large number of drawings and watercolors) by Rowlandson contain Jewish fig-



In the print, *Raising the Wind*, Thomas Rowlandson shows two evil-looking Jewish moneylenders purchasing the title deeds of an estate from an inebriated young English aristocrat. (Jewish Theological Seminary)

ures, as against scarcely more than two by Hogarth earlier in the eighteenth century.

Many of these works contain antisemitic themes. Rowlandson's Jews are almost invariably grasping moneylenders, stockjobbers, old-clothes men, sexual predators, or deviants from their avowed religious practice. In a print of 1812, entitled *Raising the Wind* (1; B.M., no. 10486; Rubens, no. 939; Grego, 3: 234; *The Jew as Other*, no. 5), he shows two evil-looking Jewish moneylenders purchasing the title deeds of his estate from an inebriated young English aristocrat. The paintings on the wall, portraying gambling and horse-racing scenes, mark the means of the aristocrat's downfall. Rowlandson imputes here (and elsewhere) that scheming Jews were unscrupulously buying up the patrimony of the English landed gentry. Another print, *A Jew Broker* (1801; Rubens, no. 905), shows a latter-day Shylock bearing a bond in his pocket, and,



An example of Thomas Rowlandson's representation of old clothes men is *Trafic*. Here, two rascally old clothes dealers bargain with a maid servant over the price of a torn pair of breeches. (Jewish Theological Seminary)

as Joseph Grego describes him, “musing . . . over a chance lost, a bargain missed, a gain which has slipped through his prehensile fingers” (1880, 2: 24). An example of Rowlandson’s representation of old-clothes men is *Trafic* (1785; Rubens, no. 1125; Grego, 2: 289 and 324; *The Jew as Other*, no. 14), produced in collaboration with Henry Wigstead, an amateur artist. Here, two rascally old-clothes dealers bargain with a maid servant at the door over the price of a torn pair of breeches. The caption reads: *Vat you say: Twopence / By Got Almighty / Thay are not worth a penny / Are they Moses [?]*. The guttural English of the dealer picks up the dialectal mimicry commonly employed on stage when representing a Jew and often so performed in the late eighteenth century by Rowlandson’s close friend the actor Jack Bannister (1760–1836). In *Introduction or Moses with a Good Bargain* (Rubens, no.

919), we see a young English girl being introduced by a procuress to an overblown Jew whose sexual arousal is denoted by his standing on tiptoe and by the erect state of his beard. Finally, in *Jews at a Luncheon, or a Peep into Duke’s Place* (1794; B.M., no. 8536; Rubens, no. 888; Grego, 2: 324–25), we witness three grotesque Jews drooling over a sucking pig, reflecting the anti-semitic belief that even in the environs of their place of worship—Duke Street was the site of London’s Great Synagogue—Jews would secretly indulge in their love of pork. Alfred Rubens (1959) notes that Rowlandson also produced an aquatint from the life of the Great Synagogue for Rudolph Ackermann’s *Microcosm of London* (1809) and remarks that this “is one of the rare instances of Rowlandson exercising restraint in his Jewish characterisation” (13).

—Frank Felsenstein

**See also** Agrarian League; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Hogarth, William; Pork; Shylock

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## Rozanov, Vasilii (1856–1919)

A Russian writer, religious thinker, and philosopher whose controversial ideas played an important role in the Beilis case and influenced many Russian writers and literary critics, Vasilii Rozanov developed a strange love-hate relationship with the Jewish people.

His early book *Judaism* (1903) presented Judaism as a religion of sacred eroticism, sexual joy, and familial relations and opposed it to Christianity. He interpreted the Jewish ceremonial practices—circumcision, ritual baths, and celebration of the Sabbath—as elements in the religion that were, in many ways, identical with the archaic fertility cults and phallus worship of the ancient Middle Eastern religions. Rozanov attributed the vitality and potency of the Jewish people to the sexual nature of their religion and pitted it against a sterile and abstract Christianity. The revitalization of Aryan people, he claimed, required the adoption of the life-affirming attitudes and sexual aspects of Judaism. Commonly interpreted as Judeophilic, the book actually argues that Jewish vitality and sexuality thwart the development of creative genius typical of the Aryans.

In 1913, Rozanov wrote *The Olfactory and*

*Tactile Relationship of the Jews to Blood*, a work that stirred up wide public debate in imperial Russia. In it, he reaffirmed his thesis about the sensual and materialistic character of the Jewish religion, but this time, he attributed to it a special interest in blood and the elements of sadistic ritual cruelty, dwelling at length on circumcision and kosher slaughtering and claiming that Old Judaism incorporated human sacrifice. In the famous ritual murder trial of 1913 known as the Beilis case, Rozanov suggested that—although the accused Mendel Beilis was not necessarily guilty—the murderer was likely driven by some tendencies inherent to Judaism and perhaps belonged to a cruel and secretive Jewish sect.

Rozanov devoted several other notable articles to the Jewish topic. In “Angel of Jehovah,” he construed the ritual of circumcision in Judaism as an indication of phallic worship. In “Judean Cryptography,” he focused on the special nature of Hebrew writing, which, he said, was secretive and obscure and contrasted to the openness of Christian writing. This distinction corresponded to the general tendency of the two religions: Judaism was the religion of concealment (*sokrovenie*), whereas Christianity was the religion of revelation (*otkrovenie*). Most of Rozanov’s other works offered observations about Jews or at least some passing remarks about their character. Among the most prominent motifs were ideas about the feminine character of Jews and their constant attempts to take advantage of the gullible and vulnerable Russians, a theme common to the works of Rozanov’s spiritual father, Fyodor Dostoevsky.

In his last work, *The Apocalypse of Our Times* (1918), Rozanov declared his intention to convert to Judaism, and a few days before his death in 1919, he dictated two letters—“My Last Testament” and “To the Jews”—in which he asked them for forgiveness and expressed his love and respect for the Jewish people. He also left a written request to burn his books relating to the Beilis case.

Many of Rozanov’s ideas were clearly influenced by Fr. Pavel Florensky, the Russian Orthodox philosopher and theologian; some of his writing was, in fact, attributed to Florensky. It is also remarkable that Rozanov shared the themes

and views of the well-known contemporary Austrian and German writers Otto Rank, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Otto Weininger. Rozanov's influence survived his death, finding an outlet in the ideology of some militant Russian and international antisemitic groups. In post-Soviet Russia, he became one of the most popular Russian philosophers of the so-called Silver Age, to a great extent because of his colorful language and exquisite literary style.

—Vadim Rossman

**See also** Beilis Case; Circumcision; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Masculinity; Ritual Murder (Modern); Russia, Imperial; Russia, Post-Soviet; Russian Orthodox Church; Weininger, Otto

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## Russia, Imperial

Just as in western Europe, the Jewish Question had a prominent place in political, social, and cultural discourse in fin-de-siècle Russia. The thriving, daily, semiofficial newspaper, *Novoe vremia* (New Times), in which journalists baited Jews and denounced nefarious "Jewish influence" for over two decades before the end of tsarism is evidence of this fact. At the same time, Jews gained prestigious positions in the press, law, education, creative writing, the plastic arts, and philosophy in an environment that was often hostile.

In Russia, the so-called Jewish Question emerged from the attitude of the tsars toward Jews. Although considered divinely anointed to govern Russians and stand at the head of the Russian church, the tsars were not always certain about what to do with the minorities of their multinational empire—the Poles, Finns, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tatars, and many others, absorbed during the imperial expansion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among these aliens were Jews, over 5 million of them by the end of the nineteenth century.

Under Alexander I and especially his successor, Nicholas I, the goal was to foster integration both by force and with inducements. During his reign (1825–1855), Nicholas I recruited Jews into the army (even boys younger than twelve years old) in numbers that exceeded their percentages in the population, while creating special state Jewish schools. Both methods were intended to transform "religious fanatics" into "useful" members of society. Alexander II took a different tack during his reign (1855–1881), offering privileges to Jews who successfully integrated into Russia. Alexander III (r. 1881–1894) thought his father's mild liberalism and reforms had only encouraged the radicals and led to his murder. Under the influence of Konstantin Pobedonostsev, the head of the Holy Synod, Alexander III clamped down on all expressions of independence in society. He held Jews in particular disdain, believing them to be behind the revolutionary movement in the country. Nicholas II (r. 1894–1918) continued his father's repressive policies, making concessions to the national minorities only when forced to do so by political pressure. Despite the differences in the approach to Jews from each of these autocrats, a single thread unites all their policies: the issue of what to do with this large group of subjects that was educated and ambitious but also "foreign" and dangerous. It was clear that they could not be easily assimilated. Jews had a different religion, they spoke Yiddish and not a Slavic language, and they seemed content to keep to themselves. Moreover, it was believed that they exploited the local population, kept the peasants indebted and intoxicated, controlled the banks and the press, and were responsible for anti-Russian attitudes in western Europe. Over the preceding two centuries, the Romanovs felt that Jews had to be kept down lest they ascend to positions of wealth and power.

What is most striking about the period from the pogroms of 1881 to the October Revolution of 1917 was the reversal in the attitude of the state. Before 1881, the tsarist government had pressed Jews to integrate and "cohere" with their neighbors. The May Laws of 1882, actually a temporary decree passed by the Ministry of Interior and signed by the tsar, imposed a number of new liabilities on Jews, designed to separate them

from the non-Jewish population. These restrictions, among other things, forbade new Jewish habitation in the countryside and curtailed Jewish ownership of taverns and other forms of livelihood.

In the early 1880s, Alexander III instructed the Pahlen Commission to examine legislation regarding Jews. Although the commission voted in 1887 to expand their rights, the tsar ignored the advice, initiating instead a policy of severe quotas on Jewish student admissions to most of the country's schools and universities. The rule limited the Jewish student body to 10 percent of total enrollment in the Pale of Settlement, 5 percent in the regional capitals, and 3 percent in St. Petersburg and Moscow. In 1891, the government "cleansed" Moscow of its Jewish population, forcing over 20,000 people from their homes and subjecting countless families to economic ruin. In this period of worsening conditions for Jews, two important blood libel trials took place (the Blondes and the Beilis cases of 1902 and 1911–1913, respectively), and the Russian secret police commissioned the fabrication of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Although scholars have shown that it was not the St. Petersburg government that organized the periodic pogroms, local officials often failed to defend Jews. Moreover, Jews who suffered from the government's blatantly antisemitic policies firmly believed that the authorities colluded in the violence visited on them.

Although many Jews emigrated from Russia between 1881 and 1914, the two and a half decades of Alexander II's reign had left a deep and positive imprint on Russia's Jews, helping to counter the negative experience of antisemitism. By the 1870s, the Russian Jews seemed prepared to enter modern times; they made vigorous efforts to modernize, "Russify," and assimilate. Economic development, one historian confidently wrote, would lead to integration, welding the Jews onto the body of the Russian people. A broad and ambitious Russian Jewish intelligentsia formed, and ironically, it was just at this moment, at the end of a short and limited period of progress, that this group began to express its vision for Russian Jewry. Instead of a politics of *shtadlanut*—the Jewish leaders' diffident intercession with the government—the intelligentsia

began demanding human rights, legal equality, and the benefits of citizenship.

Much of the development of educated Russian Jews in these years can be understood as a reaction to Russian antisemitism. A crucial first step was the creation of a press able to express the goals of a more confident Jewish intelligentsia. In 1880, three Russian-language Jewish weekly newspapers were published in St. Petersburg alone. The Hebrew-language *Ha-Meliz* and the *Yidisches Folksblat* were also published in the capital. Jewish readers were now eager for information about politics, culture, and Russian life and were able to get it in periodicals as broad in scope as the famous Russian "thick" journals.

Jews in the cultural elite reacted to the change in outlook and expectations by advocating such new political ideologies as Zionism, diaspora nationalism, and political radicalism. The historian Simon Dubnow and the Zionists Moses Lillianblum, Leo Pinsker, and Ahad Ha'am (Asher Hirsch Ginsberg) turned their efforts exclusively to national goals. Nationalists wanted to create schools in which students learned Hebrew and Jewish history and religion and cultural institutions devoted to the cultivation of Jewish identity. Zionists in particular envisioned emigration to Palestine, although they understood the need for political organization within Russia itself to achieve this end. Socialists led by Alexander Medem created the General Jewish Workers' Union in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia, commonly known as the Bund. This organization encouraged the Jewish proletariat to fight for social and economic gains while retaining their identity as Jews.

Other talented Jews could become active agents of Russian culture. The symbolist Akim Volynsky (Flekser) and the philosophers Lev Shestov, Semyon Frank, and Mikhail Gershenson moved in the rarified circles of Russian, not Jewish, cultural life. Another group of intellectuals, Menashe Morgulis, Alfred Landau, Henry Sliozberg, and Maxim Vinaver, sought a compromise, retaining hope in the ultimate victory of liberalism. They believed a transformation to a democratic form of government would give Jews equal rights, permit full acculturation, and put an end to antisemitism.

The twenty-six-year period from 1881 to 1917 can perhaps best be divided into two parts: the pessimism of the 1880s and the striving toward Jewish autonomy from the mid-1890s to 1917. Unmistakably, political reaction had a powerful influence on literary life. Because of the government's treatment, no self-respecting Jew could collaborate with the state. On the contrary, every group, including Russia's richest Jews, realized that change could only come from within, from the Jews themselves, and in alliances with Russian opposition groups. The huge participation of Jewish voters in the first elections to the state parliament (the Duma) in 1906 reflected the intense politicization of Jews in the previous decade. Jewish representatives were winners in every party to the left of the conservative Octobrists. The first Duma, which lasted only three months, counted twelve Jewish legislators from such parties as the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets), the Zionists, and the Social Democrats.

Jewish communal life in the last years of tsarist rule took on a distinctly national tone and reached new levels of sophistication. In 1907, the Jewish Literary Society was established in St. Petersburg and in a number of provincial towns and cities. In addition, local initiatives brought remarkable results in the establishment of local organizations devoted to aiding students, teachers, orphans, mothers, workers, and the poor. These institutions, many of which had had a shadowy existence previously, were instrumental in taking responsibility for communal welfare from religious institutions and putting it in the hands of political leaders.

Jewish literature made impressive progress during this time. The appearance of Sholem Aleichem showed that Yiddish literature had risen to the level of other European literatures. His *Die Yiddishe Folksbibliotek* (Popular Jewish Library) marketed Yiddish works in accessible and affordable editions. Meanwhile, avant-garde authors David Bergelson and Der Nister attracted a reading public that was nourished on the latest fashions. The Hebrew language experienced a revival, fashioned into a modern literary medium in the hands of Chaim Bialik and Saul Tchernichowsky. In addition, Jewish literature in Rus-

sian also showed a growing maturity in works by Semyon Yushkevich, Semyon Ansky, and David Aizman, who found a venue for their work in the left-leaning Russian press.

In the plastic arts, Jews also flourished. From the school of Yehuda Pen in Vitebsk emerged artists eager to paint images of the shtetl with the latest avant-garde techniques. Marc Chagall, Solomon Yudovin, Natan Altman, and El Lissitzky were especially effective in creating a new kind of Jewish modernism in Russia.

Amid this blossoming of Jewish culture, historical writing represented a particular and profound achievement. The Jewish Historical-Ethnographic Society, the brainchild of Simon Dubnow, was created in St. Petersburg in 1908. Its quarterly, *Evreiskaia starina* (Jewish Antiquity), became a major intellectual force during the years before World War I. In addition, the ethnographic expeditions of Semyon Ansky into the Pale of Settlement to collect the remnants of traditional Jewish life inspired many intellectuals to regard their roots with nostalgia and pride. Finally, the sixteen-volume *Evreiskaia entsiklopediia: Svod informatsii o russkikh evreiakh* (Jewish Encyclopedia: A Collection of Information on Russian Jews [1907–1913]), was a major intellectual accomplishment and a monument to a highly developed Jewish culture.

Despite or perhaps because of legal restrictions, many Jewish intellectuals sought integration into the larger society with even greater intensity at this time. One area where Jews found acceptance was the Russian press, which, in its left-leaning sector, considered it shameful to support the government's prejudicial treatment of the national minorities. Nevertheless, conflicts between Jews and Russians did take place. The famous Chirikov affair of 1907 is emblematic. At a reading by the non-Jewish Evgenii Chirikov of his play *The Jews*, the Yiddish writer Sholem Asch asked by what right Chirikov dared treat the internal life of Russia's Jews. Asch's views were picked up in a number of newspapers, setting off a string of articles by several famous Russian writers, who, in turn, asked how it was that Jewish writers could write about Russians but object when Russians wrote about Jews.

The acquittal of Menahem Beilis in the blood

libel trial in 1913 revealed the conflicting attitudes toward Jews that could be found among educated Russians. For some, it served as a stinging public condemnation of the government's antisemitic policies. Despite government collusion in trying to convict Beilis on the flimsiest of evidence, several major Russian philosophers identified themselves with the official Russian Orthodox Church's anti-Jewish stance during these years. The harmful statements of Pavel Florensky and Vasilii Rozanov, however, were countered by the tolerance of such liberal priests as Sergei Bulgakov and Lev Karsavin and the Christian intellectual Nikolai Berdiaev. The Jewish Question posed significant problems for neo-Slavophilism, influencing the legacies of the anti-Jewish Fyodor Dostoevsky and the deeply tolerant Vladimir Solov'ev. What attitude one took on the Jewish Question mattered and was seen as a marker of one's political orientation.

The outbreak of World War I had an especially damaging effect on the Jews, who found themselves literally caught between contending armies. The decision of the Russian armed forces to evacuate untrustworthy Jews to prevent espionage led to untold horrors; the aged and sick were forced from their homes and made to wander to areas more fully under Russian control. Many Jews were killed as a result of atrocities on both sides, despite the fact that both armies had many thousands of Jews in uniform. As the German and Austrian troops pushed into Ukraine and Belorussia, Russian enforcement of the Pale of Settlement became impossible; thus ended a policy of discrimination dating back to Catherine the Great, a wholly unintended "benefit" of the war.

The March 16, 1917, declaration of the Provisional Government giving equal rights to all the national minorities was seen by Russia's Jews as a reward for enduring decades of suffering. The fact is that many Jews—like many Russians—welcomed the Bolshevik regime. To the Jews, it promised, at last, complete legal equality, permanent abolition of the Pale, access to education, and support for Yiddish culture. But as became obvious only too quickly, there were severe drawbacks, as well. The communists showed no tolerance for the Jewish religion, Hebrew literature,

or Zionism. Jews, like all Russians, suffered from general restrictions on their liberty.

—Brian Horowitz

**See also** Beilis Case; Black Hundreds; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kishinev Pogrom; May Laws; Odessa Pogroms; Pale of Settlement; Pobedonostev, Konstantin; Pogroms; Pranaitis, Justinas; Russian Orthodox Church; Socialists on Antisemitism; Twain, Mark

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## Russia, Post-Soviet

Post-Communist antisemitism emerged in the aftermath of perestroika, to a large extent in response to the failure of liberal political and economic reforms. This new phenomenon had many elements of continuity with the old state-sponsored antisemitism of the Communist period. But it also entailed new practices and new lines of argument. The new ideologists developed and articulated many doctrines that could not be openly discussed in the Soviet period: ideas of ethnic superiority, blood libel, religiously inspired anti-Judaism, and concepts based on geopolitics and race. The classics of antisemitism were rediscovered and widely disseminated, including the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Native Russian contributions, such as the diaries of Fyodor Dostoevsky and articles and books by Vasilii Rozanov, fed into the reservoir of hate literature.

In the late 1980s, the movement was dominated by the national-patriotic group Pamyat, led by Dmitry Vasiliev. Previously marginal parties

became conspicuous in later years, including Russian National Unity, the Black Hundreds, the Russian Party, the Party of Russian Nationalists, the Right Radical Party, among many others. Antisemitic ideas also found their way into several mainstream political organizations, such as the Liberal-Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovsky and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. According to one estimate, Russia had 157 antisemitic periodicals by 1994.

One can distinguish five groups in Russian post-Communist antisemitism, based on their specific targets, interests, and political orientation: the neo-Slavophiles, the national communists, the Russian Orthodox nationalists, the Russian ideologists of race, and the Eurasian geopolitical ideologists.

Neo-Slavophiles, among them many village prose writers and literary critics, originally united around the magazine *Nash sovremennik* (Our Contemporary). The central concern of this group was and is the decline of the Russian peasantry, the backbone of Russian culture and society. Neo-Slavophiles believe that the Bolshevik Revolution was provoked by the Jews and that communism destroyed all authentically Russian manifestations of culture, morality, and tradition. They dwell on the atrocities committed by Leon Trotsky and other Bolsheviks of Jewish origin, including the murder of the Romanovs. Many neo-Slavophiles see Stalinism as the practical application of the principles of Trotsky and ultimately as the political extension of the cruel principles of the Old Testament.

The other key concern of neo-Slavophiles is the purity of Russian language and literature and its freedom from alien influences. The literary critics from this group introduced a distinction between "Russian" and "Russian-speaking" writers; by the latter, they meant the Russian writers of Jewish origin, who supposedly corrupted Russian culture and literature by smuggling their own values into it. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's recent book *Two Thousand Years Together* plays into some of the ideas of neo-Slavophiles, although his approach is much more subtle and qualified.

The second group, the nationalist communists, follow the old Soviet line of antisemitism expressed in the anti-Zionist campaigns. Some

important members of the two Russian communist parties draw on Karl Marx's essay *On the Jewish Question* (1844) to place Jews at the heart of Russia's economic misery. The process of economic reforms, they see as the looting of Russia by International Jewry, led by prominent Jewish financiers. In many accounts, Russian individuals of Jewish origins—specifically the so-called oligarchs—are often singled out as the culprits behind criminal privatization and fraudulent business practices. All Russian nouveaux riches are branded as "Jews." Some ideologists of this trend contrive an artificial Jewish genealogy for the creation of capitalism in the tradition of Werner Sombart.

Nationalists claiming the Russian Orthodox faith as their inspiration constitute the third important grouping hostile to Jews. Some of those aligned with this tendency accept the notion of an eternal war of Christianity and Judaism and proceed on that basis to deny the common historical roots of Christianity and Judaism.

Two more recent and related post-Communist groups include the Russian ideologists of race and the Eurasian geopolitical ideologists. Although the ideologists of racist antisemitism repeat and freely borrow the old stereotypes of Nazi Judeophobia, the Eurasians introduced a new ideology and a special variant that might best be described as "geopolitical antisemitism." Drawing on the ideas of German geopoliticians and the émigré Russians of the 1920s, the present-day proponents introduced a distinction between continental Eurasian and maritime Atlanticist civilizations. According to Aleksandr Dugin, the leader of this group and an adviser to State Duma speaker Gennadii Seleznev since 1998, the Eurasian ethnicities—primarily German, Russian, and Asiatic peoples—share the common values that derive from their continental lifestyles. This ethos is opposed to the crass commercial values of Great Britain and the United States, the two main Atlanticist civilizations. Dugin portrayed the Jews as the natural allies of Atlanticism and mondialism and traitors to Eurasian and specifically Russian values. Dugin also suggested that Muslim civilizations and Islamic fundamentalism were the natural allies in Russia's struggle against Atlanticism and the Jews.

The other prominent Eurasianist, Lev Gumilev, introduced before his death in 1992 several potent historical myths and developed a pseudo-scientific ethnological theory that essentially disqualified Jews from membership in the grand Eurasian family. Gumilev suggested that Russian history was, in fact, the history of opposition between the union of Russian people and the nomads of Eurasia, on the one hand, and the cosmopolitan Jews, on the other. Although Russians and the nomads shared the heroic ethos and were attached to their native land, the Jews displayed a different code of behavior, characterized by perfidy, commercialism, and the lack of attachment to their own land and the countries where they lived. Gumilev's speculations about Khazaria—foregrounding the sadistic cruelty, religious intolerance, and racist nature of the Khazar Jews and Judaism—have been used by many Russian antisemites as the historical foundation of their ideologies. His ideas influenced the thinking of many prominent antisemitic ideologues of the recent past and present, such as Metropolitan Ioann, Vadim Kozhinov, and Yurii Borodai.

Since the collapse of the USSR, Russian antisemitism has undergone a vigorous development and has not been confined to the fringes of society. Many people responsible for systematic antisemitic statements and incitement occupy powerful positions in contemporary Russian life, including the governors of two important regions, the metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, prominent members of the second-largest political party, academicians, and an army general.

—Vadim Rossman

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Islamic Fundamentalism; Judeo-Bolshevism; Marx, Karl; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Russian Orthodox Church; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr; Sombart, Werner; USSR

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## Russia, Revolution of 1905

The Revolution of 1905 grew out of an ongoing economic, political, and social crisis in the Russian Empire. At the beginning of the year, the cumulative effects of agrarian disorders, labor unrest, political terrorism, and growing discontent within Russian society was exacerbated by the failure of Russian arms in the Russo-Japanese War. On January 9, 1905, troops outside the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg fired on workers who sought to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II. The outcry surrounding "Bloody Sunday" helped to persuade Nicholas to announce plans for a consultative assembly to review all imperial legislation. Unrest continued to grow, further encouraged by the restrictive electoral guidelines for the assembly announced on August 6, 1905. At the beginning of October, a general strike was organized in St. Petersburg by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which then spread to the entire country. Forced to choose between repression and concession, Nicholas issued the October Manifesto (of October 17, 1905), which promised an elected parliamentary system. The manifesto was followed by the "October Days," marked by violent clashes between right-wing defenders of the autocracy and those on the Left who demanded further concessions. On December 9, 1905, Moscow was the scene of an armed rebellion. The following year saw the implementation of the State Duma (the Russian parliament), which was elected against a background of continuing violence and massive military repression.

A widespread feature of the period of revolutionary unrest, especially during and after the October Days, was the outbreak of pogroms carried out by groups known generically as the Black Hundreds. In general, the violence was directed against all groups perceived to be enemies of the regime, such as liberals, radical workers, or students. Because Jews were viewed by the Right as the instigators of the revolutionary movement, they became the single most common target of violence. There were an estimated 57 pogroms between February and October, the most serious occurring in Zhitomir (in April), Kiev (in July), and Bialystok (in August). By the end of the year, over 690 attacks, claiming almost 900 Jewish victims, had been recorded.



An aged man labeled “Russian Jew” carrying a large bundle labeled “Oppression” on his back; hanging from the bundle are weights labeled “Autocracy,” “Robbery,” “Cruelty,” “Assassination,” “Deception,” and “Murder.” (Ben and Beatrice Goldstein Foundation Collection, Library of Congress)

Following the issuing of the October Manifesto, there were severe pogroms in Kiev, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, and Minsk.

The identity of the rioters, the *pogromchiki*, remains a contested issue. Although some of the participants may have been true “patriots,” there was clearly a large criminal element involved. The stereotypical pogromchik was a right-wing thug who saw all Jews as revolutionaries. There is copious evidence that the local police authorities took no measures to prevent or repress pogroms in many areas. Although Prime Minister Count Sergei Witte strongly opposed pogrom violence, rogue elements in the Central Department of Police encouraged them as a demonstration of popular loyalty. Tsar Nicholas II clearly saw them in this light, writing to his mother that “the impertinence of the Socialists and revolutionaries has angered the people once more; and because nine-tenths of the troublemakers are Jews, the people’s anger turns against them. That’s how the pogroms happened.”

Jewish self-defense, though common, was largely ineffective. Especially when organized by

radical political groups, such as the Jewish Workers’ Bund, it gave the police and military an excuse to join in the attacks on Jewish areas. Despite the promises of the October Manifesto, the large body of law restricting Russia’s Jewish population, especially the Pale of Settlement, was not significantly relaxed by the Duma.

—John D. Klier

**See also** Black Hundreds; Krushevani, Pavolaki; Odessa Pogroms; Pale of Settlement; Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich; Russia, Imperial

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## Russian Civil War

The Russian Civil War was a military struggle for control of the former Russian Empire, fought between October 1917 and November 1920. The participants were extremely variegated. They included the Bolshevik revolutionaries who had seized power in October 1917 (the Communists, or the “Reds”); their political rivals on the Left (the Socialist-Revolutionaries) and on the Right (diverse counterrevolutionary military forces throughout the empire, known collectively as the “Whites”); military units of the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey); the pro-Allied Czechoslovakian Legion; interventionist Allied forces from the United States, Britain, France, and Japan; an array of nationalist movements, especially in the Ukraine (which failed, however, to mobilize effectively on a military basis); anarchist peasant movements, such as that led by Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine (the “Greens”); and gangs of freebooters and bandits. In the midst of the Civil War, the Communist regime also fought a war with the newly independent Polish state between April and October 1920. The Whites drew much of their strength from the remnants of the Russian Imperial Army; the Communist fighting force depended on the newly created and supposedly “proletarian” Red Army, organized by Lev Trotsky, which, however, also utilized former imperial officers and peasant levies. Both Reds and Whites recruited large numbers of irregular forces—who were not reluctant to change sides at opportune moments.

One of the main centers of conflict was the Ukraine, where the forces of the new Ukrainian government were no match for the occupying Central Powers or, after 1918, the contending Red and White armies. The main White unit in southern Russia was the so-called Volunteer Army, commanded by Gen. Anton Denikin and composed mainly of Don and Kuban Cossacks. In 1919 and 1920, now reorganized as the Armed Forces of South Russia (AFSR), it fought major engagements in the Ukraine until its ultimate defeat by the Red Army.

The southwestern theater of the Russian Civil War encompassed precisely those areas of the Pale of Settlement where the vast majority of the

Jewish population of the Russian Empire lived. Anti-Jewish pogroms became a common feature of the war in this area. All the military forces in the Ukraine carried out pogroms, but only troops of the Red Army were held accountable for them. The AFSR was the major perpetrator of violence against Jews. Although Denikin himself was no antisemite, his officer corps was steeped in the antisemitism of the prewar Russian army—as was already evident from its treatment of Jewish civilians during World War I—and convinced that the Communist movement was a Jewish plot to subvert Russia. The notorious antisemitic forgery known as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was widely disseminated among the officers and men of the AFSR. Their most infamous pogrom was inflicted on the Jews of Fastov in September 1919; it claimed approximately 1,500 victims. These atrocities drove many Jews to support the Red Army, thus making the antisemitism of the Whites a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Although troops of the AFSR probably killed the largest number of Jewish pogrom victims, the forces of the Ukrainian army nominally loyal to the so-called Directory headed by Symon Petliura earned a reputation for the scale and cruelty of their pogroms, most notably in Berdichev, Zhitomir, Proskuriv, and Felshtin. As opposed to the ideological antisemitism of the AFSR actions, many other pogroms were acts of banditry and rapine carried out by undisciplined irregular forces. The inability of the Petliura government to control its followers or to prevent pogroms—which it formally repudiated—cost it much support abroad. Petliura himself was assassinated in exile in Paris in 1926 by Shalom Schwartzbard, a Jew who claimed to be avenging the pogroms.

The number of Jewish pogrom casualties in the Russian Civil War is notoriously difficult to ascertain. One reliable estimate puts it as high as 60,000. In any event, the pogroms led many Jews to support the new Communist regime, whose conquest of the Ukraine put an end to the pogroms.

—John D. Klier

*See also* Judeo-Bolshevism; Pale of Settlement; Petliura, Symon; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Russia, Imperial; USSR

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### **Russian Orthodox Church (ROC)**

Russian Orthodoxy shares most centuries-old ideas of Christian antisemitism with other Christian denominations. However, several unique features provide a special coloration to Orthodox antisemitism and its theological attitude toward Jewish matters. The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) puts special emphasis on the works of the church fathers, who drew a sharp distinction between Christianity and Judaism and published many bitter anti-Judaic statements. The theological tradition of Byzantium, where the polemical anti-Judaic treatise became the most popular genre, greatly influenced Russia. The anti-Judaic treatise “Sermon on Law and Grace” by Metropolitan Hillarion of Kiev (in the eleventh century), a classic of ancient Russian literature, became the first Russian theological work.

The Russian Orthodox Church is also distinguished by a special interest in apocalyptic topics and demonology. Many old Orthodox works identify the coming Antichrist as a Judean prince. It was suggested that the Jews, having rejected Jesus, are especially vulnerable to demonic forces and hence will play an important role as the supporters of the Antichrist in the eschatological period. The special interest in the “theology of replacement” is also important. In the Middle Ages, some Orthodox monks conceived of Moscow as both the “Third Rome” and the “Second Jerusalem,” taking over the missions of both the great imperial and religious centers. The status of the sole custodian of the true faith in the world of apostasy made the ROC the only legitimate claimant to the title of the “New Israel.”

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the dark antisemitic legacy of the Orthodox

Church rose to the surface again. Although some leaders of the church condemned antisemitism, it remains a strong presence. Many senior officials in the hierarchy have formed political alliances with hate groups, made antisemitic remarks in public, and published antisemitic writings without reprimand from the patriarch. Several groups within the ROC—the Orthodox-Monarchist Alliance, the Union of Orthodox Brotherhoods, and the revived Black Hundreds—have been especially active in the propaganda of antisemitism. Even after his death in 1996, the late Metropolitan Ioann of St. Petersburg and Ladoga retains, through his writings, an influential voice for antisemitism within the church. Both Ioann and Bishop Varnava of the ROC Abroad collaborated with Pamyat, the oldest antisemitic nationalist group in Russia. The bishops of several important regions (Ekaterinburg, Voronezh, Nizhnii Novgorod) openly maintained ties with the neo-Nazi organization Russian National Unity. In many parts of Russia, local ROC newspapers carry antisemitic articles and proclamations by extremists. Some clerics have revived and supported the ideas of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and the dioceses of Ykaterinburg, Kemerovo, and Kaluga have published and distributed this forgery. Finally, sociological research suggests a positive correlation between antisemitic beliefs and membership in the church.

Several post-Communist Russian Orthodox clerics cast Judaism in the most negative light. Metropolitan Ioann’s popular history of Russia is governed by the idea of a “two-thousand-year war” between Christianity and Judaism. Ioann claims that the Jews worship a “Jewish” God, who is, in reality, a demon. In his narratives, Jews are often referred to as the “God-killer people.” Judaism is the “religion of hate” and is frequently described as racist.

The Judaizing heresy has been another important target for the ideologists of Orthodox antisemitism. A religious movement in fifteenth-century Russia that ran parallel in many ways to the Protestant Reformation, Judaizing is viewed as a source of the most destructive religious and social movements and ideologies: iconoclasm, rationalist interpretations of the Bible, replacement of Old Slavonic with the vernacular, and liberal at-

titude toward church ritual. The modern interpretation of the heresy by the Orthodox hardliners is much broader, however. Both Protestantism and Catholicism are seen as manifestations of Judaizing. Protestantism sometimes appears as no more than a branch of Judaism, whereas Catholicism is condemned for its too conciliatory resolutions regarding Christian-Jewish conflicts. Judaizing is attributed to the “subversive” activity of ROC priests of Jewish origins. Orthodox clerics expressed special concern about the activities and spiritual influence of Fr. Alexander Menn, a charismatic Orthodox priest and writer of Jewish origin who converted many members of Russian intelligentsia to Orthodoxy and whose murder in 1990 remains unsolved.

The other conspicuous component of contemporary antisemitic ideology grounded in Orthodox tradition is the belief in ritual murder. Vladimir Osipov, the head of the Union of Christian Rebirth, cochairs the Organizational Committee of Russian Orthodox Forces, which calls for “the unmasking of the talmudic conspiracy against Russia” and “Hassidic and satanic sects” that practice “ritual murder.” In post-Communist Russia, one can find both simplistic revivals of the blood libel as well as more politically sophisticated allegations. The example of the so-called ritual murder of the Romanov family will suffice to illustrate the point. In the mid-1990s, a polemical exchange took place in Russian periodicals about the sainthood of the last Russian emperor, Nicolas II, who was murdered, along with his family, by the Bolsheviks. Orthodox antisemites took an active part in the debate, singling out the Jews among the persecutors—especially Yakov Yurovsky—and portraying the execution as a ritual murder, not simply an execution; the act was meant to humiliate Russia and

mock the Orthodox Church. That the tsar was tormented by Jews, according to some clerics, makes him similar to Christ and by itself qualifies him for sainthood. Yet other clerics go even further to suggest that Russian history has replicated Christ’s life. The Bolshevik Revolution, with its Jewish executioners, recapitulates the moment of Russia’s crucifixion.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the millennium produced an environment especially ripe for apocalyptic speculations and anxieties. Many Russian Orthodox narratives present real or imagined Jews as the new Antichrist, working to bring about the world’s end. In the 1990s, the popular candidates for this title included Mikhail Gorbachev—he appears wearing a yarmulke in many ultranationalist newspapers—and George Romanov, the heir of the Romanov dynasty living in Germany, who counts several Jews among his ancestors, at least according to some Orthodox genealogists.

—Vadim Rossman

**See also** Antichrist; Black Hundreds; Chrysostom, John; Church Fathers; Deicide; Judeo-Bolshevism; Nilus, Sergei; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Reformation; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Russia, Imperial; Russia, Post-Soviet; Talmud

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# S

## Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980)

Born in Paris on June 21, 1905, Jean-Paul Sartre lost his father when he was only fifteen months old. He was reared by a doting mother and by his grandfather, a published author of German-language educational works. He completed his education at two elite preparatory schools in Paris, the Lycées Henri IV and Louis-le-Grand, and then entered the École Normale Supérieure in 1924 along with three other famous writers of his generation, Raymond Aron, Paul Nizan, and his lifelong companion, Simone de Beauvoir. Graduating at the top of his class, he became a high school professor and began publishing philosophical treatises. He spent 1933 in Germany, just as Hitler rose to power. There, he worked on his modernist masterpiece, *La Nausée* (Nausea [1938]), and steeped himself in Martin Heidegger's philosophy. In 1937, he wrote *La Transcendance de l'ego* (Transcendence of the Ego), a criticism of Edmund Husserl's conception of consciousness.

He returned to a France increasingly polarized by fascism and antisemitism, leading to his first overt work of political *engagement* in the form of his novella *L'Enfance d'un chef* (Childhood of a Leader [1938]). The story is forcefully ironic and deeply critical of the Action Française shock troops, the Camelots du Roi,, and, by extension, the politics of the extreme Right that defined Frenchness against the abject image of "the Jew."

Sartre spent the war years as a "writer who resisted, not a resister who wrote," engaged in various organizations opposing Vichy and Nazi propaganda, while publishing his magnum opus, *L'être et le néant* (Being and Nothingness [1943]), and overseeing the performance of his first plays, during the Nazi Occupation. By the end of the war, he had gained intellectual

celebrity. In the years that followed, he became possibly the most famous thinker in the world, revered as the high priest of existentialism, the philosophical principles of which he was able to articulate compellingly in a variety of genres.

Amid the general silence about the Holocaust, Sartre published *Réflexions sur la question juive* (Anti-Semite and Jew [1946]). Insisting that the French take responsibility for their part in the Final Solution, he presented an innovative analysis that influenced the entire postwar intellectual debate about Jewish identity, its relation to antisemitism, and the politics of (Jewish) emancipation. He described the inherent dilemmas of the Jewish struggle for authenticity based on the antiessentialist and antifoundationalist premise that "the Jew is a man that other men consider a Jew," thus posing the question of Jewish identity in terms of the antisemite's gaze. He maintained that antisemitism did not rest on economic, historical, religious, or political foundations but demanded an existential analysis of the self-identity of the antisemite and "the Jew." Radically, he also castigated the "politics of assimilation"—the Enlightenment and liberal tradition that defined Franco-Judaism and Jewish emancipation—contending that it ultimately eliminated Jewishness because its universal and abstract principles did not recognize Jewish difference. Seeking to solve the problem of antisemitism, the contradictions of liberalism, and the antinomies of Jewish existence in one fell swoop, he offered a socialist revolution as the only viable solution to the Jewish Question.

This analysis became the basis of Sartre's antiracist interventions in support of decolonization and helped to spur his existential-Marxist critique of the mediating links between systems of social oppression. He was a lifelong supporter of the

state of Israel, which he saw as the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Jews. After the Six Days' War, he identified with socialist and peace-oriented elements within the Zionist camp, always insisting on Israel's right to exist, while acknowledging the Palestinian struggle as an equally legitimate national liberation movement. Sartre's *Anti-Semite and Jew* not only defined the terms of the debate on the Jewish Question in postwar France but also formed a central leitmotif in his existential analysis of the human condition, providing a key to understanding his philosophy as a whole.

—Jonathan Judaken

*See also* Action Française; Camelots du Roi; France; Socialists on Antisemitism; Vichy

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## Schemann, Ludwig (1852–1938)

One of the most important racial theorists of imperial and Weimar Germany, Ludwig Schemann is best known for his translation and popularization of the works of the French racial theorist Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau and for his own publications in the field of scientific racism.

After studying history at Bonn, Schemann worked as a bibliographer at the university library in Göttingen. He was first introduced to the ideas of Gobineau by Richard Wagner, who had met Gobineau in 1876 and who encouraged Schemann to study scientific racism. After retiring to Freiburg, Schemann devoted himself to the translation, publication, and popularization of Gobineau's theories. With other Wagner disciples, he founded the Gobineau Society in 1894. The society raised money to support the translation and publication of Gobineau's famous *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, which had originally been published in French between 1853 and 1855, without attracting much attention in Germany. Schemann worked on the translation himself, publishing it in three vol-

umes as *Versuch über die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen* (1897–1900) and distributing it through the society.

After completing the translation, he turned to winning acceptance for its theories in Germany. He downplayed Gobineau's pessimism and injected ideas drawn from Darwinian notions of natural selection. Where Gobineau argued that the historical inevitability of racial mixing would result in the degeneration of society, Schemann argued that, because the Germans were the least degenerate race according to Gobineau's racial hierarchy, the Germans could make conscious decisions to safeguard their race and thus save Western culture. Racial breeding was the means by which to halt the damage of race mixing and to effect cultural and physical regeneration. In the ensuing and unavoidable struggle for survival with inferior races, the superior Germanic race would triumph. In Schemann's system, Jews figured as the primary racial enemy.

Schemann's dissemination of Gobineau's theories greatly influenced academic, scientific, and political circles in Germany. In person and in thought, he served as an important link between various centers of German racism and antisemitism, including the eugenics movement, the school of sociobiology, the Pan-German League, Friedrich Lange's antisemitic German Union (Deutschbund), and Theodor Fritsch's many antisemitic initiatives. Schemann continued his work after World War I, most notably with the publication of his three-volume *Race in the Humanities: Studies on the History of Racial Thought* (1928–1931). His writings were acknowledged by the leading ideologists of the Nazi regime, and he was awarded the Goethe Medal by the Third Reich "for services to the nation and the race," a fitting honor from a regime that would take Schemann's beliefs to their most radical end.

—Elizabeth A. Drummond

*See also* Bayreuth Circle; Eugenics; Evolutionary Psychology; Fritsch, Theodor; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Lange, Friedrich; Pan-German League; Racism, Scientific; Rosenberg, Alfred; Social Darwinism; Wagner, Richard

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### Scheunenviertel Pogrom (1923)

The pogrom that took place in the Scheunenviertel, a working-class neighborhood near the center of Berlin, between November 5 and 6, 1923, targeted primarily *Ostjuden* (east European Jews) and marked the highest level of anti-Jewish violence during the Weimar Republic era. The democratic press described the event as an ignominious breach of civilization. “Berlin has had its pogrom,” read the lead article in the Social Democratic newspaper *Vorwärts*, and “Berlin has been defiled.”

The riot began outside an employment office on the morning of November 5. Much of what actually happened and what set it off is still uncertain. According to contemporary police records, eastern European Jewish dealers triggered events by attempting to buy welfare vouchers distributed to unemployed workers at below their legally set value. However, the antisemitic slant to these reports makes them less than reliable. Newspapers loyal to the republic, by contrast, reported that right-wing agitators had premeditatedly incited a crowd of angry unemployed workers against the Jews. The accuracy of this theory of efficient demagogic manipulation is also by no means certain. A more modern view suggests that the violence should be seen in the context of riots provoked by rising prices that occurred in many cities during the hyperinflationary years of the Weimar era. Because the Scheunenviertel had a particularly high number of businesses owned by Jews, it was almost automatic that the violence would be directed primarily against them. According to a police report, 55 clothing and shoe stores and 152 grocery stores were pillaged in the Scheunenviertel and neighboring areas of the city. Sixty-one of the owners were Jewish, 146 were Christians. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt about the antisemitic tendency of the riots. Several store owners, for example, attempted to avert

plundering with placards in their windows reading “Christian business.” The brutality of individual rioters was horrifying. Individual Jews, according to newspaper reports, had the shirts ripped off their backs and were nearly beaten to death. Only because the police took several victims into protective custody at the nearby Alexanderplatz barracks were there no deaths recorded. Nevertheless, the literature on the pogrom constantly reproduces tales of numerous deaths; these are in all likelihood false. There were certainly several dozen injured and at least one non-Jewish death, probably a bystander in a nearby dwelling who was hit by a misdirected warning shot.

Another salient antisemitic feature of the pogrom centered not on the mob but on the police mistreatment of a delegation from the League of Jewish War Veterans who had rushed to the Scheunenviertel to defend Jews. Armed and wearing their war medals, they were recognized and attacked by a mob of about a hundred men. Brought to a police barracks for their own protection, the veterans were insulted by policemen and beaten with gun butts. It should be said on behalf of the often defamed “weak” Weimar Republic that the main perpetrators in this episode were tried, found guilty, and dismissed from the police force.

In consequence of the Scheunenviertel pogrom and the Munich Beer Hall Putsch a few days later, there was a vocal, although short-lived, backlash against antisemitism in the German public. The German Social Democrats took the most substantial countermeasure by forming the republican defense organization, the Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold. Its founding call to arms made explicit mention of the need to fight antisemitism.

—Dirk Walter  
Richard S. Levy, translation

*See also* *Ostjuden*; Pudor, Heinrich; Social Democratic Party (Germany); Weimar

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### **Schnitzler, Arthur (1862–1931)**

Viennese novelist, playwright, and physician, Arthur Schnitzler, in his private life, is best remembered as being neither an enthusiastic supporter nor a public advocate of any political or social movement of his time. Like many of his assimilated Jewish contemporaries, he remained cynical about the successive trends passing over Vienna, yet he could not escape the effects of these currents or their turbulence. In his later years, he alleged that the Austrian antisemitism of the 1870s was not at all dangerous, yet his diary entries from those days reveal him to have been both anxious and bitter about the gathering assault on humane values. By 1900, what once appeared innocuous began to take a more menacing turn. As the antisemitic outbursts became more frequent and more impossible to ignore, Schnitzler's literary work began to focus increasingly on Jewish topics and themes.

Of all the great works of Viennese luminaries, writers, and artists of the fin de siècle, Arthur Schnitzler's oeuvre stands out as perhaps the most connected to the pulse of the imperial city. Trained as a medical doctor, and a contemporary of Sigmund Freud, Schnitzler created figures in his plays and novels whose lives reflected the psychological, political, and social turmoil of Vienna's bourgeois culture. Two of his most celebrated works that deal with matters of Jewishness and antisemitism are the novel *The Road into the Open* (*Der Weg ins Freie*) published in 1908 and his play *Professor Bernhardi* from 1912.

In *The Road into the Open* Schnitzler presents a wide-ranging and in-depth view of the problems Jews experienced in Vienna. Schnitzler provides a rich cross section of Jewish characters, from the nouveau riche Ehrenberg family to the communist-minded Therese Golowski and her Zionist brother Leo. Each of the roughly twelve Jewish figures that populate the novel struggle with their own personal sense of what being Jewish means. The novel, hence, has less to do with the social phenomenon of antisemitism in Vienna, but more with individual responses of what constitutes being Jewish during the final decade of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The psychological strains that each of the Jewish characters reveals, however, is no doubt a clear—

though sometimes unconscious—response to the mounting hostilities against Vienna's Jewish population. The only solution to the disgust, anger, and despair reflected by Schnitzler's Jewish characters in the novel (which mirrors Schnitzler's personal view) is spoken by Heinrich Berman: "It's up to each person to find his own inner way."

Schnitzler's play *Professor Bernhardi*, in a slightly different fashion, places the Jewish question and antisemitism in the forefront, although the basis for this play was more immediately personal, prompted by problems Schnitzler's father experienced in his medical practice. The Jewish doctor Bernhardi, by refusing to allow a priest to administer the last sacrament to a young patient on humanitarian grounds, is accused of offending the Catholic Church and the clinic. Bernhardi is ultimately forced to stand trial and resign his position. The powerful social commentary that Schnitzler captures in this play is not centered exclusively on Bernhardi himself, but rather the political intrigue and intense antisemitic sentiments that this case unleashes in the press, in the parliament, and in the larger Viennese society.

—Istvan Varkonyi

*See also* Aryan Theater; Austria; Degeneration; Herzl, Theodor; Lueger, Karl; Self-Hatred, Jewish; Weininger, Otto; Zionism

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### **Schönerer, Georg von (1842–1921)**

Georg Ritter von Schönerer exerted a major influence on the German-National movement in Austria, transforming its once dominant liberal nationalism to an extreme form of *völkisch* (ethnically based) and racist nationalism.

At the outset of his career, Schönerer gained renown as a left liberal and social reformer who sought to improve the lot of the peasants on his estate. In 1873, he was elected to the Austrian Reichsrat (parliament) and associated himself with the German Progressive club. From the end of the 1870s, when the conservative government

of Count Taaffe began relying mainly on ethnically Slav, rather than German, parties, Schönerer responded by trying to form a broadly based German-National party. He founded the Deutschnationaler Verein (German-National Association) based on the Linz Program of 1882 and temporarily gained the cooperation of reform-minded politicians such as the Christian Social Karl Lueger and the Social Democrats Viktor Adler and Engelbert Pernerstorfer.

In the following years, Schönerer radicalized the German-National movement, taking it in an anti-Slav, antisemitic, and increasingly anti-Habsburg direction. His primary goals were the establishment of German supremacy in Cisleithania (Austria proper, Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Slovenia, and Austrian Poland) and a close alliance with the German Reich. In 1885, he demanded the removal of Jewish influence from all fields of public life in a “twelfth article” of the Linz Program, effectively ending cooperation with most of his allies from other political movements.

Prone to arrogance and physical violence, he drew support mostly from the small-town middle class and the German-National student fraternities (Burschenschaften), whose members formed his bodyguard. Schönerer’s aggressive antisemitism became public knowledge in 1888, when he and a group of his supporters vandalized the offices of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, a newspaper he considered a typical example of the “Jewish” press. The consequences for such lawlessness were severe. Schönerer was sentenced to four months of imprisonment, loss of his titles as *Ritter* (knight) and military officer, and removal from his seat in the parliament for five years. In 1897 and 1901, he again won election to the Reichsrat. But by that time, his influence on Austrian politics had already crested. He spent the last years of his political career in a fruitless competition with the Christian Socials, the Social Democrats, and rivals from within the German-National movement.

Characteristic of Schönerer’s ideology and demagogic was the combination of radical German nationalism with antisemitism and anti-Slavism. His antisemitic rhetoric was explicitly racial: “We must thus insist unconditionally on

the separating out of Jewish children and on the complete exclusion of Jewish instructors, whether baptized or not, from the schools of our race. . . . Instead, we wish our youth to receive instruction and education according to Christian-Aryan principles,” he declared in a speech in Vienna on February 24, 1888. Calling for the protection of “German blood” from that of the inferior Jewish race was a permanent feature of his rhetoric. His influence on the German-National movement in Austria was enduring, and its significance should not be underestimated, even though he never managed to fashion a powerful party. From the 1880s on, Schönerer cleared the way for racial antisemitism to become a part of Austrian political culture. It is no exaggeration to label him a precursor of Nazism and Hitler, who admired his ideas.

—Werner Suppanz

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Austria; Burschenschaften; Christian Social Party (Austria); Hitler, Adolf; “Jewish” Press; Linz Program; Lueger, Karl; Pan-Germans (Austria); *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788–1860)

Arthur Schopenhauer is considered the founder of the philosophy of the “Will to Life,” influenced by the ideas of Immanuel Kant and characterized by pessimism and the ethics of compassion. Early in his life, he taught at the University of Berlin but could not compete for attention with the lectures of G. W. F. Hegel. Independently wealthy, Schopenhauer never attained a full professorship. A philosopher of compassion for all creatures, he nevertheless harbored a wealth of burning resentments, including resentment of Jews. His hostility toward them was threefold. First, he was subject to rather baffling antisemitic hatreds of a cultural rather than a biological sort. Second, he was a

bitter opponent of Jewish emancipation. And, third, he was moved by explicitly anti-Judaic ethical and philosophical considerations.

Schopenhauer firmly believed that the biblically based image of the world, which he correctly described as Jewish, had deeply influenced European thinking. The epitome of this conception, in his opinion, was represented by the complete separation between humans and animals, a separation that ran counter to his own ethics of compassion. He reviled this view of the world with a derogatory *topos* from antiquity: the *foetor judaicus* (Jewish stench; in German, *Judengestank*). This phrase surfaces repeatedly in his varied writings. His hostility went well beyond this dismissive formula, however. He embraced the entire tradition of pagan Judeophobia, starting with Manetho the Egyptian (as mediated by Josephus). He subscribed to the inverted version of the Exodus story that the Jews had not left Egypt of their own free will; rather, the Pharaoh had had them deported in ships to the Arabian coast because they were a leprous people. Schopenhauer objected to the way Jews wore their beards and called on the police to ban the practice.

Schopenhauer's antipathies had political significance. In the aftermath of the failure of the revolutions of 1848 in Germany, Jewish emancipation, granted and then rescinded in many places, was still being talked about. Schopenhauer's *Parerga und Paralipoma*, which contained many derisive comments about Jews, appeared in 1851. He expressed a visceral opposition to the idea of Jewish equality. Monotheism for the Jews was not a matter of belief but a nationality trait. It was a mistake, he argued, to see Judaism as an authentic religious confession, deserving of equal status with the other denominations. Jews, as a result of centuries of persecution, lacked delicacy of feeling and even a sense of connection to their own people. Conversion to Christianity, as some demanded, was not at all a sensible solution to the problem of assimilation. And, true to his convictions, Schopenhauer adamantly opposed not only emancipation but mixed marriage, as well. Jews, he said, even if granted civil equality, would still remain Jews (*Parerga*, para. 133).

These political statements were the expression of Schopenhauer's system of ethics, which he conceived of as being in the same relationship as the New to the Old Testament. All ethics in antiquity were beholden to a despotic theism, whereas his ethics of compassion renounced the idea of laws and commandments. The genealogy of his system can be traced to parts of the New Testament—the Jewishness of which he disputed—and also to the ethics of Hindu religion. In 1813 and 1814, he had read the Upanishads, then only available in French translation, and wrote: "Everything here breathes the air of India and of an original existence close to nature. And, how one's spirit is washed clean of all the Jewish superstition drummed into one at an early age" (in Safranski 1990, 302).

Schopenhauer's philosophy and his desire to free Christianity from its Jewish roots led logically to the notion of an "Aryan" Christ, like the one Richard Wagner presented later in his opera *Parsifal*. Writing in her diary, Cosima Wagner attributed to her husband the comment, "Yes, Schopenhauer and others have already spoken about the misfortune that Christianity was propped up on Judaism" (July 26, 1878). In fact, Wagner had long ago been converted to Schopenhauer's world-denying pessimism. In 1855, he reproached Judaism for being filled with a callous and shallow optimism.

—Micha Brumlik  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Christian State; 1848; Emancipation; Hegel, G. W. F.; Kant, Immanuel; Manetho; Roman Literature; Wagner, Cosima; Wagner, Richard

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### **Schwarze Korps, Das**

*Das Schwarze Korps* (The Black Corps) was a weekly magazine that served as the official mouthpiece of the SS. Heinrich Himmler and other SS leaders used its pages as a means of policing all aspects of German life under National Socialist rule and presenting the SS as an organization of the pure Aryan elite. Its writers emphatically promoted the extreme pseudobiological agenda of Himmler, which included ridding the country of its Jews. Under the editorship of Gunter d'Alquen, *Das Schwarze Korps* became one of the most virulent antisemitic publications of the period.

Soon after the SS participated in the 1934 purge of Ernst Röhm's Storm troopers (SA) Himmler began to consolidate the position of the police force within the party. As with other party institutions, Himmler felt that the SS needed a coherent and prominent outlet for its views. Latching on to the twenty-five-year-old Nazi journalist and SS member d'Alquen, Himmler assigned him the task of producing *Das Schwarze Korps*. The first issue appeared in February 1935 with a run of 80,000. Within the year, this circulation doubled, and by the outbreak of war in September 1939, it reached a peak of 750,000, with the vast majority of readers coming from the various arms of the SS. The last issue came out on April 12, 1945.

The expansion and the popularity of *Das Schwarze Korps* resulted not only from the growing influence of the SS in the Nazi state but also from the diversity and extremism of its articles. Ranging widely in its coverage, the weekly addressed such topics as antisemitism, the struggle against the Christian churches, and issues surrounding the "race question." In aggressive, sometimes vituperative prose, authors attacked universities, businesses, rival press organs, and other institutions in German life for falling short of what they considered the appropriate goals of the Nazi state. The consistency of its racist rhetoric, as well as its exhortations to SS men about the potential uses of their biological superiority, set the extremist standard against which other National Socialist publications ought to be judged.

With the coming of war, as well as the stepped up involvement of the SS in genocide,

*Das Schwarze Korps* became a major venue for justifying the antisemitic agenda of the regime, often finding itself out in front of even the official policies of the moment. During the war, Himmler wrote articles for it proclaiming the necessity of reoccupying the eastern territories that had supposedly once been part of the great Teutonic past. In general, the journal's writers conceived of German expansionism in the East as intimately tied to the necessity of racial purification, that is, the ethnic cleansing of the inferior Jews and Slavs. *Das Schwarze Korps* maintained its popularity through the last month of the war. Bound by and attuned to the unremitting antisemitism of the state and the SS, it had become the emblematic journal of a terrifying new Germany.

—Paul B. Jaskot

*See also* Himmler, Heinrich; Holocaust; Racism, Scientific

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### **Secret Doctrine, The (1888)**

An esoteric two-volume work by Helena P. Blavatsky, founder of the Theosophical Society, *The Secret Doctrine* is revered by many adherents of New Age religion as a prime reference source. Also regarded as her greatest work, the treatise revealed its aim in the subtitle: *The Synthesis of Science, Religion and Philosophy*. To achieve that synthesis the work required rejection of the Jewish religion, particularly its concept of God.

Blavatsky characterized the "God of Abram, Isaac and Jacob" as "spiteful and revengeful." In volume two of the book, she recognized him as both Creator of man and the God of Moses but further identified him as a gnostic "Demiurgo" (minor deity) named Ilda-Baoth, who rebelled against his mother Sophia in order to create the physical universe. His creation of man was a failure, resulting in a soulless creature blocked from

spiritual ascension because the demiurge deliberately left him ignorant of good and evil.

In contrast, Blavatsky identified the head of the holy Logos as Satan, the oldest and highest of the angelic gods who also bears the names Lucifer and Kumara. The creative fiasco of Ilda-Baoth prompted a rebellion by Lucifer and one-third of the angelic host, who decided to approach mankind with the enlightenment his creator withheld. Therefore, Blavatsky credits "Satan, the Serpent of Genesis, as the real creator and benefactor, the Father of Spiritual mankind." Predictably, Judaism was seen as a reflection of its deity: "a religion of hate and malice toward everyone and everything outside itself." When Blavatsky nevertheless borrowed from the despised Jewish religion for certain arguments, she attributed any spiritual wisdom shown by the Jews as something learned "from the Chaldeans and Egyptians." In a footnote, she equated "solar angels" with "fallen angels," a uniquely Jewish-Christian concept derived from the Hebrew *Nefilim* described in Genesis 6:4. In a discussion of Satan, she cited the "Rabbins" (*sic*) and the Talmud to support her case but concluded that "Jehovah (mankind, or 'Jah-hovah') and Satan (therefore the tempting Serpent) are one and the same in every particular." Blavatsky's translation of the word *Jehovah* here is symptomatic of her arbitrary approach to biblical Hebrew, which she declared to be a dead language understood by no one and dating from no earlier than the fourth century CE.

Blavatsky credited the entire contents of *The Secret Doctrine* to direct transmissions from one of the "Ascended Masters" (the disembodied spirit guides of the New Age), namely, "the Tibetan," or "Djwhal Khul." This is the same entity credited in the writings of Alice A. Bailey, who later expanded on Blavatsky's teaching.

—Hannah Newman

*See also* Bailey, Alice A.; Blavatsky, Helena P.

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### ***Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The***

*The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews* (1991), written by anonymous members of the Nation of Islam's Historical Research Department, purports to document an array of historic injustices committed against blacks by Jews. In a volume that totals 334 pages and includes over 1,200 footnotes, the authors surveyed a wide spectrum of Jewish historical literature to win credibility for numerous antisemitic claims.

The book contends that Jews played a pivotal role in the African slave trade. "The most prominent of the Jewish pilgrim fathers," it argues, "used kidnapped Black Africans disproportionately more than any other ethnic or religious group in New World history" (vii). Few Jews joined the abolitionist movement, they contend, and those who did "were scorned and rebuked most harshly by their own brethren in the synagogue" (2). Faced with evidence that Jews opposed slavery in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America, the authors concluded that economic self-interest motivated Jewish "altruism."

*The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews* employs a variety of antisemitic strategies that go well beyond the exaggerated claims of responsibility. The authors indulge in guilt by association by charging that "Jews have been conclusively linked to the greatest criminal endeavor ever undertaken against an entire race of people . . . the Black African Holocaust" (vii). They see Jewish sufferings as no more than just: "the Jews' participation in the slave trade, particularly their trafficking in non-Jewish slaves, incited the moral indignation of Europe's gentile population" and resulted in either anti-Jewish taxes or outright expulsion (10). Other chapters argued that Jews were the original authors of Christian-based biblical justifications for slavery, that the Spanish Inquisitors were fully justified in their persecution of Jews, and that Jewish law permitted the economic exploitation of non-Jews.

By relying almost exclusively on a tendentious reading of Jewish sources, *The Secret Relationship* distorts the historical record and ignores both context and historical causation. One example of the book's methodology illustrates this point. Southern Jewish historian Bertram Korn thor-

oughly detailed an antisemitic newspaper account that depicted Jewish involvement in the slave trade. *The Secret Relationship* authors selected only the offensive newspaper quotations, omitted Korn's criticism of the article's version of reality, and thereby implied that "the Jewish writer" Korn had found evidence of Jewish complicity in slavery. He had not. As historian David Brion Davis reflected, "A selective search for Jewish slave traders becomes inherently antisemitic unless one keeps in view the larger context and the very marginal place of Jews in the history of the overall system" (Davis 1994, 14–16). In another example, the book's authors state incongruously that—thirty years prior to their arrival in colonial North America—Jews initiated the slave trade there.

In 1994, *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews* entered its fourth printing. Although promoters of the book contend that it enjoyed great support on college campuses in the United States, there is no evidence to back their claim.

—Marc Dollinger

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; Black Nationalism; Farrakhan, Louis; Nation of Islam; Slave Trade and the Jews; Talmud; United States  
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## Self-Hatred, Jewish

For many reasons, including connotations of betrayal and an attendant emotional charge, Jewish self-hatred has prompted vigorous debate. Yet the many critics who have discussed it agree on a fundamental point: the actual phenomenon of Jewish self-hatred occurs when Jews have internalized antisemitic attitudes. If that is so, then Jewish self-hatred would be as difficult to define precisely as antisemitism itself. Put another way, a precise definition of Jewish self-hatred would require a precise definition of antisemitism.

Students of Jewish self-hatred must also

reckon with difficulties particular to their subject. "Self-hating Jews" seldom practice violence against their fellow Jews or engage in antisemitic political activities. In contrast to non-Jewish antisemites, Jewish self-haters have left almost exclusively verbal evidence of their anti-Jewish sentiments. Such evidence is often semantically complicated and very open to interpretation—generally more so than acts of physical brutality. Moreover, self-hating Jews have tended to avoid explicitly racist antisemitism. This, too, makes the antisemitism of the most notorious self-hating Jews seem less dogmatic and more ambiguous than the antisemitism of their non-Jewish analogs.

What some readers understand to be verbalized self-loathing others can view as provocatively worded, ultimately salutary self-criticism. For example, the satirical journalist Karl Kraus (1874–1936) has been called both "the most glaring instance of self-hatred" and "a great Jew." And some scholars have even made efforts to rehabilitate Kraus's fellow Viennese Otto Weininger. Long a focal point in the study of Jewish antisemitism, Weininger freighted his main work, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character [1903]), with invective against Jews and Judaism. In fact, Hitler is said to have lauded Weininger's "honest" assessment of the Jewish Question. Here is a sample of Weininger's antisemitism: "For all eternity, real Jews will lack: true existence, the grace of God, the oak tree, the trumpet, Siegfried's motif, self-authorship, the words, 'I am.'" This assessment is quite literally annihilating, for Weininger denied Jews a "true existence." But because he insisted that Judaism is a cultural "principle" rather than a racial category—a principle that non-Jews can exhibit just as much as ethnic Jews—Weininger can be and has been read as a thinker who tried to counter flatly racist notions of Jewish identity. However, Weininger acted out his antisemitic beliefs, violently. He killed himself in 1903.

There are further complexities. The concept of Jewish self-hatred has a troubled history that encumbers its application. Although the phrase *Jewish self-hatred* gained currency in late Wilhelmine Germany, a myth to the effect that Jews are the worst antisemites—that Jews invented

Jew-hatred—goes back much further. This tradition of emphasizing Jewish antisemitism is itself antisemitic. More specifically, anti-Jewish thinkers have cited the antisemitic works of self-haters in order to bolster their own attacks on Jews, their presupposition being that antisemitism uttered by Jews possesses a special authority. Hence, for example, the popularity among latter-day antisemites of Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1522), a converted Jew who vilified Judaism.

The antisemitic myth of Jewish self-hatred also has functioned by doubling the Jews' status as scapegoats. Not only have Jews been held responsible for various social ills, they have also been held responsible for having been held responsible. Witness the very persistent sense that Hitler *must* have been Jewish.

It is certainly no coincidence that the first monograph-length study of Jewish self-hatred, *Der jüdische Selbsthass* (Jewish Self-Hatred [1930]), was written by a Jewish author who had himself expressed antisemitic beliefs, Theodor Lessing. To be sure, Lessing presented himself as a recovered self-hater, as someone sufficiently familiar with that psychic abyss to help others climb out of it. But Lessing also treated the subjects of his six case studies, none of whom was ever formally associated with an antisemitic organization or qualified as a racist antisemite, as though each of them had decisively influenced anti-Jewish ideology. In doing so, he reinforced the notion of Jewish responsibility for antisemitism.

Lessing made dubious use of the concept of Jewish self-hatred in other ways. For example, by labeling Kraus a pathological self-hater, he tried to discredit his critical voice and to suggest that self-doubt stifled his creativity. He asserted that Kraus could not conceive of himself, a Jew, as a great artist and therefore squandered his talent, producing only a huge “pile of newspapers” whose value was wholly ephemeral. Given the intensity of Kraus’s anti-Jewish rhetoric—he spoke of the “world-destroying power of Jewish capitalism”—it is certainly reasonable to associate him with Jewish self-hatred. But demolishing Kraus’s literary accomplishments in the process seems highly overdetermined. Lessing was neither the first nor the last to succumb to the

temptation of deploying Jewish self-hatred as a polemical tool.

It was not only the concept of self-hatred that Jewish writers appropriated strategically. In quite a few cases, their use of antisemitic discourse extended well beyond a brute articulation of antisemitic beliefs. Unfortunately, recent critics have relentlessly overlooked this tendency. Consider the case of Kraus’s essay on Heinrich Heine, “Heine and the Consequences” (1910). Referring to the poet’s alleged syphilitic condition, Kraus labeled Heine’s writing effete because “the German language only sings and thinks for someone who can give her children.” But Kraus went on from this crude insult to dismantle precisely such ideas. Later in the text, he characterized linguistic creativity as a gentle process of “gathering” words. Then, he explicitly rejected the sort of patriarchal theories of linguistic mastery that he advanced at the beginning of his essay and that played such an important role in antisemitic broadsides against Jewish writers. He also praised Heine’s late poetry, which abounds with Jewish motifs.

Sander Gilman, the most prominent theorist of Jewish self-hatred, argued that Kraus’s “Heine and the Consequences” sets up a strict dichotomy between “good” German and the “bad language” of Heine and the Jews. As Gilman himself put it, “This attack on Heine using the rhetoric of the anti-Semitic views on the nature of the Jews’ language is meant by Kraus to be a defense of ‘good’ language . . . and an attack on the ‘bad’ language attributed by Kraus . . . to the Jew” (Gilman 1986, 240–241). Gilman’s simplification resulted from a narrow, monocausal understanding of antisemitic discourse in writings by Jews, from the premise that it is the expression of internalized stereotypes. This theory cannot, however, explain why Kraus would pour antisemitic scorn on Heine’s “bad language” and then proceed to celebrate his late poetry. A more flexible theory of Jewish self-hatred, one that can account for appropriations of antisemitic discourse as ironic and as self-subverting as Kraus’s “Heine and the Consequences,” would seem to be in order.

Yet Gilman was certainly right to insist that in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany and Austria, many Jews did “accept” anti-

semitic ideas about Jewish cultural inferiority. Strikingly, the most precocious Jewish intellects very often articulated doubts about the ability of Jews to be truly creative. And they frequently did so in candid settings, such as diaries, and without any willfully obfuscatory self-stylization. Rahel Varnhagen, Sigmund Freud, Walther Rathenau, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Arthur Schnitzler all speculated on what Theodor Gomperz, a respected classicist, called the “limits of the Jewish intellectual gift.”

In addition, there was the more everyday self-hatred that Schnitzler’s literary works chronicled so well. Through characters such as Oskar Ehrenberg of *The Road into the Open* (1908), Schnitzler showed how nonintellectual Jews tried to assimilate into the realms of German culture—in part by adopting and eventually accepting the antisemitism of the culture by which they wanted to be accepted. Schnitzler also suggested that class and gender identity helped determine the particular coloration of such Jewish self-hatred. Unlike the high-profile figures Gilman treated, the kind of Jews whose antisemitism Schnitzler represented generally left no readily accessible record of their self-hatred. This part of the phenomenon certainly merits further study; perhaps that will alter our conception of the problem.

—Paul Reitter

**See also** Freud, Sigmund; Heine, Heinrich; Jewish Question; Kraus, Karl; Rathenau, Walther; Schnitzler, Arthur; Weininger, Otto

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## Seligman-Hilton Affair (1877)

The story made headlines. Joseph Seligman, one of New York City’s leading citizens, Union financier in the Civil War, personal friend of President Ulysses S. Grant, and exemplar of the German Jewish immigrants’ stunning rise to the

upper class, arrived with his family at the Grand Union Hotel in the resort city of Saratoga, New York. A longtime patron, he was, on this occasion, unceremoniously turned away on instruction from the hotel’s new owner, Judge Henry Hilton: no Jews were to stay at the Grand Union. Decent Christian folk were tired of putting up with these uncouth Jewish Johnny-come-latelies, Hilton proclaimed publicly; he wished to protect his desirable clientele from mingling with undesirables. With this June 1877 event, American antisemitism came of age.

The protagonists’ personal histories and the larger social context shaped the Seligman-Hilton affair. Seligman had served on an important city commission that quashed the corrupt Tweed Ring, in which Hilton was a major operative, and he belonged to the prestigious Union League club, which had rejected Hilton’s membership bid. In 1876, Hilton became the executor of the estate of a close friend, department store magnate A. T. Stewart, who also had reasons to dislike Seligman. Hilton’s acquisitions of Stewart’s holdings put him in a position to strike at Seligman. Also, the Grand Union was losing prestige as Saratoga was abandoned by the gentry and adopted by a new economic aristocracy of merchants, financiers, and industrialists. Other hotels already restricted their clientele in order to cultivate an elite image.

The event became a cause célèbre when the irate Seligman spoke out angrily in the press. Invective flew back and forth, condemning and commanding both sides. As the controversy grew nastier, Seligman canceled a public protest meeting; Hilton, probably worried for his business, pledged \$1,000 to Jewish charities. Ultimately, a Jewish boycott of the Stewart wholesale operation helped bankrupt it.

Yet Hilton was definitely on to something bigger than his personal animosity. This affair was by no means the first instance of social antisemitism in the United States, but soon, the phenomenon was widespread. Although blatantly anti-Jewish actions shocked some, it also released much latent antisemitism. Negative stereotypes of Jews as venal and crude, which had deep roots in the gentile distrust of Jewish economic practice, were extremely useful tools in the wars of so-

cial status that marked the Gilded Age. For every voice applauding the Jews' "manly" response to Hilton, as did the weekly *Puck*, there were others that interpreted it as "pushy." Social-climbing non-Jews felt free to condemn the social "excesses" of the Jewish nouveaux riches, while ignoring their own extravagances. In John Higham's words, "Discrimination was an instrument of social ambition" (Higham 1984, 129). In this environment, Seligman may have, by publicizing antisemitism, unwittingly helped make it socially acceptable. Soon, elite hotels, schools, and clubs began to exclude Jews explicitly. In 1881, Seligman's nephew was even refused membership in the Union League. Still playing by the same rules of the game, German Jewish Americans founded their own clubs and developed their own resorts, creating and sheltering a Jewish society that was defensive, insular, and cautious.

—Amy Hill Shevitz

**See also** Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants; United States; Wharton, Edith

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### Settlement *Heimland*

Settlement *Heimland*, considered the first race-based (*völkisch*) commune in Germany, came into existence in 1909. The enterprise was the brainchild of the well-known Leipzig antisemite Theodor Fritsch. In the previous decade, he had written *Two Fundamental Evils: Land-Profiteering and the Stock Market* (1894) and *City of the Future* (1896), books that called for "new communities" to be built far from the corrupting metropolis and to be organized as rural cooper-

atives. The premise of these schemes lay in the conviction that the German race was threatened with extinction by the forces of Semitism and Americanism. The healthy remnant of the race could be saved only through creation of living conditions that answered the needs of the German essence. For Fritsch, such conditions included eliminating economic competition, socializing agriculture, working the soil, and following Germanic customs. His experiment failed but provided the impetus for further race-based communes following World War I.

Fritsch's own plans were given new life in the decade before the war by the more or less successful founding of the vegetarian, life-reforming, fruit-growing colony Eden, which provided the immediate model for Settlement *Heimland*. The establishment of the German Renewal Community (in 1904), which propagated land reform and the cultivation of a stronger, healthier Germanic type, was also influential. Answering an advertisement in Fritsch's *Hammer: Journal of the German Way* in the spring of 1908, sixty people "fed up with urban life" declared themselves ready to settle in the countryside, according to Fritsch's principles. In October 1908, the Settlement Society *Heimland* was formed with Fritsch as chairman of the supervisory board and his illegitimate son, Walther Kramer, as its manager. In July 1909, the society acquired 450 acres of land in the vicinity of Rheinsberg, about 60 miles northwest of Berlin.

The land was divided into two concentric circles. The inner circle was given over to communal farming carried out by young, unmarried men and women who lived in existing habitations. The outer circle consisted of approximately fifty parcels of land on which settler families practiced horticulture. Before the outbreak of war, Jorg Brücke, a young architect and later a famous painter as well, designed homes for eleven of the farmsteads. The communal farmers grew a variety of crops and raised livestock on a modest basis. From 1910 to 1914, between ten and fifteen communal farmers lived in the settlement, some of them for only a few months at a time. Visits from youth groups and other ideological sympathizers were frequent enough to warrant the building of a guest house in 1910.

Prominently displayed on the Settlement *Heimland* barn stood a swastika. The communal farmers, after completing a probation period, received Germanic first names, such as Eckhart, Siegbert, or Roland, by which they were then addressed. Alcohol was banned. The *Hammer* and several other *völkisch* and life-reforming journals reported regularly on the progress of the experiment, as well as on the annual conference of the Settlement Society. Until the war, Fritsch placed great political store in the spread of new, planned settlements. However, weighty voices from within the *völkisch* movement criticized the isolationist aspect of the undertaking; others complained that such separatism would weaken the antisemitic propaganda effort. But Fritsch found supporters as well, especially among those who urged the young to return to the land.

World War I dealt the settlement a serious setback, when most of the young men went into the army. By that time, it had also become clear that the land was short of water and the climate unsuitable for horticulture. The attempt to revive the community after the war foundered on these problems and was also undermined by the beginning of the inflationary spiral. In the spring of 1919, a German children's home was established at the settlement, with the avowed purpose of saving a number of "racially valuable" youngsters from the "degenerate world." This project, as well as a school to train *völkisch* farmers, struggled and then failed. In stages between 1926 and 1936, the enterprise went into irreversible decline, divestiture, and finally liquidation.

—Christoph Knüppel  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Förster, Bernhard; Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth; Fritsch, Theodor; Imperial Hammer League; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Shabbetai Zevi

Shabbetai Zevi, born in 1626 in Smyrna, was at the center of an important messianic movement within Judaism that was named after him. Steeped in traditional rabbinic learning, he emerged, after a period of semiseclusion between 1642 and 1648, as a self-proclaimed messiah. He was then swept up by the publicity campaign of Nathan Ashkenazi of Gaza (1644–1680). In 1665, Nathan fell into a trance during a religious service and made a number of utterances, including reference to an acquaintance, Shabbetai Zevi; after coming out of the trance, he claimed that he was chosen by God as a prophet and that Shabbetai Zevi was the Messiah. In May 1665, Shabbetai Zevi accepted this announcement and proclaimed the seventeenth day of the Hebrew month of Tammuz (traditionally a fast day) as a feast day.

The reaction to Shabbetai Zevi was extremely mixed and at times very intense. Expelled from Jerusalem, his movement spread throughout the Islamic countries and Europe accompanied by tales of miraculous deeds. Shabbetai Zevi was forced to move a great deal between cities in the Balkans, in Egypt, and throughout the Middle East because of his numerous transgressions of Jewish religious law. He gathered a large number of fervent believers in Aleppo, Smyrna, and Constantinople, although a significant portion of wealthy and rabbinic leaders in his native Smyrna continued to oppose him. More guardedly enthusiastic believers lent him important support in Gaza, Hebron, and Safed, and he found backing among segments of the Jewish populations of Amsterdam, Hamburg, Ancona, Venice, and perhaps also Frankfurt, Prague, and Vienna. Poland, Bohemia-Moravia, Hungary, France, and most parts of Germany showed less zeal for him.

In early 1666, he sailed from Smyrna to Constantinople, with the expectation that he would remove the crown from the sultan and assume rule over the Ottoman Empire, ushering in a messianic age. Instead, his ship was intercepted, and he was taken ashore in chains. Not wishing to create a martyr, the sultan imprisoned him and offered a choice between immediate death or conversion to Islam. Shabbetai Zevi converted, and although the conversion destroyed

the faith of many followers, the allure of his personality sustained the movement for a very long time afterward.

Scholars have explored the reasons for the widespread reception of the movement, citing popular belief in the Messiah, Christian millenarian concepts and contemporary enthusiasm, the expectations of *marranos* returned to Judaism, the general political instability of the age (reflected in the 1648–1649 massacres in Poland), and the general climate of political and religious crisis in the seventeenth century. Some scholars have emphasized Shabbetai Zevi's apparent psychological instability and his secondary role in the emergence and organization of the movement (behind Nathan of Gaza); others have picked up on internal Jewish communal tensions or the growth of interest in kabbalistic and messianic ideas of the period.

The movement was significant in the context of anti-Judaism primarily because its failure encouraged some to convert from Judaism and because it afforded Christian polemicists the opening to argue that the Jews were dangerous, that they would take the first opportunity for open revolt, and that they were both gullible and blind in following the “false messiah.” Jews, according to this line of thought, were not capable of discerning the true Messiah, as was proved by the conversion of Shabbetai Zevi. Friar Michel Feyre, who presented a book of recollections of his stay in the Ottoman Empire to the lord general inquisitor of Milan in 1680, drew this conclusion from the events:

Then the Mulla, or Preacher of the Gran Signor, named Vanli Affendi, said that before embracing Islam it was necessary that he believe in Christ, son of the Virgin Mary, and that he recognize him as a Great Prophet and as the true Messiah sent by God. Shabbetai Zevi readily agreed to this and added that the Jews were greatly mistaken and blind to accept any other faith. . . . He was then ordered by the Gran Signor expressly not to get involved in any way with the Jews, otherwise he would be executed. He promised to respect this punctually, all the more so, he added, as he

saw in the Jews an abominable nation, hated by God and by Men. (in Saban 1993, 115)

—Dean Phillip Bell

*See also* Chmielnicki Massacres; Inquisition

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## Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)

Was Shakespeare an antisemite? His treatment of the character Shylock is not sufficient proof that he was, especially in the absence of personal statements from the author himself. Nevertheless, some have inferred on this basis alone that he was, indeed, an antisemite. A more productive question, however, is whether *The Merchant of Venice* is an antisemitic play or whether it has been misinterpreted and misused in the course of its reception in order to enlist Shakespeare as an antisemitic propagandist.

*The Merchant of Venice* is primarily a comedy about love and friendship, with Shylock a subordinate part of the subplot. This character has gained its immense importance only in the history of the piece’s reception, with the consequence that it has been read and produced, in turn, as a tragicomedy, a tragedy, or a problem play. The work was probably written between 1596 and 1598, when anti-Jewish feelings in London were still inflamed by the trial and 1594 execution of the Jewish Portuguese Rodrigo

López, who, as Queen Elizabeth's personal physician, was accused of having tried to poison her. Jews had been expelled from England in 1290, and although a few still lived there in Shakespeare's day, they were mostly known from medieval legends and religious plays, in which they were represented as malicious monsters.

In Shakespeare's source, a novella by Giovanni Fiorentino (1558), the old story of a Jew lending money on security of a pound of flesh had been merged with a love story into a crude tale of sex and money. In Shakespeare's hands, this Jew is given a name and comprehensible motives and is presented as the humiliated and despised victim of Christian hatred and contempt. Shylock, a usurer, and Antonio, a merchant, despise each other: Shylock hates Antonio because he is a Christian and because he lends out money gratis, thus lowering the rates of interest Shylock himself can charge; Antonio hates Shylock because he is a Jew and a usurer. Queen Elizabeth declared loaning money at interest was lawful in 1571, but usury had not, in theory, been permitted for Christians because it was considered an offense against Christian charity and a perversion to make money increase like livestock. There were Christian usurers in England, mostly Puritans in the absence of Jews, who were also treated with hatred and contempt. Thus, the subplot can be interpreted as dealing with usury and usurers and not specifically with Jews. Shylock and Antonio also represent two different attitudes about commerce and the uses of money. Antonio spends his money freely among his friends and invests his fortune in risky sea expeditions, trusting in the "hand of heaven." Shylock, in contrast, relies on economic shrewdness for increasing his fortune. This points to an important debate in Shakespeare's time about the right use of money—either as something to be spent liberally in order to establish a happy society of mutual love and friendship or as a commodity to be hoarded and increased as an end in itself.

Shylock's offer involving a pound of flesh is ambiguous: it can be taken for a joke or a trap. His hatred of Antonio and the Venetian aristocrats, the result of long-endured humiliation, flares up into blind thirst for revenge only after Jessica's elopement with her father's ducats and jewels. His fa-



Henry Irving, as Shylock. Irving's Shylock was received enthusiastically by Victorian audiences, who prided themselves on their tolerance and integration of other races, cultures, and religions, provided they conformed to Victorian norms. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

mous monologue (3.1), so often quoted as a plea for accepting Jews as fellow creatures, ends with him defending his claim for revenge.

With the confrontation of Shylock and Portia in the climactic courtroom scene (4.1) the theme of justice and mercy is introduced in the play, with Shylock insisting on the literal fulfillment of his bond and Portia, in her famous monologue, pleading the necessity of mercy. This led to a reading of the play as a debate about justice and mercy or even as an allegory: the Christian (Antonio) threatened by the devil (Shylock) is saved by grace (Portia). But the trick by which Shylock's claim is rejected is legally most questionable. It was perhaps only to Elizabethan audiences that the Jew's final punishment, by saving both his life and soul, may have appeared both just and merciful.

The history of the play has been determined

not only by ambivalence in the presentation of its characters but also by the changing attitudes of European societies toward Jews. The play does not seem to have been very popular until it was revived in 1701 in a crude but successful adaptation by George Granville (*The Jew of Venice*), which presented Shylock as a low-comedy figure. In 1741, the great actor Charles Macklin restored Shakespeare's text and played Shylock with great success as a cunning, ferocious, and vengeful villain. This interpretation was superseded by Edmund Kean in 1814, at the time when Jewish status was improving. Kean, divesting Shylock of all his repulsive traits, presented him as a tragic figure driven to catastrophe by long-suffered humiliations. But the most famous and influential Shylock, created by Henry Irving in 1879, was the one received enthusiastically by Victorian audiences, who prided themselves on their tolerance and integration of other races, cultures, and religions, provided they conformed to Victorian norms. Irving's Shylock was a proud aristocrat of an ancient race and religion, breaking out in scorn only when goaded by contempt.

In the last century, Shylock was presented in a greater range of interpretation than ever before: as a comic figure, as a sinister and repulsive villain confirming the worst prejudices of audiences, as a dignified victim, as an outsider trying in vain to integrate himself in a Christian society, or as a businessman gradually becoming aware of his Jewish identity. The play generated several offshoots, such as Arnold Wesker's *The Merchant* (1976) or Charles Marowitz's *Variations on the Merchant of Venice* (1978), which attempted to rewrite this supposedly antisemitic text from the Jewish point of view or in the light of modern Jewish history, without surpassing Shakespeare's original, however.

In creating Shylock, Shakespeare amalgamated traditional Christian prejudices with some traits of the stage Jew, of the Vice figure, and of the Machiavellian villain. At the same time, however, he supplied Shylock with humanly comprehensible motives and presented his hatred and thirst for revenge as the result of the hatred and contempt he was exposed to in a Christian society. Thus, the Jew was both perpetrator and victim, and he appeared both comic and tragic, both

villainous and pitiable. Shylock turned the comedy into a play about antisemitism in action, which lends itself to being read and performed as both an antisemitic play and a plea for tolerance.

—Wolfgang Weiss

**See also** Capital: Useful vs. Harmful; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Jew Bill; *Jew of Malta, The*; Misanthropy; Passion Plays, Medieval; Shylock; Usury

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## Shylock

Along with Judas and the Wandering Jew, Shylock is one of the preeminent antisemitic images in Western culture. His name is a byword for the Jewish usurer, banker, loan shark, pawnbroker, slumlord, and businessman, driven by greed, misanthropy, and a pathological lust for revenge.

In both his theatrical and literary existence, Shylock evokes long-standing themes in the history of Christian antisemitism. Although the name is not biblical (or even Jewish, for that matter), the character was based, in part, on Christopher Marlowe's Barabas (*The Jew of Malta*), himself the namesake of the Gospel criminal spared crucifixion by the Jewish mob that demanded Christ's (Matt. 27:15–33). In eighteenth-century performances of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, moreover, Shylock appeared with red beard and hair, as well as an enormous nose, evoking images of Judas and the devil derived from medieval Passion plays. Even hoary Christian theological disputes with Judaism resound in the play. In its climactic trial scene, Shakespeare's text juxtaposes Pauline grace with the Jew's carnal attachment to the letter of the law. Against Shylock's demand for retribution, Portia (disguised as the judge) reminds the audience that "in the course of justice, none of us should see

salvation”(act 4, scene 1: 199–200) Shylock’s reply, “My deeds upon my head! I crave the law,” recalls Matthew 27:25 (“His blood upon us and upon our children”), among the most fateful New Testament lines for the subsequent history of antisemitism.

Given this complex of negative associations, the Shylock image was often employed for anti-Jewish propaganda purposes outside of its original dramatic context. This occurred, for instance, in the controversy over the 1753 Jew Bill, a law designed to enable wealthy foreign-born Jews to acquire the status of British subjects. Its passage unleashed a torrent of anti-Jewish invective, which accomplished its hasty repeal; the words *Shylock* and *Jew* were employed interchangeably by the bill’s opponents to connote the subversive usurer. The pamphlet “The Prophesies of Shylock,” for example, depicted God granting England to the Jews as their eternal possession, “ripe for Destruction.” Such propaganda played on widespread fears of a conspiracy to “Judaize” England through infiltration of the country’s leading economic and political institutions.

The popularity of Shakespeare’s play, translated into twenty languages by the mid-nineteenth century, accorded the Shylock image immense cultural prominence. In the United States between 1870 and 1940, *The Merchant of Venice* was, along with *Julius Caesar*, the most widely studied of Shakespeare’s works in the high school classroom, prompting a campaign by the Anti-Defamation League to curtail its use. Shylock exerted a nearly archetypal influence on subsequent literary depictions of Jews, such as Dickens’s Fagin and Balzac’s Nuncingen and Gobseck. This influence, however, also extended to philosemitic images that attempted to invert the ugly stereotype, such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s *Nathan the Wise* and Walter Scott’s Isaac of York. Efforts to reclaim Shylock as a sympathetic Jewish hero—one who exposes Christian hypocrisy while rendering the Jew both formidable and complex—are likewise to be found in William Hazlitt’s essays, the writings of Heinrich Heine, and the drama criticism of Yiddish essayist Shlomo Bickel, to cite but a few examples.

This partial neutralization of Shylock is also a function of his increasing banality. In the United

States, Shylock has entered the vocabulary of hard-boiled crime literature, spelled with a small *s* or deployed as a verb: to shylock, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is to force repayment of a loan through extortion or violence. This transformation of Shylock into slang underworld jargon for loan shark suggests a near-complete severance from the name’s anti-Jewish origins.

—Jonathan Karp

**See also** Balzac, Honoré; Banker, Jewish; Deicide; Dickens, Charles; Gospels; Heine, Heinrich; Jew Bill; *Jew of Malta, The*; Misanthropy; Passion Plays, Medieval; Shakespeare, William; Usury; *Verjudung*; Wandering Jew

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## Simon of Trent

St. Simon of Trent is one of the most famous purported victims of Jewish ritual murder. His cult lasted longer than that of any of the boy martyrs whom the Jews were accused of murdering in mockery of Christ. His death occurred in 1475 at a time of social and economic tension in the northern Italian town of Trent, a prince-bishopric where secular and ecclesiastical powers were concentrated in the hands of one man. Unlike many earlier accusations of ritual murder, this charge was fully investigated, and records of the proceedings survive in Latin and Italian.

The itinerant Franciscan preacher Bernardino da Feltre had stirred up much of Italy with horrific accusations against Jews. He arrived in the Tyrol and incited the community there with vitriolic antisemitic sermons at Lent, predicting that something evil would happen, just before Simon, age two and a half, disappeared on the evening of Maundy Thursday in Easter week. In 1475, this coincided with the Jewish celebration of Passover 5235. The boy’s father, Andreas, immediately blamed the Jews because he had heard that they



German illustration of the martyrdom of Saint Simon of Trent after a woodcut by Michael Wohlgemuth. Jews are identifiable by circular badges on their clothing, their names, and their heinous deeds. (Stapleton Collection/Corbis)

kidnapped and killed Christian boys, and he demanded that their houses be searched.

The boy's body washed up in the River Adige and floated into the water cellar in the house of the leading Jew in town. Inconsistent and contradictory testimony from neighboring Christians and converts who had heard a child crying confirmed the prejudices of the investigators, and

seventeen Jews were tortured into confessing. The interrogations were held in German, with questions and answers translated into Italian and copied down in Latin. Bishop Hinderbach investigated and prosecuted. The Jews of the area protested and gained a new trial before Guidici of Ventimiglia, who upheld the guilty verdict. Further Jewish protests brought the case to the

attention of Pope Sixtus IV, who commissioned a famous law professor, assisted by six cardinals, to investigate again. They, too, confirmed the sentence, and the seventeen Jews were burned at the stake. Immediately afterward, miracles were attributed to Simon, and his cult quickly spread throughout Italy and Germany.

Pope Gregory XIII canonized Bernardino da Feltre as a prophet and Simon as a martyr. Pope Sixtus V recognized Simon's cult in 1588; it was confirmed in 1770, remained vital throughout the seventeenth century, and was reinvigorated at the beginning of the twentieth. Only in 1965, after the Second Vatican Council, was Simon of Trent removed from the Roman Martyrology, his veneration no longer approved by the Catholic Church.

Because the accusation took place at the dawn of printing and involved such a shocking tale, gruesome images of the alleged murder were widely distributed. Itinerant preachers spread Simon's tale throughout Italy, and mobs attacked Jews in Veneto, Lombardy, and the Tyrol. Humanist poets and Italian doctors joined in celebrating Simon, whose fame also spread with visitors to the Council of Trent (in 1545).

The most famous image, a terrifying illustration in Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* (*Buch der Chroniken*) of 1493, is still often reproduced. It shows nine Jews (men and women) surrounding Simon, holding him in the position of a crucifixion on a table, piercing his genitals, and collecting his blood. The evil Jews are identified by Jewish badges, moneybags, and identifying labels with Jewish names. This image and many other portrayals spread the story of Simon.

—Emily Rose

**See also** Franciscan Order; Middle Ages, Late; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Sorcery/Magic; Vatican Council, Second; William of Norwich; Yellow Badge  
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### ***Simplicissimus***

The satirical illustrated weekly *Simplicissimus* took its name from the Latin word meaning

"most stupid" or "simple-minded," an allusion to the famous seventeenth-century novel *The Adventurous Simplicissimus* by Grimmelshausen that described his simpleton hero's experiences during the Thirty Years' War. The first issue appeared in 1896 in Munich, published by Albert Langen and Th.(omas) Th.(eodor) Heine, a graphic artist baptized at birth by his parents who made no secret of his Jewish extraction. In 1906, at the height of the journal's popularity, with close to 90,000 issues sold each week, ownership of *Simplicissimus* passed into the hands of a cooperative of its main artists and contributors, led by Heine.

The years before World War I were, from an artistic point of view, the heyday of *Simplicissimus*, which rapidly made a name for itself on the basis of its irreverent attitude toward most of the sacred cows of Wilhelmine Germany: church, autocracy, militarism, chauvinism, and the high aristocracy. Its fame also had something to do with its frequent, well-publicized clashes with the authorities, its prominent featuring of semiclad female figures, and—for the times—its open treatment of sexuality. A specially printed, expensive edition was produced for collectors, who cherished the full-page artistic illustrations in *Jugendstil*, the German equivalent of *art nouveau*.

The social milieu of *Simplicissimus* readership may be construed as the politically and socially more progressive-minded elements of the *Bildungsbürgertum* (academically educated bourgeoisie), in particular those with broader intellectual and artistic interests and pretensions of sophistication. In this milieu, both narrow-minded German patriotism and political antisemitism were mocked. The number of items devoted to "Jewish" subjects was minuscule, between half a dozen to a dozen and a half per annum. Jewish jokes (*Judenwitze*), utilizing stock figures such as *der kleine Isidor* (Little Isidor) or *der kleine Moritz* (Little Moritz) were popular fare, as were those of the boastful, greedy *Kommerzienrat* (the title often granted to wealthy philanthropists) with a Jewish-sounding name or of his snobbish, status-conscious wife. Other staples were nimble-witted *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews).

The popularity of such humor indicates the extent to which these jokes were acceptable to

significant parts of German society. Sigmund Freud made frequent use of such material in his book on the joke and its connection to the unconscious. The ambiguity of the material, however, makes it difficult to arrive at clear-cut conclusions concerning the existence, prevalence, or dangerousness of antisemitism. The jokes and graphic material may just constitute evidence of a high level of tolerance and acquaintance with subjects Jewish, at least among educated Germans.

During World War I, Jewish jokes and caricatures practically vanished from *Simplicissimus*, which felt itself called on to support the political truce and national unity demanded by the perilous times. During the Weimar Republic, *Simplicissimus* gradually lost almost two-thirds of its original readership, the cost, perhaps, for its turn toward more innocuous editorial and artistic policies. It continued to mock antisemitism, racist nationalism, and Nazism, but *Judenwitz* also kept on appearing, some of them in poor taste and quality.

Paradoxically, *Simplicissimus*, which had often been attacked by conservatives, anti-semites, and Nazis as having been contaminated through and through by Jews (*verjude*) and for spouting cosmopolitanism and modernism, survived into the Third Reich with most of its original staff intact. (Heine emigrated to Sweden.) Its literary standards suffered more than its artistic ones, but graphic and nongraphic antisemitic material of *Der Stürmer* type was, as in the past, generally avoided.

—Henry Wassermann

*See also* *Angriff*, *Der*; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); *Fliegende Blätter*; *Gartenlaube*, *Die*; *Kladderadatsch*; *Stürmer*, *Der*; *Verjudung*

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### ***Sin against the Blood* (1917)**

The prolific Artur Dinter, a familiar figure on the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) Right before and

after World War I, suffered numerous setbacks in his literary career—which he blamed on Jews and the general decadence of the times—before writing a sensational best-seller. His trilogy *Sins of the Age* (1917–1922) included *Sin against the Spirit: A Period Novel Concerning the Teachings of the Spirit and Spiritual Christianity Based on Personal Experience* and *Sin against Love: A Period Novel Concerning Contemporary Social and Religious Questions, with Extensive Religio-Historical and Philosophical Elucidations*. But the book that made him famous was the first in the series, *Sin against the Blood: A Period Novel Concerning the Jewish Question and the Race Question*, a lurid outpouring of Dinter's racist antisemitism, religious mysticism, and sexual obsessions.

The novel's hero, the Aryan Hermann Kämpfer, is married to the half-Jewish Elisabeth, daughter of a wealthy, money-grubbing, and thoroughly despicable Jew, a man who maintains relations with young girls in bordellos all over Germany. Hermann and Elisabeth's marriage is sickly, the result of the Jewish blood that has endowed her with an insatiable sexual appetite and robbed her of any interest in "higher" things. Before the marriage founders, she dies of a heart attack, after hearing of her father's pending trial for statutory rape. Elisabeth and Hermann's child is a liar and a precocious usurer who gouges his school pals. Fortunately, he drowns. Hermann marries again, this time an Aryan hospital nurse. The son they have together—shockingly—bears the "mark of Cain," the "frizzy black hair and dark eyes of a genuine Jew-child" (262). The mother's blood had been poisoned because, when a girl, she had been seduced, impregnated, and abandoned by a baptized Jewish officer, in consequence of which, according to Dinter's elaborate theories, she could bear only Jewish children in the future. She kills herself and the child. The surviving Hermann now sees his life's mission as the emancipation of Aryan man from the Jewish devil race. He kills his wife's seducer, fully prepared for martyrdom. But the court sets him free to follow his true vocation, the preaching of salvation through an Aryan religion that follows Christian ideals of chastity, forsakes earthly happiness, and particularly spurns all sexual fulfillment.



Poster advertising the hugely popular racist and anti-semitic novel, *Sin against the Blood*, by Artur Dinter (1917). (Eduard Fuchs, *Die Juden in der Karikatur* [Munich, 1921], plate 303, p. 39)

Aside from titillating its readers—numbering an estimated 1.5 million—*Sin against the Blood* “educated” them concerning the ineluctable calamities of miscegenation. Dinter, a celebrity, was at first highly prized by the Nazis but eventually alienated Hitler with his bizarre religious projects. During the Third Reich, he was actively persecuted. In 1945, his de-Nazification trial resulted in a fine of 1,000 reichsmarks because his novels were deemed an inspiration for the antimiscegenation Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Degeneration; Dinter, Artur; Hentschel, Willibald; Nuremberg Laws; Weimar

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### Slánský Trial

The trial of Rudolf Slánský, secretary-general of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and the vice-prime minister, along with other high party and state functionaries, took place in Prague at the end of 1952. Most of the accused were longtime party members; some of them had connections with the Soviet special forces. Most were also of Jewish descent. All were charged with antistate activity. The indictments based on fabricated evidence charged the defendants with plotting a coup, acts of espionage, contacts with Zionist organizations, and illegal relations with representatives of the Jewish state. Of the fourteen accused, eleven, including Slánský, were sentenced to death, the others received long prison terms.

The Slánský trial was prepared by Soviet advisers to tighten Joseph Stalin’s grip on Eastern Europe. It served multiple purposes: to solidify Soviet control over its satellites, prepare for possible armed conflict with the West in case the Cold War turned hot, and identify scapegoats on whom responsibility for political and economic setbacks could be fastened. The Slánský trial also sounded a warning to other Eastern European communist leaders about the risks they would run should they decide to follow Tito’s independent path in Yugoslavia.

The Slánský trial also inaugurated the use of antisemitism and anti-Zionism as overt tools of Stalinist repression. Within the USSR, an ominous campaign against “cosmopolitans,” a buzzword for Jewish citizens and party members, gathered strength. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee—an important part of the wartime propaganda offensive against Nazism—was liquidated, and several of its leading members were imprisoned and executed. The Soviet Ministry of State Security underwent a purge. The (Jewish) Doctors’ Plot against the lives of top Soviet leaders was allegedly uncovered and might well have developed into a campaign specifically targeting Jews had Stalin not died before it progressed too far. Zionism and Zionist organiza-

tions were pronounced inimical to communism, preparatory to a breaking off of relations between the USSR and the state of Israel.

Many of these themes surfaced first during the Slánský trial. The controlled press made a point of the Jewish origins of the accused. Their suspected relations with Zionist organizations and agents of the state of Israel—now seen as a pawn of the capitalist West—were decried as treason. The Jewish ethnicity of the traitors, it seemed, had proved stronger than their commitment to the workers' state. The trial made a concerted appeal to the public's anti-Jewish prejudices, exploiting the still common belief that Jews were inveterate schemers and aliens who would sell out the country for personal gain. The rhetoric of the judicial authorities and of the press drew extensively from such historical anti-semitic stereotypes.

The Slánský trial marked an ominous deterioration of the position of Jews in Stalinist Eastern Europe. With the prompting of Moscow, other regimes inaugurated show trials of their own in which Jews were often the prime victims. Under the guise of anti-Zionism, anti-semitism once again performed the same demagogic and manipulative functions in the region as in the days before the arrival of the "liberating" Red Army.

During the "Prague Spring" of 1968, a commission within the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party was appointed to clarify the circumstances of the political trials during the Stalinist period. Its findings would have led to a rehabilitation of the accused, but the Soviet military intervention in August 1968 prevented publication of the report.

—Božena Szaynok

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Bulgaria; Holocaust in; Croatia; Doctors' Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Purges, Soviet; Stalin, Joseph; Stalinization of Eastern Europe; USSR

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## Slave Trade and the Jews

In the wake of the Holocaust, a new canard against Jews has gained currency. First suggested by Jamaica-bred nationalist Marcus Garvey in the 1920s, it has been given new life since the mid 1990s by black militants such as Louis Farrakhan and Leonard Jeffries. In essence, the charge holds that Jews not only introduced chattel slavery into European society but also dominated the trade in the Old World, in Latin America, and in the Caribbean. Jewish merchants from Newport to Charleston supposedly were responsible for deracinating more than 100 million Africans between 1430 and 1880. The proof is offered in *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, published by the Historical Research Department of the Nation of Islam in 1991.

The accusation will not withstand scrutiny of the historical record, but there is just enough evidence to give pause. Historians such as Henri Pirenne, Robert Reynolds, Robert Latouche, Pierre Dockes, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain noted the prominence of Jewish slavers along the Rhine in the High Middle Ages. The Historical Research Department of the Nation of Islam, listed as the author of *Secret Relationship*, cited anecdotal comments from Jewish historians that seemed to support their contention (and deliberately misquoted other sources when they did not). The same editors were scrupulous to a fault in recounting Jewish activity in the slave trade in Brazil, Surinam, and Curaçao, indicting the Monsanto family and Judah Benjamin of New Orleans, the Mendes family in Bordeaux, Aaron Lopez and the de Wolfes in Rhode Island, Jacob Cohen of Charleston, and the Nuñez family of Savannah.

The notion that one small group of people—especially the Jews—could dominate a critical aspect of mercantilism cannot be supported by the facts. A pariah people reviled for their religion, economic skills, and alleged blood lust, Jews enjoyed little security after the destruction of their ancestral homeland. Poets mused about periods of prosperity in Sura, Cordoba, and Cracow. But these "golden eras" usually ended with tragedy. Jews who could trace their lineage in Spain long before the arrival of the Visigoths were given less

than ninety days to leave by Ferdinand following his success against the Moors in 1492. Those who tried to outwit the bigoted Spanish monarch and his bride were hounded out of Portugal. Jews were barred from living anywhere in the British Isles for nearly 400 years after 1290, and only a handful of Sephardic merchants were permitted to reside in France until 1789. No Jew is listed among the many nobles who held the *asiento* (monopoly on bringing slaves to the New World) after 1595. Jewish converts to Christianity are listed among the *conversos* (New Christians) or *marranos* (converts who continue to practice Judaism secretly) hounded by the Inquisition between 1497 and 1820. Perhaps 1,000 Jews enjoyed a temporary respite in Brazil when the Dutch controlled that region between 1630 and 1654.

The historical record has something to say about the extent of Jewish involvement in slavery. According to Arnold Wiznitzer, Jews operated 10 of 166 sugar mills in Brazil. Those Jews who trekked to Surinam at the end of the seventeenth century owned 10 percent of the slaves in the colony. According to a census taken in 1764, Jews accounted for 50 percent of the white population of the island of Curaçao—and owned 15 percent of the slaves on the island. Charts compiled by Johannes Postma suggest Jews may have commanded 9 of 500 Dutch slave ships to the New World. The Code Noir made it virtually impossible for Jews to remain in French Martinique, Santo Domingo, or Louisiana. After examining ninety-one volumes of records of the East India, Royal Africa, South Seas, and Guinea Companies of England, Bertram Korn found virtually no Jewish slavers based in Liverpool, Bristol, and London. According to W. E. B. DuBois, none of the illegal slavers operating off the coast of Cuba after slavery was declared illegal in 1808 were Jews. Jews played no role in the importation of more than 1 million African slaves to Brazil in the nineteenth century.

Much the same may be said for North America. Jews had been warned out of Boston at the start of the eighteenth century. The first U.S. census in 1790 indicated Jews owned a total of 21 slaves, or 0.5 percent of all the slaves in the six New England states. According to Jay Coughtry,

the family of Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rivera owned 25 (2 percent) of 934 slave ships that operated out of Rhode Island between 1709 and 1807. Elizabeth Donnan noted that 33 (5 percent) of 760 ships that entered New York between 1715 and 1760 were owned by Jews.

Proof of Jewish domination of the slave trade in the antebellum South should have been found in Charleston, South Carolina, the nation's major slave port. By 1820, Charleston was, coincidentally, the center of the largest Jewish population (800 persons) in the United States. British naval records and ships registries on file with the South Carolina Historical Society reveal that of 789 vessels registered with authorities in the eighteenth century, only 8, or less than 1 percent, were owned by Jews. In the decade for which records are most complete (1757–1767), 183 of 17,815 slaves, or approximately 1.5 percent, entered Charleston aboard two Jewish-owned ships.

At no time were Jews among the major planters or factors in what was to become the United States. Solomon Polock of Philadelphia was the only Jew known to have served as overseer on a plantation (near Mobile, Alabama). As Frederick Bancroft has pointed out, 4 of the top 44 slave traders in Charleston in the nineteenth century were Jews, 1 of 12 in Memphis, and 3 of 70 in Richmond. It was the same among plantation magnates. The microfilm Alphabetic Index to Bills of Sale in Columbia lists every slave transaction in South Carolina between 1773 and 1873. The Levi clan, consisting of 48 persons, bought or sold 150 slaves in that period. By way of contrast, Gen. James Hamilton, a member of Charleston's aristocracy, purchased 173 on a single day, May 2, 1837. Catherine Verdier, a Christian woman of some repute, disposed of 161 slaves on April 26, 1855. Outside South Carolina, the story was the same. None of the major slaveholders listed in the African-American Family History project in Atlanta were Jews. Karl Menn's index of the 5,000 largest slaveholders in Louisiana, Texas, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama names hundreds of women, twenty Christian ministers, and even some Native Americans and African American slaveowners—but no Jews.

The overwhelming majority of Jews in the

nineteenth century were innocent and ignorant of African slavery and its horrors.

—Saul S. Friedman

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Colonial America; Farrakhan, Louis; Inquisition; Nation of Islam; *Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The References*

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## Slovakia, Holocaust in

Slovakia as an independent state came into being on March 14, 1939, and from the beginning had close relations to Nazi Germany, based on various agreements. Since the autumn of 1938, that is, after the federalization of Czechoslovakia, the most important political party in Slovakia was Andrej Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (HSPP). All other parties, aside from those of the German and Hungarian minorities, were either dissolved or fused with the HSPP. The party's ideology was strongly nationalist, authoritarian, and anti-Jewish.

In 1939, the Jewish minority in Slovakia numbered about 90,000 people, or 5 percent of the population. From the end of the nineteenth century onward, the Slovak national movement and later the HSPP were convinced that Jews had helped themselves in an unjust way to Slovak property. Therefore, soon after taking power, the government in Bratislava enacted antisemitic legislation. Laws defined who was to be regarded a Jew and restricted access to the universities and liberal professions, other schools, media, and state bureaucracy. Wages and pensions were cut, and Jewish property began to be "Aryanized" in 1940. Further measures were

aimed at excluding Jews from society. The rapidly expanding antisemitic legislation was brought together in September 1941 under the Jewish Codex. The codex departed from traditional anti-Jewish legislation by adopting the racial basis of the Nazis' Nuremberg Laws, even surpassing them in severity in some areas. Dieter Wisliceny, Adolf Eichmann's deputy in Slovakia, had great influence on these and other matters related to the Jewish Question.

The measures taken by the Slovak government led to the pauperization of the Jewish population, a problem that, from Bratislava's point of view, could be solved by forced labor. The government started setting up camps in Sered, Nováky, and Vyhne, and officials toured German camps in Upper Silesia to see how such installations were handled there. When Berlin asked for workers in 1942, Bratislava sent Jewish laborers without hesitation. Between March and October 1942, about 58,000 Jews from Slovakia were deported to the death camps in German-occupied Poland, mostly to Auschwitz and Lublin; only about 300 of them survived. When the deportations stopped in the autumn of 1942, they were meant to be restarted in the spring of the following year. But although there was some German pressure to resume in 1943, no further transports left the country up to the suppression of the Slovak national uprising in the autumn of 1944. The explanation for this is manifold. After the catastrophe at Stalingrad, a German victory became more and more unlikely. Apart from this, by 1943, all Jews in Slovakia either were in forced labor camps or had "papers of exemption" as "economically important Jews." Moreover, public opinion in Slovakia about the deportations had changed, at least partly because the churches had voiced criticism.

How many Jewish victims were claimed by the forced labor, deportations, and the suppression of the national uprising can only be estimated. Counts after the war showed only 20,000 Jews living on the territory of Slovakia, suggesting that 70,000 perished during the Holocaust.

—Tatjana Tönsmeyer

**See also** Aryanization; Bulgaria, Holocaust in; Croatia, Holocaust in; Hlinka Guard; Hungary, Holocaust in; Nuremberg Laws; Tiso, Jozef

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### Smith, Gerald L. K. (1898–1976)

Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith was born on February 27, 1898, in Pardessville, Wisconsin. He graduated from Valparaiso University in Indiana in 1917. Smith did not take up the antisemitic banner until fairly late in life, after World War II.

A Disciples of Christ minister, he revitalized several Midwestern churches, married his lifelong supporter, Elna Sorenson, and relocated to Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1929. In 1934, he became an organizer for Sen. Huey Long's Share-Our-Wealth Society. After Long's assassination in September 1935, he attached himself to Francis E. Townsend's Old Age Revolving Pension Plan, a depression nostrum, and fused Townsend's movement with the followers of radio priest Charles E. Coughlin. Together, they promoted William Lemke as the Union Party presidential candidate in 1936.

Shrill in his criticism of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Smith organized the Committee of One Million in 1937 to save Christian America from communism. Isolationist members of Congress asked him to testify in both the House and Senate against the Lend-Lease bill in 1941. Sometime during the war, Smith's bigotry toward Jews and blacks began to define his life. He credited Henry Ford's *The International Jew* with opening his eyes to the link between Jews and communism. In 1942, he founded *The Cross and the Flag* magazine and ran for the U.S. Senate in Michigan on a platform promoting Christian nationalism. Defeated in the Republican primary, Smith blamed the Jews. He ran for the presidency three times. After establishing his America First Party, he challenged Roosevelt in 1944, when he demanded that the "Jewish Problem" in

the United States be dealt with "honestly, realistically, and courageously." In 1948 and 1952, he ran under the banner of the Christian Nationalist Party. Smith called for the deportation of blacks and Zionist Jews and ghettos for Jews remaining in the United States.

Smith's antisemitism grew ever more far-reaching after 1944 when he described the Anti-Defamation League as a "Gestapo organization" and insisted "extreme" Jewish groups and the "Jew Walter Winchell" promoted more antisemitism "than all the Jew baiters combined" (in Ribuffo 1983, 172). In August 1945, at the San Francisco UN conference, he insisted the "Jew-nited Nations" was an international conspiracy. To combat these and other enemies, he established the Nationalist News Service, providing free copies of its bulletin to 200 right-wing publications. In January 1946, he testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that Jews in Hollywood used movies to spread communism.

By the 1950s, with headquarters now in Tulsa and Los Angeles, Smith had earned his reputation as the country's leading antisemite. Jews, he contended, were behind the French Revolution, Freemasonry, liberalism, communism, modernism, abstract art, and war. The Rothschilds, he proclaimed, were responsible for the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. He denied the Holocaust and reprinted Martin Luther's tract *Against the Jews and Their Lies*, papal statements against Jews, and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Roosevelt, Smith asserted, had not died but had been sequestered by Jews in a mental hospital until he could be installed as president of the world. In 1952, he denounced Dwight Eisenhower as a "Swedish Jew." After the 1952 elections, Smith claimed that the Jewish financier and presidential adviser Bernard Baruch had become the "dictator of America" and that he planned to repeal U.S. immigration laws "so 20 million Jews and colored will be dumped on American shores" (in Roy 1953, 24). In 1964, Smith moved to Eureka Springs, Arkansas, and began a series of "sacred projects" that revitalized the town and attracted national attention. Most famously, in 1968, he built an amphitheater to host a Passion Play modeled on Oberammergau.

It soon became the largest pageant performed in the United States, but like its German counterpart, it generated charges of antisemitism.

Notwithstanding his extremism, Smith gained impressive financial support in the last two decades of his life. In 1967, donations to his Christian Nationalist Crusade amounted to \$325,000, up from \$209,000 in 1959. Smith's last public crusade was in defense of President Richard Nixon, who, he insisted, had fallen victim to the Zionists and been forced to resign because he had made overtures to Arab nations. Smith's movement evaporated after his death on April 15, 1976.

—Peter R. D'Agostino

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Anti-Zionism; Coughlin, Charles E.; *Cross and the Flag, The; Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Ford, Henry; Freemasonry; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Judeo-Bolshevism; Luther, Martin; Oberammergau Passion Play; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rothschilds; United States

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## Social Darwinism

The central tenet of social Darwinism, an ideology that emerged in the late nineteenth century, was the belief that humans are subject to biological laws, including those governing the Darwinian struggle for existence. In constructing his biological theory of evolution, Charles Darwin relied on social and economic ideas, especially Thomas Malthus's population theory. Malthus argued that, just as with other organisms, the human population tends to expand faster than the food supply. Darwin explained that this oversupply of offspring leads to competition for

scarce resources among organisms, especially those within the same species.

In applying Darwinism to human society, some social Darwinists emphasized the struggle between individuals within society, whereas others stressed the collective competition between nations and races. Many believed that both forms of the human struggle for existence occurred simultaneously. Social Darwinism did not necessarily entail a specific political position. Some social Darwinists justified the capitalist system; others claimed that capitalism unfairly influenced the outcome of the struggle for existence by giving an advantage to individuals with money, whatever their individual biological prowess. Also, some social Darwinists argued that the economic struggle for existence among individuals should be subdued to make society stronger in the national and racial struggle for existence.

Darwinism radicalized late nineteenth-century scientific racism by stressing the struggle for existence between races. Darwin wrote in *The Descent of Man*, "At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace throughout the world the savage races." Ernst Haeckel, the leading Darwinian biologist in Germany, likewise taught that the Darwinian struggle for existence would eventually eliminate "inferior" races. Ludwig Gumplowicz, a Jewish sociologist at the University of Graz in Austria, relied on Darwin's theory to develop his idea of "racial struggle," the title of his 1884 book. Though Gumplowicz defined races by social rather than biological criteria, most later Darwinian race theorists embraced biological racism.

Not all social Darwinists were antisemitic, nor did they all apply the racial struggle for existence to Jews. However, some did, justifying racial persecution as a natural and inevitable part of the universal struggle for existence. A leading social Darwinist thinker in Austria, Gustav Ratzenhofer, whom his mentor Gumplowicz called a genius, came under the spell of Aryan racism and antisemitism after 1900, largely through the influence of Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The French social Darwinist Georges Vacher de Lapouge, who wanted to replace the French Revolutionary slogan of "Liberty, Equality, Frater-

nity” with “Determinism, Inequality, Selection,” believed that the “Aryan” race would ultimately annihilate all the inferior races, and he counted the Jews among those who would be destroyed.

By the early twentieth century, social Darwinist racism became extremely prominent in antisemitic circles, especially in Germany and Austria. Though social Darwinism, scientific racism, and eugenics were not necessarily antisemitic, many antisemites adopted these increasingly influential ideologies. The antisemitic leader of the Pan-German movement in Austria, Georg von Schönerer, embraced social Darwinist racism in the 1880s. In Vienna and Munich, Adolf Hitler encountered social Darwinist racism through the press and through his Pan-German contacts. Hitler’s speeches and writings are littered with social Darwinist concepts, which served as a major justification for the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Social Darwinism declined in influence after World War II, although sociobiology and evolutionary psychology in the late twentieth century showed some similarity with earlier social Darwinist ideology.

—Richard Weikart

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Eugenics; Evolutionary Psychology; Hitler, Adolf; Racism, Scientific; Schönerer, Georg von

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## Social Democratic Party (Germany, 1875–1933)

The Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands [SPD]), established in 1875 as the Socialist Labor Party of Germany and renamed in 1890, combined Marxist theory with a program of democratic social and economic reform. The largest political party in Germany from 1912 to 1932,

it worked to change the autocratic political structures of the German Empire until 1918 and defended the democratic Weimar Republic thereafter. It was ambivalent about Jews, most of whom were opposed to socialism, but that did not prevent the SPD from combating antisemitism as dangerous to the interests of workers.

The SPD’s earliest confrontation with political antisemitism in the years between 1878 and 1885 involved Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker’s Christian Social Party, which appealed to the workers’ grievances by holding the Jews responsible for the abuses of capitalism. The SPD successfully kept its members in line with a vigorous campaign that accused Stoecker of plotting to distract the workers from their true enemy, the capitalist system as a whole. This oversimplified view of antisemitism as a diversionary weapon of the ruling class continued to influence the SPD, but it was temporarily overshadowed a few years later by Marxist theories that had become more influential in the party as a result of persecution under Otto von Bismarck’s Anti-Socialist Laws during the 1880s. The Marxists considered antisemitism an immature form of anticapitalist revolt that would eventually awaken some individuals to the true nature of their plight and lead them to socialism. As a product of capitalism, the argument continued, Judeophobia would disappear with the triumph of socialism. When a new wave of political antisemitism in the 1890s stirred up the peasants and lower middle classes, the SPD brushed it aside. Hence, before World War I, German socialists reacted to antisemitism with a mixture of opposition and apathy.

On one hand, the SPD resented Jewish support for capitalism, but on the other, it sympathized with Jews as victims of persecution by conservative institutions. Karl Marx had attacked his fellow Jews as incorrigible capitalists, and his followers in Germany, noting that most Jews had supported the Anti-Socialist Laws, saw no reason to view them as friends of the workers. Such resentments rarely led to outright antisemitism, but they generated a few unflattering portrayals of greedy and selfish Jews in popular working-class literature. At the same time, the SPD took an uncompromising stand against all forms of discrimination against the Jews. It also

welcomed Jews as members, appointed them to party posts, and nominated them as candidates for public offices.

The intensification of antisemitism in Germany after World War I prompted the SPD to return to the more confrontational tactics that had characterized its crusade against Stoecker. With Germany's new Weimar Republic, founded with strong support from the Social Democrats, being castigated as the "Jew Republic" for its liberal democracy and its recognition of Jewish rights, the SPD revived the "plot theory" that viewed antisemitism as a diversionary tool of the old ruling class to combat socialism and undermine political liberty. In so doing, it bound working-class interests to the fight against Judeophobia. Party propaganda heaped abuse on charges that Jews were behind Germany's woes and on racist notions in general. SPD public officials steadfastly upheld Jewish rights. When the Nazis suppressed the party in 1933, Germany lost its strongest political bulwark against racial antisemitism.

Although the Social Democrats had left no doubt about their opposition to antisemitism, they had not given it a central role in their campaign against Nazism. They remained ambivalent about Jews, and they did not want to lend credence to charges that they were philosemites. Moreover, evidence that the Nazis were inconsistent and opportunistic in their antisemitism further encouraged the Social Democrats to underestimate the issue. Having interpreted Nazi Judeophobia as an instrument to manipulate the voters and bring Hitler to power, rather than as an end in itself, the SPD contributed to the belief, widespread in Germany at the time, that Jews faced little prospect of serious harm at the hands of a Nazi government.

—Donald L. Niewyk

**See also** Berlin Movement; Marx, Karl; Mehring, Franz; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Socialists on Antisemitism; Stoecker, Adolf; Weimar

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## **Socialists on Antisemitism**

The history of the socialist movement is full of internal splits and vigorous debates. Socialists have not adopted a unified approach toward what has come to be known as the Jewish Question anymore than they have done on many other issues. In the countries with significant socialist parties surveyed in this essay—France, Germany, and Russia—socialists manifested a variety of attitudes toward Jews and Jewry. Individuals associated with socialist movements used antisemitic rhetoric at various times and for various reasons. Yet the most prominent representatives of the chief social democratic parties at the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, generally tended to distance themselves from explicitly antisemitic stances.

Neither Henri de Saint-Simon nor Louis Auguste Blanqui, two early French socialists, displayed any particular interest in contemporary Jewry. Their compatriot Charles Fourier, however, found Jews distasteful and associated them with thievery. He suggested that the political emancipation of Jewry in France had been overly rapid, that Jews should be prohibited from living in border areas (in which smuggling took place), that they should be excluded from trade, and that they should be compelled to engage in "productive labor."

The leadership of the Marxist movement in France, which first emerged in that country in the 1880s, never endorsed such positions. In an article entitled "The Jewish Question" (1892), Jules Guesde, head of the Parti Ouvrier Français (French Workers' Party), underscored that capitalists, not Jews, were the enemy of the working class and that those who focused attention on Jewish financiers were misleading workers. Paul Lafargue, the other leading figure among the Guesdists, was also wholly unsympathetic to political antisemitism. To be sure, Guesde was no more philosemitic than he was antisemitic. He

insisted, for example, that the Dreyfus Affair was ultimately a disagreement among wings of the bourgeoisie and thus not a dispute in which socialists should participate. Jean Jaurès, who was not committed to the more moderate doctrines of the French Socialist Party (which he led up to World War I), took a more active role than the orthodox Marxists in combating the anti-Dreyfusards. He condemned antisemitism as a “capitalist fake” intended to deceive French workers as to the true state of their condition.

Jaurès’s friend Léon Blum, who was a Jew, became a leader of the French socialists between the two world wars and headed the 1936–1937 Popular Front government. He was sympathetic to the Zionist movement, deliberately proclaimed his Jewish identity in public contexts in the face of attacks by French antisemites, and delivered a symbolically significant address to the International League against Antisemitism (Ligue Internationale contre l’Antisémitisme) in 1938.

A comparable range of positions existed among German socialists. Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded the General Union of German Workingmen a year before his death, was of Jewish origin but distanced himself from Judaism from an early age. He published no works during his mature years on the Jewish Question or on antisemitism. He did, however, reveal, in a private letter to a young lady he was trying to impress, that he detested Jews and believed them to have taken on slavish characteristics. Antisemitic phrases appeared in the official newspaper of the General Union in the early 1870s, especially in attacks on German socialists who were not Lassalleans, and they were also used in speeches by Lassallean agitators such as Wilhelm Hasselmann. But antisemitism never played an important role in the program of the Lassalleans. After 1873, in fact, traces of antisemitism in the party’s paper generally diminished.

Antisemitism was absolutely never a central plank in the program of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)—the largest and most important socialist party in Germany—which was formed in 1875 as a result of a merger between the Lassalleans and a Marxist party. The (partially) Marxist roots of the SPD should not be taken to mean that its position on anti-

semitism was that of Karl Marx. In truth, the party’s stance tended to have more in common with the late pronouncements of Friedrich Engels than with any statements ever made by Marx himself.

Although Marx, in the 1840s, advocated political emancipation for the Jewish community, he never publicly and explicitly attacked political antisemitism per se. Engels, however, did. In his *Anti-Dühring*, which first appeared between 1877 and 1878, Engels specifically linked antisemitism with medievalism. In a letter published in the socialist press in 1890, he stressed that antisemitism was nothing other than a reactionary movement of decaying, retrograde social groups against modern society. It served only reactionary purposes underneath its socialistic disguise, Engels added, and ought to be shunned.

August Bebel, a key leader of the SPD from its formation until his death on the eve of World War I, first became aware of Engels’s letter of 1890 in the summer of 1892 and promptly drafted a resolution on antisemitism that was similar to the piece by Engels in both spirit and tone. Antisemitism, it said, was the result of dissonance within bourgeois society and had to be struggled against by Social Democrats because it was contrary to the natural development of society. Bebel’s resolution was passed by a large majority at the SPD’s party congress in 1892 and again the following year, that time by acclamation.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the leading ideologists along the entire spectrum of German Social Democracy—Rosa Luxemburg, Eduard Bernstein, and Karl Kautsky—differed sharply from one another in their writings on various aspects of the Jewish Question (for example, in their approaches to Zionism), but none of them ever endorsed political antisemitism in any way, shape, or form. Although not without some deviation—there were a few anti-Jewish slurs by significant German Social Democrats—the SPD in general stood as a bulwark of “antiantisemitism” from the late Wilhelmine era into the Weimar Republic.

The SPD stood by its anti-antisemitism even during the years of the Nazi rise to power, when it might have been politically advantageous to back off. Leading Jewish members of the SPD

were, with one exception, never pressured to accept less visible positions within the party than they had had before the emergence of the Nazi threat. The SPD's record of consistent opposition to Nazism compares favorably to that of all other important political parties in Germany, including the occasionally opportunistic Communist Party.

Antisemitic sentiment was widespread in the Russian populist movement at certain key points, as, for example, during the pogroms of the 1880s. In August 1881, the Executive Committee of the Narodnaia Volia (People's Will Party) issued a proclamation that declared the Jews were the greatest exploiters of the people of the Ukraine and that encouraged the peasantry to "rebel" against "the Jews." The Marxist-oriented Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDRP), which came into being in 1898, opposed political antisemitism. Vladimir Lenin was sharply critical of the national program of the (anti-Zionist) Jewish Workers' Bund, as well as that of the Zionist movement. His criticisms of the Bund and of Zionism, however, were not motivated by either personal or political antisemitism but rather by the conviction that Jewry did not constitute an authentic nationality. Lenin condemned the 1906 pogrom in Bialystok as a maneuver instigated by the government, supported draft legislation against antisemitic discrimination in 1914, and gave a speech in March 1919 in which he declared that only the most ignorant and downtrodden people could believe the lies spread about the Jews.

The various factions of the RSDRP did not disagree on this point. Neither Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov, often thought of as the father of Russian Marxism, nor those who eventually formed the leadership of the Menshevik faction of the party can fairly be accused of antisemitism. Plekhanov's approach to the Dreyfus Affair was similar to that of Guesde. To be sure, Russian Marxists did not always consider the struggle against antisemitism to be their primary task. When, in April 1903, Bundists accused some prominent Russian socialists of fighting harder against Zionism than against antisemitism, L. Martov, a leading Russian Social Democrat who was himself of Jewish origin, replied that this was

not only true but was as it ought to be. He insisted that Zionism had to be fought even more vigorously than antisemitism because Zionists wooed members of the Jewish proletariat (who might otherwise become class-conscious members of the RSDRP), whereas the antisemites lured only backward and undesirable elements. Martov, however, only wished to make a point about political priorities and most definitively did not mean to endorse antisemitism. Pavel Axelrod, who was Jewish, and who, like Martov, eventually became a prominent anti-Leninist Russian Marxist, was troubled by the Beilis blood libel trial of 1913. He publicly condemned antisemitism in forthright language in 1917 (and also expressed sympathy for Zionist goals).

The tradition of consistent opposition to antisemitism manifest in the RSDRP, however, was not carried over into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which engaged in anti-Jewish actions, particularly during the Stalin era.

In conclusion, a few broad generalizations can be made concerning the complex question of the relationship of socialists to antisemitism. Specific non-Marxist socialists, including French utopian socialists, Lassalleans, and Russian populists, were open to the exploitation of antisemitic rhetoric. The foremost Marxist-influenced social democratic parties, as distinguished from communist parties, although by no means wholly immune to the use of anti-Jewish slogans, were usually hostile to the political and social movements that employed antisemitism. Even though individual Marxists—including Marx and Engels—indulged in anti-Jewish slurs, the most important social democratic parties opposed political antisemitism, which they perceived as reactionary.

—Jack Jacobs

**See also** Alsace; Beilis Case; Dreyfus Affair; Dühring, Eugen; Emancipation; Fourier, Charles; France; LICA—International League against Antisemitism; Marx, Karl; Mehring, Franz; Pogroms; Russia, Imperial; Social Democratic Party; Stalin, Joseph; USSR; Zionism

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### Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr (1918– )

A survivor of Stalin's prison camps, Aleksandr Isaevich Solzhenitsyn gained world renown in the 1960s and 1970s for his exposés of the Soviet gulag in *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, *The First Circle*, and *The Gulag Archipelago*. During that period, Solzhenitsyn's courage in confronting the Soviet authorities made him a leader among the dissidents; however, unlike the physicist Andrei Sakharov, he saw Russia's future not in Western-style democracy but in a return to its native religious (Orthodox Christian) and cultural traditions. His second major subject as a writer became Russia's road to the Bolshevik takeover. In several novels that comprise the cycle *The Red Wheel* and beginning with *August 1914*, he identified the fatal errors made by both the Russian state and Russian society during World War I and the revolutionary year 1917. Awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970, he was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1974 and returned triumphantly to a new Russia in 1994.

The issue of Solzhenitsyn's antisemitism was debated in the 1970s, with Soviet Jewish émigrés and Western critics taking positions on both sides of the issue. The polemic was fueled, in part, by the documentary novel *Lenin in Zurich* (a selection of chapters from *The Red Wheel*), in which the author described the Marxist revolutionary Alexander Lazarevich Helphand (a pseudonym for Parvus) as a malevolent, physically repulsive figure dedicated to Russia's downfall. No less controversial was a section in *August 1914* dealing with the 1911 assassination of Prime Minister Peter Stolypin by the double agent Dmitri Bogrov, described by means of several traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes. Although the assassin came from an assimilated family with connections to both Lutheranism and Russian Orthodoxy, Solzhenitsyn attributed his motivation for the killing to a deep-seated desire to remove a political figure whose actions would prevent the "unbelievably talented" Jewish people from achieving their full potential—a depiction for which there is no reliable evidence.

Following the appearance in 2001 and 2002 of the two-part *Dvesti let vmeste (1795–1995)* (Two Hundred Years Together, 1795–1995), the controversy concerning Solzhenitsyn's position on the Jewish Question flared up again. This major work, covering the history of relations between the Russian and Jewish peoples, is prefaced by the author's call for mutual understanding and admission of wrongs done each to the other and an expression of hope that his study would serve the cause of reconciliation. This has not occurred, principally because Solzhenitsyn, however good his intentions, forced the story of Russia's Jews into an overarching historiosophic conception of the causes of modern Russia's tragedy, in the process frequently distorting the historical record. In Part One, he claimed that the condition of the Jewish community under tsarism was often far better than many historians have admitted, that resistance by the communal authorities frustrated many attempts by the government to improve the lot of the Jews, and that, whatever the faults of official policy, liberal and radical Jews committed an error of historical magnitude when they actively contributed to the collapse of the Russian state. In Part Two, Solzhenitsyn showed how Russia's Jews participated to a disproportionate degree in both the February and October 1917 revolutions; he also condemned their active support of and profiting from the Soviet regime during the 1920s and 1930s. He then traced the fate of Soviet Jews through World War II and the Holocaust, Stalin's antisemitic campaign, his successors' "struggle against Zionism," and the resultant struggle for freedom to emigrate.

Notwithstanding some generally favorable reviews of Part One, the celebrated author's work has been extensively criticized in both Russia and the West. Most scholarly responses thus far have dealt with this part, though some of the points raised are also applicable to Part Two. Reviewers have questioned Solzhenitsyn's reliance on a few largely outdated sources, his selective and often improper handling of quotations, and the absence of Russian sources that do not fit his historical interpretation, as well as many important Western studies on the subject. They have pointed out his readiness to absolve the tsarist

government for anti-Jewish excesses and to place the responsibility on others—including the Jews themselves. Even more significantly, they have condemned his apparent embrace of anti-Jewish stereotypes: Jews as unproductive, exploitative, conspiratorial, and destructive. As a result of these and other major problems, stated historian Yochanan Petrovsky-Shtern, Solzhenitsyn's book will become a "masterpiece of Russian antisemitica."

—Henryk Baran

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Judeo-Bolshevism; Pale of Settlement; Russia, Imperial; Russia, Post-Soviet; Russian Orthodox Church; USSR

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## Sombart, Werner (1863–1941)

Born in Ermsleben near Merseburg, Germany, Werner Sombart was educated at Göttingen and earned his Ph.D. in Berlin under Gustav Schmoller and Adolph Wagner (a leading Christian Social). He began his academic career as a Marxist, which greatly hindered his professional advancement although he ultimately replaced Wagner at the University of Berlin in 1917. Sombart was considered one of the foremost economists in his day (second only to Schmoller), as well as an important figure in sociology (second only to Max Weber). His ideas changed markedly during his long career, as did his political loyalties, for he began as a Marxist and ended up a National Socialist.

Sombart was an archetypal "public" intellectual. He was the author of many influential books and articles, the most important being his multivolume *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (Modern Capitalism) in 1902, which he revised signifi-

cantly in subsequent editions throughout his life. He also edited the preeminent journal in sociology, the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Archive for Social Science and Social Policy); was prominent in the professional associations for sociology and economics; and gave frequent public lectures.

His contribution to German antisemitism was twofold, and it is difficult to ascertain which aspect was the more pernicious. Sombart was deeply influenced by Weber's work on the spirit of capitalism. Unlike Weber, however, he saw Jews rather than Calvinists as the creators of modern capitalism. One of the major chapters in his *Modern Capitalism* was entitled "The Significance of the Jewish Religion in Economic Life." His *The Jew and Modern Capitalism* (1911) contended that the "spirit of capitalism" entered into northern Europe with the Jews fleeing the Inquisition. They carried with them, he contended, a new morality, a new conception of legal relations, and a "genius for commercial enterprise." The scholarship of these works has been proven to be based on insufficient knowledge, caricature, and outright prejudice, although it, surprisingly, still finds the occasional defender. Recently, Sombart has come back into vogue as some economic historians have sought cultural causes for the Industrial Revolution and the growth of European capitalism.

Sombart was also influential when he argued for the validity of "race" as a "working hypothesis" in the social sciences. The practical impact of his writings, despite their nuance and their change over time, was to validate race as an objective criterion and to define the so-called Jewish race as particularly bonded with industrial capitalism. His embrace of antisemitism was dangerous because of his high public profile, respected professorial status, and the fact that he avoided association with the disreputable antisemites of the prewar era. In the Weimar years, his highly visible change of politics from Social Democracy to National Socialism struck many contemporaries as sheer fickleness, but it also served to validate the career paths of other antisemites and opportunists, who could claim him as a model of fearless intellectual honesty while climbing onto the Nazi bandwagon.

—George Vascik

**See also** Capital: Useful vs. Harmful; Christian Social Party (Germany); Fritsch, Theodor; Social Democratic Party; Socialists on Antisemitism; Weimar

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## Sorcery/Magic

Throughout history, sorcery was (and remains for some) a real and terrifying phenomenon. Premodern people inherited a tradition regarding belief in Jewish sorcery from the ancient world. An ignorance of the Jewish religion and Jewish customs and a meager acquaintance with the Hebrew language, on the one hand, and the powerless minority status of the Jews, on the other, worked together to make Jews mysterious and suspicious in the eyes of non-Jews. Jewish practices such as washing hands on return from the cemetery or searching out leaven on the eve of Passover only confirmed for medieval Christians that Jews were magicians and allied with Satan, the ultimate source of all magic. Jewish ritual objects sometimes became objects of suspicion, as happened at the end of the fourteenth century when the bishop of Salzburg is reputed to have asked a Jew for a mezuzah to attach to the gate of his castle because of its magical qualities. (It was not provided.)

Jews were accused of a variety of magical practices and punished as sorcerers. In 1066, the Jews of Treves were accused of fashioning a waxen image of Bishop Eberhard, having it baptized by a priest, and burning it on their Sabbath, resulting in the death of the bishop. Interestingly, belief in the magic of the Jews circulated within both Jewish and non-Jewish circles. Throughout the Middle Ages, Jewish physicians were thought to have special healing—and harming—powers, making them sought out by princes and kings even at times when the Jews of their territories were being marginalized or expelled; such visions of Jewish power, however, were used as excuses for expulsions when, for example, Jews were suspected of



*The Witches* woodcut by Hans Baldung Grien, 1510. Witches, one seemingly on a cloud and the other on the back of a goat (which is surely a devil in disguise). (Charles Walker/Topfoto/The Image Works)

poisoning their royal patients. Charles the Bald, according to popular belief, was supposedly poisoned by his Jewish physicians in 877. In 1267, concern was so high that church councils at Breslau and Vienna forbade Christians to purchase foodstuffs from Jews because of fear that the provisions had been poisoned.

Such concerns over Jewish magical practices were well reflected in a variety of both learned and popular visual and written sources. These works provided a deadly accompaniment to the increasingly frequent accusations of well poisoning (especially in the fourteenth century), host desecration, and ritual murder. The martyred Simon of Trent, it was said, had been murdered by the Jews in 1475 so they could knead his blood into their Passover matzah. Matthew of Paris reported the “crucifixion” of Hugh of Lin-

coln by the Jews in 1255, noting that they intended to use the boy's bowels for purposes of divination.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Doctors' Plot; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Host Desecration; Hugh of Lincoln; Iconography, Christian; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Simon of Trent; Well Poisoning

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## South Africa

Prior to the 1930s in South Africa, antisemitism was limited to negative cultural and literary stereotyping: Jewish knavery, financial machinations (exemplified in Hoggenheimer, a vulgar cartoon caricature), military "shirking," "Bolshevik" subversion, and "unassimilability." Calls to curtail the influx of eastern European Jews, made from the turn of the century, culminated in the Quota Act of 1930.

The 1930s and early 1940s witnessed a popular surge of antisemitism, ensuring a prominent position for the Jewish Question on the public agenda. Antisemitism formed an important and influential component of the Afrikaner nationalist worldview. It was particularly evident in the rhetoric and actions of the Greyshirts, an extreme Right movement inspired by Nazi forms and racist, or *völkisch*, discourse. In 1934, the Greyshirts disclosed "proof" of a world Jewish conspiracy. Evidence was allegedly based on a document stolen from a synagogue in Port Elizabeth, purportedly signed by the Reverend Abraham Levy, spiritual leader of the congregation. The document was modeled on the notorious forgery known as the *Protocols of the Elders of*

*Zion*. Since the Reverend Levy was implicated by name, he was successfully able to sue for libel.

The groundswell of anti-Jewish feeling, especially demands for actions and threats against the existing Jewish community, prompted the ruling United Party to introduce stiffer educational and financial requirements for purposes of immigration. These were to take effect on November 1, 1936, and they resulted in an interim increase in German Jewish immigration. By the end of October, well-attended meetings, led by a group of Stellenbosch University professors, protested the arrival of the *Stuttgart*, carrying 537 German Jewish immigrants.

In an obvious response to flourishing antisemitism, coupled with a private bill introduced by the leader of the opposition, D. F. Malan, to restrict Jewish immigration and stiffen naturalization laws, the United Party introduced the Aliens Act of 1937, which prevented large-scale German Jewish immigration. Without specifying Jews, immigrants were to be permitted entry by a selection board on the grounds of good character and the likelihood of assimilation into the European population. Whereas 3,615 German Jewish refugees had entered South Africa between 1933 and 1936, fewer than 1,900 entered between 1937 and 1940.

Antisemitism was given further impetus following the South African parliament's very narrow decision to support the Commonwealth war effort to resist Germany in 1939. A powerful antiwar movement was orchestrated by the *Ossewabrandwag* (Ox-Wagon Sentinel) and the New Order, in which the appeal of fascism and, with it, the rhetoric of antisemitism was strong. A range of major National Party (NP) publications issued in the early 1940s demonstrated the formative influence of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler on the exclusive nature of an insurgent Afrikaner nationalism in which Jews had no place. However, the struggle against Hitler gradually eroded the warm reception accorded to Nazi and fascist ideas. By 1942, mainstream National Party leaders were unequivocally rejecting National Socialism as an alien import into South Africa. Nonetheless, as late as 1944, an investigation into antisemitism demonstrated a wide-ranging hostility toward Jews.

Antisemitism declined rapidly after 1945, although Prime Minister Jan Smuts opposed large-scale Jewish immigration. The Greyshirts and New Order disbanded, and in 1951, the ban on Jewish membership in the Transvaal NP (the NP was structured along federal lines) was lifted. Nonetheless, the NP, in power after 1948, represented disproportionate Jewish involvement in liberal and communist activities and Israel's support for the African bloc at the United Nations in the early 1960s. Issues of Jewish dual loyalty were short-lived, as South Africa and Israel developed close ties in the 1970s. The relationship promoted favorable attitudes toward the Jews on the part of the white population, although antisemitic outbursts, including expressions of Holocaust denial, were not unusual among elements of the white ultra-Right. The majority black population felt betrayed by Israel's close relations with South Africa and sympathized with the Palestinian cause. Although black leaders clearly distinguished between anti-Zionism and antisemitism, there were indications of some anti-Jewish attitudes among black elites.

Since the "normalization" of South African politics following the country's first democratic elections in 1994, antisemitic incidents have been relatively isolated and largely confined to the Far Right and Islamist groups. Muslim anti-Zionist marches often exhibit anti-Jewish rhetoric and motifs. Holocaust denial has also crept into Muslim hostility. One should not, however, view the Muslim community, which comprises about 2 percent of the total population, as a monolith. Various intellectual discourses operate and compete. Some are innovative and progressive, with an emphasis on Islamic humanism, universalism, and interfaith cooperation; others are conservative, at odds with religious pluralism and ecumenism. For example, Khomeinism and some of the more radical schools of Islamic thought heavily influence Qibla and the Islamic Unity Convention. Common to both strands, however, is a hostile critique of Zionism. In some cases, this hostility is separated from antisemitism; in others, Zionism and Judaism are conflated into a combination that incorporates notions of international Jewish finance, manipulation, and imperialism.

—Milton Shain

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Islam and the Jews; Islamic Fundamentalism; Jewish Question; Judeo-Bolshevism; Khomeini, Ayatollah; *Ostjuden*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Spain, Riots of 1391

In the year 1391, the Iberian Peninsula witnessed anti-Jewish riots surpassing any of those from the past. They took their starting point from the sermons of Archdeacon Fernando Martínez of Seville, who had demanded for years that the synagogues be destroyed and the Jews be placed in ghettos. The chance to realize his plans came when King John I of Castile and Leon died in October 1390, leaving a minor on the throne to succeed him. Martínez, now the acting archbishop of Seville, took advantage of this political vacuum to propagate his ideas. Freed from all restraint, he at once launched a violent "crusade" against the Jews, ordering the destruction of their synagogues.

From March 1391, anti-Jewish riots went on for weeks in the Andalusian capital. After a short period of calm, they once again erupted on June 6, 1391, with an attack on the Jewish quarter, followed by similar actions in neighboring locales. In response to the assaults, it is clear, there were many more conversions to Christianity than Jewish martyrdoms.

The pogroms crossed political borders,

spreading far beyond the Seville region. In some cases, the emissaries of Martínez provoked the attacks, in others, local forces took the initiative. Everywhere, the overwhelming majority of the populace stood behind them. The Jewish community of Ciudad Real perished; in Madrid, apparently all Jews chose conversion over death. In Toledo, with its centuries-old Jewish tradition, one of the two Jewish quarters vanished. In Burgos in northern Spain, the most important representatives of the community converted to Christianity. There is no record of any Jewish resistance.

The riots spread to other kingdoms. In the beginning of July 1391, the Jewish quarter of Valencia was destroyed despite increased vigilance, which the city authorities had ordered after receiving the news of the violence in Andalusia. In the wake of these events, nearly all Jewish communities of Valencia converted. In Mallorca, too, the authorities took protective measures but also failed to prevent riots. On August 2, the Jewish quarter was attacked, and 300 people were killed. Many survivors converted. The last wave of pogroms took place in Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia. There, the riots started in early August and took a more social character, without losing their religious impetus and rationale. In the Catalan capital, 400 Jews were killed, and many converted. Barcelona's Jewish community essentially ceased to exist. Subsequently, Girona, Tortosa, Lleida, and other Catalonian towns were visited by the anti-Jewish fury. Only Aragon's Jewish quarters remained untouched.

Thus, within less than a year, the most important Jewish communities in Spain were decimated, sometimes even totally destroyed. What is striking, apart from the relentless proceeding of the Christian aggressors (supplied mostly from the lower clergy and ordinary people), is the high number of converts compared with anti-Jewish riots in other parts of medieval Europe. It was not long, however, before most Christian authorities began to see the remaining observant Jews as an even greater danger than before. They might, it was feared, seduce the New Christians to return to Judaism. "Backsliding," from a Christian point of view, was absolutely intolerable, no matter that baptism had

been accepted under threat of death, not as a result of free will.

—Bernd Rother

**See also** Ferrer, Vincente; Ghetto; Inquisition;

Torquemada, Tomás de

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## Spain under Franco (1938–1975)

Spain has had a troubled historical relationship with its Jewish population, resulting, in part, from the Spanish Inquisition, which sought to purge all non-Catholics from the country and its colonies. It was not until 1834 that the Inquisition was finally abolished, yet antisemitic sentiments still prevailed throughout the country. On the basis of such a history, it was unlikely that the fascist dictator Francisco Franco (1892–1975) would strive to protect or liberate Jews during World War II or seek to aid them in their conflicts with Arab governments after the war. Yet Spain's attitudes toward Jews and governmental policies regarding them were not without their inconsistencies. Theory and practice often diverged.

There was a period of reconciliation during the early nineteenth century, with several attempts by Spanish governmental leaders to welcome Jewish immigration. In 1924, under the military dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, a law was passed, which, loosely read, would have permitted Jews of Spanish ancestry to acquire Spanish citizenship. This law applied mainly to Sephardic Jews. At the time of its passage, Franco, a supporter of the legislation, was fighting in the Moroccan conflict to protect Spain's interests and the lives of Spaniards residing there, including Jews. The law was initially drafted to be in force for six years, but it was used long afterward to extend citizenship to Jews and would play a significant role during the Holocaust. Its meaning and actual purpose have been much debated by Jewish scholars.

During the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), Jews living outside Spain were mostly supporters of the Republican side, condemning the ruthless tactics of Franco; Jews living inside Spain, however, clearly backed Franco's nationalist movement, perhaps because of his previously demonstrated sympathies. But with the establishment of Franco's regime, most of the religious freedoms afforded by the Second Republic were abolished. Synagogues closed, and the Jewish community disintegrated, as evidenced by a growing number of conversions. Those who continued to practice their faith did so clandestinely. The growth and spread of antisemitic propaganda at the onset of World War II caused Spanish Jews to fear their expulsion from the country. Isolated incidents of violence did not, however, become systematic or widespread.

Throughout the war, Franco rescued many Jews, despite his close cooperation with Nazi Germany during the civil war years. Whether it was through the adjudication of the Primo de Rivera law (mentioned previously) or through other official channels, the Spanish government was able to protect many Sephardic Jews and their families, as well as other Jews in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. Thousands of French Jews were granted transit visas to cross Spain into Portugal to escape the Nazis' Final Solution. During the first stages of the war, such transit visas were readily available, but the regime soon began adding restrictions that forced many refugees to cross Spain illegally. The treacherous crossing through the Pyrenees, under the control of typically lenient border guards, sometimes failed, leading to imprisonment. Deportation and expulsion, however, were rarities. Once in Spain, some refugees were detained in prison camps that could be harsh, but they survived there in conditions comparable to those of average Spaniards suffering poverty and its attendant deprivations.

A classic example of the inconsistency in Franco's policy toward the Jewish population is illustrated by the case of the Sephardic Jewish community in Salonika, Greece, during the war. Jews with Spanish nationality were trapped in a bureaucratic battle between Germany and Spain. Franco vacillated for months over admitting

them into Spain; meanwhile, German authorities held them in an interim concentration camp. Eventually, they were claimed by Spain, even as the great majority of Salonika's Jews perished in Auschwitz. After World War II, the Spanish government helped Jews being persecuted in Morocco to flee to Israel, despite Israel's repeated condemnations of the close relations that had existed between Spain and Nazi Germany.

Just how many Jews were saved by Franco's government during World War II is a matter of historical controversy. Franco has been credited with saving anywhere from approximately 30,000 to 60,000 Jews; the most reliable estimates suggest 45,000 is the likely figure. Why Franco chose to save any Jews at all is also a cause of considerable speculation. His government followed no clear-cut and consistent policy for handling the Jewish situation. There was no obvious motivation for Franco's assistance. Possible explanations range from theories about his own ancestry to effective pressure applied by the Allies to gratitude he might have felt toward Jews for past assistance. Regardless of the stimulus or justification, it cannot be denied that Franco's government was pivotal in the protection and rescue of numerous Jewish lives.

—Gema A. Junco

*See also Auto-da-fé; Holocaust; Inquisition; Jewish Question; Pure Blood Laws; Spain, Riots of 1391*

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## **Stahl, Friedrich Julius (1802–1861)**

Born to a Jewish family in Würzburg, Bavaria, Friedrich Julius Stahl converted to Lutheran Christianity in 1819. After having taught jurisprudence in Munich, Erlangen, and Nuremberg, he was invited by Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia to teach public law at the University of Berlin, where he became one of the leading

scholars of the era and the chief representative of conservative political thought. In his masterly *Philosophy of Law* (1830–1837), he endorsed the principle of divine-right monarchy, arguing that the law of God—not the will of the people—was sovereign. But he did not advocate theocracy. According to him, private and public morality had to be strengthened by forming the political community into a moral realm (*sittliches Reich*). He postulated a strong monarchic executive but also a democratic representation of the people, thus attempting to reconcile political tradition with the demands of modernity. He was instrumental in forming the Prussian Conservative Party and its influential newspaper, the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, and he led the “High Conservatives” in the Prussian Parliament.

Stahl is often associated with the concept of the so-called Christian State, exploited by later Christian conservatives as an argument against granting legal equality to German Jews. But he made it clear in his pamphlet *On the Attitude of the Jews toward the Christian States* (1833) that he was not averse to the gradual granting of rights, at least to “useful” Jews, although the poorer masses of the Jewish population were to remain merely tolerated subjects.

During Stahl’s lifetime, his Jewish roots were not much commented on. But nearly seventy-five years after his death, he became the subject of an extreme—some would say bizarre—antisemitic attack by Carl Schmitt, one of the leading experts on public law in the Weimar Republic and Third Reich. Schmitt made Stahl personally responsible for the degradation of German political culture and blamed Friedrich Wilhelm IV for having installed “a freshly assimilated Jew from the south German ghetto in order to have him combat the philosophy of Hegel” (*Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 1939, 117). Stahl’s conversion, which was apparently heartfelt, was seen by Schmitt as no more than a means to allow him to meddle destructively in church and state, leading to a “spiritual paralysis.” Although it was common on the German Right to ascribe liberal democracy and Marxism to “Jewish character,” exposing the “Jewish roots of conservatism” was a much rarer occurrence. Stahl proved a convenient foil for the jaundiced

and opportunistic Schmitt. With the advent of the Third Reich, he could now demonstrate that whatever was “destructive” in the history of German political thought was the work of alien Jews.

—Johann Baptist Müller

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Christian State; Emancipation; Jewish Question; Stoecker, Adolf; Vogelsang, Karl von; Wagener, Hermann

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## Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953)

Joseph Stalin, born Josif Vissarionovich Djugashvili in Georgia in 1879, was the first Soviet commissar of national affairs and assumed the position of general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1922. Following the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924, Stalin was involved in a struggle of succession, in which he used his powerful administrative position to eliminate his rivals and assume dictatorial power. From 1929 until his death in 1953, he was the unchallenged leader of both the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

Prior to the revolution, Stalin emerged as a leading Bolshevik theoretician of national issues, famously arguing that the Jews did not constitute a nation because they lacked a territorial homeland. Stalin’s theoretical opposition to Jewish nationhood has often been interpreted as early evidence of his antisemitism. It is contended that within prerevolutionary Communist circles, he scorned the many Jews with whom he associated. Sporadic comments ascribed to Stalin on the basis of secondhand reports also suggest he was prone to antisemitic rhetoric in private. Whatever the credibility of such evidence, it was not until after World War II that he began acting on unmistakably antisemitic motives.

As commissar of national affairs, Stalin was responsible for the party’s treatment of national minorities, including Jews, within the Soviet Union. Before the war, he treated Jews in much the same manner as the other minorities; he granted them the right to use the Yiddish lan-

guage and oversaw the establishment of the Jewish Section of the Communist Party and the Jewish Committee of the Commissariat of National Affairs to administer over them. He declared antisemitism to be a punishable offense and a phenomenon hostile to the Soviet government. His own government's record of punishing these crimes, however, was mixed.

In 1936, Stalin unleashed the Great Terror, in which millions of Soviet citizens were terrorized, arrested, and executed. Many of those imprisoned were Jews, including the most prominent Old Bolsheviks, who were executed after public show trials. Antisemitic rhetoric was not a part of the trials or a major factor in the Terror as a whole, but it did affect Jews in disproportionate numbers because they were disproportionately represented in the urban elites targeted by the Terror.

In the aftermath of World War II, Stalin started to single out Jews deliberately and aggressively. In the fall of 1946, he sanctioned a campaign against "bourgeois nationalism," in which Jewish writers were singled out for displaying expressions of national sentiment. Following the November 1947 UN vote on the partition of Palestine and foundation of Israel, which Stalin supported, he became particularly hostile to the voicing of Jewish national sentiment. In January 1948, the prominent actor and public activist Solomon Mikhoels was murdered on Stalin's direct order. The murder was followed by the arrests of dozens of leading Jewish political, cultural, and intellectual personalities. In late 1948 and early 1949, the most important Jewish institutions in the Soviet Union, including the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the Yiddish printing press, and the Moscow State Yiddish Theater, were closed down. During the same period, dozens of prominent Jews were arrested; there followed a long-term campaign of persecution against Jewish journalists, academics, artists, politicians, students, military personnel, and ordinary citizens. The officially controlled press used antisemitic rhetoric to disparage the victims.

Over the summer of 1952, Stalin intensified these antisemitic campaigns. On August 12, thirteen of the most well known, previously arrested Jewish intellectuals were executed in what came

to be known as the Night of the Murdered Poets. The executions were followed by the arrest of several Jewish doctors, who, in January 1953, were publicly accused of collaborating with Jewish organizations abroad to poison leading Kremlin officials. Rumors circulated that Stalin was also overseeing the preparation of a massive roundup of Soviet Jews to be sent to labor camps.

In March 1953, Stalin died suddenly, leaving his plans unfulfilled. Following his death, the doctors were released, and in the years since, many of his victims have been posthumously rehabilitated.

—Jeffrey Veidlinger

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors' Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Pauker, Ana; Purges, Soviet; Slánský Trial; Stalinization of Eastern Europe; USSR

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### Stalinization of Eastern Europe

The USSR subordinated the countries of east-central Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia) politically, economically, and militarily after World War II. The defeat of the Axis powers led to the direct occupation of most of these countries by the Red Army. Once present, the USSR showed itself to be unyieldingly ruthless in establishing its influence. Crucial to the erection of its hegemony was the conciliatory stance toward the demands of the USSR on the part of Great Britain and the United States, which readily accepted a division of spheres of influence at Yalta in February 1945. Subordination to the USSR took many forms: direct incorporation (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia); infiltration by agents to carry out the USSR's agenda, often with the aid of the Red Army, Soviet organs of repression, and native communist parties (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany); and the empowerment of strong local communist parties (Yugoslavia, Albania).

The assumption of power by the communists proceeded with the step-by-step isolation and liquidation of the opposition. A favored pretext for attacking opponents was the “struggle against fascism,” even though the victims frequently had not in any way collaborated with the Germans or the Italians during the war. Election results were falsified. Communists were placed into key government ministries, especially those responsible for the military and special (security) services. Propaganda promoted reconstruction and substituted “people’s democracy” for “communism,” a term that had strongly negative connotations for most East Europeans. Similarly, the unpopular communist parties were concealed behind more appealing “fronts,” and “national” (or “people’s” or “democratic”) blocs. Attempts were made to tie various social strata to the system with the promise of opportunities for personal advancement. The reform of agriculture and the nationalization of industry strengthened the communist authorities, disposing of or weakening the material basis of various social groups. The lack of decisive opposition on the part of the Western powers, as well as the pro-Soviet sympathies to be found among certain sectors of Western societies, facilitated this complex process of subjugation.

Change in the international situation during the years 1947 and 1948—the emergence of the Cold War and the defection of Yugoslavia—inaugurated a new stage in Stalin’s policy toward the countries of Eastern Europe. A signal of this change was the September 1947 creation of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), an innocuous-sounding designation for the Soviet-dominated, ideologically subordinated organization of the region’s nine communist parties.

The entrenchment of the communists in a particular country made it possible to transform all aspects of social, political, and economic life according to the Soviet model. In the political realm, the most important changes included bringing the national communist parties under the firm control of Moscow. In each country, the domination of a single communist party became absolute in all state decisionmaking; surviving socialist parties were forced to fuse with the communists; universal terror liquidated all

remaining opposition; and the cult of the personality was instituted.

In economic life, the new stage was characterized by the accommodation to Soviet forms, calling for centrally directed, ideologically driven planning that entailed the domination of heavy and defense industries and the organization of all production according to five-year plans (often based on wholly unrealistic projections). The private sector was, of course, liquidated. Soviet “advisers” were omnipresent. Attempts to raise the level of production included the exploitation of prison labor and campaigns of labor competition that were based on ludicrously exaggerated and inhumane norms. In agriculture, collectivization began in June 1948. In January 1949, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance was established to further the economic integration of its member states.

The introduction of political and economic changes was meant to be the foundation of a new social policy, the goal of which was the transformation of society in the spirit of communism. An important element of this policy was the isolation of particular sectors of society, particularly the strongly influential religious establishments of the various countries. Communist indoctrination at all levels of society sought to undermine the prestige and the power of the Catholic, Uniate, and Orthodox hierarchies; the state intervened in all the realms where the churches had once exerted great influence—culture, family life, and education. Clergy were arrested and put on trial, religious institutions were closed down, and popular participation in religious life was officially frowned on. The state sanctioned only the religious organizations clearly dependent on its authority.

Within the bloc of communist states, a significant measure of subordination to Moscow was the formal acceptance of ties with the USSR, the bilateral pacts of “friendship and co-operation.” Yugoslavia, however, pursued a different path. Its leader, Marshal Tito, took a rather independent stand in relation to Stalin. In effect, Yugoslavia was removed from the Cominform, and Tito was denounced as a traitor. The case of Yugoslavia and the increasing tension of the international situation initiated a

new stage of repression, characterized by a series of show trials of communist leaders, including Koçi Xoxe in Albania, László Rajk in Hungary, Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria, Rudolf Slánský in Czechoslovakia, and Ana Pauker in Romania, as well as the arrest of Władysław Gomułka in Poland. The death of Stalin on March 5, 1953, ended this phase of Soviet domination and, in fact, marked the apogee of Soviet power in east-central Europe.

After World War II, Soviet policy with regard to the Jewish populations of the region followed the pattern described earlier. Until 1948, Jews enjoyed a modicum of independence, in which the local characteristics of the communities predominated. From 1948 and 1949, a succession of the anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel policies emanating from Moscow altered this situation dramatically.

From 1945 to 1949, the authorities allowed attempts to rebuild Jewish life on the ruins of the Holocaust and sanctioned legal (and tolerated illegal) emigration, mostly to Palestine. In these years, activities of various nonrightist Jewish parties—communist, socialist, religious, Zionist—were still permitted. Jews formed their own representative institutions and social, educational, and cultural organizations. Religious organizations were active. Jewish schools functioned, some run by Zionists with Hebrew as the language of instruction as well as some run by religious bodies.

Antisemitism was rife in this early period, in part the product of traditional animosities and in part the result of encroaching Soviet power. Hatred found expression in antisemitic propaganda, harassment of the Jewish population, sometimes violent property disputes, assaults, robberies, and pogroms. Another theme of more recent vintage also entered into antisemitic propaganda at this time—the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism. The popular resonance of this charge stemmed from the visible presence of Jews in positions of authority in the state and communist apparatus of repression and propaganda. The new charges of Jewish betrayal blended easily with older views of Jewish conspiracy and hatred of Christians.

Whatever favor the Jews of east-central and eastern Europe enjoyed in the early years of Stal-

inization disappeared by the end of 1948, replaced by increasingly oppressive conditions mirroring the developments within the USSR. The pretext for change was a dispute with the Zionist movement and its connections to the newly founded Jewish state. Zionists, it was claimed, posed a threat to communist states. As in the USSR, anti-Jewish activity began appearing in several guises. State authority permitted anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel propaganda. Orders were given to Jewish communities to break off contact with international Jewish organizations such as the World Jewish Congress and the Joint Distribution Committee. Representatives of these agencies were expelled from Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and their offices were closed. Zionist and Jewish socialist parties were abolished. A variety of other Jewish institutions, including those whose connection with the Zionist movement was solely an invention of the authorities were also banned. "Zionist" activists in Czechoslovakia and Hungary were arrested. The term *Zionist* had become a code word and was understood to include all Jews, no matter their allegiances or affiliations.

The repression was also present in the political conflicts of the Cold War, the Yugoslav affair, and the pro-Western policy of the Jewish state. Hunts for allegedly Zionist conspirators and the framing of Zionism as a grave threat to the "people's democracies" added a note of hysteria. In September 1949, the political trial of László Rajk, the first in Eastern Europe carried out according to the Soviet model, featured an attempt to link Zionism to U.S. intelligence agencies. This strategy was especially pronounced during the political show trial of the vice-premier and secretary-general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Rudolf Slánský, in November 1952, which ended with eleven death sentences. The antisemitism in Slánský's trial became unmistakable because of the emphasis put on the Jewish origins of eleven of the thirteen accused. Prosecutors alleged cooperation with foreign intelligence, Zionist organizations, and representatives of the Israeli government. Manifestations of an anti-Israel policy were also very clear. Accusations were leveled against Israeli diplomats; Israeli diplomats were declared *personae non gratae* in

Czechoslovakia and Poland. Hungary prohibited emigration to Israel, and other countries limited it radically. The anti-Zionist campaign culminated in the drastic curtailment of commercial trade with Israel and the severing of all diplomatic relations with Israel by the USSR in February 1953.

Slánský's trial was followed by many others like it in other eastern bloc countries, as part of a pattern of intimidation of the Jewish population. A wave of arrests of Jewish activists and the announcement in the USSR of the Jewish Doctors' Plot (in January 1953) led many to believe that a new purge was in the offing, one that would mainly target Jews. The death of Stalin, however, eased the policy of repression and improved relations with the state of Israel, including the resumption of diplomatic relations. Emigration to Israel became possible again, and in Poland, some Jewish institutions were allowed to reestablish themselves (from 1955 to 1957). Nonetheless, an important precedent had been established. The Jews of Eastern Europe were suspect, especially in their supposed loyalties to the state of Israel. This situation made possible a repetition of officially sanctioned antisemitism by the Communist Party in Poland in 1967 and 1968 and by the eastern bloc in general in June 1967, when the Warsaw Pact countries (except for Romania) broke off diplomatic relations with Israel once more.

—Bożena Szaynok

John Kulczycki, translation

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Bulgaria, Holocaust in; Doctors' Plot; German Democratic Republic; Hungary, Pogroms in; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kielce Pogrom; Pauker, Ana; Poland; Purges, Soviet; Slánský Trial; Stalin, Joseph; USSR

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#### State-within-a-State

A common antisemitic slogan in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the phrase *state-within-a-state* was not originally used in reference to Jews. The term originated in eighteenth-century discussions about state sovereignty. For Enlightenment political theorists interested in increasingly centralized forms of state authority, the state's power was conceived to be absolute, linked to rights and privileges that, by definition, could not be shared with institutions such as the church, merchant and craft guilds, corporations, estates, and religious orders. Baron Jakob de Bielfeld, employed in the service of Frederick II of Prussia, used the term in this sense in his *Institutions politiques* (Political Institutions [1760]), making an explicit connection between this slogan and the state's claim to sovereignty. Like many others, de Bielfeld used the Latin version of the term—*status in statu*—lending this slogan the authority of classical legal discourse. In the eighteenth century, the term was used against an extremely diverse set of groups whose power was perceived to be at odds with that of the state. It was used against Jesuits, the Huguenots, Freemasons, craft guilds, nobility, and other corporations and religious orders that were under the protection of the state and perceived to limit individual freedom.

Before the emancipation of the Jews in the aftermath of the French Revolution, it would have made little sense to use this term against Jews. Jews were a religious-political minority existing at the margins of the state, not a state-within-a-state, and to use the term against them would have been an argument for granting them the rights and privileges of citizens. It was only when the Revolution abolished the rights and privileges of the estates and corporations and began moving toward granting Jews rights that the term began to be used in this context. In his often cited speech to the French National Assembly in December 1789, Count Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre argued that "everything should be denied to the Jews as a nation; everything should be granted to them as individuals. . . . It is impossible for them to be a nation within a nation" (in Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz 1995, 115). In his defense of the principles of the French Revolu-

tion, the German philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte prominently used this slogan in a distinctly antisemitic sense, to argue against Jewish emancipation. Fichte characterized the Jews as an example of a state-within-a-state whose alleged clannishness, misanthropy, and economic power were anathema to the ideals of human rights, legal equality, and human freedom. In the prolonged debates over Jewish emancipation in Germany and elsewhere, the term took on a life of its own, where it was frequently invoked as an argument against granting rights to Jews.

By the early nineteenth century, the term spread throughout Europe, primarily in relation to Jews, often without any reference to its original meaning. Jews followed—so went the logic—their own legal system and would never submit to the authority of the state. As a tightly knit social group with distinctive religious practices and disproportionate economic influence, Jews constituted a power base threatening state authority and the interests of the Christian majority. In Germany, the term appeared in the antisemitic writings of Karl Grattenauer, E. M. Arndt, Heinrich Paulus, Adolf Stoecker, and many others. Alphonse Toussenel and Édouard Drumont popularized it in France. It gained popularity in Romania, Hungary, and Russia, too, where Fyodor Dostoevsky cast the Jews as a state-within-a-state to argue against their emancipation.

—Jonathan M. Hess

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Drumont, Édouard; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Hungary; Romania; Russia, Imperial; Stoecker, Adolf; Toussenel, Alphonse

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## Stauff, Philipp (1876–1923)

Although of the humblest social origins, Georg Philipp Stauff enjoyed unwonted authority on

all the important questions of German life, at least among his closest friends and admirers in the *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) movement. The child of a blacksmith and a domestic servant, Stauff was born in Bavaria in 1876. He became a schoolteacher but gained public notoriety as a prolific writer of racist, nationalist, and antisemitic tracts, neglecting scarcely any of the topics of the day and publishing his views in a great variety of *völkisch* newspapers and journals. A tireless organizer on the German Right, he remained close to the successful antisemitic publisher Theodor Fritsch and wrote for his *Hammer* journal until his death in 1923.

Taking the antisemitic ideologue Eugen Dühring as his inspiration, Stauff conceived of Jewry as the most dangerous enemy of the German nation and the reason for Germany's multifaceted decline and fall. It was particularly in the realm of art and culture that Stauff detected the pernicious influence of the dominating Jews. To rescue German literature, theater, art, and journalism from certain destruction at their hands, he joined with Adolf Bartels in 1910 to establish a *völkisch* writers' association. Stauff's personal contribution to this effort was the *Semini-Kürschner*, a lexicon that identified the Jews in art, literature, politics, and the professions in order to provide incontrovertible proof to the German people that the aliens had achieved enormous power over them. Proceeding from these convictions, he wrote in a special 1912 issue of *Der Kunsthwart* (The Guardian of Art) that all Jewish organizations were working in concert toward a common goal, the subjection of Germany. Stauff became captive to ever more elaborate conspiracy theories, prompting him to launch a campaign for the introduction of an "Aryan certificate" (*Ariernachweis*) for all *völkisch*, nationalist, and conservative organizations. Whoever refused to go along with this plan, he threatened with all-out war.

After publishing his *German Defense Book* (*Deutsches Wehrbuch*), a guide to all the radical nationalist organizations, Stauff joined with Bartels and the writer Wilhelm Schäfer in 1913 to organize a highly publicized meeting of Germany's most important *völkisch* groupings. The gathering resulted in the creation of an umbrella

organization and a manifesto delivered to the German princes, calling on them to emancipate the German *Volk* from the Jews.

Stauff was a leading activist in the antisemitic Germanic Order and editor of its journal. He represented the order, closely linked to Fritsch's Imperial Hammer League, at the negotiations that led to the formation of the German Racial League for Defense and Defiance (in 1919), the most significant ultrarightist organization of the early postwar years. But by that time, Stauff had already begun to lose his influence in the *völkisch* movement. His obsessive dedication to the Ariosophy of Guido von List—he was president of the Guido von List Society until his death—went too far, even for those who normally had a high tolerance for *völkisch* mysticism. Health reasons also contributed to his withdrawal from politics after 1920. His death in Berlin was scarcely noticed.

—*Gregor Hufenreuter*  
*Richard S. Levy, translation*

**See also** Bartels, Adolf; Dühring, Eugen; Fritsch, Theodor; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Germanic Order; Imperial Hammer League; List, Guido von; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

**Reference**

Hufenreuter, Gregor. "Philipp Stauff (1876–1923): Leben und Wirken eines völkischen Funktionärs." Master's dissertation, Free University of Berlin, 2003.

## Stavisky Affair (1933–1934)

The scandal associated with the name Stavisky was the most important political *affaire* in interwar France, resulting in the resignation of Camille Chautemps and his cabinet in January 1934, the removal of the Paris prefect of police, and riots on the Place de la Concorde (on February 6, 1934) that led to the formation of the Popular Front to fight the rise of fascism in France. For those who opposed the liberal political system, Stavisky was a symbol of the corruption and inefficacy of key institutions in the republic, including the highest levels of government, the police, the judiciary, and the financial system. The case thus marks a significant moment in the demise of the Third Republic.

Sacha Stavisky was born in the Ukraine in 1886 and emigrated to France with his middle-class, Jewish family in 1889. His father set up a dental practice, and the family was naturalized by 1900. At a young age, Stavisky was drawn to the underworld of the theater, gambling, and nightclubs, cheating clients with a number of scams and trading on and then betraying their confidence in him. After serving a couple of short stints in jail, he refined his craft, which he plied under the name of Serge Alexandre, taking advantage of precisely those social classes that buttressed the Radical (left-liberal) government in power. Between 1927 and 1933, a case against him for fraud was postponed nineteen times, and he was the subject of forty-five police investigations, without ever being arrested.

Manipulating political and press connections, Stavisky engineered his most profitable scheme by first serving as an agent for bonds floated through *crédits municipaux* (pawnshops), and then urging workers to invest their social insurance funds in them by claiming that they were backed by the state, whereon he turned the bonds into cash by placing them with insurance companies and banks. First launched in Orléans in 1928, the fraud reached its grandest scale in Bayonne, where the operation led to the issuing of over 200 million francs' worth of valueless bonds, abetted by the city's mayor and its representative in the National Assembly. Several other prominent politicians had connections with the bank, and all suspects were supporters of the party in power, the Radicals, as was Stavisky's lawyer and the Paris public prosecutor responsible for delaying his case, who also happened to be the brother-in-law of the prime minister, Chautemps. On January 8, 1934, after two weeks of political uproar, Stavisky was found dead in the Alpine ski resort of Chamonix.

Newspapers on the Left and Right all claimed his suicide was, in fact, a political assassination intended to silence his revelations about the corruption at the heart of the "republic of virtue." Xenophobia mixed with antisemitism as the case became an *affaire* whose political reverberations depended on Stavisky's symbolic status. At the trial that was supposed to be the denouement of the scandal, at least one witness made a special



Sacha Stavisky at his trial with his confidential secretary, Gilbert Romgins, and his attorney, Maitre Zevals (1935). (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

point of the defendant's Jewishness, referring to him as one "who became French" and who had come "to us from . . . between the Urals and the Volga." Stavisky, the Jew, became a sign of the corruption of the state, the impotence of political liberalism, and the parasitism of financial exploitation. Thus, the right-wing leagues agitated for change, the Left denounced fascism, and the climate of civil war deepened in France.

—Jonathan Judaken

**See also** Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis; Fascist Intellectuals; France

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### Steiner, Rudolf (1861–1925)

Rudolf Steiner was born in Styria in 1861 and grew up in rural Austria. He attended primary and secondary school near Vienna and contin-

ued his studies at the Technical University of Vienna. Despite a strong interest in metaphysics and human spiritual development, Steiner worked in various academic occupations between 1884 and 1904, including a seven-year stint in the Goethe archives in the city of Weimar as editor for Goethe's scientific writings, and as a teacher at the Berlin Worker's School of Education.

Although he was familiar with the Theosophical teachings of Helena Blavatsky since the 1880s, it was not until around 1900 that Steiner became active in the German branch of the Theosophical Society. In 1913, he broke with the Theosophists to found the Anthroposophical Society. Whereas Theosophy relied heavily on Eastern mysticism and emphasized transcendence of the material world into the spiritual realm, Anthroposophy stressed the importance of the Western humanist tradition and recognized the significance of the material world as the counterpart to the spiritual. According to Steiner,

humanity stood between these two realms and thus held a special position in the divine plan of the universe.

For the last twelve years of his life, Steiner dedicated himself to the Anthroposophical movement, constructing a new headquarters for the society in Switzerland and lecturing extensively throughout Europe on social renewal, which he believed would occur through cooperation between the cultural, political, and economic spheres—a view that bears some resemblance to late twentieth-century American libertarianism. In 1919, Steiner founded the first Waldorf School in Stuttgart. Steiner's pedagogical system is alive and well today throughout the Western world and is seen by many as an alternative to traditional methods of education. Steiner died in 1925, leaving behind a literary legacy of 350 titles.

Despite charges of antisemitism by some late twentieth-century scholars and critics, there is no evidence that Steiner subscribed to such views. Apart from a brief period of rabid anti-British patriotism during World War I, Steiner was a vehement opponent of any sort of rigid nationalism because he felt it hindered acceptance of the idea that all people shared in the spiritual brotherhood of man. As a staunch proponent of human rights, he spoke out against antisemitism in his writings, including an article in favor of Alfred Dreyfus and several articles for the Berlin League against Antisemitism (Abwehr-Verein). Such activities earned him the enmity of the National Socialists, who began their first campaign against Steiner in the early 1920s, denouncing his movement as a corruption of the human spirit through its Jewish methodology.

Critiques of Steiner come, in part, because of his anti-Zionist position, which had more to do with his distaste for nationalistic movements than any distaste for Jews. Complaints have also been levied against him because of the actions of certain prominent right-wing, post-World War II Anthroposophists, such as Werner Haverbeck, a rabid nationalist and environmentalist, and Baldu<sup>r</sup> Springmann, a founder of the German Green Movement, who have used Steiner's copious and often conflicted writings for their own political agendas.

—Keith R. Green

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Blavatsky, Helena P.; Dreyfus Affair; League against Antisemitism; Theosophy

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### **Stoecker, Adolf (1835–1909)**

A controversial Lutheran minister, founder and charismatic leader of the Christian Social Party and the Berlin Movement, conservative agitator, and “tribune of the people,” Adolf Stoecker played a crucial role in the early history of political antisemitism in Germany. Born in Magdeburg in humble circumstances, he studied theology at Halle and Berlin and then worked as a private tutor for aristocratic families and as a country parson. In 1871, after the German victory over France, his patriotic sermons so impressed Kaiser Wilhelm I that he was appointed court and cathedral chaplain in Berlin in 1874. As leader of the City Mission from 1877, Stoecker confronted two related problems: the social misery of the lower classes in the heavily industrialized German capital and the rapidly continuing secularization of Protestants that was clearly evident in the low rates of baptism (65.8 percent) and church weddings (27.3 percent). To win the workers back to the church (and the monarchy), Stoecker concluded that it was necessary to resolve the social question through reforms and to confront the materialistic socialist party directly and politically. To this end, he established the Christian Social Worker’s Party in 1878. Its founding in Berlin, however, turned into a fiasco for Stoecker when socialist workers outvoted the assembly and passed an anti-Stoecker and prosocialist resolution. Stoecker never succeeded in winning over Berlin’s well-organized and ideologically steadfast working class to his Christian Conservative agenda.

Instead, small shopkeepers, artisans, officials, and traders, feeling the consequences of economic change, found Stoecker’s message attractive. After Stoecker added antisemitism to the

ideological mix, he soon began to draw a mass audience. Antisemitism offered a clear foe to the lower middle class in their economic struggle against liberal economic legislation and the competition of big capital and modern industry. Like other antisemites active at the time, Stoecker considered the Jewish Question to be the key to all political, social, and cultural ills of modern life. His “enemy” was no longer the religious Jew but the modern secular Jew, whom he represented as arrogant, intolerant, and “un-German.” To present his movement as moderate and law-abiding, Stoecker distanced himself from the rowdy antisemitism (*Radauantisemitismus*) that was taking root in the capital and the provinces. But his anti-Jewish rhetoric was moderate only in comparison to that of the rowdies. Stoecker was not averse to using racist clichés, such as Jewish “parasitism” and the “poisoning of German blood.”

Despite his oratorical ability and his appeal to the masses, he achieved only limited success as a politician. It is true that his Christian Social movement was instrumental in increasing the conservative share of votes in Berlin during the early 1880s and in integrating the lower middle class into the conservative camp, but it did not dislodge the dominant Left-liberals and socialists in the German capital. Stoecker sat in the Prussian parliament (from 1879 to 1898) and the Reichstag (from 1881 to 1893 and 1898 to 1909) but was elected in the Westphalian backwaters rather than in Berlin. Otto von Bismarck found him a problematic ally: he tolerated him as long as he seemed a useful foil in the political fight against Left-liberalism, but when the Berlin Movement turned out to be a failure, Bismarck immediately withdrew his support. Stoecker’s involvement in an ultraconservative plot against the chancellor resulted in his forced suspension from political activities. After being dismissed as court chaplain in 1890, he made a short-lived comeback as a party politician. He succeeded in pressuring the German Conservative Party to adopt an antisemitic clause in its Tivoli Program of 1892. Nevertheless, his power was waning. During the 1890s, he increasingly lost control over the political movements he had founded. Within the antisemitic movement, radicals such as Otto Böckel set the tone. In the Christian Social move-

ment, his position was challenged by young liberals, including Friedrich Naumann, who advocated genuine reforms and renounced antisemitism. Meanwhile the reactionary big landowners in the German Conservative Party found Stoecker’s reform ideas unacceptable for another reason. His program was too “socialistic.” The Conservatives broke off the alliance with the Christian Social Party in 1896. After that, Stoecker, largely isolated, never recovered his political influence.

His significance in the history of antisemitism was not limited to party politics, however. With his reputation as court chaplain and the apparent moderation of his anti-Jewish agenda, he was instrumental in making antisemitism respectable for the middle class and within the Protestant Church. He transformed the tradition of Christian Judeophobia into a modern ideology by combining it with antiliberalism, anticapitalism, antimodernism, and chauvinist nationalism.

—Christhard Hoffmann

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Berlin Movement; Böckel, Otto; Christian Social Party (Germany); Henrici, Ernst; Liebermann von Sonnenberg, Max; Marr, Wilhelm; *Our Demands on Modern Jewry*; Tivoli Program

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## Streicher, Julius (1885–1946)

Julius Streicher was the most notorious, though not the most deadly, Nazi antisemite. He is best known as the founder and editor of *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer, published in Nuremberg from 1923 to 1945). Streicher was born in Fleinhausen, a rural village near Augsburg, the ninth child of the village schoolmaster. He attended a teacher training institute and after several teaching jobs was hired by the Nuremberg school system in 1909. He served with distinction in World War I and returned to Nuremberg in 1918 to find the structure of his world in ruins.

He began looking for reasons. He had had

some antisemitic contacts before the war, but he now attended meetings of antisemitic organizations and read books such as Theodor Fritsch's *Handbook of the Jewish Question*. After finding the antisemitic organizations insufficiently radical, he took his personal following of about 5,000 into Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party in October 1922. Hitler never forgot Streicher's early loyalty, which gave him a critical boost. Streicher became *Gauleiter* (regional Nazi leader) of Franconia and was elected to the Bavarian parliament on the Nazi ticket in 1928 and to the Reichstag in 1932.

In May 1923, he published the first issue of *Der Stürmer*, primarily as a way to carry out his personal political battles. It quickly became a crude Jew-baiting weekly, which carried the wildest antisemitic charges and particularly featured reports on Jews accused of sexual crimes.

After 1933, Streicher had the blessing of Adolf Hitler to expand his antisemitic publishing empire. The circulation of *Der Stürmer* rose to about 500,000. He published a variety of antisemitic books, including some particularly vicious illustrated children's books. He also spoke to mass meetings throughout Germany and took pleasure in being called "World Jew-Baiter #1" or the "biggest bigot in the world" by the foreign press. Nuremberg was the site of the annual national rally of the Nazi Party, which added to Streicher's influence and visibility.

His extremism made him enemies even among many Nazis, but Hitler protected him. When a major financial scandal in Nuremberg, resulting from the expropriation of Jewish property after the 1938 pogroms, forced Streicher's removal as *Gauleiter*, Hitler personally guaranteed that Streicher could retire to his country estate and that he would have the resources to continue publishing his newspaper.

Captured by the Americans in 1945, Streicher was tried as one of the major war criminals at the Nuremberg trials. He claimed that his calls for annihilation (for example, his statement that "the causes of the world's misfortunes will be forever removed only when Jewry in its entirety is annihilated") (in Bytwerk 2001, 169) were simply rhetorical responses to Jewish attacks on Germany and that he had not known about the Holocaust. The tribunal sentenced him to death

by hanging. There was some controversy about the sentence, since Streicher was convicted not of any particular act of violence but rather for propaganda that "poisoned the minds of a nation." Nonetheless, it is clear that even if Streicher may not have been responsible for any specific death, his twenty-five years of passionate antisemitism contributed to the increasing radicalization of Nazi antisemitism.

—Randall L. Bytwerk

*See also* Aryanization; Fritsch, Theodor; *Handbook of the Jewish Question*; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); *Stürmer, Der*

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## Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), founded in 1960 by leaders of the lunch-counter sit-in movement, spearheaded many of the direct-action protests of the civil rights era in the United States. In its early years, SNCC enjoyed widespread Jewish support, especially during the "Freedom Summer" of 1964 when hundreds of northern Jewish college students journeyed to the South in an impressive interracial movement for civil equality.

By the mid-1960s, growing frustration with the pace of civil rights reform led to a schism between accommodationist civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and a group of younger, nationalist-minded African American activists. In a bitterly contested 1966 vote, the nationalists, under the leadership of Black Power advocate Stokely Carmichael, took control of SNCC and distanced themselves from the non-violent strategies of King. Eventually adopting a new name that replaced the word *nonviolent*, the Student National Coordinating Committee purged whites and Jews from leadership positions and joined a larger leftist movement for social revolution. As SNCC's "Position Paper on

Black Power” stated, “If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people.”

In the wake of Israel’s victory in the 1967 Six Days’ War, SNCC launched an anti-Zionist campaign loaded with antisemitic imagery, wild claims, and threatening slogans, issuing from the highest leadership circles of the organization. Tensions with the leadership of Jewish organizations peaked when SNCC newsletter illustrator Kofi Bailey drew a picture of an Israeli firing squad shooting a group of Arabs. The caption read, “This is the Gaza Strip, Palestine, not Dachau, Germany” (Dollinger 2000, 200–202). Although some SNCC officers distanced themselves from the article and illustration, the pieces galvanized SNCC’s pro-Palestinian position and hastened the end of any meaningful Jewish organizational support.

In the late 1960s, SNCC leaders traveled the world, adopting an internationalist platform that strove to connect the struggle of African Americans to revolutionary regimes in Cuba, North Vietnam, and Moscow. On the domestic front, SNCC allied itself with the emerging Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Its policy of racial separation intensified, especially after the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. By 1970, decimated by police crackdowns on its violent behavior as well as by political infighting, SNCC ceased to function as a meaningful national organization.

—Marc Dollinger

**See also** African American–Jewish Relations; Anti-Zionism; Black Nationalism

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### **Stürmer, Der**

*Der Stürmer* (The Stormer), an antisemitic weekly published by Julius Streicher from 1923

to 1945, was the most notorious newspaper ever published. Adolf Hitler himself claimed to read it faithfully, and it provided a virtual gathering place for the most energetic of Nazi antisemites. Streicher began the newspaper in 1923 as part of his personal political battles. It quickly developed into a weekly devoted almost entirely to rousing hatred against the Jews. Despite frequent legal difficulties, it reached a modest circulation of about 25,000 by the time Hitler took power in 1933. But then, with the full support of Hitler, *Der Stürmer*’s circulation rose to about 500,000 by 1935. Special editions on such topics as Jewish sexual crimes or ritual murder had print runs as high as 2 million. Loyal readers built thousands of showcases throughout Germany to display each new issue.

*Der Stürmer* intentionally pandered to the crudest in the antisemitic movement. Filled with stories of sexual crimes, financial corruption, and misdeeds of every imaginable kind, each issue presented Jews as, literally, the devil in human form. The newspaper’s banner motto on the cover of nearly every issue was “The Jews are our misfortune.” Caricatures by Streicher’s cartoonist Fips (Philipp Rupprecht) were a striking element of each issue. Fips presented Jews as ugly, fat, dirty, sex-obsessed, and evil individuals.

*Der Stürmer* had a relatively small staff. Much material came from readers, who denounced not only many Jews but also their non-Jewish acquaintances for such offenses as being courteous to a Jew, attending the funeral of a Jewish neighbor, or buying from a Jewish shop. At least 6,500 non-Jews were attacked by name for being “traitors to the German race.” Articles of this type had an intimidating effect on other Germans, who chose to avoid Jews rather than risk being pilloried by *Der Stürmer*.

The paper favored increasingly radical solutions to the Jewish Question. When the 1935 Nuremberg Laws met *Der Stürmer*’s demands to outlaw sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews, the paper began calling for the death penalty in cases of miscegenation. In the 1930s, it joined in calls to deport all Jews to Madagascar or a similar remote location, but by the early war years, it was regularly calling for the annihilation of the Jews. Although *Der Stürmer* ap-

pealed to the most rabid antisemites in Hitler's Germany, it also provided an alibi for those who were less passionate, as they could and did pride themselves on being more moderate antisemites than the people who read *Der Stürmer*. The final issue of the paper appeared in February 1945.

—Randall L. Bytwerk

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Hitler, Adolf; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nuremberg Laws; Streicher, Julius; Weimar

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## Stuyvesant, Peter (1592–1672)

Petrus (Peter) Stuyvesant served as director-general of the Dutch West India Company's colony in North America from 1647 until the English seized it to create the colony of New York in 1664. Stuyvesant opposed the idea of allowing Jews to settle in New Netherland—and he also objected to the presence of Lutherans and Quakers. Religious zealotry was not the director-general's sole motive for wishing to deny them entrance, for Stuyvesant wrote that "to give liberty to the Jews will be very detrimental there because Christians there will not be able at the same time to do business" (in Marcus 1970, 1121). The twenty-three Jews who fled the Portuguese in Brazil and arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654 were ordered out by Stuyvesant. They petitioned the company's directors, promising that they would add to the well-being of the fledgling colony and to its economic health, as well. The directors took them at their word, and when influential Jewish merchants brought pressure to bear on the company back home in Amsterdam, Stuyvesant was ordered to allow the refugees to remain as long as they did not receive any poor relief. The directors indicated that the Jews were to be allowed to trade freely and acquire land, although they restricted their economic activities in other ways, and ruled that

they were to settle in their own community and worship in private. Stuyvesant, on his own authority, decided further that the Jews would not be allowed to trade with the Indians or to conduct business on the Hudson River.

Stuyvesant and the provincial council ignored the company's official position and continued to harass the newcomers. A merchant named Abraham De Lucena was arrested in March 1655 for retailing and for opening his store during a Sunday sermon. He was fined a sum many times greater than a Christian would have faced for a similar offense, although he was apparently never forced to pay it. Another merchant, named David Ferera, was arrested for insulting a bailiff, and he, too, was heavily fined and faced a public flogging and banishment. In the end, the fine was substantially reduced, and he remained in town unharmed. New Amsterdam's leaders long refused to allow Jews to establish their own cemetery, finally giving in but setting aside land outside the town's boundaries. Stuyvesant would not allow Jews to serve in the militia but taxed them for its support instead. By 1656, the Dutch West India Company had sent stern enough reprimands to make Stuyvesant back off to a certain extent. Jews could at last trade freely and own land, although both Stuyvesant and the company remained adamant that Jews (and all other non-Calvinists) be forbidden to worship in public.

—Kim M. Gruenwald

**See also** Colonial America; Emancipation; Slave Trade and the Jews

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## Sudeten Germans

With the end of World War I, about 3.2 million Germans from the Bohemian lands found themselves reduced from a leading political and social group in the Habsburg monarchy to a minority in the new state of Czechoslovakia. Some of their prominent politicians wanted to better the situation of the minority by cooperating with

the Czechoslovak authorities and joined the government coalition in 1926. The German National Socialist Workers' Party (DNSAP) rejected this approach and remained determinedly hostile toward the new situation.

In the 1930s, the Great Depression increased German-Czech tensions. Reacting to divisive and aggressive Nazi propaganda, the government banned the most ardent followers of Nazism, including the DNSAP. Konrad Henlein, the leader of a Sudeten German gymnastics organization, responded by founding the Home Front; renamed the Sudeten German Party (SGP) in 1935, it won two-thirds of the German votes in the elections held that year. Complete separation from Czechoslovakia was high on its agenda only after Henlein had been instructed by Hitler in November 1937 to make "impossible" demands on the Prague government. The ensuing crisis led to the Munich Pact of September 1938. Germany annexed the Sudetenland and appointed Henlein district leader (*Gauleiter* and *Reichsstatthalter*).

During the crisis in 1938, latent antisemitism turned violent: shops were demolished, towns were declared "Free of Jews," and "wild Aryanizations" took place. In late 1938 and early 1939, these expropriations were legalized retroactively, but further unauthorized steps were prohibited in favor of more systematic spoliation. The largest share of the booty went to principal banks and big businesses in the Old Reich, but Sudeten Germans also profited, accumulating an estimated 12 percent of Jewish assets (valued at 48 million of the 400 million reichsmarks total). The elimination of competition from Jewish handicraft and retail businesses was an added benefit. Other and related anti-Jewish policies enacted locally in the Sudeten district followed the national pattern: generally, the Jewish population was to be pressured to emigrate while leaving the remnants of its property behind. This goal was achieved quickly in the Sudeten district. In 1930, 27,000 Jews had lived in the area; by May 1939, the number had dwindled to 2,300.

Recent research suggests a degree of ambivalence concerning the attitude of the Sudeten Germans toward the Third Reich. The Security Service reported complaints regarding second-class

treatment and neglect. Some Sudeten Germans had hoped for autonomy but instead witnessed the "coordination" of their region into the Reich. Others had urged the expulsion of the large Czech minority but were vetoed because Berlin did not want to disturb military production in the Protectorate. Yet the Sudeten district was one of the strongest in terms of membership in the Nazi Party. Although an overwhelming majority of the population voiced its approval with being part of the Reich in a plebiscite in December 1938, discontent with Berlin's control of the district, but not with Nazism per se, continued.

—Tatjana Tönsmeyer

*See also* Aryanization; Göring, Hermann; Hitler, Adolf; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Versailles Treaty

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## Supersessionism

The term *supersessionism* refers to any of a variety of Christian theological traditions claiming the Christian church has superseded the people Israel in the divine covenant (*b'rith* in Hebrew) made with Abraham and his descendants—initially described in Genesis 12:1–3 and expanded and reiterated in Genesis 13:14–17, 15:4–5, 17, and 22:15–19. The covenant enjoined Abraham to obey God's commandments and promised a reward for doing so; Christians claim that Jesus fulfilled the commandments. Some Christian churches teach "exclusivism" or "substitution": that the Christian church entirely replaced the people Israel with a new covenant (or "testament"—the Greek *diatheke*) announced during the Last Supper (Matthew 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; 1 Corinthians 11:25) and fulfilled in Jesus' death and resurrection. Others believe

that Christianity represents a new covenant grafted onto but superseding the original covenant; this strand may include beliefs that the covenant with Abraham was legitimate in itself or that the covenant of Abraham was always intended to be superseded by the new covenant in Jesus. Still other churches teach that God's covenant with the Christian church is an additional, complementary covenant operating parallel to the covenant of Genesis (sometimes called "two-covenant theology"). In his Epistle to the Romans (especially chapters 9 to 11), the apostle Paul ponders the failure of Jews to accept Jesus as the Messiah, naming Christians as the spiritual heirs to the covenant of the Israelites as twigs are grafted to a root (Romans 11:17–21). Paul emphasized that God had not broken his covenant with Israel and that Israel, if presently excluded from salvation, would be regrafted to the root of salvation if it did not persist in unbelief. Exclusivism permeates the Gospels (which mainstream biblical scholarship suggests postdate the Pauline epistles) but is particularly strong in Matthew 1–2, in which messianic prophecies drawn from Isaiah and other prophets were interpreted to apply to Jesus. Traditionally, Pauline regrafting is supported via beliefs about the conversion of the Jews before the end of time as described in Revelation.

Though the relationship of the church to the people Israel is ambiguous in the New Testament, exclusivist supersessionism was characteristic of orthodox forms of Christianity from 325 CE until relatively recently. Supersessionism in the early church was concretized through the Christian assumption of the Hebrew Scriptures, or *Tanakh*, into its scriptural canon as the Old Testament. Church fathers including Augustine and John Chrysostom wrote about it. In the Middle Ages, supersessionism contributed to typology, a theological practice that interpreted the Bible based on symbolic prefiguration of certain events of the New Testament in the *Tanakh* (for example, "the Fall" into sin prefigured Jesus' crucifixion). Supersessionism was symbolized in medieval and Renaissance art through the contrasting figures of *Synagoga* (usually portrayed with a blindfold to symbolize the refusal of the Jews to acknowledge the new covenant) and *Ecclesia* (See

illustration in Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early). Though scholarship emphasizes distinctions between anti-Judaism based on supersession and racial or cultural antisemitism, supersessionism resulted in persecutions of the Jews. Protestant Reformers such as John Calvin and Martin Luther embraced it. Early anti-Trinitarian opposition to supersessionism was quickly suppressed as heretical by both Catholic and Protestant authorities. John Wesley introduced supersessionism into modern Protestantism. This tradition led Christians to speak of themselves as "the new Israel," a trope with variations saturating Christian literature and culture that includes a rhetorical equation between Israelites, sinners, and Christianity.

Christian rejection of supersessionism was rare before the twentieth century. Two modern motivations for its rejection are dispensationalism and post-Holocaust theology. After the Shoah, numerous Christian theologians recognized the destructive consequences of supersessionism. Several major church bodies under the aegis of the World Council of Churches have issued statements validating the divine covenant with Israel and asserting that Jews can find salvation through the Abrahamic covenant. Statements of the Roman Catholic Church since 1965 have retracted anti-Jewish teachings but have recently withdrawn from rejecting the need for mission to the Jews.

Dispensationalists, in contrast, though insisting that belief in Jesus is necessary for salvation, teach that the Christian covenant is temporary, to last until the Jews recognize Jesus during the Great Tribulation. After time ends, in this view, a further covenant will apply. Dispensationalist sentiment frequently creates modern evangelical support in America for Israel. Many church bodies, including the Eastern Orthodox churches as well as some evangelical and fundamentalist groups, however, continue to teach exclusivist supersessionism and support missions to the Jews. Both exclusivists and dispensationalists support messianic Judaism, a movement that seeks to bring observant Jews to a complementary belief in Jesus. All major Jewish groups today reject supersessionism.

—Susan R. Boettcher

*See also* Augustine of Hippo; Chrysostom, John; Gospels; Iconography, Christian; Luther, Martin; Paul; Vatican Council, Second



Svengali mesmerizes Trilby. Svengali, the unsavory hypnotist, personified antisemitic fears of the secret infiltration of Jewish power. (Mary Evans Picture Library)

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#### Svengali

Svengali is the sinister and fascinating Jewish villain at the center of *Trilby* (1894) by the popular Anglo-French novelist and illustrator George

Du Maurier. The story concerns three British artists living the bohemian life in Paris—Taffy, a Welshman; the Laird, a Scotsman; and Little Billee, an Englishman. All are struck by the beauty of the working-class artists' model Trilby O'Ferrall and hope to reform and elevate her. Instead of being saved by the British, however, Trilby falls under the spell of Svengali, a ghetto-born Jewish musician, who seeks power over women and gentiles. Little Billee's love for Trilby is thwarted by his family, who persuade her to forsake him to preserve his respectability. Five years later, he has risen to a brilliant but empty career as a society painter, and Trilby, once tone-deaf, is transformed by Svengali's hypnotism into

the greatest opera singer in Europe. During a concert in London, Svengali dies and Trilby's talent disappears. She has no memory of her life as a singer and pines away, momentarily reviving at the sight of a photograph of Svengali.

Svengali is the nightmare of fin-de-siècle Europe, "a sticky, haunting, long, lean, uncanny, black spider-cat, if there is such an animal outside a bad dream." Apart from his redeeming musical genius, he is thoroughly villainous: "Svengali walking up and down the earth seeking whom he might cheat, betray, exploit, borrow money from, make brutal fun of, bully if he dared, cringe to if he must—man, woman, child, or dog—was about as bad as they make 'em." Motivated by a vengeful lust for domination, he is finally driven to a furious and fatal frenzy by Taffy pulling his nose in public to humiliate him. Svengali the hypnotist, with his "bold, brilliant black eyes" and "long heavy lids," is also a personification of antisemitic fears of the secret infiltration of Jewish power.

The runaway best-selling novel perhaps drew on popular representations during the 1870s of Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, who was frequently portrayed as an oriental wizard holding the nation in his thrall. Disraeli himself had claimed in *Coningsby* (1844) that Jews possessed a unique genius for music. Svengali's charisma recalls the sinister influence over women held by Dickens's Fagin, a Jew (*Oliver Twist*, [1838]), and Jasper Bud, a musician (*The Mystery of Edwin Drood* [1870]). Also circulating in the novel's representation of Svengali is the charge by Richard Wagner that Jews could only ever be parasites, profiting from music but never creating it. The greedy, predatory, and gross-mannered Svengali, however, is both the agent of sublime transformation and its antithesis.

Yet the novel blurs the boundaries between Jew and non-Jew, especially in its suggestion that one requirement for artistic genius is "that strong, sturdy, irrepressible, indomitable, indelible [Jewish] blood which is of such priceless value in diluted homeopathic doses."

—Nadia Valman

**See also** Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Disraeli, Benjamin; Dracula; English Literature from

Chaucer to Wells; *Judaism in Music; Ostjuden*;

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## Sweden

Scattered Jewish settlements in Sweden date from as early as the sixteenth century, and a number of anti-Jewish laws and decrees were issued then and in the following century. Organized Jewish immigration on a somewhat larger scale started with the settlement of the engraver Aron Isaac and his family in Stockholm in 1774. Aron Isaac was allowed to settle there under a royal protective decree, which was expanded in 1775 to include other Jewish families "of use to the crown and country." The growth of Jewish immigration to Sweden by the late eighteenth century produced strong antisemitic sentiments in the populace, despite the fact that the Jewish minority was very small; in 1787, the Jewish population in the whole country was less than 150 people, and in 1815, the official number stood at only 785. Moreover, the conditions for settlement were highly regulated. Antisemitic propaganda in that era was particularly strong among the bourgeoisie and the Lutheran clergy, and it was often intertwined with anti-Catholic writings.

In 1815, Jewish immigration to Sweden came to a virtual halt. The reason for this was allegedly to solve the problem of "beggar Jews," illegal immigrants who had arrived in Sweden in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and who lived as peddlers. These strict immigration laws remained in place until 1870, when Swedish Jews were granted full citizenship and Jewish immigration resumed.

The Jewish minority in Sweden has always been small and, since the latter part of the nineteenth century, well assimilated. Despite this, the extent and content of antisemitism in Sweden closely parallels that of continental Europe, with one exception. The depression that hit most of Europe in the 1870s and resulted in a wave of antisemitic propaganda did not hit as hard in Swe-

den, which may help to explain the relative lack of antisemitic propaganda in the 1870s and 1880s. Clearly articulated economic antisemitism, however, started to emerge in the last decade of the nineteenth century within the various retail trade organizations. Again, the issue was the “unlawful competition from Jewish peddlars,” and the argument was, for the most part, centered around what can be described as “the Shylock stereotype” and therefore was contained within a primarily economic context initially. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, antisemitism in Sweden began to register the influence of *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) ideology and literature coming out of Germany, especially the writings and ideas of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Julius Langbehn.

The first antisemitic association in Sweden, the Svenska Antisemittiska Förbundet (Swedish Antisemitic League), was founded in Stockholm in 1889. This organization was followed by numerous other clubs and societies until the 1930s. The general founding myth of organized antisemitism was the notion of a threatening Jewish world conspiracy, a myth that was also present within some of the trade organizations. One particular feature of Swedish antisemitism in the first decades of the twentieth century was its strong affinity with “racial science” and physical anthropology, areas of study that had a strong standing in Sweden at the time.

Organized antisemitism never became very successful in Sweden, but antisemitic rhetoric and symbolism was nevertheless widely known and tolerated. Evidence of this can be found, for instance, in the widespread popular comic press, which, during the first three decades of the twentieth century, was more or less laden with antisemitic stereotypes. Antisemitic trends are also discernible in the public debate on immigration and the enforcement of strict immigration regulations until the early 1940s. These attitudes had serious consequences. Despite a temporary relaxation of the immigration policies in the autumn of 1938, following the November pogrom (Night of Broken Glass), for instance, almost 50 percent of the 1,748 applications for residence permits from German citizens, almost all Jews, were denied by the Swedish government.

The most significant antisemitic organization in interwar Sweden was the Swedish Antisemitic Association, which was founded in Gothenburg in 1923 by the newspaper editor Barthold Lundén, who was also its main driving force. The association, which peaked at about 1,500 members, dissolved in 1931 because of Lundén’s ill health and a lack of popular support for the organization. It was the first Swedish organization that used the swastika, and among its members were some of the future leaders of Swedish Nazism. Its most prominent member, however, was Hermann Göring, who belonged during his Swedish exile in the 1920s. Among the association’s demands were a halt on Jewish immigration (and repatriation of newly immigrated Jews), occupational regulations, restrictions on “Jewish capital,” and the enforcement of laws against intermarriage.

Antisemitism was present within all forms of fascism in Sweden during the 1930s. However, the most aggressive and far-reaching antisemitic propaganda was voiced not from within a national socialist framework but by politically independent individuals such as Elof Eriksson and Einar Åberg. Within Swedish Nazism, antisemitism was perceived as a predominantly racial issue rather than a cultural or religious one, and the notion of the Jewish world conspiracy was relatively muted in native Nazi propaganda. The Nazi movement in Sweden thus differed somewhat from its German counterpart, even if it is clear that antisemitism was a fundamental element for Swedish Nazism as well.

The revelations of the Final Solution that accompanied the end of World War II placed a strong taboo on expressing antisemitic sentiments in public in Sweden. During the last phase of the war when it became obvious that Nazi Germany would be defeated, the country had opened its borders to Jews and other refugees, starting with the reception of the Danish Jews in October 1943. The postwar period has thus been dominated by an anti-antisemitic consensus, which recently expressed itself, to name but one example, in the organization of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust in the year 2000.

Antisemitism has, however, survived in a more virulent form within the plethora of ultra-

nationalist, fascist, and White Power groups. As a less virulent and “semiconscious” cultural phenomenon, it has also occasionally surfaced in the broader public sphere, especially in relation to the debate on Israel and the Palestinians; as such, it has often been intertwined with anti-Zionist sentiments.

—Lena Berggren

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Court Jews; Göring, Hermann; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Racism, Scientific; Reformation; Shylock; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology

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## Switzerland

Jewish life in Switzerland predates the foundation of the Swiss Confederation in 1291. Swiss persecutions of Jews, ranging from expulsions to burnings, match the waves of maltreatment that swept central and western Europe, in particular during the Black Plague of the fourteenth century. However, local edicts sometimes collided with those of the Federal Diet, which made careful distinctions. In one case in 1658, the parliament rejected a town’s request to expel Jews, banning the expulsion of people who had initially received refuge but also forbidding Jewish residents from taking in coreligionists other than their children. Several cantons also agreed to extend temporary, though renewable, letters of protection allowing Jewish residency and trade in certain areas. Yet further restrictions on residency and land purchase meant that by the eighteenth century, Jews could only reside in Lengnau and Oberendingen, communities of eastern Switzerland (canton Aargau).

The French Revolution and the invasion of Switzerland by Napoleonic forces changed this state of affairs. Special taxes were canceled by petition in 1798, and the following year, Jews

gained the status of foreigners living in the republic, with freedom of movement and trade, although without civic equality. New communities began to thrive, especially in canton Aargau, but this caused considerable resentment among the local population. In 1802, after the French occupation ended, a local conflict led to the sacking of two Jewish villages there. This and other incidents prompted political discussions in the Diet, which conferred on each canton the right to decide on the status of its Jews. In the case of Aargau, the law of May 5, 1809, actually reduced the Jew’s status from citizen to protected subject.

During the nineteenth century, as cantons slowly moved to emancipate Jews, federal authorities, who oversaw the establishment of a new constitution in 1848, faced pressure from abroad to enforce equality among Swiss citizens and to revise articles 41 (on the freedom to reside) and 44 (on freedom of religion) to include Jews and Judaism. These revisions became law only in the 1874 constitution, and it was not until five years later that the Jews of Aargau gained full equality. In 1893, however, the federal constitution was amended to ban kosher slaughtering, which many saw as a retreat from full equality and some Jews regarded as an attack on the free practice of their religion.

The presence of radical leftist refugees and a large number of eastern European Jews (55 percent of all Jews in Switzerland were foreigners) began adversely affecting Swiss opinion during World War I. Swiss antisemitism in the 1920s remained mostly a mix of religious and xenophobic regionalism, although Henry Ford’s *The International Jew*, as well as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, enjoyed some popularity. Still, antisemitic tendencies remained relatively marginal.

Things changed radically in the 1930s, with the advent of the *Frontenfrühling* (the spring of the fronts), whose members, referred to as Frontists, targeted foreigners, left-wingers, and Jews, playing on popular fears of communism. When Frontists distributed copies of the *Protocols* in 1933, their agitation led to a court challenge the following year. The world economic depression, as well as various incidents involving Nazi groups in Switzerland, fed antisemitic rancor. For example, the assassination of Nazi official Wilhelm

Gustloff in Switzerland by a Jewish student in February 1936 prompted heavy Nazi and Frontist propaganda claiming a conspiracy. Overall, however, dislike of Nazi Germany among the Swiss was a powerful factor working to contain antisemitic propaganda in the country.

Nevertheless, the ambient presence of antisemitic feelings succeeded in permeating much of the public. The tone of Swiss antisemitism, as reflected in the literature and movies of the time, was less crass than that of contemporary France or Germany. Switzerland's bourgeois social mores militated against open association with rowdy populist antisemites and encouraged polite, if distant, dealings with educated Jews, who were generally seen as contributing to the cultural life of the nation. Yet such ambivalence in the social sphere gave way to a hard line when it came to politics.

In the late 1930s, the penetration of antisemitism into government circles doubtless contributed to associating any refugee problems with Jews seeking to leave German-controlled territories. The fear of *Verjudung* (Jewification) led to the imposition of the J Stamp in 1938 and also to the closing of the nation's borders in August 1942—after the fact of the Holocaust had become known. By spring 1942, the Swiss consul in Cologne had obtained photographs of Jewish massacres; despite this intelligence, the authorities stood by their original decision to close the borders. Switzerland took in some Jewish refugees, some of whom later recalled being subjected to antisemitic measures by the officers and soldiers in charge of refugee camps. The head-in-the-sand attitude of the Swiss government concerning knowledge of the Holocaust and its callous refusal to alter its policies overshadowed the actions of a few Swiss who sought to circumvent the law in favor of humanity. Many such rescuers suffered legal consequences and were not rehabilitated until the late 1990s.

After World War II, antisemitism generally diminished, as reflected, in part, in a sentiment of small-state kinship for Israel that carried into the 1970s. But the Palestinian-Israeli conflicts of the late 1980s and 1990s and the eruption of the Swiss banking scandal in 1995 reinvigorated old stereotypes and misperceptions. Even though

seemingly fully integrated, Swiss Jews are still considered by many to form a separate group. Antisemitic feelings in Switzerland are similar to those found in the rest of Western Europe but are both more ambiguous in their expression and more pervasive historically, reflecting a general discomfort with outsiders rather than a specific anti-Jewishness. Political events, such as those of the late twentieth century, can summon up such feelings with seeming ease.

The national reexamination of Switzerland's role in World War II, however, has led to some hopeful signs of change; innovative educational efforts and tolerance campaigns may help diminish some traditional antisemitic attitudes, although they will probably not overcome them entirely. Evidence of a new orientation is an amendment to the constitution that went into effect in 1995; it includes sanctions for denying crimes against humanity and inciting racial, ethnic, or religious hatred.

—Guillaume de Syon

*See also* Dearborn Independent and *The International Jew*; Emancipation; Expulsions, Late Middle Ages; J Stamp; Kosher Slaughtering; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on Trial; Restitution; *Verjudung*

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## Szalasi, Ferenc (1897–1946)

Commissioned a Hungarian army officer in 1915, Ferenc Szalasi was elevated to the General Staff in 1925 and promoted to major in 1933. Szalasi was an extreme nationalist and xenophobe, fervent Christian and antisemite, and rabid anticommunist and irredentist, and in the early 1930s, he began to advocate the conversion of Hungary into a fascist state, the Great Fatherland of Carpatho-Danubia.

Szalasi resigned his commission in 1935 and

quickly established his first political vehicle, the Party of National Will (PNW), a group that appealed mainly to alienated elements and the lower echelons of Hungarian society. In April 1937, the government, increasingly anxious at the ultra-Right's growing power, dissolved the PNW and sentenced Szalasi to three months in prison, a counterproductive move that elevated his profile and influence throughout Hungary. Taking advantage of his enhanced stature, he united the PNW with several rival groups to form the Hungarian National Socialist Party in October 1937. Shortly thereafter, the government banned the party and placed him, together with seventy other ultrarightists, under surveillance. These measures were undermined by Hitler's foreign policy triumphs, which boosted the prestige of the radical Right in Hungary. Antisemitic legislation of increasing severity was the government's response to its waning popularity, an unsuccessful attempt to curry favor with Hungarians moving ever further to the Right. The (anti-) Jewish Laws of 1938, 1939, and 1941 were predictably dismissed by the ultras as inadequate.

In August 1938, Szalasi was charged with sedition, convicted, and sentenced to three years of hard labor. In late 1939, while he was still in jail, his party was once again banned because of its bombing of Budapest's ornate Dohany Street synagogue, the largest in Europe. By the time of Szalasi's release in September 1940, the party had grown, notwithstanding his absence, to approximately 110,000 members, up from 8,000 in 1935. Although he was genuinely popular in Hungary, he lacked the charisma of the dictators of Germany, Italy, and Spain. He also did not possess the skill and vision to overcome the country's numerous, continually squabbling ultra-Right parties. A deep schism separated Hungarist (xenophobic) hegemonists, who admired the Nazis but feared Germany's territorial ambitions, and the "Aryan" supremacists, who idealized the Third Reich, idolized Hitler, and believed in a Hungarian-German common destiny. Despite political and ideological divisions and often bitter clashes among rival leaders, the ultra-Right eventually settled into two broad groupings: one largely made up of businesspeople and professionals engaged in fierce

competition with their Jewish counterparts and the other composed of lower-class and dispossessed individuals who advocated a comprehensive socioeconomic and political restructuring of Hungary. Extreme antisemitism and irredentism were the integrating factors that helped to gloss over some of these conflicts.

The sudden and unexpected German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 caused a political upheaval. Nazi interference in Hungarian affairs grew ever more blatant. Outraged by Miklós Horthy's attempted armistice with the USSR on October 15, 1944, the Germans implemented their political option of last resort. Horthy was overthrown, and Ferenc Szalasi and his cohorts in the Nyilas (Arrow Cross) Party (a generic term for the ultra-Right) were put into power. Throughout Szalasi's brief but slavishly pro-Nazi regime, Budapest's Jews were subjected to unprecedented, systematic terror. A large "common" ghetto and a noncontiguous "international" ghetto for protective passport (*Schutzpass*) holders were established. The infamous death marches to Austria began. In the six chaotic weeks before the ghettos' liberation by Soviet forces in mid-January 1945, roaming bands of bloodthirsty Arrow Cross brigands slaughtered 10,000 to 15,000 Budapest Jews in cold blood. During the Nyilas regime, possibly 100,000 Hungarian Jews lost their lives.

Szalasi and his junta were captured by U.S. forces in Germany. On their return to Hungary, they were charged with war crimes, tried, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed in 1946.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Horthy, Miklós; Hungary; Hungary, Holocaust in; Kallay, Miklós

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# T

## Tacuara

Movimiento Nacionalista Tacuara, widely known for its struggle against the Jews, was a nationalist and neo-Nazi group that emerged in Argentina in the early 1960s. Its members were young men in their late teens and early twenties, many of them sons of nationalists of the 1930s and 1940s. Tacuara—the name signifies the traditional gaucho's lance—was responsible for violence against Jews after the abduction of Adolf Eichmann in Buenos Aires and his trial and execution in Israel. Early on, its members expressed deep admiration for German Nazism, Italian Fascism, and Spanish Falangism. It was a militant Catholic organization, and in the mid-1950s, its eventual founders had protested the anticlericalism of Juan Perón, the Argentine president (from 1946 to 1955 and 1973 to 1974).

Tacuara's spiritual leader was Fr. Julio Meinvielle, a prolific author and defender of the Catholic faith who passionately crusaded against the Jews. His book *El judío* (The Jew [1936]) was revised in 1959 and republished repeatedly as *El judío en el misterio de la historia* (The Jew in the Mystery of History). Meinvielle saw the Jews as responsible for both capitalism and socialism, ideologies antagonistic to Christians—"capitalism to rob Christians of what they have, and socialism to poison the have-nots, and thus establish a struggle of classes" (in Mirelman 1975, 209). True Christians had the right to resort to the sword to defend against the hypocritical tactics of the Jews, he argued, adding that Argentina was dominated by communist agents with Jewish links, including U.S. petroleum concerns, Jewish financial supercapitalism, and the U.S. State Department.

Almost immediately, splinter groups formed as a result of conflicting ideologies within Tacuara.

The most important was Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista (Nationalist Guard of the Restoration), which emerged in October 1960 after its advocates argued that Tacuara had become infiltrated by Marxists, Trotskyites, Fidelists, and atheists. Another faction moved to the Left, abandoning part of the original right-wing posture though retaining a fierce nationalism. This sector formed the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Tacuara (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) in 1964 and a year later became known as Juventud Peronista de Buenos Aires (Perónist Youth of Buenos Aires), a belligerent leftist organization bolstered by a paramilitary arm and guerrilla-like training camps. It retained potent anti-Jewish, especially anti-Zionist, leanings.

Tacuara was responsible for the kidnapping of Gabriela Sirota, a Jewish student, and for tattooing swastikas on her breasts in 1962, as well as the killing of Raul Alterman, a Jewish activist in the Communist Party, in 1964. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, a large number of violent acts against Jews and Jewish institutions were committed by members of Tacuara, its splinter organizations, and other such groups. Police forces brought criminal accusations against some of them. The organized Jewish community repeatedly denounced Tacuara's activities and appealed to governmental authorities and the rest of the nation for justice.

—Victor A. Mirelman

*See also* Anti-Zionism; Argentina; Eichmann Trial  
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## Talmud

Literally meaning "learning," *Talmud* is the Hebrew name given to two sets of ancient rabbinic discussions of Jewish law, thought, and folklore. The more popular is the 2.5-million-word Babylonian Talmud, which was compiled in the fifth century; a smaller and slightly older Jerusalem Talmud also exists. Unspecified references to the Talmud are generally to the Babylonian version.

Since the twelfth century, the Talmud has been used by a variety of groups attempting to ridicule or demonize Jews and Judaism. In the Middle Ages, these groups were primarily Christian. They called attention to Jewish legends recorded in the Talmud, some of which contain anthropomorphic elements, claiming that these legends demonstrate the irrationality and parochialism of Judaism; they were also offended by the Talmud's insistence on the centrality of rabbis in the interpretation of the religion. Later generations of Christian polemicists found talmudic material that was discriminatory, blasphemous, or disrespectful to Christianity or that—in a manner similar to the way Christians reinterpreted biblical passages—actually proved the truth of Christianity. A few scholars have argued that in attacking the Talmud, some medieval Christians were attempting to show that Jews had developed a religion that differed greatly from ancient biblical Judaism and that they thereby forfeited the toleration afforded them by the Augustinian doctrine that Jews served as witnesses to the surpassed truth of the Old Testament.

Debates over talmudic passages became an integral component of the famous disputations between Jews and Christians in the High Middle Ages. The Paris Disputation of 1240 should actually be considered a trial of the Talmud, with Nicholas Donin, a Jewish convert to Christianity, serving as prosecutor and Rabbi Yehiel ben Joseph of Paris in the role of defense counsel. Despite the efforts of the latter, the Talmud was



*When God Created his World*, from the Talmud, collected discussions of Jewish law and lore, Germany early 1300s. From the twelfth century to the present day, the Talmud has been used by a variety of groups attempting to ridicule or demonize Jews and Judaism. (The Art Archive/Bodleian Library Oxford/The Bodleian Library.Arch Selden A 5 folio 2v)

condemned by papal authorities and burned. Through the later Middle Ages and early modern period, the Talmud and other Jewish books were often confiscated, destroyed, banned, and censored by church authorities.

In modern times, the Talmud has continued to attract antisemites. Some are radical Christians who cannot give up the struggle against Judaism, even though the broader Christian world appears to have done so. Talmudically inspired attacks on Jews also come from a variety of non-Christian groups, including radical Muslims, anti-Zionists, white supremacists, and Holocaust deniers. One tool at their disposal is the Internet, which has allowed the survival, reproduction, and dissemination of previously obscure anti-Talmud tracts.

Antisemites who use the Talmud as the basis for their attacks on Jews tend to focus on several themes. They attempt to show that Judaism espouses hatred for non-Jews and that Jewish law discriminates against them, even encouraging violence. They claim that Judaism promotes obscenity, sexual perversion, and other immoral behavior on the part of contemporary Jews. Some go so far as to claim that a “talmudic mind-set” inspired Jews to create movements and revolutions throughout history that were damaging to non-Jews—with Marxism the most commonly proffered example.

Although they sometimes try to present themselves as disinterested scholars or as defenders of non-Jews against Jewish depredations, the antisemites who attack the Talmud reveal themselves in their methods and tactics. They almost always quote the Talmud out of context, both in relation to the surrounding passages and to Jewish law as elaborated on elsewhere in the Talmud. Some purportedly talmudic laws that are cited by antisemites are simply fabricated. Even where they cite the Talmud accurately, however, they refuse to make good-faith consultations with rabbis or Jewish scholars to understand how the passages have been interpreted by contemporary Jews. When Jews object to their interpretations or seek to explain how the talmudic passages have been modulated by normative Jewish practice in the sixteen centuries since the work’s composition, antisemites dismiss these efforts as “hair-splitting” or as dishonest attempts to portray Judaism in a favorable light. From their methods, it is clear that those who attack the Talmud in this way are seeking ammunition against Jews rather than honest understanding of contemporary Judaism, its holy writings, and historical development. Some examples of distortions of the Talmud include:

- A statement by Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai in the Jerusalem Talmud (Kiddushin 4:11) that “the best of the non-Jews should be killed,” which antisemites cite as “proof” that a non-Jew should suspect his or her Jewish neighbor of secretly plotting murder. But Jewish tradition has always understood this statement as referring to

opponents on the battlefield; R. Simeon, who lived during the Hadrianic persecutions of the second century CE and participated in the Bar Kochba Revolt against Rome, was urging his followers to not take the status of a non-Jewish opponent into account, for war cannot be fought with half measures. In fact, every subsequent citation of this statement in Jewish legal literature has appended the words *at the hour of battle* to R. Simeon’s statement.

- Based on a statement in the Babylonian Talmud (Ketubot 11b), antisemites allege that Judaism encourages men to molest young girls. The statement reads, “If an adult has sex with a girl under the age of three, it is ignored.” Far from encouraging pedophilia, however, the Talmud was discussing the laws of the *ketubah*—a sort of reverse dowry that a woman may collect from her husband’s estate in the event of his death or their divorce. In normal circumstances, a woman who was a virgin at the time of marriage could claim a higher ketubah. The statement in question was simply establishing that if a girl has been raped under the age of three, she does not forfeit the higher ketubah when she eventually marries. Elsewhere, the Talmud states explicitly (Yevamoth 33b) that any adult who has sex with a minor is guilty of rape.
- The Talmud records the text of a formula to be recited by one who has made a vow that he or she regrets. By saying the formula under proper conditions, the oath-taker may be freed of the vow by talmudic law; a variant of this formula is included by many Jewish congregations in a prayer called *Kol Nidrei*, which is recited on the Jewish Day of Atonement. Antisemites cite the prayer as proof that one should not trust the promise of a Jew and that Jews are a deceitful people looking to take advantage of non-Jews. But the normative code of Jewish law clearly states (Shulhan Aruh Y.D. 211:4) that the *Kol Nidrei* prayer is merely a way of releasing oneself

from ill-considered vows to undertake extra religious obligations. It does not annul interpersonal oaths, promises, or affirmations that a Jew may make; Jewish law only releases an individual from such a commitment with the approval of the other interested party.

—Aryeh Tuchman

**See also** Anti-Zionism; Augustine of Hippo; Bar Kochba Revolt; Bloch, Joseph Samuel; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Judeo-Bolshevism; Liutostanskii, Ippolit; Peter the Venerable; Pranaitis, Justinas; Rohling, August; Supersessionism; *Talmud Jew, The*; Talmud Trials

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### ***Talmud Jew, The***

First published in 1871 by the radical Ultramontane priest August Rohling, *Der Talmudjude* (*The Talmud Jew*) was an annotated collection of false and distorted quotations from the Talmud. It swiftly became a classic of modern antisemitism. Although he had never studied the Talmud or the complex commentary pertaining to it, Rohling adapted Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (1711) in order to misrepresent its meaning and spirit intentionally. Anti-talmudic literature was not his innovation. But Rohling was able to trade on his position as a professor at the German University of Prague to present his forgeries, plagiarism, and distortions as a work of high "science." To most contemporaries, unable (like Rohling) to read the original, his book may well have seemed a plausible interpretation, even an unassailable one.

Readers of *The Talmud Jew* supposedly learned that Jews were permitted to practice all sorts of sins and vices: falsehood and chicanery, usury and theft, murder and adultery. According to Rohling, all were sanctioned by the Talmud,

at least when dealing with Christians. But he went beyond the traditional theological framework of this genre to warn his audience of the increasing influence of Jews in modern societies. Incorporating the themes of a developing secular antisemitism, he presented Jews as involved in a worldwide conspiracy to achieve dominance over the Christian world. The book triggered fierce controversies and became infamous through the Tiszaeszlar blood libel trial (in 1882), when Rohling, an expert witness, testified that Jews were commanded by the Talmud to use Christian blood for their rites. In 1883, Joseph Samuel Bloch, a Viennese rabbi and member of parliament, published a series of articles under the title "An Offer to Commit Perjury," in which he branded Rohling a liar and forger. To save his reputation, Rohling was forced to institute proceedings against Bloch. In 1885, even before the trial opened, Bloch built a watertight case, having gathered testimony from respected scholars such as Franz Delitzsch and the well-known Orientalist Paul de Lagarde, an antisemite in his own right. Rohling lost the case, had to pay the costs of the trial, and was suspended from his university chair.

The exposure of its author as a fraud did not put an end to *The Talmud Jew*. It continued to appear and reappear in successive editions, twenty-two in all. It was translated into English (in the 1970s), French (by Édouard Drumont), Hungarian, and Russian. The book's extraordinarily successful reception cannot be adequately explained on the basis of its author's standing within the Catholic milieu. The thoroughgoing transformation of German society, the effects of liberalism and capitalism, and the struggle to define the new Germany brought in their train an abrupt and disorienting decline of traditional values. Thus, Rohling's absurd interpretation of Jewish influence fell on fertile ground, especially in the Catholic middle class that found itself particularly threatened by modernity. The founding of the German Empire, which coincided with Jewish emancipation, appeared suspicious to many, and it was not difficult to portray Jews as the prime agents of social decomposition. Their allegiance to political liberalism was another black mark against them, especially since the or-

ganized attack on German Catholicism, the *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilization) of the 1870s, relied on liberal votes and voices. The church, through the Boniface Society for Catholic Germany, did not hesitate to cater to these fears and resentments, distributing 38,000 free copies of the sixth edition of *The Talmud Jew*.

Holding Jews responsible for the radical and upsetting changes of the late nineteenth century, the *Talmudjude* can be read as a simplistic response to a confused situation that forced Catholics onto the defensive. But Rohling's work also had more far-reaching consequences as an early attack on the human rights of Jews, one that the Nazis were later able to make full use of in their own propaganda.

—Carsten Kretschmann

**See also** Bloch, Joseph Samuel; Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; Drumont, Édouard; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; *Kulturkampf*; Lagarde, Paul de; Rohling, August; Talmud; Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder; Ultramontanism

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## Talmud Trials

Between 1240 and the later sixteenth century, Latin Christian authorities engaged in a series of disputations, trials, condemnations, acts of censorship, and burnings of the Talmud. Neither the Babylonian (*Bavli*) nor the Jerusalem (*Yerushalmi*) Talmud was widely known to western European Christians before the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, although the sharp criticism of the texts in the works of two Christian polemicists of the early twelfth century—Petrus Alfonsi (a convert from Judaism) and Peter the Venerable, the abbot of Cluny—were notable exceptions. Substantial Christian legislation concerning Jews in the letters of Pope Innocent III, the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and the 1324

canon law collection of Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241) made no mention of it.

Around 1225, Nicholas Donin of La Rochelle, a Jew who had rejected the Talmud, was excommunicated by the Jewish community. He converted to Christianity around 1235 and around 1236 went to Rome, where he presented a list of charges against the Talmud to Gregory IX. In 1239, Gregory wrote to the prelates and rulers of Europe condemning the Talmud and appending thirty-five articles prepared by Donin and probably other apostates from Judaism, urging them to confiscate the books of the Jews, burn those that contained errors, and hand the rest over to appropriate clerical authorities for examination. Donin carried the letter to Paris. In May and June 1240, the Talmud became the subject of a trial at Vincennes under the presidency of Queen Mother Blanche of Castile, with several bishops as judges and Donin apparently as accuser; Rabbi Yehiel b. Joseph of Paris handled the defense. This proceeding was the first Talmud trial. Although no formal condemnation is recorded, perhaps twenty cartloads of books in Hebrew, around 10,000 volumes, were publicly burned in Paris in 1242. Donin later compiled a treatise of excerpts from the Talmud allegedly containing expressions of hostility toward Christianity.

Jewish authorities in France appealed to Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–1254), who in 1247 charged Odo of Chateauroux to form a commission of inquiry composed of forty-one Paris theologians, including Albertus Magnus, as well as Donin. The report of Odo's committee condemned the Talmud for errors, abuses, and blasphemies, and Innocent IV concluded, in addition, that the Talmud was heretical in terms of biblical Judaism. Attacks on the Talmud continued in force until the 1320s, when they appear to have temporarily ended before resuming briefly but intensively in the mid-sixteenth century.

—Edward Peters

**See also** *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Innocent III; Lateran Council, Fourth; Middle Ages, High; Peter the Venerable; Rohling, August; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*

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### Theater, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in

In the realm of cultural policy and propaganda, the Nazis put special emphasis on the theater because they ascribed to it an extraordinary capacity to influence human consciousness. Joseph Goebbels, who pursued German studies under the guidance of the Jewish historian of literature Friedrich Gundolf and who had also tried writing theater pieces, saw in both theater and the plastic arts the same creative and shaping power at work. Intent on placing the stage in the service of their *völkisch* ideology, the Nazis thought that the German theater could be restored to health by making it once again “nationalistic.” Meanwhile, the creative, taboo-breaking, and challenging stage productions of the democratic Weimar Republic were subjected to their hate-filled attacks. In 1925, Adolf Hitler thundered against a theater that had sunk to depths so low that German youth needed to be protected from it. “How inflamed Schiller would be, how outraged Goethe! . . . For it is characteristic of this era that it not only produces mere filth but that it besmirches what was truly great in the past” (*Mein Kampf*, 259).

In the 1920s, the Nazis exploited the animosities already being deployed against the urbane, big-city theater by conservatives and rightists who depicted it as a product of the “Marxist-liberal-Jewish conspiracy.” They also played to the resentments, evident for decades, of the educated bourgeoisie and its lower-middle-class imitators with regard to the avant-garde. This rebellion against modernity was waged with the slogan of a German theater “contaminated by the Jews.” “The truth,” pro-

claimed Hans Severus Ziegler, “is that since the turn of the century we have had a German theater of the Jewish nation. It is obvious therefore that this stage cannot and does not mirror German national culture but rather the Jewish spirit of the times.” An inflammatory piece written during this era by Elisabeth Frenzel—and blithely published again after 1945—stated that 80 percent of the theater directors in Berlin were Jews and that in the year 1925, 95 of the 260 premiers were by Jewish authors. She remained silent, however, about the historical reasons for this Jewish presence in the arts.

To drain the “Jewish theater swamp” and “cleanse the temple of German art” became the task of the boundlessly cynical Goebbels and his rival Alfred Rosenberg, the man responsible for the “total spiritual and ideological schooling and education of the Nazi Party.” Together, they recruited a phalanx of inquisitors who went about demanding proof of Aryan ancestry. Of course, there were exceptions. For example, the Jewish descent of Franz Lehár could be overlooked because Hitler was a fan of the composer’s *Merry Widow*. Corrupt and self-serving, full of blackmail and chicanery, a campaign of annihilation was conducted against the “Jewish element” in the German theater. Its consequences were exile, suicide, deportation, and murder.

The criminals of the National Socialist regime found their accomplices among characterless academic humanists, theater critics, and so-called Aryan authors. Thomas Mann described their mentality as an amalgam of ideologically tainted linguistics, romantic Germanism, and Nordic religion. They traded in an idiom of mystical philistinism and extraordinary tastelessness, drumming their “heroic,” “racial,” “völkisch” clichés into the German public. Non-Jewish theater people behaved maliciously, indifferently, or simply looked the other way, as did, for example, Gustav Gründgens, one of the most popular film and theater personalities in the Weimar Republic, under the Nazis, and again in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Jews, as members of an inferior race, were stigmatized. However, the word *Jewish* was employed to defame all who did not conform to Nazi canons of art and culture. “Jewish looks”

could also awaken mistrust. Thus, Rosenberg's office objected that Otto Laubinger, the first president of the Reich Theater Chamber (part of whose job was the expulsion of non-Aryan artists), did not "look German enough." The physical appearance of the beloved film comedian Theo Lingen was also cause for concern; it might lead the German people to believe that the de-Jewification of German cultural life had made no progress at all (Drewniak 1983).

The cultural exodus from Germany after 1933 comprised approximately 4,000 well-known actors, actresses, film and theater directors, script writers, dancers, choreographers, cabaret artists, and music and theater critics. They were considered Jewish in one way or another, either by descent or in spirit or both. Jews by descent included Max Reinhardt, Leopold Jessner, Fritz Kortner, and Elisabeth Bergner. Albert Bassermann left Germany because his Jewish wife could no longer perform. Joachim Gottschalk, one of the most popular young actors and star of several Ufa films, committed suicide along with his wife, who would have had to leave the country because she was Jewish. Before they died, they killed their son. When he had previously been pressured by an official in the Propaganda Ministry to divorce his wife, he asked what would become of her and his child. "Who cares what happens to a Jewess?" was the answer. Almost all the Jewish theater people who could not or would not flee Germany were killed in concentration or death camps. Among them were Otto Bernstein, Willy Buschoff, Kurt Geron, Fritz Grünbaum, and Otto Walburg.

In summary, it can be said that a great number of those who had raised German theater in the 1920s to preeminence in the world and who broke new ground, either by bold and original stagings or impressive acting achievements, fled Germany or were killed. "The hardest man is for the iron future still not hard enough," intoned Rosenberg (Rosenberg 1941). Perhaps a more telling epigram was the one uttered by the visionary Franz Grillparzer in 1848: in Germany, "the path of modern culture leads from humanity through nationality to bestiality."

—Hermann Glaser  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Degenerate Art; Goebbels, Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Rosenberg, Alfred

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#### Theodosian Code

Under Theodosius II (r. 408–450), Roman emperor of the East, an official collection of the statutes of the Christian emperors, called the *Codex Theodosianus* (Theodosian Code, hereafter C. Th.), was compiled. In 438, for the first time, the special laws regarding the Jews were systematically and conveniently brought together in one collection. Book 16 deals specifically with religious matters, and chapters 8 and 9 of this book are dedicated specifically to the legislation on the Jews and Samaritans. However, other parts of the code also contain laws regarding the Jews, sorted according to their context. A valuable historical source, the code can tell us much about the declining position of the Jews in the late Roman Empire.

The section of the code discussing "Jews living according to Roman and Common law" still classified them as Roman citizens (C. Th. 2.1.10). But the code also reveals that they had gradually come under special limitations, especially in their religious practices and in the sorts of relationships they could have with Christians. For example, they were prohibited from circumcising their Christian slaves and were threatened with exile and the death penalty if found to have done so (C. Th. 16.8.26). At first, the Christian emperors did not alter the privileges granted to the patriarch, whose ancient position they recog-

nized (C. Th. 16.8.13, 15, and 17), but the patriarch's position suffered substantially from serious restrictions in an important law (the "Constitution" found in C. Th. 2.1.10). This law defined Jewish judicial autonomy: the constitution allowed for the Jews to appear before Jewish tribunals on various religious matters, but on civil matters, the jurisdiction was reserved to the state courts exclusively. The law permitted the appearance before Jewish tribunals provided that both parties consented, in which case, the Jewish tribunals functioned as arbitrators. C. Th. 15.5.5 prohibited all gatherings—explicitly Jewish gatherings—from being held on a Sunday. A list of other Christian festivals, during which no gatherings were allowed, was later added. The Christian emperors affirmed the prohibition on Jews taking part in public or private transactions on the day of the Jewish Sabbath and during other Jewish festivals (C. Th. 16.8.20; 2.8.26; 8.8.8). In the year 408, the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius issued a decree (C. Th. 16.8.18) banning certain kinds of expressive conduct, specifically during the Festival of Purim, which might be interpreted as being contemptuous of Christians. In 425, Theodosius II and Valentinianus enacted the law prohibiting a Jewish father from disowning his Jewish child or grandchild who converted to Christianity.

The Christian emperors' policy of unification—their attempt to bring the disparate elements of the empire under one system of law—was bound to erode the tolerance that had once allowed Jews, de facto, to govern their personal lives according to Jewish law and custom. C. Th. 16.8.6 barred Jewish men from taking Christian or pagan women out of the *gynaeceum* (the emperor's textile industry) to be their spouses. This rule was then extended more generally to apply to all Christian women. Typically, this limitation imposed on Jewish conduct had a variety of motives, including the fear of economic competition from the Jewish textile industry and religious-moral objections—marriage between a Jew and Christian was likened to adultery (C. Th. 3.7.2).

Over time, the Christian emperors grew especially concerned when the property rights of Jews impacted Christians. For example, when the laws governing the owning of Christian slaves were es-

tablished, only the circumcision of the slaves was prohibited, reaffirming the decrees of the Emperors Antoninus and Severus (C. Th. 16.9.1). Later, the acquisition of a Christian slave was altogether prohibited, whether purchased or acquired as a gift. However, it was permitted to inherit such slaves and to continue using them, provided that their freedom of religion was safeguarded (C. Th. 16.9.2–5).

On January 31, 438, Theodosius II and Valentinian barred Jews from holding any state employment or administrative office (N. Th.3). This *novella* (new law) represented a dramatic further weakening of the position of the Jews.

—Alfredo Mordechai Rabello

**See also** Church Fathers; Circumcision; Constantine, Emperor; Gregory the Great, Pope; Justinian Code; Roman Empire

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## Theosophy

The Theosophical Society was founded in New York City on September 13, 1875, by Col. Henry Olcott and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891). Part religion, part philosophical movement, Theosophy—literally meaning "wisdom of the gods" or "divine wisdom"—had a threefold purpose: to study comparative religions within an essentialist methodological framework, to explore paranormal phenomena and the occult faculties of humans, and to help bring about a universal brotherhood of peoples through humane means.

These complex and often conflicting goals reflect the conflicted nature of its founders' thinking, especially that of Blavatsky, whose *Isis Unveiled* (1875) and *The Secret Doctrine* (1888) still exist as classic Theosophical texts. Her works

stand also as monumental testaments to autodidacticism and plagiarism. Often without acknowledging her sources, Blavatsky freely borrowed ideas from Eastern and Western esoteric texts, various mythologies, and even the fiction of the nineteenth-century English novelist Edward Bulwer Lytton in order to produce an extensive, if inconsistent, treatment of world religions, cosmology, and human evolution. She disagreed with Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, preferring to believe that human beings were descended from spiritual aliens. The appeal of Theosophy, however, owed less to the eccentric ideas of Blavatsky than to its own strong emphasis on Buddhist and Hindu mysticism, which had become very popular in fin-de-siècle European and American society.

This Eastern emphasis, which, despite Theosophy's stated goal of studying comparative religions, existed largely at the expense of the monotheistic religions, became all the more pronounced when the society moved its headquarters from New York to Adyar, outside of Madras in India in 1878. By the mid-1880s, the society had 121 lodges worldwide and a varied and distinguished membership, including William Butler Yeats, Alfred Russell Wallace, and Thomas Edison. Exact membership numbers are difficult to determine, but it appears that by 1907, Theosophy had at least 100,000 official members throughout the world and probably a much larger unofficial membership. By the 1930s, in the face of the harsh realities of an imminent world war, Theosophy began to decline in popularity. The society still exists today, but 1998 estimates place its official membership at approximately only 36,000.

Especially in its formative years, Theosophical thought was a grab-bag of ideas that attracted a diverse group of people, not all of them emotionally stable or well intentioned. Some, such as Franz Hartmann (1838–1912) and the anti-semitic Ariosophists in early twentieth-century Germany and Austria, found Theosophy's disinterest in the Western monotheistic faiths and its stress on the superiority of Aryan spiritual ideals an ideal venue through which they could more legitimately separate their culture from Judeo-Christian tradition and promote an antisemitic

agenda. Still, if there is little in Theosophy that actively encouraged such a program, there is also little that discouraged it. The eclectic nature of the movement and the confusing writings of early Theosophists have left the door open for individual Theosophists, if so inclined, to make a variety of unsavory claims.

—Keith R. Green

**See also** Blavatsky, Helena P.; Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg; List, Guido von; New Age; Pelley, William Dudley; Steiner, Rudolph

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## "Three Hundred," The

The myth of the "Three Hundred" originated in the published comments of Walther Rathenau that appeared in the 1909 Christmas edition of Vienna's *Neue Freie Presse* (New Free Press). "Three hundred men, all of whom know one another, guide the economic destinies of the Continent and seek their successors from within their own environment." Rathenau actually deplored the oligarchic nature of this "truth" and nowhere suggested that the Three Hundred ruled over the heads of governments or that they were Jews. But by 1912, the words took on a life of their own. Theodor Fritsch characterized them as an "open confession of indubitable Jewish hegemony" and Rathenau as "really the secret Kaiser of Germany" (in Levy 1991, 197). The myth served as absolute proof of a Jewish conspiracy and that a secret Jewish world government already existed.

After the spurious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published in Germany in 1920, the myth of the Three Hundred spread dramatically. Propagated by antisemitic organizations such as the German Racial League for Defense and Defiance and by prominent leaders such as Erich Ludendorff, the myth morphed into the "Three Hundred Elders of Zion" and assumed a near-religious truth for the racist Right. That Rathenau

was one of the Elders could not be doubted, since he obviously knew their exact number.

Rathenau addressed the swelling of this myth in a 1921 letter to an old school friend, stating that the “Three Hundred” he referred to were not meant as Jews but rather as the leaders of the international business world. The insidious story turned deadly in June 1922 when Rathenau was assassinated by young radicals associated with extremist organizations and nurtured on this and related antisemitic myths. At the murder trial, one of the defendants explicitly cited Rathenau’s membership in the Three Hundred Elders of Zion as his reason for committing the deed. Whether this was merely a propaganda ploy, as some have suggested, or an accurate description of the perpetrator’s motives, it is clear that the myth provided an ideological legitimization for political murder.

In response to Rathenau’s murder, the Reichstag passed the tough Law for the Protection of the Republic that made it possible to prosecute publicists who propagated the myth. However, the Nazis continued to make frequent use of it in their propaganda throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Variations are still being used by the radical Right today.

—Mark Swartzburg

**See also** Fritsch, Theodor; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Germanic Order; Ludendorff, Erich; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rathenau, Walther; Weimar

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## Thule Society

Founded in Munich by Rudolf von Sebottendorf on August 17, 1918, the Thule Society was originally a cover organization for the racist Germanic Order (Germanen-Orden) in Bavaria. One of a welter of fringe groups on the radical Right, the Thule Society was small but briefly important. Its approximately 1,500 members

participated in the revolutionary upheavals of 1918 and 1919 and helped give birth to the Nazi Party. The society, with a strong affinity for the occult, served as a collection point for right-wing radicals and reactionaries; its chief activities were the diffusion of antisemitic propaganda and the hatching of conspiracies. Sebottendorf acquired the newspaper *Münchener Beobachter* (Munich Observer) to publish the group’s propaganda. This newspaper eventually became the *Völkischer Beobachter* (Racist Observer), the organ of the Nazi Party.

The Thule Society was especially active in the fight to overthrow the Bavarian Soviet republic following the 1918 November revolution. It made several attempts to assassinate Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Independent Socialist prime minister. Eisner was eventually murdered by a young officer, Count Anton von Arco-Valley, allegedly after he had been turned away from the Thule Society because of his Jewish background. Following the communist takeover in Munich, the Thule Society engaged in arms smuggling and espionage and founded the Freikorps (vigilante mercenaries) group Oberland in April 1919. The communists raided Thule Society headquarters, taking seven prominent members hostage; these individuals were subsequently shot, providing martyrs for the radical Right and a rationale for bloody repressive measures by counterrevolutionary forces.

The Thule Society counted several early Nazis as members or associates, including Rudolph Hess, Gottfried Feder, Alfred Rosenberg, Dietrich Eckart, Hans Frank, and Anton Drexler. Hitler, apparently, was never a member. The Thulists provided support and ideological direction for Drexler’s German Worker’s Party, the direct antecedent of the Nazi Party, and also passed along their swastika symbol. The Thule Society’s influence faded with the rise of the Nazi Party. Sebottendorf tried to revive it after 1933, and in his book *Bevor Hitler Kam* (Before Hitler Came), he claimed it had been the vanguard of the Nazi movement. The Nazis, tolerating no competition, suppressed both the book and the society. Sebottendorf was forced to leave the country.

—Mark Swartzburg

**See also** Blavatsky, Helena P.; Hitler, Adolf; Judeo-Bolshevism; List, Guido von; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Rosenberg, Alfred; Weimar

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## Tiso, Jozef (1887–1947)

Jozef Tiso, the president of the Slovak state from 1939 to 1945, was born October 13, 1887, in Bytča in northern Slovakia. After leaving school, he studied theology in Vienna and graduated in 1911, having been consecrated a priest the year before. As long as Slovakia belonged to Hungary, Tiso seems not to have been politically active. But in 1918, he joined the Slovak People's Party (SPP), later to be renamed the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (HSPP). This party drew supporters mostly from rural central and northern Slovakia. Nationalist and strongly conservative to begin with, it later developed authoritarian and anti-Jewish tendencies, as well.

From 1925 onward, Tiso was elected a member of the Czechoslovak parliament. In 1927, when the SPP first joined a government coalition, he became minister of health. But two years later, after Vojtech Tuka, a leading member of the SPP had been charged with treason, the SPP went back into opposition. During the 1930s, Tiso developed into one of the leading politicians of this party. His accession to power came after Hlinka's death and following the Munich Pact of September 29, 1938. The HSPP was now the single ruling party in the "autonomous country of Slovakia." Since Hitler's ambitions for the region had not been satisfied at Munich, he wanted the HSPP to help him undermine Czechoslovakia from within by demanding autonomous statehood for Slovakia. After talks in Berlin, Tiso arranged for a session of the Slovak parliament, and on March 14, 1939, Slovakia declared its independence. Tiso became the country's first president, and from 1942, he took the title *vodca* (leader).

Although Tiso would have preferred real independence, Slovakia was bound to Nazi Ger-

many by various agreements, and as head of state, he was politically responsible for Slovak collaboration with the Third Reich. This cooperation required Slovakia's participation in Germany's war effort against Poland and the Soviet Union; it also included collaboration in the Final Solution. In 1942, about 58,000 Jews were deported from Slovakia to the German death camps. Although Tiso's followers even today claim that he had nothing to do with the transports, this contention stands on weak ground. In August 1942, as the transports were under way, Tiso, in his infamous speech in Holič, declared the Jews to be the enemies of the Slovaks and asked his fellow citizens to get rid of them. Tiso issued fewer so-called exemptions from deportation than did the other ministers of the Slovak government.

Even protests from the Vatican, voiced by the chargé d'affaires, Giuseppe Burzio, failed to move him. In his politically tainted trial, which began in 1946, he showed no remorse about the deportations, sticking to his belief that Slovakia had needed to "solve the Jewish Question." On April 15, 1947, the Czechoslovak People's Court sentenced Tiso to death; three days later, the judgement was executed.

—Tatjana Tönsmeyer

**See also** Croatia; Hlinka Guard; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; Pius XII; Slovakia, Holocaust in

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## Tiszaeszlar Ritual Murder (1882)

In the semifeudal, largely impoverished provinces of nineteenth-century Hungary, anti-Jewish prejudice rested on ingrained medieval beliefs regarding the "avaricious, satanic, Christ-killer" Jews. Deep suspicions were thus aroused when, on April 1, 1882, a fourteen-year-old domestic servant, Eszter Solymosi, disappeared from Tisza-

eszlar, a village in northeastern Hungary. Because she vanished just three days before the Jewish Passover festival and was last seen near the local synagogue, a small group of parliamentary antisemites, including the representative for Tiszaeszlar, alleged that Jews had murdered the girl to use her blood for baking matzah, the unleavened bread eaten by Jews during Passover.

The extended investigation and subsequent trial, exploited by antisemites and broadcast by the sensational press, both secular and religious, turned the Tiszaeszlar case into one of the most famous “ritual murder” affairs of modern times. In scope and passion and in the damage done to political discourse in Hungary, Tiszaeszlar resembled the later Dreyfus Affair in France.

Supervised by officials already hostile toward the local Jewish community, the investigators used subterfuge and physical brutality to coerce a fourteen-year-old local Jewish youth, Moric Scharf, into confessing that he had witnessed his father and a group of Jews murder Eszter Solyomosi in the synagogue and then drain her blood into a container. The acrimonious trial, accompanied by the widest possible publicity, demonstrations of public furor, and frenzied debates in parliament, ended on August 3, 1883, with the acquittal of all fifteen defendants. The outcome was inevitable, following the prosecutor’s acknowledgment that the defendants were, in fact, innocent.

Judicial dismissal of the blood libel did not quell the antisemitic agitation. Demonstrations swept the country, with pogroms erupting in several places, even “sophisticated, cosmopolitan” Budapest (between August 5 and 12). The acquittal was upheld by both the Court of Appeal (in December 1883) and the Supreme Court (in April 1884), but neither ruling silenced the antisemites. Their propaganda continued to denounce the verdict, attributing it to the nefarious influence of the Jews on the Hungarian judiciary.

The extended furor engendered by Tiszaeszlar proved a decisive crossroads in the history of Hungarian Judeophobia. Slurs on the moral integrity of Jews and Judaism, previously based on medieval bigotry, were henceforth integrated into a “modern” antisemitism claiming so-called race science as its foundation. In this new format, rit-

ual murder became an adjunct to xenophobia, “racial purity,” and “Aryan supremacy.”

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Beilis Case; Dreyfus Affair; Konitz Ritual Murder; Racism, Scientific; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Xanten Ritual Murder

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## Tivoli Program (1892)

At the Tivoli congress, held in the Tivoli beer hall in suburban Berlin in December 1892, the German Conservative Party (DKP) embraced antisemitism as a means of making the party more popular. The congress came at a time of crisis within Conservative Party politics, when Otto von Bismarck’s successor as German chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, began to dismantle the Bismarckian system of agricultural protection and pursue policies seen as favoring industrialists and unions. The highlight of the congress was a power struggle between traditional governmentalist Conservatives (led by prominent Prussian aristocrats) and more radical Conservatives (led by Wilhelm von Hammerstein and Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker) who wanted to pursue policies opposed to those of the Caprivi government. The radicals also argued that, to be electorally successful and to compensate for its shrinking social base, the party needed to accept a more “populist” platform in place of the one drafted in 1876. According to James Retallack, this meant abandoning the traditional elitist disdain for antisemitic rabble-rousing and putting in place a more pronouncedly antisemitic agenda.

That agenda, however, was not forthcoming. The party’s oligarchic leadership prepared a short, balanced clause for the program that read, “We combat the manifold upsurging and de-

composing Jewish influence in our national life.... We condemn the excesses of anti-semitism." In a floor vote, however, Stoecker and his allies succeeded in having the second clause dropped from the program. This defeat cost the leadership little—they retained the all-important control of the party apparatus, while taking the wind out of the sails of the independent anti-semites. As Richard Levy has correctly observed, "Had the Conservative party chosen to take up the interests of peasants and *Mittelständler* [the lower middle class] and to develop an anti-Semitic program in earnest, the history of the independent anti-Semitic parties might have ended abruptly in 1892. However, the Conservatives made little actual use of Tivoli and usually ignored the implications of their anti-Semitic clause" (Levy 1975, 85).

—George S. Vascik

**See also** Agrarian League; Ahlwardt, Hermann; Antisemitic Political Parties; Stoecker, Adolf

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## Toland, John (1670–1722)

Born in northern Ireland in 1670, John Toland fashioned a career characterized by constant conflict with recognized clerical authorities, the result of his outspoken views on the nature of religion. Educated as a Catholic, he converted to Protestantism in his youth. While pursuing his studies in Glasgow and Edinburgh and later in Utrecht and Leiden, he came under the influence of various secret societies and radical groups and the dissenting theological positions they professed. His unorthodox orientation to the Scriptures intensified after he spent time in London, socializing with various anti-Trinitarian figures and deists. In 1695, he anonymously published *Christianity Not Mysterious*, a controversial work that criticized conventional Christian theology and engendered heated controversy. This was the first of many works that continually earned him derogatory epithets, such as "heretic," "notorious Socinian," and "atheist."

After having campaigned in London in support of the Whig bill to naturalize foreign Protestants, he published *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland* (1714). Although this work failed to have a significant impact in its day, it became an important source for later advocates of the improvement of Jewish legal status. Toland's pamphlet considered and dismissed many of the common prejudices against Jews and called for their being placed "on the same foot with all other nations." Like the Jewish apologists before him (for example, Menasseh ben Israel and Simon Luzzatto), Toland rejected the claims that Jews could not be loyal residents of any country. Following John Locke's *Letter on Toleration*, he argued that since Jews had no country of their own and no foreign loyalties, unlike Catholics who were "bound to Rome," they would become completely devoted residents and refrain from any subversive political activity. If the English would put them on a par with other residents in society, Jews would be forever wedded to English society, as they had shown themselves to be dedicated to those countries that granted them the privilege to remain in their midst. Even though he miscalculated in finding that Jews were as numerous as the French and the Spanish, Toland was not deterred from advocating their immigration and naturalization.

He thought very highly of the Jews and of their "Mosaic Republic." In *Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (1718), he even reckoned that the Jews would someday end their dispersion and return to Palestine and "by reason of their excellent constitution, be much more populous, rich, and powerful than any nation in the world." He thought it in the best interest of Christians to help them in this process. Toland's reasoning was clear: shorn of sovereignty and territory, Jews were prospectively ideal citizens.

—Richard I. Cohen

**See also** Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Emancipation; Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste; Jew Bill; Philosemitism

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## Torquemada, Tomás de (1420–1498)

Tomás de Torquemada was born in Valladolid, Spain, in 1420. Rumors and claims about his being of Jewish descent are very unreliable. One of his uncles was Cardinal Juan de Torquemada. In his early youth, Tomás became a Dominican monk in his hometown. In 1452, he was appointed prior of the Monastery of Santa Cruz at Segovia.

From February 1482, he worked for the recently established Castilian Inquisition, which had been authorized by the pope in 1482. Only one year later, he became general inquisitor, that is, chief of the Inquisition for Castile and then, in 1484, for Aragon as well. He was responsible for the nomination of new inquisitors, whom he chose mainly from among the Dominicans. Torquemada developed the Spanish Inquisition, which was under the control of not the pope but of the Spanish kings, into the first bureaucracy for all of Castile and Aragon. Tribunals were established in all important cities. In 1484, Torquemada convened a general assembly of all inquisitors in Seville. There, he presented uniform guidelines for the activity of the Inquisition. In 1488, he created the Supreme Council (Consejo Supremo) of the Spanish Inquisition, which he headed.

Torquemada gained the confidence of the Catholic rulers of Aragon and Castile, Ferdinand and Isabella, whom he served as father confessor and confidential adviser. The decree on the expulsion of all Jews in 1492 was mainly the result of his initiative. He justified this and other draconian measures with the argument that Jews who converted to Christianity lacked firmness and were prone to relapse into Judaism. This concern for the purity of the faith, rather than cruelty for its own sake, is probably what motivated him. Still, Torquemada stands in history as the inquisitor par excellence, a fanatic, and a relentless enemy of the Jews. Until his death in Ávila in 1498, the Inquisition pronounced several thousand death sentences, and he was

known to have intervened repeatedly when he thought a sentence to be too mild.

—Bernd Rother

*See also Auto-da-fé; Dominican Order; Inquisition References*

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## Toussenel, Alphonse (1803–1885)

A disciple of Charles Fourier, the journalist Alphonse Toussenel became the coeditor of the Fourierist movement's journal, *La Phalange*, in 1839 and helped found another, *La Démocratie pacifique*, in the 1840s. In the 1830s, he worked closely with the avowed anti-Jewish Catholic activist Louis Veuillot at the right-wing newspaper *La Paix*. Toussenel's most enduring work was his two-volume anti-Jewish tract entitled *The Jews, Kings of the Epoch: History of Financial Feudalism*, first published in 1845. Inspired by a unique combination of Fourierism and aspects of Ultramontane Catholicism, the work sparked little public debate at the time of its publication; it was not even reviewed in the Fourierist journals themselves. However, it became extremely significant later on when its main arguments were appropriated by Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux and then by the notorious antisemite Édouard Drumont in his best-selling work, *La France juive* (1886).

In *The Jews, Kings of the Epoch*, Toussenel identified Jews as new "aristocrats" comparable to the nobles of Old Regime France because, as usurious bankers and industrial capitalists, the Jews did not work but instead profited from the toil of the increasingly impoverished French people. In spite of its fiercely anti-Jewish content, the work was seen as relatively unimportant by the contemporary French Jewish press; Samuel Cahen, editor of *Les Archives israélites*, dismissed it as misguided socialism rather than true anti-Jewish prejudice in his 1845 review, perhaps because Toussenel's book departed in significant ways from traditional anti-Judaism. For example, it defined Jews not as adherents of the Jewish re-

ligion but rather as all who made a living in commerce, financial speculation, or industrial development, whatever their actual religion may have been. Toussenel's book foreshadowed late nineteenth-century antisemitic conspiracy theories, describing the numerous non-Jews involved in economic modernization as mere puppets who consciously or unconsciously did the Jews' bidding in their campaign to bring ruin on the French people. Toussenel's writing may have served other political motives, as well. His book attacked the Saint-Simonians, a rival socialist group that believed centrally organized banks and industry were the keystones to establishing a new world order. Toussenel's diatribe may well have been meant to discredit the Saint-Simonians as Jews and as aristocrats, since the group had attracted a small number of Jews to its inner circle. In addition, the book defined all Protestants as Jews; in this, Toussenel meant not only the small minority of Protestants in France but also the entire populations of the nearby nations of England and Holland and the Protestant regions of Switzerland and Germany. In this sense, his antisemitism also played on his readers' nationalist xenophobia.

The book's second edition, published in 1847, was even more fierce in its attacks on the Jews than the previous edition, including revised and expanded sections attacking the Saint-Simonians and the members of the Rothschild banking family.

—Lisa Moses Leff

**See also** Drumont, Édouard; Fourier, Charles; France; *France juive, La*; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Rothschilds; Socialists on Antisemitism; Ultramontanism; Veuillot, Louis

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**Treitschke, Heinrich von (1834–1896)**  
One of the most prominent historians of Prussia and imperial Germany, Heinrich von Treitschke

is best known for his five-volume *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (German History in the Nineteenth Century [1879–1894]) and for his inauguration of what has come to be referred to as the *Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* (Berlin antisemitism controversy). From his position at the University of Berlin, Treitschke exercised great influence on German historians and the educated elite. Through his agency, antisemitism gained acceptability in the upper reaches of German society.

Born into a noble Saxon officer's family in Dresden, Treitschke studied political and cultural history in Bonn, Leipzig, Tübingen, and Freiburg. He then taught history at several universities until succeeding Leopold von Ranke (1874) at the most prestigious seat of German history, the University of Berlin. Beginning in 1858, Treitschke contributed regularly to the *Preußische Jahrbücher* (Prussian Yearbooks), a widely read and influential journal. Initially a supporter of many liberal positions, he rejected democratic representation as antithetical to German understandings of freedom, which, he argued, emphasized the state over the individual. Treitschke became increasingly conservative following German unification in 1871, an ideological metamorphosis reflected in his monumental *German History*. He served in the Reichstag from 1871 to 1884, first as a National Liberal and, after 1879, as an Independent. On Ranke's death in 1886, Treitschke succeeded him again, this time as historian of the Prussian state. Shortly before his own death, he was named the editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Historical Journal).

Treitschke launched the Berlin antisemitism controversy with his sentence, "The Jews are our misfortune," which appeared in his regular monthly commentary for the *Prussian Yearbooks* in 1879; this and two succeeding columns were published as the pamphlet *A Word about Our Jews* in 1880. In it, Treitschke argued that German Jews clung to their group identity instead of truly integrating themselves in the German national community, which made them responsible for an assortment of injurious effects on state and society. He demanded that Jews become part of the German state and culture, although how they were to achieve such assimilation remained unclear. The article unleashed a storm. Jews and lib-

eral-minded non-Jews, most notably Treitschke's colleague Theodor Mommsen, engaged him in a fierce debate about the Jewish Question. Nonetheless, by virtue of his academic reputation and position, Treitschke's article helped legitimate antisemitism in academic circles.

Treitschke's posthumous reputation fluctuated in subsequent German history. A Treitschke monument (later dismantled) was erected on the grounds of the University of Berlin in October 1909. In the early years of the Weimar Republic, his standing diminished before soaring again in the 1930s, especially after the Nazis took power. Treitschke's famous utterance, "The Jews are our misfortune," later adorned the masthead of Julius Streicher's antisemitic *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer).

—Elizabeth A. Drummond

**See also** Class, Heinrich; German Students, Association of; Hahn, Diedrich; *Stürmer, Der*; Weimar; *Word about Our Jews, A*

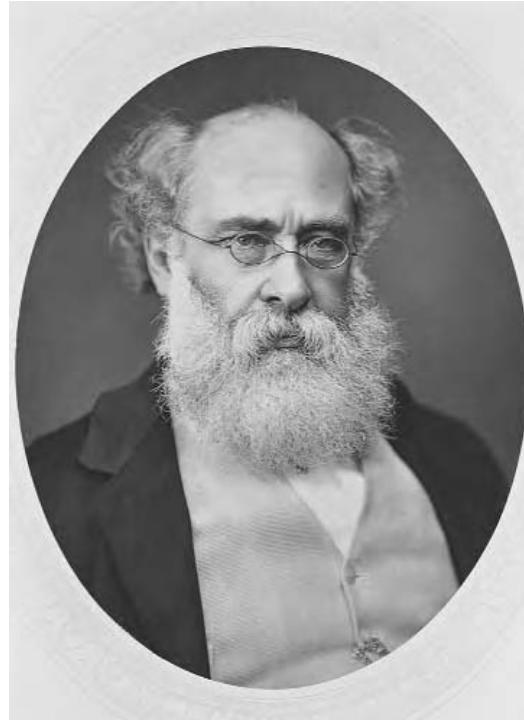
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## Trollope, Anthony (1815–1882)

After a childhood disrupted by his father's mental illness and bankruptcy, Anthony Trollope worked in the postal service in Ireland during the famine of the 1840s and later in England. He achieved some renown with his Barsetshire novels of mild ecclesiastical satire, beginning in the 1850s. By the mid-1860s, he was a successful and prolific novelist and public affairs commentator, and in addition to publishing a series of political novels, he stood (unsuccessfully) as a Liberal candidate for Parliament in 1868. In his *Autobiography* (1883), Trollope linked his Liberal politics with his approach to fiction, claiming that in his writing, he did not take sides or espouse doctrine but aimed to represent a balanced viewpoint. Nonetheless, though he believed in a general "tendency towards equality," he also held that "inequality is the work of God."

This contradiction informs Trollope's representation of Jews. In his novels of the 1850s and



Prolific novelist of the Victorian era, Anthony Trollope depicted Jews as symbols of the new commercial forces that threatened the stability of English society.  
(Bettmann/Corbis)

1860s, Jews are repeatedly presented as symbols of the new commercial forces that threatened the stable class structure of Victorian England. However, Trollope's narratives ultimately do not seek to exclude Jews; rather, they identify them and establish their rightful place within an hierarchically conceived social order. To this end, his writing deploys a racial discourse. In *Nina Balatka* (1867), the Jewish businessman Anton Trendellsohn has "jet black hair," dark skin—"no white man could be more dark and swarthy than Anton Trendellsohn"—and "eyes . . . too close together in his face"; "the movement of the man's body was the movement of a Jew." Such physiological features also have temperamental analogs, and the initially generous Anton reverts to the "in-born suspicion of his nature" rather than trusting to the goodness of his Christian lover, Nina Balatka. Critics have noted the similar names of the protagonist and his creator, suggesting that Trol-

lope, conscious of his status as a commercial writer, saw himself similarly as an alien outsider seeking admission into a hostile society.

Trollope's ambivalence is evident in a range of his novels from the 1870s. In *The Eustace Diamonds* (1873) and *Phineas Redux* (1874), he reveals the true identity of the convert Joseph Emilius, who successfully tempts the English heroine, as a "foreigner and a Jew" and an "impostor." In contrast, it is precisely the indeterminacy of the racial identity of Trollope's villains that makes them so threatening. Augustus Melmotte, the cosmopolitan, fraudulent financier and pretender to parliamentary office and upper-class alliance in *The Way We Live Now* (1875), remains a hollow cipher throughout the text. He may or may not be a Jew, he may or may not have a criminal past, he may or may not be very rich. The Melmottes' reputation is built entirely on hearsay, but ultimately they are unsettling because "no one knows who they are, or where they came from." In contrast, the more reliably Jewish Ezekiel Brehgert, pursued by an impoverished, gold-digging aristocrat, forgoes the marriage and thus demonstrates to the reader his laudable sense of the inferior place of the Jews in relation to the ruling class.

—Nadia Valman

**See also** Britain; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells

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## Twain, Mark (1835–1910)

For a century and a quarter, Mark Twain has remained America's best-known author. His stature is iconic, and his works have never gone out of print; by means of his sardonic wit, fresh idiom, and biting commentary, his high-spirited texts continue to provoke controversy. Whether in narrative or polemical format, he approached divisive matters with an unprecedented gaiety, often not shared by earnest critics. Recent interest in whether his Huck Finn was black (the

word *nigger* appears 212 times in the classic) serves to raise an equally provocative inquiry—was Mark Twain Jewish? "*Der Jude Mark Twain*" (the Jew Mark Twain), charged Viennese anti-semites when he published "Concerning the Jews" in 1899, the most cogently argued polemical essay in his writings.

Indeed, a case can be made for the "Jewish Mark Twain" or, more to the point, Mark Twain's intimate identification and concern for the Jews, both biblical and contemporary. Born Samuel Clemens in 1835 in Florida, Missouri, he lost his father in 1847, whereupon the family fell from modest comfort into poverty. Sam was placed in the trades without finishing school. His evangelical mother—loquacious and playful—nurtured her children in Bible literacy: the King James Bible influenced Twain more than any other. From early boyhood days, Jews captured his perverse imagination. The first Jews he met were at his local school, he recalled with a schoolboy's relish of those ridiculed, chased, and scorned by the Christian boys: "To my fancy they were clothed invisibly in the damp and cobwebby mold of antiquity. They carried me back to Egypt, and in imagination I moved among the Pharaohs and all the shadowy celebrities of that remote age" (*Autobiography* 2:218).

Twain was a southerner, not born to tolerance. Nevertheless, unlike his treatment of the Irish, Mexicans, and Native Americans, at whom he could poke merciless fun, he joked relatively little about Jews. It pleased him when his daughter Clara married a Jewish musician. His books, translated into Yiddish, were popular on New York's Lower East Side. When Sholem Aleichem, the humorist, was called the "Jewish Mark Twain," Twain replied, "Please tell him that I'm the American Sholem Aleichem" (in Kahn 1985, 24).

Invariably, Twain's humor was double-edged and bittersweet, skirting the edge of burlesque. No serious subject escaped unscathed, its value intact and its stupidity safe from humorous barbs. Twain's relationship to Jews (randomly named Israelites, Hebrews, and Jews) was no exception. Coming of age personally immersed in the everyday experiences of common trades—printer, pilot, miner, newspaperman, funnyman,

travel writer, lecturer—Twain developed the best ear in American letters for colloquial speech. Vernacular was the underground spring for critical social observation. Employing prevalent Shylock allusions in casual speech—to Jew down, “rich as a Jew”—he connected to his audience’s folk knowledge. After a publishing deal gone bad with Bret Harte, he fumed in a letter: “Harte is a liar, a thief, a swindler, a snob, a sot, a sponge, a coward, a Jeremy Diddler, he is brim full of treachery, & he conceals his Jewish birth as carefully as if he considers it a disgrace” (*Mark Twain–Howells Letters* 1:135). In one early instance, Twain edited himself by not including his most extended sketch of a sleazy Jew in the final text of his best-selling first book, *Innocent’s Abroad* (1869). Isaac, the “kinky-haired” Israelite, was an unctuous con man accompanying the gullible American pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Twain fashioned the grand tour as a sarcastic and amusing commentary on the commercial corruption of religious sites, venerated monuments, and consecrated saints—Catholicism, his favored target. Notably, the depictions of the Old World Israelites and Jews presented a significantly smaller target for Twain’s arrows than Christianity and its vendors.

In late 1863 or early 1864, Twain met Adolph Sutro, an immigrant Jewish businessman who became enormously successful as a tough-minded and visionary mining entrepreneur on the Comstock Lode and, later, mayor of San Francisco. For Twain, Sutro represented the model of the no-nonsense, disciplined “brain” for worldly business and its power for accountability to both the economy and society. “I have always found something of Sutro in all the Jews whom I have personally known since,” Twain professed in praise, proposing that “a part of Sutro is a sufficient equipment for an average man.” The Jews, he said, have the best average brain of any people in the world “by long odds the most marvelous that the world has produced” (Twain to Charles Erskine Scott Wood 1885).

Twain maintained that “we do not satirize people whom we singularly respect” (Twain to Wood 1885). In 1899, he chose to publish a well-crafted polemical essay about the Jewish problem in *Harper’s Magazine* instead of a short

story in draft. Free of any patronizing or didacticism, the manuscript of “Randall’s Story” was a tale about a Jew’s admirable outwitting of an uncouth riverboat gambler over an ill-gotten female slave. However, the prosaic essay format better served Twain’s immediate interest in direct argumentation. What was the “secret” of this people’s “immortality,” he asked? Complex and layered, “Concerning the Jews” drew together his feelings twisting back over two generations. In part, Jews continued to serve Twain as the biblical chosen people—the elect—in a personal quarrel with the hypocrisy of his own Christian nurture in the Golden Rule. In part, he was venting his fury at Dreyfus’s treatment in France and his own resentment after a year-long residence in Vienna. Associating with a circle of Jewish writers, artists, and intellectuals, Twain himself had become the target of malicious antisemitic newspaper attacks. “The Jew article” was Twain’s answer.

His analysis of the Jewish problem worked to provoke both antisemitic reactionaries and philosemitic liberals. “Neither Jew nor Christian will approve,” he remarked with a defensive satisfaction (Twain to Henry H. Rogers 1898). Twain himself continued to propagate his impression that a group of commercial Jews surpassed even the Yankee at low cunning and sharp practice. However, he now hastened to address the historical context over two millennia, vigorously rejecting the paranoid antisemitic accusations of banking conspiracies, media controlling trusts, and the barbaric corruption of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The achievement of the historical Jewish community in mastering the business of money was real. Manipulated by both high-church nobility and low-church peasantry and hemmed in by ecclesiastical and state restrictions, Jews were largely compelled to survive by their wits as middlemen, traders, and artisans—the conduits of fluid capital. This tiny group beyond others made itself fit to function in the modern marketplace. In emancipated western European nations, the positive accomplishments of the Jewish communities—self-reliance, community trust, good citizenship, professional accomplishment, and creative intellectuals and artists—surpassed all the negatives.

Twain has never been forgiven for his trans-

gression—focusing exclusively on the ubiquitous reputation of the Jew as money-getter. Jewish newspapers criticized him for a provincial ignorance of late nineteenth-century immigration, ghettos, factory work, and physical exertion, especially military service. But he stood by the common experience of his extensive travels that Jewish tramps, beggars, and manual laborers were seldom to be seen, primarily because the historical trajectory of the Jewish community was away from manual labor toward educated occupations and professions.

Twain was neither a temperamental optimist nor a political liberal. He forecast a grim future, part of which would consist of the permanent persecution of Jews in the West. At the turn of the new century, the vocabulary was changing. To Christians, Jews had always been “strangers” and “foreigners,” the same word in German (*Fremde*). Now, the antisemites stigmatized them further—they became aliens. As the religious motives for theologically based Jew-hatred were subsiding, the racial motives for a modern, state-centered antisemitism were surging. Nurtured an evangelical, Twain accepted the immutable persistence of evil. “We may not pay Satan reverence,” he perceived in “Concerning the Jews,” “but we can at least respect his talents. A person who has during all the time maintained the imposing position of spiritual head of four-fifths of the human race, and political head of the whole of it, must be granted the possession of executive abilities of the loftiest order” (528).

At the time of its publication, Twain’s essay was widely reviewed but then mostly forgotten. In 1938, he would have felt vindicated when Sigmund Freud, who had known Twain in Vienna in the early days of his psychoanalytic practice, abridged “Concerning the Jews” as a précis for his own essay entitled “A Comment on Antisemitism” (*Ein Wort zum Antisemitismus*).

On topics of enduring interest and controversy, Twain’s legacy has been uncanny for resurfacing and casting fresh irreverence on familiar ideas.

—Burton Bledstein

**See also** Dreyfus Affair; English Literature of the Twentieth Century; Freud, Sigmund; Jewish Question; Norris, Frank; Populist Movement; Shylock

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### *Twilight of Israel, The* (1932)

Henryk Rolicki was the pseudonym of Tadeusz Gluzinski (1888–1940), a founding member of the extremist National Radical Camp (ONR). His *The Twilight of Israel* (1932) was a prominent example of the antisemitic propaganda of the extreme Right in interwar Poland, advancing its characteristic arguments. Republished in 1996 by the Ojczyzna (Fatherland) publishing house, it has resumed its leading place among publications of the Far Right in Poland.

The book purports to be a history of the Jews from antiquity to the modern age. Gluzinski argues that because of the concept of the promised land, the Jewish religion is by nature directed toward a secular political end: the creation of “God’s kingdom on Earth,” meaning world domination by the Jews. The Jews seek to achieve this aim through violent means, by fomenting revolutions: Gluzinski accuses Jewish financiers of having underwritten both the American and the Russian Revolutions (Gluzinski was antideocratic as well as anticommunist). He follows in the tradition of eighteenth-century antisemitic writings in characterizing the Jews as a secret society similar to the Freemasons. According to this view, the true meanings of Jewish writings and thus the real aims of the Jews are known only to

a small circle of initiates and passed on by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Ordinary Jews faithfully carry out their leaders' instructions, not knowing the final aim. Jews convert to Christianity in order to infiltrate and subvert Christian society; they retain their Jewish faith in secret, however, and often revert to it generations later. Thus, Gluzinski also belongs to the nineteenth-century "racial" antisemites, for whom assimilation and conversion, the traditional aims of Christian antisemitism, are inadequate. Gluzinski does not go so far as to recommend the physical destruction of the Jews, but he does ad-

vocate their removal through "voluntary" emigration. Antisemitic nationalism in Europe, he says, has exposed the secret plans of the Jews, which will therefore eventually be defeated; hence, the present age represents "the twilight of Israel."

—Steven Paulsson

**See also** Barruel, Augustin; Freemasonry; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Judeo-Bolshevism; National Democrats; Poland; Poland since 1989; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

**Reference**

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# U

## **Ukraine, Post-Soviet**

On the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the anti-semitic policies propagated by Joseph Stalin and gradually dismantled under Mikhail Gorbachev came to an end. The turning away from state antisemitism, usually practiced under the cover of anti-Zionism, took place with greater transparency in the Ukraine than in Russia. Immediately after the failed coup of August 1991, President Leonid Kravchuk announced that his country would work with Western organizations to locate persons of Ukrainian nationality who had committed crimes against Jews during World War II and to bring them to justice. This confession of Ukrainian complicity in the Final Solution was accompanied by an annual commemoration of the Holocaust. These two gestures of atonement and reconciliation earned general approbation from the international community.

The honeymoon between Jews and Ukrainians, which continued after the election of the next president, Leonid Kuchma (in 1994), owed something to the country's wish to join the West and knowledge that this would require it to guarantee human rights and meet other international norms. But the slow pace of economic development disappointed many who had expected a rapid upsurge in the standard of living; from the middle of the 1990s, popular dissatisfaction began to be heard. Nationalist and right-wing extremist parties fed off the discontent and used it to sustain their movements. For historical reasons, these groups find most of their supporters in the western Ukraine (Galicia), where before World War II the greatest number of Jews lived and where during the war the Ukrainian independence movement was active. They take their

lead from Symon Petliura, Dmytro Dontsov, and Stepan Bandera, the most important ideologues of Ukrainian independence of the interwar period. At the top of the agenda for the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party, and the Ukrainian National Assembly–Ukrainian Self-Defense is the emancipation of the country from the "Great Russian yoke." However, antisemitic slogans are also part of their repertoire.

The ultranationalist group State Independence of the Ukraine (DSU), which has no seats in parliament, speaks of the inevitable uniting of all ethnically Ukrainian regions, currently under the jurisdiction of other states—a pointed reference to Russia. The DSU's house organ, *Neskorena natsiia* (Invincible Nation), rails against both the Russians and the Jewish world conspiracy that aims at enslaving the Ukraine. The favorite sources of writers for *Nezborima natsiia* (Unconquered Nation), *Golos natsii* (Voice of the Nation), and *Za vilnu Ukrainu* (For a Free Ukraine) are the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Henry Ford's *The International Jew*, Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, and Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Russian antisemitic works, from the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, provide (often contradictory) theses concerning the evil of the Jews. Jews, for example, bear the guilt for the October Revolution of 1917, the creation of the USSR, and its destruction.

Several Ukrainian extremists employ mythic and mystical elements in the construction of their ideology. Ukraine, they claim, was the land that gave birth to the Aryan race and from which all Indo-Germanic peoples derive. The country, therefore, has a special messianic task, the restoration of a Greater Ukraine that will do bat-

tle with evil, that is, with cosmopolitan Jews who would lead mankind into the abyss. In carrying out this Aryan-Ukrainian mission, Jesus himself becomes a Ukrainian and thereby makes the Moscow-oriented Russian Orthodox Church of the Ukraine an ideal ally against Freemason-Zionists, who are said to be working for the advent of the Antichrist and the destruction of Eastern Orthodoxy.

For a number of reasons, these nationalist groups play a relatively marginal role in the political life of the nation. Many hundreds of thousands of Jews have emigrated. Those who remain—the estimate fluctuates between 135,000 and 400,000—play only a modest role in politics, in contrast to the situation in Russia. Another difference is the absence of a “Red-Brown” alliance (of old line communists and nationalists or fascists) that can be seen at work among the antisemitic extremists in the Russian Duma. According to reliable sources, the desecrations of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries have diminished in recent years. Thanks to the positive attitude of the government and its good relations with Israel, there are numerous Jewish charitable and memorial organizations working in the country. Further, Kiev has its own institute of Jewish studies.

—Matthias Messmer  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Antichrist; Anti-Zionism in the USSR; *Dearborn Independent* and *The International Jew*; Freemasonry; *Mein Kampf*; *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, *The*; Petliura, Symon; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Russia, Post-Soviet; Russian Orthodox Church

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## Ultramontanism

Originally used as a geographic expression (*ultra montes*, meaning “on the other side of the mountains”), the word *Ultramontanism* became a polemical term in the late eighteenth century, used by liberal Catholics to describe supporters of strict papal supremacy. Especially in Germany during the second part of the nineteenth century, the term became a catchword used to write off Catholics in general. Protestants, politically and culturally dominant, doubted that the first loyalty of Catholics was or could be to the secular nation-state, given their allegiance to the pope “on the other side of the mountains.” Today, historians, theologians, and sociologists argue about the meaning of Ultramontanism as a way of describing the main trend in Catholicism from the nineteenth century up to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

Ultramontanism can be characterized by several elements: the church’s submission to the increased power of the papacy in doctrine and governance; the struggle to keep the church absolutely independent of all forms of state interference; the revival of older forms of devotion (for example, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, processions, and pilgrimages); the reestablishment of holy orders, especially the restoration of the Jesuit Order; the foundation of new brotherhoods and communities; and finally and perhaps most important, the effective use of modern tools and techniques to defend the interests of Catholicism, including political parties, lay societies, grassroots organizations, and the extensive publishing of books, newspapers, and other periodicals.

The Ultramontanist movement would not have been possible without the social and mental shock caused by the French Revolution. Ultramontanism can best be understood as an attempt to cope with the radical changes of the time, in particular with the consequences of enlightenment and revolution. French Ultramontanism, for example, was the reaction to Napoleon’s strategy of transforming the Catholic Church into an instrument of state policy. In France, Joseph de Maistre, Louis de Bonald, and Hugues de Lamennais agitated for a strictly centralized organization of the church in order to defend

Catholic interests against the modern and increasingly intrusive state.

In German-speaking Europe, Ultramontanism first formed in Munich, Vienna, and Mainz around Joseph von Görres and Clemens Maria Hofbauer and in journals such as *Historisch-politische Blätter* (Historical-Political Papers) and *Der Katholik* (The Catholic). Acrimonious controversies with the Prussian state over the issue of mixed marriages and the arrest of the archbishop of Cologne stiffened the defensive posture of the Ultramontanists. The liberal, modernizing agendas of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had the effect of popularizing the movement among Catholics. Originally established to keep liberal Catholics in check, Ultramontanism eventually pitted itself against all secular developments; the life-and-death struggle, according to this view of the world, had to begin with the internal strengthening of the church. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception (1854), the Syllabus of Errors (1864), and the First Vatican Council (1869–1870) announcing the doctrine of papal infallibility brought the Catholic Church into a deep opposition to modern society. Whether these changes strengthened the church or not, Ultramontanism became known far and wide as the most intransigent enemy of freedom of conscience and all human progress.

Generally speaking, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Ultramontanism was the most important manifestation of Catholicism worldwide, not only in Germany, France, and Belgium but also in Italy, Switzerland, Poland, England, Ireland, and the United States. Once a movement of the laity, it fell increasingly under the control of the church hierarchy, especially during the pontificate of Pius IX (1846–1878). In its contradictory combination of antimodern ideas and modern methods, Ultramontanism was successful in establishing a specific Catholic countersociety, one that emphasized self-assertion in the name of stability. Some scholars have seen elements of democracy within the movement; others have highlighted its fundamentalist, antidemocratic character. Historically, it can be argued that Ultramontanism, while insulating the church from the threats of modernity, also al-

lowed it to fend off the worst aspects of communist and fascist totalitarianism.

However, this discipline resulted in the Catholic Church's willful separation from and rejection of modern, pluralistic society. Ultramontanism remained, first and foremost, a movement against liberalism, nationalism, capitalism, and socialism. And insofar as Jews were regarded as protagonists of these new ideologies, Ultramontanism evinced a generalized hostility toward them. Nevertheless, to describe the movement as antisemitic in the modern sense is not warranted. No doubt, it helped keep alive among the Catholic faithful some old and harmful anti-Jewish prejudices. But Ultramontanism did not form a closed system in which modern and eventually lethal racial antisemitism could play a central role. The defenders of the church may have wished to create a monolithic Catholic community, but, in fact, there were a variety of politics to be found within it. In Germany, for example, some prominent individuals and intellectual organs advocated measures against Jews as the agents of soulless modernity and the enemies of Christ. But within all levels of the church hierarchy, in the Catholic Center Party, and among ordinary Catholics, there were also defenders of Jewish rights who were prepared to condemn antisemitic excesses within and outside the church.

—Carsten Kretschmann

**See also** Barruel, Augustin; Belloc, Hilaire; Center Party; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Jesuit Order; *Kulturkampf*; Mortara Affair; Papacy, Modern; Pius IX, Pope; Toussenel, Alphonse; Vatican Council, First; Vatican Council, Second; Veuillot, Louis

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## United States

Antisemitism has been part of the American Jewish experience since 1654, when Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam (Manhattan) attempted to expel the first small group of Jews to land on the North American continent. Although colonial Jews experienced prejudice and occasional harassment, they thrived in an atmosphere of overall social and economic equality. They had de facto and, in most places, de jure religious freedom. Various colonies imposed political disabilities, but these were inconsistently applied, and many Jews were active in civic life. All political disabilities were eliminated in the course of the nineteenth century.

Gentile attitudes emerged in a distinctive pattern: In the Protestant mind, Jews evoked an ambivalent image, compounded from inherited attitudes about the “mythical Jew” and new experiences with the “Jew next door.” On the one hand, Jews were admired as descendants of the Old Testament people; on the other hand, they were suspect as dangerous to the Christian society that many Protestants assumed America was. On the one hand, Jews were admired for their success in business; on the other hand, they were suspected of sharp practice.

Although antebellum Jews had to cope with constant Christian religious condescension and the prevalence of Christianity in civic life, overt antisemitism was relatively rare. It might be deployed to attack Jewish public figures such as Mordecai Noah and Uriah Levy, but most American Jews lived in harmony with their non-Jewish neighbors. Despite widespread negative economic stereotypes, they prospered economically, which enabled the creation of a strong national network of Jewish religious, cultural, and social institutions.

The mid-nineteenth century gave evidence, however, that the balance of ambivalence could tilt toward antisemitism in times of social stress. Jews (most of them immigrants) suffered from the increase in nativist sentiment in the 1840s and 1850s, although most attacks were verbal, not physical. Before and during the Civil War, there was an escalation of both antisemitic rhetoric and action. Drawing on the classic Shylock image, gentiles scapegoated Jews, accusing them

of war profiteering and smuggling. Most ominously, there were local expulsions of Jews in the South, including one ordered by Gen. Ulysses Grant in 1862. Yet these suspicions notwithstanding, Jews were successfully integrated into both armies.

Antisemitism, rhetorical and active, subsided after the war, but in the volatile climate of the later nineteenth century, it reemerged in new guises. In the Gilded Age, status-conscious, upwardly mobile gentiles deployed antisemitism as a tool for their own advancement. Soon, wealthy and middle-class Jews found themselves excluded from clubs and schools to which they had previously had access; by the 1890s, such social ostracism was pervasive. Antisemitism was also evident in the evangelical “Christian America” movement, in intellectual theories of so-called Anglo-Saxonism, and in the rhetoric of many agrarian radicals of the Populist movement. Immigration restrictionism often had antisemitic overtones; ironically, too, the increase in ethnic Catholic immigration intensified antisemitism of the traditional European variety, which often manifested itself violently in neighborhoods where poor Catholic and Jewish immigrants lived in close proximity. Taken together, these phenomena account for what Leonard Dinnerstein calls “the emergence of a full-fledged antisemitic society” by the end of the nineteenth century.

In the first half of the twentieth century, antisemitism was at its peak in the United States, constantly reconfigured to meet the needs of the historical moment. In the virulently racist climate of the South, a Jew, Leo Frank, was even lynched in 1915 on a false charge of murder. A new secularized antisemitism, based on the “scientific racism” exemplified by Madison Grant’s *Passing of the Great Race* (1916), expressed the fear of many Americans of all classes that the country was being invaded by inferior peoples who would soon overwhelm the older population of the superior “Nordic” race. Such theories buttressed the conviction that many in the mass migration of the late nineteenth century—including two and a quarter million Jews who arrived, mostly from eastern Europe, between 1880 and 1920—were unassimilable and could never become truly American. The identification of Jewish immi-



A group of white men protest the integration of Montgomery, Alabama, high schools waving Confederate flags and antisemitic signs. (Flip Schulke/Corbis)

grants with Bolshevik radicalism was hysterically inflated from a minority phenomenon into a full-fledged threat. Under such influences, Congress passed laws in 1924 restricting the immigration of southern and eastern Europeans.

The intensity—and acceptability—of overt antisemitism increased in the 1920s and 1930s. No less a figure than automotive mogul Henry Ford propagated the libels of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The revived Ku Klux Klan, though primarily emphasizing moral reform and anti-Catholicism, included Jews on its list of enemies of Christian America. Between 1933 and 1941, over 100 new antisemitic organizations were created; some, such as the German-American Bund, William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts, Rev. Gerald Winrod's Defenders of the Christian Faith, and radio demagogue Fr. Charles Coughlin's Christian Front, had high public profiles and considerable followings. Right-wingers attacked the New Deal as a "Jew Deal," alleging a Jewish conspiracy behind Roosevelt's programs. In the years leading up to World War II, isolationists

such as Charles Lindbergh often blamed Jews for the international crisis.

Jews continued to acculturate and to prosper in those areas of endeavor open to them. As the second generation of the east European migration came to maturity in the 1920s and 1930s, there was resistance to their entry into parts of American society. Many colleges and universities, alarmed at the influx of academically successful young Jews, established admissions quotas. So did many professional schools and professional societies, although Jews were still able to make remarkable progress in law and medicine. Explicit and implicit employment discrimination was rampant, as were restrictive housing covenants. During World War II, many Jews in the armed forces experienced discriminatory treatment. This overall atmosphere of domestic antisemitism was certainly among the factors that limited the U.S. response to the plight of European Jews.

World War II, however, seemed to stem the tide of antisemitism in the United States; the de-

cline was noticeable even by the late 1940s. Nazism had made antisemitism disreputable and all forms of bigotry suspect, and the optimism and self-satisfaction of the postwar boom focused Americans' minds on building a prosperous and well-adjusted society. Discrimination in education, employment, and housing decreased sharply, sometimes because of legal sanction. Social exclusion also decreased. Antisemitic demagogues were relegated to the fanatical fringe. Even the 1953 case of the Rosenbergs—Jews who really were Soviet-style communists—did not evoke widespread antisemitism. Starting in the early 1960s, Protestant and Catholic thinkers began to grapple with the complicity of Christianity in historical antisemitism. Jewish defense organizations and the community relations movement worked hard to encourage these trends.

Though the postwar gains were real, undercurrents of antisemitic attitudes would still occasionally well up to the surface. Southern opponents of African American civil rights used antisemitism to smear the movement as "communistic" and "un-American." The radical New Left often seemed to many Jews, including participants, to be antisemitic in its dismissal of Jewish concerns and its "anti-imperialist" rhetoric against Israel. Ironically, too, African Americans have often singled out Jews in their critique of white society. Especially in changing urban neighborhoods in the 1960s, African Americans used the traditional antisemitic imagery to blame powerful Jewish exploiters for blocking African American advancement. Ambivalence about Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement added fuel to the fire, as did the increased participation of African Americans in Islam. The Nation of Islam, an American sect, distributed *The Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews*, accusing Jews of dominating the slave trade.

Overall, by the turn of the twenty-first century, antisemitism was at an all-time low in the United States, though antisemitic attitudes no doubt remain more prevalent than antisemitic behavior. Pockets of prejudice exist on the political fringe (the White Power and Militia movements) and in some circles of the Christian Right. But active discrimination is virtually nonexistent, and Jews are remarkably prominent in

the professions, in academia, and in business. A powerful indicator of decreased hostility is the increase in intermarriage, amounting to almost half of the marriages entered into by Jews.

The benignity of the American experience has many causes. Jews as a group in the United States never experienced the strains of emancipation like European Jews (or, for that matter, African Americans); because the United States was always modern, there was no real backlash against Jews as representatives of modernity. Consensus politics has kept antisemitism and (usually) other extremisms out of mainstream political life. The practical demands of American capitalism, the political ideals of American individualism and egalitarianism, the social fluidity of a mobile society, and the facts of cultural pluralism and religious voluntarism have always acted as a restraint on the oppression of Jews and other (white) minorities. At various times, there has been more religious persecution of Baptists, Quakers, Catholics, and Mormons than of Jews. Even in the worst days of nativism, Jews suffered far less than Catholic or Asian immigrants. And antisemitism was never politically and socially institutionalized, as were the two most intractable American racisms—against African Americans and Native Americans.

Furthermore, Jews in the United States have always felt free to engage in self-defense. The first defense organization, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, was founded in 1859. B'nai B'rith was an important force in the nineteenth century, and in 1913, it centralized its defense activities in the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). The ADL, the American Jewish Committee (1906), and the American Jewish Congress (1916) are active and powerful organizations today.

The future remains ambiguous. American Jews continue to perceive more antisemitism in society than they claim to have experienced personally. The ADL closely tracks attitudes it considers antisemitic and issues progress reports that quantify them. Critics have lambasted Jewish organizations for a continued obsession with a declining problem to the detriment of other pressing issues such as Jewish education. However, it is not unrealistic to see ominous signs in the current rhetoric of de-

bate on the Middle East. In May 2002, pro-Israel demonstrators at San Francisco State University were met with calls of “Hitler didn’t finish the job” from pro-Palestinian demonstrators; the student newspaper at another California campus ran an editorial cartoon fusing images of a Torah scroll and a machine gun.

Whatever future developments may be, it is impossible to disagree with historian Jonathan Sarna’s succinct conclusion: “If [this] country has not been utter heaven for Jews, it has been as far from hell as Jews in the Diaspora have ever known” (Sarna 1986, 126).

—Amy Hill Shevitz

**See also** American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States; Colonial America; Coughlin, Charles E.; Ford, Henry; Frank, Leo; General Orders No. 11; German-American Bund; Immigration and Naturalization Laws; Judeo-Bolshevism; Ku Klux Klan; Lindbergh, Charles; Militia Movement; Nation of Islam; New Left; *Numerus Clausus* (United States); *Passing of the Great Race*; Pelley, William Dudley; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants; *Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*; Stuyvesant, Peter; Wharton, Edith; White Power Movement; Winrod, Gerald B.

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## **USSR**

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 brought a new regime to power in Russia, claiming to govern according to communist principles. Over the course of a four-year civil war, the Bolsheviks succeeded in expanding their rule to encompass neighboring regions, resulting in the

formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Several of the newly gained territories had large Jewish populations, of which the most significant were Ukraine and Belorussia (Belarus). According to the 1926 census, there were nearly 2.6 million Jews in the Soviet Union, of whom 21 percent lived in Russia, 61 percent in Ukraine, and 16 percent in Belorussia. Until its demise on Christmas Day 1991, the USSR struggled with its national constituency, in which Jews formed a significant minority. Antisemitism in the Soviet Union can be divided into two broad categories: popular and official. Popular antisemitism waxed and waned throughout the century but remained a constant undercurrent. Official attitudes toward the Jews also varied, from guarded benevolence to aggressive antisemitism.

The Bolsheviks rose to power during a period of total war and intense antisemitism in the Russian Empire. The influence of antisemitic propaganda that flourished under the tsarist regime was still being felt, such that many people were willing to blame the Jews for the misfortunes befalling the region. The monarchist White Guards, in particular, exploited the fact that there were many Jews among the Bolshevik leadership as evidence that the revolution was a Jewish plot akin to that described in the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In the confusion of war, pogroms swept through Jewish towns and villages. During the Russian Civil War, there were an estimated 2,000 pogroms, in which approximately 150,000 Jews lost their lives. In addition to the pogroms perpetrated by the White Guardists, other military factions involved in the fighting, including Ukrainian nationalists and anarchist revolutionaries, engaged in antisemitic violence. The Red Army, however, largely fought against the perpetrators of pogroms, gaining the sympathy of many Jews who believed that the Bolsheviks were the only people willing to fight against antisemitism.

In its early years, the Soviet government treated the Jewish population in much the same way it treated other national minorities. It hoped to assimilate the Jews eventually, but in the short term, it accorded them limited national rights, including the right to use Yiddish in official mat-

ters and the right to be administered by Jews. In accordance with this principle, Jewish Sections (*Evsektsii*) of the Communist Party were established. During the 1920s, the Evsektsii embarked on a series of campaigns against Zionism, the Jewish religion, and the Hebrew language. Between 1923 and 1933, tens of thousands of Zionist activists were arrested; many others were forced to flee the country. In the same period, some 650 synagogues were closed throughout the Soviet Union; thousands of rabbis, cantors, and ritual slaughterers were arrested or forced to flee; and antireligious campaigns were launched to discredit Judaism. About 1,000 *kheyders* (primary schools) were closed, and many of the leading Hebrew writers and activists were encouraged to emigrate. These campaigns are often regarded as antisemitic, but similar actions were carried out against other religious and ethnic groups, including the Russian Orthodox majority.

During the first decade of Soviet power, Jews were also subjected to popular antisemitism. The dissolution of the Pale of Settlement, which had limited Jewish residency rights, coupled with the ending of restrictions on Jewish enrollment in universities and governmental service—all of which occurred under the Provisional Government that ruled prior to the Bolshevik Revolution—led to a rapid increase in the presence of Jews in public life. Jews and non-Jews also began working side by side on an unprecedented scale. Having long imbibed antisemitic rhetoric from the tsarist government and the Orthodox Church, many non-Jews reacted to the increased presence of Jews in their lives with resentment. Local newspapers and governmental intelligence of the era were rife with reports of antisemitic incidents in the workplace, the universities, and the trade unions. These incidents usually took the form of public mockery and abuse, discrimination, and even sporadic violence. Jews were commonly accused of unfairly profiting from the revolution, monopolizing administrative positions, grabbing the best land, and shirking manual labor. Local governmental and party officials at times acted with antisemitic motivations, particularly regarding the allocation of living quarters and promotions. The central government, however, viewed antisemitism as counterrevolution-

ary. It regularly conducted investigations into reported incidents, and the more flagrant perpetrators were often judicially punished. The government also embarked on an educational propaganda campaign against antisemitism. By the mid-1930s, incidents of antisemitism had declined.

However, Stalin's launching of the Great Terror in 1936 led to a new wave of attacks on Jews, dramatically impacting Jewish party members and intellectuals. Many of the most prominent Jewish Communists were the first to be accused of "anti-Soviet sabotage," most notably Leon Trotsky, Lev Kamenev, Grigorii Zinoviev, and Karl Radek. The latter three were executed after dramatic show trials in which the tortured prisoners were forced to confess to outrageous crimes against the state. Within the next two years, the purges reached down to the lower ranks of the party, again affecting numerous Jews. Former members of the Evsektsii and other party activists prominent in Jewish affairs were arrested and executed. As accusations of foreign espionage engulfed the cultural intelligentsia, the Jews, with their suspect international contacts, became easy targets. Jews suffered disproportionately during the Great Terror, primarily because of their overrepresentation in the party apparatus and the intelligentsia rather than because of any outright discrimination on the basis of religion or nationality. Although the Terror was not motivated by official antisemitism, the troubled times had the effect of encouraging the overt expression of antisemitic attitudes among large segments of the population.

In June 1941, the German army entered Soviet territory and quickly overwhelmed Ukraine, Belorussia, and other regions with large Jewish populations. Nazi rule led ultimately to the murder of about 2.5 million Soviet Jews. Most were murdered by German Einsatzgruppen (mobile death squads) in ravines or forests in the vicinity of their hometowns. At Babi Yar, on the outskirts of Kiev, over 30,000 Jews were massacred during two days in September 1941. Others were forced into ghettos, where they starved to death or died of disease. About 1 million Jews survived by fleeing eastward from the advancing Germans.

Popular antisemitism also flourished during

the war and in its immediate aftermath. Anti-semitic propaganda had been spread widely in regions under Nazi control and reached beyond, as well. Further, many Soviet citizens in the Nazi-occupied territories benefited from the Nazi extermination of the Jews—taking over abandoned Jewish houses, stolen property, and vacated jobs. Some actively collaborated with the Germans, helping round up Jews for extermination or even killing Jews themselves. After the war ended, many of these people feared retribution or loss of the benefits reaped from Jewish absence if the Jewish refugees were permitted to return. As a result, the postwar period witnessed a renewal of pogroms in parts of Ukraine and a general rise of antisemitic incidents throughout the Soviet Union, fed by false rumors that Jews avoided military service and that they had dragged the USSR into the war in the first place.

Official antisemitism and Stalinist attacks against the Jews intensified in late 1948 and early 1949. During that time, the last remaining Jewish institutions in the Soviet Union were closed down. An anticosmopolitan campaign that had been brewing in the Soviet press was transformed into a deliberately antisemitic crusade. Dozens of leading Jewish political, cultural, and intellectual personalities were arrested, followed by a long-term campaign of persecution against Jewish journalists, academicians, artists, politicians, students, military personnel, and ordinary citizens. The charges ranged from cosmopolitanism to bourgeois nationalism. On August 12, 1952, known as the Night of the Murdered Poets, thirteen of the most prominent Jewish public figures, most of whom were associated with the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, were executed. In January 1953, a group of mostly Jewish doctors were accused of collaborating with Jewish organizations abroad to poison leading Kremlin officials. The Doctors' Plot was intended as a final purge against Soviet Jews, rumored to include the complete exile of all Soviet Jews to Siberia. They were saved only by Stalin's death two months later.

Official antisemitism following Stalin's death was mostly related to Soviet foreign policy in the Middle East and the rise of Jewish nationalism within the USSR. The Soviet alliance with the Arab countries was accompanied by the adoption

of an anti-Israel stance. This diplomatic maneuvering was coupled with a harsh "anti-Zionism," an official Soviet euphemism that allowed for the deployment of well-worn antisemitic stereotypes. Stereotyping and criticism of Jews became more common in the official press. Informal quotas were placed on Jews in educational institutions, government service, and the professions. Jewish suffering during World War II and the Holocaust, never officially acknowledged, now became a taboo subject. Rising Jewish nationalism during the 1950s and again following the Six Days' War (in 1967) led to massive crackdowns on the Jewish population. The movement of Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel occasioned more government antisemitism. Jews who supported the state of Israel and sought to leave the USSR were accused of participating in an international Zionist plot to spread anti-Soviet propaganda. Those refused exit visas (*refusniks*) were harassed and discriminated against in their daily lives. Between 1977 and 1978, some of the most prominent Soviet Jewish dissidents were arrested and falsely accused of espionage on behalf of Western governments. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, the Soviet Union became a leading center of anti-Zionist and antisemitic propaganda, not only spreading it within the borders of the USSR but also exporting books and pamphlets abroad.

Mikhail Gorbachev's release of the most prominent refusnik, Anatoly Scharansky, in 1986, followed by the freeing of other imprisoned Jewish dissidents, signaled the end of official Soviet antisemitism. Popular antisemitism, however, remained. The increased freedoms of glasnost led to the appearance of numerous antisemitic publications and movements that often were even more aggressive and racist than those that had previously been permitted.

—Jeffrey Veidlinger

**See also** Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors' Plot; Einsatzgruppen; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Judeo-Bolshevism; Pale of Settlement; Petliura, Symon; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Purges, Soviet; Russia, Imperial; Russian Civil War; Russian Orthodox Church; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr; Stalin, Joseph

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## **Ustasha**

Ustasha, or Ustaša in Croatian, was an extreme nationalist movement that ruled the Independent State of Croatia during World War II between 1941 and 1945. In 1929, when King Alexander I imposed a royal dictatorship promoting a unitary Yugoslavia and prohibiting separate national names, the Croatian nationalist leader Ante Pavelić fled to Italy, where he formed the Ustaša-Hrvatska Revolucionarna Organizacija (Ustasha Croatian Revolutionary Organization) in 1932. The basic aim of Ustasha ideology was to achieve Croatian independence from Yugoslavia, but in practice, this led to increasingly anti-Serb positions. The movement founded terrorist training centers in Italy and Hungary. To foment political crises in Yugoslavia, Ustasha activists attempted to incite a rebellion in the central Croatian region of Lika in 1932, the so-called Velebit uprising, and participated in the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseille (1934). They were not able to achieve their ultimate goal until the Germans and Italians invaded and partitioned Yugoslavia in April 1941.

When the Germans could not persuade the leader of the strongest Croatian party to form a government—he did not wish to compromise himself by collaborating with the Nazis—the Ustasha got its opportunity to exercise power. The first government of the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna država Hrvatskaita [NDH]) was formed from most of the territory of Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, with Zagreb as its capital. Pavelić and about 600 Ustasha exiles returned to Croatia from Italy and other countries to be greeted by about 2,000 loyalists who had been working underground in the country. Pavelić took the title of *Poglavnik* (leader) of the NDH and became prime minister and foreign

minister, as well. Opportunists immediately flocked to join the movement, so that by May 1941, 100,000 members had already sworn the Ustasha oath. The Ustasha drew most of its sympathizers from the lower, less educated classes and from some poor regions of the Dinaric Mountains, where Serbs and Croats lived in close proximity.

The Ustasha proceeded to establish a “New Order” that closely followed the Italian-German fascist model. As early as 1936, when Pavelić had moved closer to Nazi Germany, antisemitism had already become one of the important elements of his movement. Now, the NDH proclaimed racial laws similar to Nazi Germany’s and then implemented them with a policy of isolation, concentration, and extermination; Serbs and Gypsies, along with Jews, were the principal victims. Pavelić’s main lieutenant in the persecution of the Jews was chief of the Ustasha police, Eugen Dido Kvaternik (1910–1962); he was succeeded by Minister of Internal Affairs Andrija Artuković (1899–1988), who lived in the United States for many years. The murderousness of the Ustasha members became legendary. In terms of sheer brutality and sadism, they outdid the Nazis.

Although the crimes incited a strong anti-fascist movement in the country, the Ustasha remained in power with the help of its Italian and German allies until May 1945. When German power collapsed, Pavelić and his supporters fled before the Communist partisans. In Spain, Argentina, and other locales, separate and often antagonistic splinter groups operating under a variety of names kept some of the movement’s traditions alive.

—Ivo Goldstein

**See also** Croatia; Croatia, Holocaust in; Holocaust; Ljotić, Dimitrije; Nuremberg Laws; Pavelić, Ante

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A woodcut dating from 1531 depicts a farmer's visit to a Jewish moneylender, who sits at a desk with an abacus. (Christel Gerstenberg/Corbis)

### Usury

*Usury* is the derogatory term for lending money at interest. For some, this meant at any rate of interest at all; others defined it as interest over a certain “reasonable” amount. Charging a fee for the loan to one’s brother is condemned in the Pentateuch (Exod. 2:25; Lev. 25:35–37; Deut. 23:19–20), and the Gospel of Luke insisted “lend, hoping for nothing in return” (6:35). Nevertheless, by the High Middle Ages, both Jews and Christians accepted the need for some form of credit. Theologians argued about what was an acceptable level of recompense and what was infamous gain. Those who charged for mak-

ing loans were condemned, but making loans was permitted to “aliens,” so it became accepted that Jews, who were not considered “brothers,” were allowed to make loans to Christians. Though Christians did, indeed, lend one another money in the Middle Ages, Jews were regarded as the prime usurers, and they were often excoriated by those who obliged them to practice the sin.

Even though Jews were not the only moneylenders nor even the most important ones in medieval society, their moneylending activities became the greatest focus of hatred. In the early Middle Ages, Jews specialized in occupations

shunned by Christians in an agrarian society. Initially, their lending money at interest was closely allied to other forms of currency dealing—coinage, monetary exchange, and goldsmithing. The very things that suited them so well to such endeavors—the ability to pool capital, international contacts, common language, familiarity with trade routes—gave rise to suspicion. Over time and as other occupations were increasingly closed to Jews because of guild regulations and restrictions on landownership, they specialized in pawnbroking and moneylending; the loaning of small sums to individuals over short periods appears to have become the primary Jewish occupation of the late Middle Ages.

Traditionally, the rise of antisemitism has been attributed to the extensive credit transactions between Christians and Jews, but recent scholarship suggests the need for a more nuanced picture. Our view of the historical acrimony occasioned by Jewish moneylending may have been distorted by the sorts of evidence that have survived. Some Jewish creditors and their Christian borrowers had close personal relations that extended over decades. But the great body of existing evidence is purely financial in nature, telling of deals that went awry, debts unpaid, and lawsuits engendered.

Undoubtedly, the need for hard-pressed Christians to borrow from wealthy Jews caused great emotional distress, which sometimes issued in physical violence. The first accusation of ritual murder was made by a knight heavily indebted to a Jewish creditor (in 1144); the first expulsion from a town occurred in the context of burdensome debts to Jews (in 1181); and the butchery of the Jews of York was prompted by knights who wanted to burn records of what they owed in order to fend off foreclosure (in 1190). Subsequent ritual murder accusations and riots frequently resulted in or focused on the destruction of lending documents. Complaints against Jewish lending appear in the Magna Carta (in 1215), and requests for relief from Jewish creditors appear often in petitions to authorities. Debtors frequently sought and received protection from paying interest to Jewish moneylenders as the reward for services rendered to the Crown.

But rulers benefited in many ways, and even

popes condoned Jewish lending. Many charters required Jews to borrow money from authorities at a set interest rate, with the understanding that they would, in turn, lend the money at higher interest rates to others. By the mid-twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux could use *Judaize* to mean “lend at interest.” Much of the pressure for Christians to borrow came from rulers, who could suddenly impose feudal fines and other forms of taxation in which services could be exchanged for monetary payments. Knights, landowners, and members of the elite frequently turned to Jews to borrow money to pay such taxes to the king. As a guarantee, they would pledge land or property, and as the debt often escalated, the result could be foreclosure. Since Jews were not allowed to own land, they disposed of it quickly, often at low prices, to wealthy buyers. The distorted effect of such Jewish involvement in the land market often aggravated already tense social relations.

Increasingly, Jews competed with Christians who provided similar services, but Jews could be forced to take riskier clients and therefore charged higher rates of interest. Although they gained the reputation of preying on the poorest members of society, who pledged their clothes or the tools of their trade, the financial records suggest that the primary borrowers were nobles. Indeed, many Jews settled near aristocratic courts to provide them with various financial services. When nobles reneged on their debts or received permission not to repay, the Jews were forced to move. Attacks on Jewish usury deflected attention that could otherwise be focused on central governments. However, consumption loans to the lower classes in a society predominantly based on agriculture meant that even small debts piled up quickly, creating the perception that Jews wielded undue power over Christians, bleeding them dry both literally and figuratively.

Economic and religious motives for outbreaks of antisemitic hatred often coexisted. When Jewish loans were given for security on valuable liturgical vessels, Christians feared that Jews were mistreating sacred objects; loans to religious institutions put Christian clerics under the power of Jewish laypeople, undermining their spiritual authority. Canon law dictated that Jews were to

be tolerated only in a subordinate position in Christendom. Moneylending confused their assigned social role.

Attitudes toward the actual operation of credit in the medieval economy and the role of the Jews differed widely, but symbolically, usury became closely associated with sin. Visually and rhetorically, Jews and money were inextricably linked in popular consciousness, and this theme was given special emphasis in sermon literature. The image of the Jew holding a moneybag became common in all artistic media. Usury was understood as the product of avarice. Lending at interest was deemed to be thievery and therefore sacrilege. Love of money was likewise associated with worship of the Golden Calf and idolatry. The Jewish moneylender—and, by extension, all Jews—was not only avaricious but also unclean and impure. In Christian iconography, the deicide Judas, who betrayed Jesus out of the love of money, was pictured as the typical Jew, holding a moneybag. Popular biblical images presented not only Jews but also Judaism itself as sinful. Bags of money came to signify Jewish sin as much or more than Jewish commercial activity.

In the early modern period, Jews provided the long-term credit for major construction projects and military initiatives at competitive market

rates; only later did they concentrate on the high-interest, high-risk consumption loans for which they were demonized as usurers. The astoundingly high interest rates that often appear in the records were clearly never collected: Jewish creditors or the crown often settled for far less. Jews were limited to extending credit when the era of European economic expansion was drawing to a close, but by that time, there were few other outlets for them. In the early seventeenth century, Rabbi Leon de Modena lamented that if the Jews had any other way of making a living, they would not lend at interest.

—Emily Rose

**See also** Banker, Jewish; Capital: Useful vs. Harmful; Coin Clipping; Court Jews; Crusades; Iconography, Christian; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Shylock

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# V

## **Vallat, Xavier (1891–1972)**

A much wounded and decorated World War I veteran, politician, lawyer, and self-proclaimed “serious antisemite,” Xavier Vallat continued a French form of rural, Catholic antisemitism; reminiscent of Édouard Drumont, he stressed the impossibility of Jewish assimilation and the destructive influence of Jews on French life. During World War II, he served the Vichy state in several capacities, but he is remembered primarily as the first director of the Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives (General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs), a key institution of the Final Solution in France.

The tenth child born to a reactionary teacher and a peasant mother in the rural Ardèche, Vallat came of age during the Dreyfus Affair and the subsequent wave of anticlerical legislation. He read the antisemitic clerical press aimed at a rural audience and then discovered the writings of Charles Maurras, the chief ideologue of the monarchist and antisemitic *Action Française*. By age twenty, he had formed his worldview, composed of a defensive Catholic piety and an aggressive antisemitism.

Briefly a teacher, Vallat welcomed World War I, to which he sacrificed an eye and a leg. After the war, he earned a law degree and served as deputy for the Ardèche from the years 1919 to 1924 and 1928 to 1940, always as a member or ally of rightist factions. Although he had written anti-Jewish texts in the early 1920s, he did not become generally known as an antisemite until June 6, 1936, when, in front of a full parliament, he expressed his outrage toward the Jewish Léon Blum, the new head of government. Receiving numerous congratulatory letters, he convinced himself that he was competent—and destined—to pursue the Jewish Question.

Having served Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain as minister of veterans’ affairs and secretary-general of the French Legion of Combatants, his own creation, Vallat returned to his area of “competence.” In the spring of 1941, he became director of Vichy’s newly created General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs. As director of the commissariat from April 1941 until his ouster in May 1942, Vallat was charged with applying Vichy’s existing anti-Jewish legislation, creating new laws, and administering the liquidation of Jewish property in all French territories. Appalled by the laxity of the initial Jewish statute of October 3, 1940, the director set about widening the definition of Jews in a second statute, promulgated June 2, 1941 (and in a more draconian but unenacted third statute), to include race and religion with the goal of eliminating Jewish social and economic influence. Surprising even the Germans, he ordered a census of Jews in the unoccupied zone administered directly by Vichy and introduced Jewish identity cards in December 1942—both measures crucial to the later deportation and murder of Jews in France.

Although he was a fervent antisemite, it is unclear whether the Germanophobe Vallat foresaw the Final Solution in France and at least doubtful that he approved of it. Nonetheless, by legally defining and registering Jews, stripping them of citizenship and property and livelihood, and directly or indirectly blaming them as a group for the ills of French society, Xavier Vallat contributed significantly to the legislative and administrative apparatus that enabled the Final Solution in France.

—Benn Williams

*See also Action Française; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; France; Holocaust; Jewish Question; Maurras, Charles; Ultramontanism; Vichy*

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## Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Levin (1771–1833)

Rahel Levin, often cited as the most famous case study of “Jewish self-hatred,” denied her Jewishness in order to assimilate to the Prusso-German society of the early nineteenth century. In her own day, she was known primarily for hosting a salon that attracted many cultural luminaries to Berlin (between 1790 and 1806 and, less famously, from 1819).

Rahel habitually described herself as an outsider in society, often belittling herself and lamenting that no one truly understood her. In her letters and diaries, she created her own original poetic persona for future generations; there, she constructed an identity that rejected the very idea of having a stable identity. Hannah Arendt, one of the first to take Rahel seriously, read her life as a failure to escape from her Jewishness in the nationalistic climate of the Restoration. More recently, scholars such as Dagmar Barnouw have focused on a complex of factors that led to Rahel’s constant projection of her social exclusion: her Jewish roots that could not be abandoned; her status as an unmarried woman (until 1814); and her need for approval, especially from the correspondents she unburdened herself to.

Rahel opened herself completely to her correspondents, in Rousseauian fashion; at the same time, she relied on her correspondents as authors of herself. On September 27, 1814, Rahel Levin married the Prussian diplomat Karl August Varnhagen von Ense. She saw in him the person who was able to understand her and who—as a congenial Christian and male companion—could complete her identity search. He partly accomplished this by publishing her work posthumously, beginning with *A Book of Remembrance for Her Friends* in 1834.

In 1806, when Rahel had to give up her first salon, she wrote: “How horrid it is to always have



Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771–1833), born Rahel Levin, hosted a salon at which the leading lights of German cultural life gathered. Her Jewish identity was a source of great personal turmoil for her. (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, New York)

to legitimate yourself! That’s why it is *hateful* to be a Jewess!!” (in Tewarson 1998, 102). This remark is often taken as decisive proof of her Jewish self-hatred, but it mainly documents Rahel’s struggle with her roles as a Jew and as a woman to achieve her ideal of true communication.

The expression of Jewish self-hatred and cultural inferiority is personalized in Rahel’s writing. On the one hand, she converted to Protestantism four days before her marriage and was baptized Friederike Antonie Varnhagen von Ense; on the other hand, she continued to use the name Rahel, obviously a denial of both her new and her old identity; she was somewhere in between, simultaneously maintaining and denying her roots. In the eyes of others, Rahel remained Jewish; they called her “the little Levi.”

Besides the question of her own identity, Rahel’s letters demonstrate her sharp intellect in analyzing the situation of the German Jews and the antisemitism they experienced as a result of Napoleon’s defeat and occupation of Prussia after 1806. This ability can be seen in her precise de-

scriptions of the Teplitz spa society and of the Christian-German Dining Society, which excluded women, Frenchmen, and Jews. In correspondence with her brother Ludwig Robert, she discussed critically the Hep-Hep Riots of 1819 and the wide-scale attacks on Jewish property. She distanced herself from the Jewish victims and seemed to be paradoxically included within and excluded from her Jewish roots.

Arendt argues that Rahel came to terms with her Jewishness at the end of her life, yet Rahel also expressed strong Christian beliefs at that time. So, if she came to terms with anything, it was with her own individual character, beyond any specific religious belief or confession.

—Stephan Jaeger

**See also** Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Burschenschaften; Dining Society, Christian-German; Emancipation; Heine, Heinrich; Hep-Hep Riots; Jewish Question; Self-Hatred, Jewish

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## Vatican Council, First (1869–1870)

Pope Pius IX convened the First Vatican Council (Vatican I) on December 8, 1869, in the midst of considerable political turmoil in Europe, especially within the Italian states that were caught up in the forward movement of Italian unification. Close to 800 delegates assembled in Rome for the council and faced a heavy agenda, none of which was directly linked to the question of the Catholic Church's relationship to Judaism. In that sense, Vatican I bears no similarity to Vatican II, which made the Catholic-Jewish relationship an important discussion topic.

The council was suspended on September 1, 1870, after the surrender of the Papal States to

the invading Italian armies. Its original agenda was far from completed at that point, with only 100 or so delegates present in its final weeks. The papacy was too preoccupied with its dramatically new political status to resume the council. Its temporal power had basically vanished as a result of Italian unification, and Pius IX considered himself a "prisoner of the Vatican."

During the time it was in session, Vatican I addressed two principal issues: how God is known and papal infallibility. The latter is its most noteworthy work. The notion of papal infallibility encountered some opposition in the council. (The bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas, for example, voted against the proposal.) The push for declaring the pope infallible was certainly a theological issue at the council. But it was also seen as a defensive measure, a way of enhancing the power of the papacy at a time when its political fortunes were in steep decline.

Since Vatican I did not address the Jewish Question specifically, it cannot be said that it directly contributed to the growth of antisemitism. But antisemitism was clearly on the rise at the time, and the council took no notice of this very disturbing reality. It did not see the increasing hostility toward Jews within Catholic circles in such countries as France, Italy, and Russian Poland as a major concern. Nor did it regard the celebrated kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara, the Jewish boy who had been baptized by a servant woman and made a personal ward of Pius IX, as any kind of stain on Catholicism. There is little doubt that the vast majority of the conciliar participants supported Pius IX's handling of the Mortara case, as well as his growing identification of Jews with the despised ideology of liberalism and Freemasonry.

The European push for liberal and democratic reforms in civil society since 1848 had a positive impact on the social situation of Jews, leading to their emancipation in several places and a greater degree of individual freedom for them. In supporting the intractable opposition to these political changes expressed by Pius IX and his predecessors, Vatican I clearly opposed a process that was enhancing the dignity and social status of European Jews.

Vatican I thus proved to be no friend of the Jewish community. It failed to confront the

growing antisemitism in Europe or to use its influence among Catholics to counter this threat. At least indirectly, therefore, the council's unconcern seemed to condone the increasingly negative attitudes toward Jews in several Catholic-dominated countries.

—John T. Pawlikowski

**See also** Freemasonry; Mortara Affair; Papacy, Modern; Pius IX, Pope; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, Second

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## Vatican Council, Second (1962–1965)

The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) opened a new chapter in the history of Christian-Jewish relations. Unlike the First Vatican Council of 1869, the church's understanding of its relationship to Judaism became an important agenda item for the deliberations of the assembled bishops. The initial proposal for the council lacked any specific reference to the Jewish Question. But after a personal meeting with French Jewish historian Jules Isaac, Pope John XXIII decided that the council would take up the Catholic Church's understanding of the Jewish people.

The discussion took many turns in the course of the council. For a time, it seemed the effort would be scuttled because of opposition from conservative bishops and some representing dioceses in Arab-dominated societies. But in the end, the statement on the church and the Jewish people was approved overwhelmingly during the closing session of October 1965.

Differing viewpoints were raised during the council regarding the nature of the document on Jews and Judaism. Would it be a totally independent statement? Would it be combined with another declaration, such as the one on the nature of the church? Or would it be a more general document on interreligious relations? The

third option prevailed, with the statement on Jews and Judaism becoming chapter four of the conciliar declaration on the church's relationship to non-Christians known by its Latin title, *Nostra Aetate* (which is often wrongly equated with chapter four).

The statement on the Jews argued three major propositions. First, neither Jews in the time of Jesus nor Jews of the present day can be held collectively responsible for the death of Christ. Second, the coming of Christ did not signal the displacement of the Jews from the covenant with God, which Christian theologians and church leaders—especially the very influential Patristic writers—had claimed in the past to be the case. Finally, *Nostra Aetate* asserted that Jesus, his apostles, and the early church were profoundly impacted in a constructive fashion by their Jewish context.

The conciliar declaration also had a significant effect on another major popular teaching throughout Christian history: the idea that refusal to accept Christ as the Messiah brought on the Jewish community a perpetual social condition of wandering and homelessness, with no prospect of ever again having a national homeland of its own. This teaching came to the fore within the church during the early years of the Zionist movement. Vatican II's elimination of Jewish blame for the murder of Christ totally undercut this classical teaching, even though it made no direct reference to it in *Nostra Aetate* itself.

In another companion document on religious liberty, Vatican II affirmed democratic notions of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, notions strongly opposed by Catholicism for over 100 years and often associated in the Catholic mind with a Freemasonry thought to be dominated by Jews. This document helped eliminate a more modern form of antisemitism that exercised strong influence in certain European countries such as France and Poland.

Vatican II set the Catholic Church on a totally new course in terms of its relationship with the Jewish community. The process begun in the council culminated in Pope John Paul II's naming of antisemitism as deeply sinful and offering an apology at the Western Wall in Jerusalem for its strong manifestation in the church for cen-

turies. *Nostra Aetate* also inspired similar declarations in many Protestant denominations.

—John T. Pawlikowski

**See also** Augustine of Hippo; Church Fathers; Deicide; Freemasonry; Gospels; Papacy, Modern; Paul; Supersessionism; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First; Wandering Jew; Zionism

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### ***Verjudung***

A central concept in modern antisemitic thought, *Verjudung* (Judaization or Jewification) refers to the supposed danger of a growing Jewish influence over surrounding Christian society. Allegations of Judaization were leveled at Jews particularly regarding the economy, culture, and politics, but the concept also carried broader connotations and could even take on mythic proportions. For certain commentators, Judaization came to represent almost any aspect of modern life to which they were opposed and brought with it its own promise of redemption through a process of *Entjudung*, or “de-Judaization.” Although the roots of the idea can be traced back to early Christian polemics over the role of Judaism in the new church, it was principally during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and particularly in Germany that the idea of Jewification assumed programmatic importance.

Although the word *Verjudung* itself only came into use during the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea that gave it birth was already gaining prominence during the 1830s and 1840s amid intensifying debates about Jewish emancipation. Complaints about Jewish usury and economic domination could be heard among both opponents and proponents of emancipation and among liberals as well as conservatives. So, too, if less often, could worries about the role of an acculturated German Jewish intelligentsia in Ger-

man cultural and political life. Above all among conservative opponents of emancipation who defended the idea of a Christian state and repudiated the growth of a modern commercial economy, Judaism at times came to symbolize everything secular and materialist that they hoped to stave off in modern life.

If the equation of Judaism with an unwanted middle-class modernity had already occurred on the Right, the same move was made even more uncompromisingly on the radical Left among the so-called Young Hegelians in the 1840s. By the early 1840s, certain disciples of G. W. F. Hegel, such as Bruno Bauer, Moses Hess, and Karl Marx, had emerged as radical critics of German society, with Hess and Marx going so far as to oppose the whole nascent capitalist social and economic order. Bauer came out against Jewish emancipation, deploying a battery of images from the prevailing anti-Jewish social and economic stereotype to buttress his position. Hess, himself a Jew, and Marx, a convert of Jewish origins, at once supported Jewish emancipation against Bauer yet warned of the increasing sway of “Judaism” in German society. For Hess and even more for Marx, Judaism embodied the entire world of capitalism, which meant that to overthrow the latter, it would be necessary to eradicate the former. Scholars still dispute whether Marx is to be read as fundamentally anti-Jewish or as simply anticapitalist, with an unfortunate choice of polemical rhetoric. It is, however, certainly the case that Marx’s critique and others like it paved the way for the spread of such far-reaching attacks on Jewish influence in society later in the century.

The word *Verjudung* itself may have been coined in 1850 by the German composer and cultural critic Richard Wagner in his essay *Judaism in Music*. Wagner had roots among the radicals of the 1840s, but in the wake of the failed 1848 revolution in Germany, he turned against the democratic revolutionary outlook in favor of a more “German” revolution, to be achieved through overcoming the allegedly Jewish commercial spirit in German culture and society. Wagner’s essay was thus not simply a bad review of certain acculturated German Jewish composers; rather, it was a broad critique of Ger-

man culture itself and an attack on Jewish influence within it.

Although Wagner spelled out many of the presuppositions of anti-Jewish arguments based on the idea of Judaization in the 1850s, it was only in the 1870s and after that other polemicists made the notion a central part of their rhetoric. This move coincided with the more general rise of modern antisemitism in response to German unification and Jewish emancipation after 1870. Wilhelm Marr, for example, often said to have coined the word *antisemite*, stated in 1879 that one of the principal aims of his new Antisemites' League was to oppose the Verjudung of German society; for Marr in particular, that meant alleged Jewish control of the press and the spread of Jewish commercial values in the newly unified and industrializing Germany. Other antisemitic thinkers of Bismarckian and Wilhelmine Germany, such as Paul de Lagarde and Eugen Dühring, agreed. So, too, did many conservative groups, such as the Conservative Party and the ultranationalist Pan-German League. These latter organizations, although not first and foremost antisemitic in orientation, often did play the antisemitic card in their politics, and they did so with reference to ideas of Judaization. Even liberals of the era sometimes associated Jews with the "worship of Mammon" that they saw undermining German society in a variant of the myth of Jewification.

Scholars disagree about how far fears of economic and cultural Judaization may have fed into the racial and biological antisemitism of National Socialism. Marr, for example, specifically defined his antisemitism in opposition to the religious-based anti-Judaism of an older stamp and has therefore usually been seen as a racist antisemite. Others, however, have suggested that even Marr was still moving along more traditional lines. Debates about Wagner and Wagner's influence on Hitler are yet more conflicted. In considering the role of the Judaization concept in National Socialist ideology and practice, though, it is important to keep in mind that the racial interpretation by no means excluded the social, economic, cultural, and political. The notion of *Verjudung* can thus help explain not only the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 but also the prior programs of Aryaniza-

tion of the government, civil service, the press and educational institutions, and ultimately business life, with which the Nazis began their regime. If it is still problematic to trace a direct line from the idea of a spiritual de-Judaization of German society to that of the physical Entjudung seen in the Final Solution, it is at least clear that the range of solutions to the Jewish Question in Nazi ideology owed a great deal to the myth of *Verjudung*.

—Brian Vick

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Christian State; Dühring, Eugen; Emancipation; Fascist Intellectuals; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Glagau, Otto; Heine, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Jewish Question; *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon*; *Judaism in Music*; Lagarde, Paul de; Marr, Wilhelm; Marx, Karl; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Nuremberg Laws; Pan-German League; Racial Laws; Rosenberg, Alfred; Tivoli Program; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Wagners, Hermann; Wagner, Richard; Young Germany; Young Hegelians  
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## Versailles Treaty

Jewish nationhood was not mentioned in the Versailles Treaty. Only in article 95 of the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), one of the five treaties negotiated in the suburbs of Paris that ended World War I, was vague reference made to the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917. Thus, the expectations of many Zionists among the Allied states were disappointed. Despite its silence, the Versailles Treaty nevertheless had a significant indirect impact on the Jews of Europe, above all in the impetus it gave to a violence-prone antisemitism in Germany.

Before and during the war, Jews had devel-

oped only a rudimentary common identity. They fought in all the contesting armies and fell at the front, not as Jews but as soldiers of the countries in which they served. In Germany, notwithstanding the humiliating Jew Census of 1916, the elite elements of the Jewish population fully supported the country and also supported its war aims. The Hamburg banker Max Warburg later boasted (correctly) that it was his bank, more than any other, that had cut through the thorny problems of financing the German war effort. Walther Rathenau rendered great service to the nation in the organization and management of the war economy. Similarly, Jews of the upper classes in France, England, and the United States demonstrated their allegiance to the nation-state and shared in the joy of the Allied victory.

In Germany, the Versailles Treaty met with universal rejection. All political groups, from the radical Right to the radical Left and even the pacifists, condemned its articles as impossible or intolerable. Immediately following the armistice and even before the treaty negotiations, a portion of the bourgeois Right in Germany reorganized itself and set about acquiring a mass base by means of antisemitic propaganda. The Pan-German League and other *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) organizations used Versailles as a catalyst in the process of self-definition. Sweeping, German and International Jewry were held responsible for the German defeat and for the unconscionable harshness of the treaty. Quite purposefully, new racist antisemitic tropes were injected into German political discourse.

The initial targets for attack were the Jewish members of the German peace delegation who had attempted, from behind the scenes, to ameliorate the treaty conditions. In particular, Max Warburg and other financiers were sharply criticized for having supposedly caved in too easily to the demands of the Entente. Warburg's attempts to win sizable concessions for his country from the Allies were easily misunderstood by the public. Meanwhile, the treaty mobilized intense antisemitic sentiment, especially among some returning soldiers. Physical violence against Jews became more frequent. "Jewish war profiteers" were accused of having grown rich off the German people during the war. Liberal

newspapers were attacked because they had not unreservedly supported the extreme war aims of the government and had, according to the antisemites' logic, therefore served the interests of Jewry instead.

The Pan-German League opportunistically sought to exploit the antisemitism stirred up in Germany by the Versailles Treaty. The league's Bamberg Manifesto proclaimed the struggle against Jewry and officially declared a racial war. Pan-German leaders, almost all of them university educated, steered into existence the German Racial League for Defense and Defiance, which inundated Weimar Germany with primitive antisemitic manifestos aimed at the victims of war and economic turmoil. Versailles came to symbolize International Jewry's scheming to destroy Germany, and the treaty itself was represented as the triumph of the Jews. Multiple conspiracy theories fed off obscure writings and decontextualized quotations; the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, soon exposed as a fraud, nonetheless appeared in several editions and in large printings.

The treaty drew the ire of all social classes, but it was particularly on the extreme Right that anti-Versailles agitation was most intense throughout the 1920s. Hostility toward the treaty was not always antisemitic. But the radical rightist, ultranationalist, antisemitic, and, somewhat later, National Socialist agitators who sought to mobilize a mass following ceaselessly hammered into the public the supposedly inescapable associations of "defeat," "stab-in-the-back," "Versailles," and "International Jewry."

—Boris Barth  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; *Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?*; Freemasonry; German National People's Party; Hitler's Speeches (Early); Jew Census; "Jewish" Press; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Pan-German League; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rathenau, Walther; Scheunenviertel Pogrom; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar; Zionism

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### Veuillot, Louis (1813–1883)

Journalist Louis Veuillot, lay exponent of extreme Ultramontane Catholicism, was considered by most Jewish leaders to be their most dangerous opponent in mid-nineteenth-century France. Veuillot's political activism began after his conversion to Catholicism, which took place in 1838 on a trip to Rome. Until that event, his politics had been moderate; he had been a supporter of François Guizot's *juste milieu* (balance between revolution and reaction). In 1843, Veuillot became the editor of the Catholic journal *L'Univers*. From this platform, he became the leading French exponent of Ultramontanism, which looked to the pope as the supreme authority and fought all efforts to separate church and state in France. An emotional writer remembered for his acerbic style, he waged his first battle against the state-run university, whose leaders attempted to limit the control of the church in education. His position on this issue also put him at odds with the moderate leaders of the French Catholic Church. After 1848, he focused his attacks on liberal Catholics, using the same ferocious language that he had previously reserved for non-Catholics. In 1853, Veuillot won the support of Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) in his struggle against liberal Catholicism, thereby making it difficult for even moderate Catholics to censure him publicly.

As early as the 1840s, Veuillot wrote articles defaming Judaism in *L'Univers*, using traditional anti-Jewish tropes. He portrayed Jews as alien vagabonds, accused them of having killed Jesus, and asserted that Judaism (and especially the Talmud) taught Jews to hate all Christians. In response, Jewish leaders defended their religion in the mainstream French press, and they won the support of liberal journalists in their struggle. During the Mortara Affair of 1858, Veuillot's anti-Judaism and antiliberalism reached new

heights and finally put him at odds with Emperor Napoleon III, whom he had previously supported. Veuillot was unrelenting in his attacks on both Jews and the emperor, who responded by suppressing *L'Univers* from 1859 to 1867; Veuillot only regained full control of the journal in the 1870s.

Although Veuillot's anti-Judaism was religiously motivated and thus traditional in content, his two-pronged struggle against Jews and liberalism, which eventually resulted in his total opposition to liberal state policy, foreshadowed the antirepublican form of the political antisemitism that began to thrive in France shortly after his death.

—Lisa Moses Leff

**See also** Deicide; Dreyfus Affair; France; Mortara Affair; Pius IX, Pope; Talmud; Ultramontanism

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### Vichy

Anti-Jewish prejudice and persecution did not begin in France with the Vichy regime. The Dreyfus Affair was perhaps the episode that most prominently called the world's attention to French antisemitism, but as recently as the 1930s, Léon Blum, shortly before his election as the first Jewish prime minister in France, had been beaten savagely in the streets of Paris by a group of royalist students. In fact, constant verbal abuse and virulent antisemitic press campaigns against Blum by right-wing organizations were a notable feature of the Popular Front era. A surge of xenophobia and heightened antisemitism characterized the interwar years in France. Some observers find disturbing continuities between the policies dealing with foreigners and refugees instituted by the Third Republic in its last years and the wartime Vichy regime, but without discounting such links entirely, it seems more appropriate to highlight the distinctiveness of the Vichy years in the long and complex history of relations between Jews and non-Jews in France.

The signal distinction of French antisemitism during the Vichy era was that the French government, on its own initiative and without being pressured initially by the German Occupation authorities, erected an elaborate and comprehensive program of state-sanctioned antisemitism that included more than 100 laws and decrees and two versions of the *Statut des Juifs* (Jewish Statute). These laws defined Jews in a manner more stringent than the Germans had originally planned to apply in Paris and the Occupied Zone of northern France. In contrast to periodic, historical outbursts of popular antisemitism, Vichy integrated into official government policy the views of racist theorists on the extremist, antisemitic fringe. Since these measures were instituted by decrees—the French parliament was never called back into session after voting to grant full powers to Marshal Philippe Pétain in July 1940, and there was no free press or any other traditional marker of public opinion in free societies—it is easier to characterize and describe the behavior of Vichy officials than it is to gauge the reactions of the population at large to the blatant antisemitism.

Although, in practice, foreign Jews were significantly more injured by Vichy's antisemitism, Jews who were French citizens of long standing were also the target of sweeping discriminatory measures. The actions taken by the Vichy administration fell into four major categories: legal definitions of Jews as inferiors; exclusion and isolation from French society through special censuses and requirements to have their identity papers stamped "JUIF" (JEW) or "JUIVE" (JEWESS); economic and financial spoliation through the so-called Aryanization program; and finally, roundup and deportation.

Several months after their conquest of France, the Germans ordered Jews in Paris and the Occupied Zone to register at police stations, required yellow signs bearing the label "Jewish Enterprise" to be placed on windows or doors of all Jewish businesses, and began to assign non-Jewish "trustees" to manage all Jewish businesses that were destined for outright sale or for permanent control by non-Jews. Correctly assuming that this German Aryanization program was essentially a ruse to confiscate Jewish property and



"The true face of the Free French." This Vichy poster sought to discredit the leader of the Committee of National Liberation, Charles de Gaulle (face obscured by the microphone but clearly recognizable by his military cap). He is depicted as the "advance man" for the caricatured Jews who stand behind him, literally and figuratively. (Courtesy of Richard S. Levy)

wealth for transfer to Germany, French authorities adopted and systematically applied a similar policy through the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs, a central agency that was created in March 1941 to deal with the Jewish Question. In the summer and early fall of 1940, before implementation of any German antisemitic measures, the Vichy government repealed a Third Republic prohibition (the Marchandieu Law) on "hate language" aimed especially at the Jews, rolled back thousands of naturalizations that had given Jews French citizenship in the interwar years, and subjected foreign Jews to internment in "special camps" or to forced residence under police surveillance in remote locations. Even before deportations began to the death camps in the East, 3,000 Jews died from malnutrition or disease in these camps.

From its earliest days, the Vichy regime began the process, codified and expanded by the two Jewish Statutes of October 1940 and June 1941, of confining all Jews to an inferior status that excluded them from public function, leadership in the military, or significant participation in the liberal professions and restricted their access to higher education. In line with traditional stereotypes, the French Aryanization measures aspired to remove “excessive” Jewish influence in the economy. The goal was to limit Jewish employment opportunities to manual labor or minor office positions, thereby restricting Jews’ contact with the public to the minimum and denying them all authority or influence over non-Jews. Despite wartime labor shortages, there was no guarantee of employment for Jews in even the most menial occupation—the gravedigger at Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris was fired because he was Jewish. By the summer of 1941, just one year into the Occupation, approximately half of the Jewish population in France was deprived of all means of existence, and the situation deteriorated rapidly thereafter for the other half. In addition to the sale or transfer of Jewish property to non-Jewish trustees, all Jewish bank accounts and other financial assets were frozen, allowing withdrawals of a bare pittance. Consequently, thousands of Jews came to depend for their survival on charities affiliated with the controversial Union Générale des Israélites de France (General Union of French Israelites [UGIF]), a Jewish council created by Vichy in November 1941. Meant to centralize all Jewish relief organizations, the UGIF eventually provided lists that would identify and facilitate the location of Jews targeted for deportation. Moreover, as it did most notoriously in December 1941 with a 1 billion franc fine levied in reprisal for the assassination of German officers by the Resistance, the UGIF offered the Germans a central agency through which to tax or levy fines on the French Jewish community.

The Holocaust was fundamentally a result of German policy, but the cooperation of the Vichy administration with German police authorities facilitated the success of the massive roundups and deportations from France in the summer and fall of 1942 and the spring of 1943. Approx-

mately 80,000 Jews, few of whom survived, were deported from France to Auschwitz and other German concentration camps. The Vichy authorities gave the Germans the censuses of the Jewish population they had ordered the French police to conduct, they concentrated thousands of foreign Jews in camps and assigned them to forced residence, and they stamped identity papers with *JUIF* or *JUIVE*—all of which expedited the arrest of those targeted for deportation. Moreover, especially until the final year of the Occupation when Vichy’s enthusiasm for cooperation in this endeavor with the Germans had cooled somewhat, the French police and gendarmerie provided the bulk of the manpower for the arrests. Despite occasional reports of a lack of enthusiasm among a few individual policemen, orders for arrests and deportation were executed routinely and with firm determination. As acknowledged formally by President Jacques Chirac in July 1995, France’s partial responsibility for the victims of the Holocaust deported from French soil is undeniable.

More complex than this well-documented indictment of Vichy’s state-sponsored antisemitism is the question of the general reaction of non-Jews in France to these policies. Most historians agree that in the early period of the Occupation, there was little resistance to the thrust of the Jewish Statutes or to Vichy’s sweeping antisemitic program in the economic, legal, and social domains. Although public acts of antisemitic violence, such as vandalism of Jewish shops, were relatively rare and limited essentially to traditional antisemitic circles and although many Jews reported individual acts of kindness or expressions of sympathy from their non-Jewish neighbors, most French people seemed either indifferent to the fate of the Jews or preoccupied with their own concerns as they confronted the harsh realities of the Occupation. Only in the summer of 1942 did French public opinion seem to be sharply affected by the German imposition of the yellow star on Jews living in the Occupied Zone (which began in June) and especially by the mass deportations in all of France in the summer and fall of that year. From that point forward, many Jews who were in need of shelter were comforted by the public protests of leading clerics such as

Msgr. J.-G. Saliège, the bishop of Toulouse, and found assistance from non-Jews in French towns and villages in all parts of the country—the rescue of approximately 2,500 children by the Protestant villagers of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon being one of the most celebrated cases. In addition to the direct action that most Jews in France took to escape deportation, the individual and collective actions of many French people were instrumental in saving thousands of the approximately 240,000 Jews who escaped deportation from France during the war.

—John F. Sweets

**See also** Alsace; Aryanization; Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Dreyfus Affair; Fascist Intellectuals; France; Holocaust; Vallat, Xavier; Yellow Star

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### ***Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The (1879)***

The seventeen years that elapsed between *A Mirror to the Jews* (*Der Judenspiegel*) in 1862 and *The Victory of Jewry over Germandom* (*Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum*) in 1879 brought their author, Wilhelm Marr, a succession of personal and public miseries, which he invested with world-historical significance. The shipwreck that was his life in these years helps explain his deepening commitment to the idea of a Jewish world conspiracy and his attempt to politicize this myth in his sixtieth year.

After the indifferent reception of *Der Judenspiegel*, Marr stopped writing about the Jews, but it is clear from the greater depth and sophistication of *The Victory of Jewry* that he had been unable to put the subject aside. Although Marr once again posed as historian, literary critic, psychologist, philosophic, economist, and moralist, his

story could no longer be confined to his original inspiration, the petty politics of Hamburg. *The Victory of Jewry* was grander in scope and passion, the chronicle of an epic struggle.

In 1879, Marr placed Jewish evil in a world-historical, racial, and conspiratorial framework. It was race that made that history explicable. More insistently than in 1862, it was race that explained the mutual hatred of Jews and Germans, indeed, of Jews and all other peoples. On the most superficial level, *The Victory of Jewry* rested squarely on the idea of racial determinism working through history. But even a cursory reading of the book raises doubts about the authenticity of Marr's interest in the historical record. As his many critics noted, his treatment of Jewish history was idiosyncratic and haphazard, to say the least. Only the most damning episodes were selected and then only because they cast a specially lurid light on the German present. Beginning with the Babylonian Captivity and proceeding up to the present moment, Marr showed his readers that the obnoxious behavior of Jews in the new German Empire was absolutely consistent with the entire previous history of the "Race." Again and again in history, Jews had been welcomed by other peoples—up to the point when their crimes made them unendurable. For 1,800 years, ever since their arrival in the West, they had waged a cowardly but unremitting war of revenge. Their weapons were no longer the biblical fire and sword but slyness, cunning, ruthless realism, subversion, and usury—all racially conditioned and perfected. But Marr defied the logic of his own argument by portraying Jews as anything but the helpless victims of their own genetic evil. They were, in fact, conscious, premeditating, disciplined destroyers of the good. Although he assured his readers that he was merely the dispassionate chronicler of the Jewish conquest and personally resigned to enter into slavery, there could be no mistaking his hatred or his intention of goading his readers to fury.

*The Victory of Jewry* went through twelve editions by the end of 1879. Its enthusiastic reception cannot be explained solely by the quality of its argument, however. The transformation of German life by a dynamic capitalism with its

many social casualties, the visible thriving of German Jews, the threat of socialism, and the decline of traditional values had readied large segments of the population for Marr's message. For once in his long career of misadventures, his timing was perfect. He spoke directly to the desperate situation of the small farmer and the lower middle class, the two social groups that would provide the mass basis for all future antisemitic parties. With his best-seller, Marr also registered a changed perception in the nature of the Jewish danger. He proclaimed that the old sorts of casual anti-Jewish behavior—the occasional book, the occasional pogrom—were outmoded. Such measures had failed to halt the onslaught of the Jews. Now, after their emancipation (1871), it was too late for such intermittent and defensive gestures because the Jews had become so enormously powerful. To replace the ineffectual traditional methods, a continuous grassroots political effort would have to be mounted, institutionalized in parties, propaganda associations, and newspapers. The political action program was implicit in the book. It became explicit in Marr's next pamphlet, dashed off in late 1879, *Elect No Jews!* It bore the subtitle, "The Way to Victory of Germandom over Jewry," and it launched antisemitism into the political culture of Germany.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Emancipation; Marr, Wilhelm; *Mirror to the Jews, A*

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## Visigothic Spain

Unlike most episodes in Jewish history, the story of the Jews in Visigothic Spain, in the century after 587 when the Visigothic King Recared converted to Nicean Christianity, has drawn the attention of historians of many schools. Understanding Jewish fortunes in this period is integral to understanding life and rule in the Spanish realms as a whole. The problem scholars have posed is why the kings, beginning with Sisebut in 613, literally forced the Jews of Spain to convert

and why subsequent kings eagerly enforced the policy. Some have suggested royal initiative, others that the kings were following an ecclesiastical lead. One has said the policy was checkered; some kings eased the pressure because, intermittently, Jews were royal allies.

Essential to the solution is that Jews were not viewed simply as members of a religious group. Rather, they were considered a *gens*, a legally privileged ethnic group entitled to permanent residence and a set of laws; for Jews, this was a combination of (surviving) Roman and Jewish law. Conversion, accordingly, did not eliminate Jewish ethnic identity, which explains why contemporary legal texts include alternating references to "Jews," "baptized Jews," and "sincerely baptized Jews."

The Visigothic kings sought to eradicate "Judaism," not the Jewish gens. They did so to ensure their rule. The Visigoths were not indigenous to Spain, nor were they ever a majority. To entrench what was really rule from the outside, they sought to put themselves at the top of a hierarchy: first, through establishing a single faith, and then, when this failed, through a unified law. Jews were forcibly converted, but they kept practicing Judaism. A series of oaths forcing Jews to swear to observe Christianity apparently achieved nothing. The Visigoths therefore enacted a new law code that was binding on all and annulled all previous codes, meaning that members of the Jewish gens no longer enjoyed the rights of Roman law and citizenship, even in the abbreviated forms in which these had survived. The Hispani, residents of the Iberian Peninsula during the Roman period who were Christian but not Visigoth, were also forced to cede legally. Jewry policy thus reflected royal policies of unification as a whole and, hence, their general importance. The law was draconian. Members of the Jewish gens were eventually declared slaves. All this came to an end, artificially, when the Arab conquest of Iberia ended Visigothic rule in 711.

Churchmen faced two problems. Forced baptism, though not unknown, was illegal. King Sisebut's decree of 613 was called an act of "hazy zeal." More difficult was "backsliding," the canonically repugnant return of a Christian to a

prior faith. The solution, which was reaffirmed at a series of church councils held at Toledo over which the kings presided, set canonical precedent; the early modern Spanish Inquisition, nearly a millennium later, was still applying it directly. It was said that *quia constat* (to backslide)—since it was evident that the convert (forced or not) had observed Christian rites—was to apostize. This concept entered the later formal canon law, although some doubted its validity even in the sixteenth century.

—Kenneth Stow

**See also** Church Councils (Early); Inquisition; Islam and the Jews; Roman Empire

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## Völkisch Movement and Ideology

The *völkisch* movement originated in the late nineteenth century in opposition to the modernizing trends of the Wilhelmian Empire. These trends included liberalism, democracy, socialism, and industrial capitalism, the growth of which *völkisch* ideologues attributed primarily to the subversive influence of the Jews. Drawing their inspiration and elements of their ideology from the romantic era and the War of Liberation against Napoleon, *völkisch* publicists celebrated the uniqueness and superiority of the German language, history, spirituality, and “race.” The frustrations of German defeat in World War I and the widespread perception of the Weimar Republic as an “un-German” form of government imposed by the victorious Allies had the effect of shifting *völkisch* ideas and values from the margins into the mainstream of the German Right. The Nazi Party became the most popular and successful of the many *völkisch* organizations,

which it absorbed or superseded after assuming power in 1933.

In 1875, obsessed with purifying German language and culture of foreign influence, the linguist Hermann von Pfister-Schwaighusen (1836–1916) introduced the adjective *völkisch*, derived from the noun *Volk* (nation or people) as a German substitute for the Latin-rooted word *national*. The term came into widespread usage in the 1890s, a decade in which numerous nationalist and nativist organizations were formed to promote supposedly authentic German culture and racial awareness as a way of generating popular support for right-wing policies. Elements of *völkisch* ideology may be found in the works of such early nineteenth-century writers as the poet Ernst Moritz Arndt, the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and the pioneer of physical education Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, all of whom sought to strengthen German ethnicity (*Volksstum*) and spoke disparagingly of Jews. However, the political objectives of the *völkisch* movement that emerged in the late nineteenth century were more extreme than the populist politics of their romantic predecessors. The main objective of the *völkisch* movement—never unified until the Nazi era—was to deepen Germans’ sense of national solidarity through appeals to the mystical notion of a racial blood bond among all members of the ethnic community. This racial mythology was designed to overcome the many social, political, religious, cultural, and territorial divisions in the recently unified German Empire and to create a popular consensus for deeply reactionary and often contradictory policies. This agenda typically included the dissolution of the parliamentary system; the suppression of the liberal and socialist parties and partisan politics in general; the restoration of a precapitalist economic system based on agriculture, handicrafts, and small proprietorship; the “reform” of German institutions allegedly corrupted by commercialism and materialism; the creation of a specifically German religion (whether Protestant Christian or Nordic pagan); the regeneration of the nation through “racial hygiene”; the strengthening of a hierarchical, authoritarian, and militaristic state; the union of all ethnic Germans in a greater Reich; the conquest and colonization of foreign territories.

ries; and the total elimination of Jews from German society. The hallmark of the *völkisch* movement was the overriding significance that its adherents attached to the Jewish Question, defined as a problem of race. From the *völkisch* perspective, revocation of Jewish citizenship rights and expulsion of the Jews were the keys to the *völkisch* project of national regeneration and German expansion.

The principal source of the *völkisch* reaction lay in the transformation of a static agrarian society into a dynamic, competitive, urbanized, and industrial system following German unification, a process that coincided with the full emancipation of German Jews in 1869. Early *völkisch* culture critics, including Richard Wagner, Constantin Franz, and Paul de Lagarde, criticized the Bismarckian state in the 1870s for its economic liberalism, its adoption of parliamentary institutions, and its failure to create a unified national culture. Later *völkisch* ideologues, such as Julius Langbehn, Adolf Bartels, and Heinrich Class, held up the “Iron Chancellor” as a positive foil to Wilhelm II, under whose reign the modernization, commercialization, and “Judaization” of German society appeared irreversible. Although the antisemitic political parties certainly shared a *völkisch* orientation, the *völkisch* movement (also sometimes referred to as the *Deutschbewegung*, or German movement) is usually more closely identified with the extraparliamentary antisemitic pressure groups that emerged in the 1890s and 1900s. The Deutschbund (German Union), founded by Friedrich Lange in 1894, represented one of the first attempts to unify a movement that was made up of diverse racist groups, parties, cults, and sects, often in competition and rivalry with each other. Typically eccentric examples are the “arioheroic” cult of the Austrian Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels, the Theosophic racial doctrine of Guido von List, and the Mittgart-Bund founded in 1906 to propagate the selective breeding projects of Willibald Hentschel. There were tensions also between supporters of a Germanic Christianity, such as the racialists Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Ludwig Schemann, and Arthur Bonus, and advocates of an Aryan-German faith, such as Ludwig Fahrenkrog and Wilhelm Schwaner, founders of the *Deutschreligiöse*

*Glaubensgemeinschaft* (German faith community) in 1912. *Völkisch* ideas were also disseminated in such influential interest groups as the Agrarian League (1893), German National White Collar Employees Association (1893), Eastern Marches Society (1894), League of Industrialists (1895), German Naval League (1898), German Army League (1912), and especially the Pan-German League (1891/1894), which took a radically *völkisch* turn after Class’s accession to its leadership in 1908. There were student and youth groups; women’s organizations; and movements for “reform” in the arts, education, and the professions, all of which adopted *völkisch* ideology. The most extreme leadership cadres of various antisemitic organizations were joined in Theodor Fritsch’s Imperial Hammer League (Reichshammerbund) in 1912. The German Union and the Imperial Hammer League were among the seventeen *völkisch* organizations that joined to form the Deutschvölkische Vereinigung in 1913.

Its populist, anticapitalist, and antiestablishment rhetoric and program relegated the *völkisch* movement to the political fringe of the Wilhelmian monarchy before World War I. But this situation began to change during the war. *Völkisch* publicists actively opposed the German peace initiative of 1917, the same year that the Munich-based publisher J. F. Lehmann launched the movement’s most important postwar journal, *Deutschlands Erneuerung* (Germany’s Renewal). After the November revolution and the collapse of the empire in 1918, the *völkisch* movement emerged from the relative isolation of the imperial era. Its counterrevolutionary and insurrectionist aims swiftly gathered support from a wide variety of rightists, including even the monarchial conservatives. Greater numbers and a more intransigent ideology, however, did not cure the movement’s divisiveness. Though agreeing on the need to organize under the *Führerprinzip* (leadership principle), overthrow the republic, and establish a national dictatorship to create a *judenfrei* (Jew-free) Germany, *völkisch* leaders and organizations continued their cut-throat competition for control of the movement. Aspirants included Erich Ludendorff, the favorite of the *Wehrverbände* (military organizations); Konstan-

tin von Gebssattel, backed by the Pan-Germans; Alfred Roth, the head of the largest postwar extraparliamentary *völkisch* organization, the German Racial League for Defense and Defiance (DSTB); Count Ernst zu Reventlow, head of the Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei (German Racial Freedom Party); Reinhold Wulle, head of the Deutschvölkischer Arbeitsring (German Racial Working Circle) in Berlin; and Wolfgang Kapp, whose short-lived coup in March 1920 received support from all quarters of the *völkisch* movement.

Out of this welter of contestants, Adolf Hitler's tiny, Munich-based National Socialist German Workers' Party emerged as the strongest *völkisch* organization. From the start, its deliberate appeal to the working class made it appear less beholden to the wealthy bourgeoisie than many of its *völkisch* rivals. The banning of the DSTB in 1922 following the murder of the German foreign minister, Walther Rathenau, in which members of the DSTB were involved, left the field clear for the Nazis to absorb much of its membership. The Nazis also enjoyed what amounted to the protection of the Bavarian state, which refused to implement the Weimar government's laws restricting right-wing organizations. After his failed putsch attempt in November 1923, Hitler took a more pragmatic road to power, stressing organizational discipline, political activism, and practical propaganda. In *Mein Kampf*, he scorned his *völkisch* precursors for their sectarianism, lack of realism, and political ineffectiveness. Nonetheless, the preparatory work of the *völkisch* movement (both in Germany and in Austria) was indispensable to Hitler's eventual acquisition of power. The Nazis put into practice many of the long-standing *völkisch* goals, none more important than the elimination of Jews from German society.

—Roderick Stackelberg

**See also** Antisemitic Political Parties; Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Austria; Bartels, Adolf; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Class, Heinrich; Emancipation; Fichte, J. G.; Frantz, Constantin; Fritsch, Theodor; German National White Collar Employees Association; German Racial Freedom Party; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Hentschel, Willibald; Imperial Hammer League;

Jewish Question; Lagarde, Paul de; Lange, Friedrich; Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg; List, Guido von; Ludendorff, Erich; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Party Program; Pan-German League; Reventlow, Ernst zu; Roth, Alfred; Schemann, Ludwig; *Verjudung*; Wagner, Richard; Weimar

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## Vogelsang, Karl von (1818–1890)

Karl von Vogelsang was born in Silesia, the son of a Prussian army officer. After earning a law degree, he entered the Prussian civil service but resigned from his position to become a provincial landowner in Mecklenburg. He converted to Catholicism in 1850, and in 1860, he left Germany for Vienna.

In Austria, he became the leading intellectual figure of political Catholicism. Starting in 1875, he edited the Catholic newspaper *Vaterland*, representing the tradition of Catholic romanticism (Adam Müller) and conservative aristocrats. Vogelsang delved into the “social question,” elaborating his ideas about social reform to improve the lot of the lower classes. In 1879, to promote these views, he founded the more academic journal *Österreichische Monatsschrift für christliche Sozialreform* (Austrian Monthly for Christian Social Reform).

During the 1880s, Vogelsang was an influential voice within the Christian Social Movement, which developed into one of the most important political parties of Austria. His intellectual im-

pact on politicians such as Prince Alois Liechtenstein and Karl Lueger was significant. In addition to his journal, Vogelsang used an informal study group to spread his ideas about overcoming the dire consequences of industrialization and proletarianization.

His theoretical approach was antimodernist, socially interventionist, antisocialist, and antiliberal. His opposition to liberalism embraced a critique of capitalism, as well. He was one of the first and most prominent representatives of corporatism—the supplanting of class and class warfare by the institutionalized cooperation between status groups (*Stände*). Corporatism has often been seen as a kind of forerunner of fascism. Yet it is also the basis of democratic versions of systematic cooperation between employers and employees. Vogelsang linked his theories to the idea of a “social kingdom.” Tying together the defense of monarchy with the promotion of social reforms, he attached his reactionary outlook to a progressive one. Vogelsang was a universalist, a man who believed that society and polity should be conceived of as an organic unity, not as the products of warring individualistic interests and interest articulation. He was not explicitly against democracy, but his understanding of politics did not leave much room for a competitive party system.

Vogelsang’s double strategy of confronting both liberalism and socialism was underpinned by his antisemitism, which, in turn, had its roots in his antimodernism. The evils of pauperism and social volatility he laid at the door of economic and political liberalism. The Jews owed their emancipation to liberalism and were, according to Vogelsang, all too ready to profit from any of its damaging interventions. His ideal was the medieval world, imagined as an age of natural harmony, one not yet poisoned by enlightenment, rationalism, individualism, and the profit motive. He did not criticize Jews as a “race” or as a religion but as the vanguard of social changes destroying the natural order. Capitalism and socialism were both expressions of these changes, and both were prominently represented, according to Vogelsang, by Jews. He did not fight the Jews per se but the so-called Jewish press, Jewish capitalism, and Jewish

Marxism. At least in theory, he accepted the proposition that Jewish identity could be overcome by conversion to Christianity.

Vogelsang’s personal, socially based anti-semitic views were less significant in their own right than what became of them in the hands of some of his influential followers. The most important of these was Lueger, a politician with clear links to Vogelsang who justified his own crude antisemitism by referring to his mentor. Although not a Nazi, Anton Orel, among the more theoretically inclined of the Vogelsang school, represented what passed as “principled” antisemitism in the Austrian politics of the 1920s and 1930s. Vogelsang was not forward-looking enough to anticipate or prevent the “racist” interpretation of his social antisemitism. The limits of his vision—and his sympathies—are exemplified by the critique he felt impelled to level against Georg von Schönerer’s Pan-German politics. He unhesitatingly rejected Schönerer’s anti-Catholicism but not the Pan-Germans’ radical antisemitism that paved the way for Hitler’s. Vogelsang, in the tradition of Catholic antisemitism, showed little regard for the basic rights of Jews.

—Anton Pelinka

**See also** Austria; Capital: Useful vs. Harmful; Christian Social Party (Austria); “Jewish” Press; Linz Program; Lueger, Karl; Pan-Germans (Austria); Schönerer, Georg von

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## Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de (1694–1778)

The leading figure of the French Enlightenment, François-Marie Arouet Voltaire came from a middle-class background but later invented an aristocratic lineage and adopted the pen name

Voltaire. He became the most famous writer in eighteenth-century France, with works of history, drama, literature, and philosophy and on issues of the day. He also produced scientific studies with his mistress and collaborator, Mme. du Châtelet. His most famous writings include the *Philosophical Letters* (1734), *Zadig* (1747), *Candide* (1758), and the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764). A great wit, Voltaire infused his works with satire, directed particularly against the Catholic Church, which he called “*l’infâme*.” His writings were viewed as dangerous to those in power, and he spent many years in exile or in hiding.

Voltaire is widely famed for his advocacy of philosophical and religious tolerance; though he did not actually say, “I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it,” the quote—often attributed to him—expresses a central aspect of his thinking. His fervent support of freedom of thought did not prevent him, however, from ridiculing those whose beliefs he found wanting. Jews and Judaism were special objects of his derision. In his *Philosophical Dictionary*, he called the Jewish people “ignorant,” “barbarous,” and full of superstition. At the same time, he also criticized those who persecuted them, noting acerbically, “Still, we ought not to burn them.”

These kinds of comments created a profound sense of ambivalence among Jews of his time, who otherwise admired the philosopher and appreciated his attacks on the Inquisition and on religious persecution. The Sephardi writer Isaac de Pinto wrote a famous open letter to Voltaire in 1762, in which he lamented that “horrid prejudices” were being “authorized by the greatest genius of the most enlightened age.” Voltaire responded apologetically for having stereotyped all Jews and praised De Pinto, but the interchange did not alter his opinion of Jews in general.

De Pinto’s ambivalence about Voltaire has endured among modern scholars. Some writers who revere Voltaire’s general philosophy have argued that his comments on the Jews were no more than incidental prejudices left over from his Catholic education or results of unpleasant encounters with particular Jews. Others have maintained that Voltaire’s attacks on the Old Testament were not criticisms of Judaism per se but



Voltaire’s fervent support of freedom of thought did not prevent him from ridiculing those whose beliefs he found wanting. Jews and Judaism were special objects of his derision. (Library of Congress)

indirect attacks on Christianity, done in such a way as to escape the notice of censors. Yet others have taken a harsher view. Heinrich Graetz argued that Voltaire profoundly hated all Jews, whereas Arthur Hertzberg saw him as “the major link in Western intellectual history between the anti-Semitism of classic paganism and the modern age” (Hertzberg 1968, 10). This view has been challenged by those who insist that Voltaire’s ideas must be understood in context. Allan Arkush has argued that Voltaire actually spoke more favorably of Judaism than of Christianity. Harvey Chisick has noted that, though Voltaire had a flawed understanding of Jewish history and Judaism, his opposition was to what he perceived as its intolerance and exclusivism, ideals that were at odds with his own universalist ethics.

The debate on Voltaire is a central one in scholarship on Jewish history and on anti-semitism because of his place in the European

tradition and because of the conflicted nature of his statements on Jews. It is likely to endure, for it concerns a question of crucial significance in Jewish history: the place of Jews in modern, secular, universalist societies.

—*Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall*

**See also** Diderot, Denis; Lavater, Johann Kaspar; Philosemitism

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# W

## **Wagener, Hermann (1815–1889)**

Hermann Wagener was born in Seegritz near Neuruppin in Prussia, into the Pietistic and patriotic household maintained by his father, a Lutheran pastor. He studied law in Berlin and in 1838 joined the Prussian judicial administration. There, he quickly became a protégé, along with Otto von Bismarck, of Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach, the influential archconservative. In 1848, Wagener became the founding editor of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (New Prussian Newspaper, nicknamed the *Kreuzzeitung* because of the cross on its masthead), the leading paper of the Prussian Right. Forced to resign in 1854 after a conflict with the Berlin chief of police, Wagener won a seat in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, where he became the leader of a small band of Christian Conservatives interested in social and political reform. In 1862, he became an unofficial adviser to Bismarck on social issues. His task, as he saw it, was to defeat liberalism, win over the emerging class of industrial workers to the Prussian monarchy, and restore their weakening Christian faith. He advocated equal male suffrage over the wealth-weighted Prussian franchise and the right of unions to strike. After German unification, Wagener was officially employed as an adviser in the Prussian Ministry of State. Again, he was forced to give up this position (as well as his parliamentary seats) in 1873, when he was involved in a scandal concerning the sale of railroad shares. Wagener was thereafter of diminished usefulness to Bismarck, although he regained some stature in the 1880s as the publicist whose writings prepared the way for Bismarck's social insurance reforms.

Wagener was not an original thinker. As editor of the *Kreuzzeitung* and the *Staats- und Gesellschaftslexikon* (Lexicon for State and Soci-

ety) and frequent contributor to the *Berliner Revue*, he popularized already current ideas of a “social monarchy” that directly influenced the emergence of Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker’s Christian Social Party at the end of the 1870s. He, like Stoecker, regarded Jews as highly problematic for his vision of a harmonious German future. In the 1850s and 1860s, when few Germans showed much interest in the Jewish Question, Wagener used his access to various media outlets and his personal influence to keep the “problem of the Jews” before the public eye. He presented a motion in Prussian Chamber of Deputies in 1856 to revoke article 12 of the constitution, which stated religion was to be no bar to political and civic rights. The motion was seen at the time as aimed specifically at Jews (and roundly defeated). Wagener opened the pages of his *Lexicon* to a thoroughly antisemitic essay by Bruno Bauer (in 1862), blaming Jews for the deterioration of social unity, shameless exploitation of Germans, naked materialism, and many other sins. Well before it became widespread, the notion of a wide-reaching Jewish conspiracy could be found fully spelled out in the pages of the *Kreuzzeitung* under Wagener’s editorship.

Wagener himself was not a racist, nationalist, or extreme antisemite, at least not when measured against late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century standards. He held Jews as essentially harmful but did not blame them exclusively for all the ills of German society or conceive of them as a terrifyingly powerful force for evil. In a Christian state, as he conceived of it, they simply could not participate as equals.

—George Vascik

*See also* Bauer, Bruno; Christian Social Party (Germany); Christian State; 1848; *Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon*; Stoecker, Adolf

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### **Wagner, Cosima (1837–1930)**

Daughter of composer Franz Liszt, Cosima married Richard Wagner in 1869 and after his death assumed the directorship of the Bayreuth Festival dedicated to the performance of Wagner's works, which she held until 1906. Cosima's attitudes toward Jews were as elusive and contradictory as those of her husband, but her diaries and letters are a valuable source for determining not only her own but especially Richard's private feelings toward Jews, feelings that were often in conflict with their public actions.

Cosima's own paradoxical feelings are exemplified by a comment in her diary on G. E. Lessing's play about religious tolerance, *Nathan the Wise*, which, she wrote, "reminds one of the businesslike attitude of the Jews toward their God." This is immediately followed by an entry in which she noted how a Jewish saying had deeply moved her. Cosima was also apprehensive about Wagner's decision in 1869 to republish the anonymous antisemitic essay *Judaism in Music*, this time revealing his authorship, and her diary chronicles the reactions to the publication, both positive and negative. Her account details the growing admiration for Wagner among activists in the anti-semitic movement, which she sometimes expressed as a vindication of Wagner's anti-Jewish pronouncements, as well as the harsh critiques and anonymous letters of protest. After Wagner's death, Cosima became quite taken with the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and engaged in lively dialogue with him about his theories on Jews. Chamberlain, a longtime admirer of Wagner's antisemitic views, married the Wagners' daughter Eva in 1908 and drew the attention of a young Wagnerite named Adolf Hitler.

Cosima's writings also provide insights into Richard's private musings about Jews, often revealing a deep-seated revulsion toward "Jewish nature," but a revulsion sometimes commingled with admiration and even friendship. Cosima documented Wagner's tutelage of Josef Rubinstein, who, in a state of mental instability, took up

residence in the Wagner home in the hope of being "redeemed" from his burdensome Judaism; the close relationship and frank discussions with the conductor and rabbi's son, Hermann Levi, and Wagner's frustrated attempts to convert him to Christianity before Levi was to conduct the premiere of Wagner's Christianity-based opera *Parsifal*; Wagner's reluctance to speak publicly about the Jews because of his many Jewish admirers; and his more conciliatory sentiment, repeated in various formulations, that the Jews were not to blame but merely came on the Germans too early, before the Germans had sufficient self-awareness to absorb the Jewish influence.

Despite such moments of conciliation, Cosima's testimonies also reveal the ulterior motives of such gestures, as when she attributed Wagner's refusal to sign a petition to revoke Jewish rights to his conviction that he had already done his part for the anti-Jewish cause. Cosima's diligence in recording her husband's thoughts also provided access to some of his most destructive notions, including his fascination toward the end of his life with the concept of the Jews as a race, his basic endorsement of their total expulsion from Germany, and his most shocking anti-Jewish remarks in which, on hearing about numerous Jewish casualties in a fire in Vienna, he proclaimed that all Jews should be burned at a performance of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*.

—Pamela M. Potter

*See also* Antisemites' Petition; Antisemitic Political Parties; Bayreuth Circle; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Hitler, Adolf; *Judaism in Music*; Marr, Wilhelm; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Wagner, Richard

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### **Wagner, Richard (1813–1883)**

One of the most influential German opera composers of the nineteenth century, Richard Wag-

ner is linked to the development of German antisemitism through his writings, as well as the exploitation of his fame by other noted antisemites. The degree to which Wagner is to be credited with inspiring the Holocaust has long been the subject of heated controversy, compelling scholars to look beyond his anti-Jewish publications and to seek evidence of his antisemitism in his private life, relationships, and musical works. Above all, Adolf Hitler's deep admiration for Wagner's works, close association with the Wagner clan, and promotion of Wagner's music during the Third Reich have inspired many to find the blueprints for the physical destruction of the Jewish community in Wagner's life and works. The difficulties in assessing Wagner's own antisemitism, as distinct from the antisemitic image of him that developed after his death, stem from a number of contradictions in his actions. Wagner's politics and personal alliances often fluctuated according to whatever could benefit him most. Despite the support and assistance he had received from Jews, he published his antisemitic attack *Judaism in Music* in 1850, after his conversion from a revolutionary worldview and around the same time that like-minded conservatives had begun linking Jews as a group to democratic and revolutionary political movements. Most puzzling is the fact that he chose to publish the essay first under a pseudonym and then reissued it in 1869 under his own name, all the while maintaining close and fruitful relationships with Jews. A statement by Friedrich Nietzsche initially suggested that Wagner's antisemitism was a form of self-hatred stemming from a suspicion that his biological father was a Jew, but more systematic studies, especially that of Jacob Katz, have offered compelling arguments that Wagner's antisemitism grew out of an uncontrollable artistic paranoia rather than self-hatred, racism, or even a consistent political anti-Jewish agenda. Yet the coincidence of his public reissue of the essay with the impending rise of organized antisemitism in Germany made him appear as a pioneer of the movement and gave him occasion to exploit this position for his own self-advancement.

Prior to writing *Judaism in Music*, Wagner was not known to be an outspoken antisemite

but instead an admirer and friend of a number of Jews. The essay arose out of a strained professional relationship with the successful Jewish composer of French operas Giacomo Meyerbeer, Wagner's own failures in Paris despite Meyerbeer's assistance, and Wagner's desire to liberate himself from this perceived subservience. Wagner's discomfort reached a climax when critics found striking similarities between his own musical works and those of Meyerbeer while simultaneously castigating Meyerbeer's music for its alleged "Hebraic" traits. Unwilling to attack Meyerbeer openly, Wagner never named him directly but instead expanded his object of criticism to include the inherent failings of all Jewish creations, and in the process, he compromised the work of artists he had previously admired, including Felix Mendelssohn and Heinrich Heine.

Thereafter, Wagner seems to have let his paranoia get the better of him, assuming that his identity as author must have been known and interpreting any negative reception of his music as a "Jewish conspiracy" in retribution for its publication. When he decided to republish the essay nineteen years later, it was as a gesture of openly confronting his imagined Jewish adversaries. Ironically, his identity as the author of the 1850 essay was not as widely known as he had assumed, and its republication sent shock waves through his many Jewish admirers. Yet Wagner's unveiling as the author of this extreme attack also had the opposite effect of attracting the attention of antisemitic writers such as Paul de Lagarde, Constantin Frantz, and his own future son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, as well as that of the Jewish musician Josef Rubinstein, who successfully appealed to Wagner to aid him in finding "redemption" from his supposed Jewish failings. The establishment of the Bayreuth theater complex dedicated to the performance of Wagner's works later created a forum for antisemitic dialogue with the publication of the first *Bayreuther Blätter* (Bayreuth Pages) in 1878.

Wagner was emboldened to weave his antisemitic ideas into the arguments of later essays, such as "What Is German?" (1865/1878) and "Know Thyself" (1881). Yet even at the peak of his fame as a prophet of the antisemitic movement, he continued to cultivate close relation-

ships with Jews, especially the conductor Hermann Levi. Realizing the importance of appeasing his Jewish admirers, Wagner cautiously refused to sign the Antisemites' Petition (of 1880) to revoke Jewish rights. With such gestures, he managed to maintain a public image of relative neutrality toward Jews, even though he was known at times to express shocking antisemitic sentiments in his private life, as documented in the diaries of his wife, Cosima.

Although Wagner came to know the racial theories of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau later in life, it is difficult to isolate a consistent racial conception of Jewishness in his own writings. Wagner's impact on later antisemitic views, however, was considerable, resonating in antisemitic publications in Germany and also in other countries thanks to numerous translations of *Judaism in Music*. Wagner's most notorious admirer, Adolf Hitler, was drawn not only to his music but also to the antisemitic writings of his son-in-law, Chamberlain, and he forged close ties to the Wagner family in the 1920s. Wagner's English-born daughter-in-law, Winifred, became an avid supporter of Hitler, and as chancellor, Hitler became a frequent guest at the Wagner home while channelling substantial funding to support the Bayreuth Festival. The links between Hitler and Wagner have become a source of a heated controversy in which Wagner has been, on the one hand, designated as a prophetic architect of the Third Reich and, on the other hand, exonerated as a mere mouthpiece of the commonplace anti-Jewish sentiments of his times.

The exaltation of Wagner in Nazi Germany provoked the exiled philosopher and music critic Theodor Adorno to write an extensive musical and sociological analysis of Wagner's impact on Germany in 1937. In this essay, Adorno was the first to detect antisemitism not only in Wagner's prose but also in several of his musical works. Almost simultaneously, there was a last-minute decision by the Palestine Symphony Orchestra in November 1938 to refrain from performing the overture to Wagner's *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* after learning of the Night of Broken Glass (the November 1938 pogrom). This decision grew into a hotly disputed ban on Wagner's music that has lasted to the present day. The ongoing con-

troversy in Israel, combined with Adorno's suggestions that the roots of racial theory are laid out in Wagner's operas and that certain characters can be interpreted as antisemitic caricatures, have inspired a wealth of analyses that seek to expand or to discredit Adorno's assumptions and raise serious questions about the ethical implications of performing Wagner's music.

—Pamela M. Potter

**See also** Antisemites' Petition; Bayreuth Circle; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Heine, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; *Judaism in Music*; Lagarde, Paul de; Marr, Wilhelm; Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Musicology and National Socialism; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Schemann, Ludwig; Self-Hatred, Jewish; *Verjudung*; Wagner, Cosima

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## Waldheim Affair

The Waldheim affair grew out of the disclosures about the past of Kurt Waldheim, former secretary-general of the United Nations, during his campaign for the Austrian presidency in 1986. The affair raised broader questions relating to the history of antisemitism in Austria, the role Austrians played in the Nazi Final Solution, and the reemergence of appeals to antisemitic prejudice in Austrian politics.

Waldheim held various foreign service posts abroad and in Vienna after World War II, including foreign minister and delegate to the United Nations. From 1971 to 1981, he served as UN secretary-general. Shortly after he returned home, the Christian Democratic Austrian Peo-

ple's Party (ÖVP) nominated him as its candidate for the upcoming presidential elections. In March 1986, the Austrian weekly *Profil*, quickly followed by the World Jewish Congress (WJC) and the *New York Times*, published documents revealing that Waldheim had belonged to the Nazi Student Union and an equestrian unit of the Storm troopers while attending the Consular Academy in Vienna between 1937 and 1939. Other documents revealed that he had also served in Army Group E, based in Thessalonika, Greece. Army Group E had been involved in the deportations of Jews from Greece and had waged savage military operations against Yugoslav Partisans and their suspected civilian supporters.

Although the Waldheim affair became an international media extravaganza, the principal source of documents relating to Waldheim's past, as well as his most vocal critic, was the WJC, an organization based in New York. By April 1986, further research by the WJC and by independent journalists revealed that in 1948, Waldheim had been accused of war crimes by the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission and that these allegations had been reviewed and endorsed by the UN War Crimes Commission. Waldheim denied past membership in any Nazi organization. He conceded having served in Army Group E but denied participation in any atrocities committed by its units, claiming not to have known of the deportations of Jews. The more general strategy pursued by Waldheim and his supporters was to portray him as the victim of a coordinated international "defamation campaign," initiated by Austrian socialists, led by the WJC, and promoted by the international press, particularly the *New York Times*. In the course of the election campaign, the political invective marshaled by the Waldheim camp against the WJC helped legitimate antisemitic prejudice in public discourse to an extent unseen in Austria since 1945. Waldheim also attempted to identify his own fate with that of his generation and country by claiming that he, like thousands of other Austrians, had merely done his duty under the dominant Nazis, an appeal that won the sympathy of many Austrian voters.

Waldheim won the June 1986 runoff election with 53.9 percent of the votes. Contrary to his

expectations, however, interest in the unanswered questions about his past did not dissipate after his election, even though three independent research efforts found nothing criminal in his behavior. Nonetheless, his pariah status was reinforced in April 1987, when the U.S. Department of Justice announced that it was placing him on the State Department's "watch list" of undesirable aliens. Throughout his presidency, Waldheim was largely snubbed by most foreign heads of state, and he continued to be controversial in Austria itself.

His personal biography personified for many Austrians their own ambiguous relationship to the Nazi past. Since Waldheim's election, however, successive Austrian governments have addressed issues of restitution to Jewish and non-Jewish victims of Nazism. The Waldheim affair thus became both the occasion and the impetus for a more open discussion of the legacy of antisemitism and National Socialism in Austria.

—Richard Mitten

**See also** Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Wiesenthal-Kreisky Controversy

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## Wandering Jew

The nature of Jewish historical development and the quest to explain Jewish survival over three millennia explain the remarkable staying power of the legend of the Wandering Jew. The omnipresence of the Jews, a product of their historical migrations, survival of catastrophic crises, homelessness, and problematic relationship to Christ and Christianity, engaged the minds and imaginations of many; a wide range of explanations have been offered to unravel the mystery. These inquiries often fueled and found resonance in the constant reincarnations of the legend of the Wandering Jew that emerged in thirteenth-century Europe.

A central element in the creation of the myth was the story of Cain's slaying of his brother



*The Wandering Jew* (Juif errant), from popular wood-cut, France. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Abel, ending in God's curse that Cain be "a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth" (Gen. 4:8). In Christian tradition, the story prefigured the fate and status of the Jews. Jesus' words, according to Matthew 16:28—"Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom"—contributed another element to the construction of the Wandering Jew by prophesying that some of his (Jewish) disciples would not face death until his return. Eventually, these and other biblical references merged into a legend that revolved around Christ's encounter with an individual in Jerusalem on the way to Calvary. Seeking to rest his burden on the man's doorstep, Christ was callously driven away by the taunt "Walk faster!" Christ responded, "I go, but you will walk until I come again." This was to be the curse of the Wandering Jew, a symbolic, name-

less figure doomed to walk the earth until Christ's return.

Literary treatments of the myth abound in variations. In one of the earliest texts, the figure to become known as the Wandering Jew is named Cartaphilus, and he is identified as the individual who had slapped Jesus while he was being questioned by the high priest (John 18:22). Cartaphilus was but the first of many names. Others were Buttadeus, Botadeo, Juan de Vota Dios, Malchus, and Isaac Laquedem. From the 1602 publication of a German chapbook, *A Short Description and History of a Jew Named Ahasuerus*, that name became synonymous with the Wandering Jew. An immediate success, twenty editions of the pamphlet appeared within a single year in Germany, exposing a socially diverse and large audience to the legend.

In this seminal version, Ahasuerus was born in Jerusalem and worked as a shoemaker. Shabbily dressed and barefoot, tall, lean, and gaunt, with long, unkempt hair and ragged clothes, he had been present at the Crucifixion, but because he rejected Christ, he has been condemned to eternal wandering ever since. The traveler through many lands is sympathetically portrayed, distinguished by his grave demeanor, taciturnity, aversion to oaths and blasphemy, and charitable inclinations. Although his past deed was known, nothing damning is said about him. Constantly questioned by scholars in different languages, Ahasuerus responds in their tongue. On his return to Jerusalem, he will find the city destroyed, and thus, again homeless, he must wander on.

A variation on the German tale appeared in France in 1609 in the form of a popular lyrical lament. Known as a *complainte*, it circulated in both oral and written forms and in at least six versions. All of them place the Jew at the Crucifixion and condemn him to eternal wandering. Some of the more prominent ones mention that he had only 5 sous in his pocket (symbolic of the five injuries inflicted on Christ) and was poorly dressed and shabby looking. Respectable individuals engage him in conversation, but he refuses to be coaxed into joining them for a drink, claiming that he may never rest. He willingly relates his past to them, detailing his birth in Jerusalem and his long journeys in fulfillment of

Christ's prophecy. One of the most popular variants attached what may have been the first visual image, said to record the visit of the Wandering Jew to Brussels on April 22, 1774, at 6:00 p.m. Another widely disseminated version (in 1804) shows the Wandering Jew in the center, wearing a hat and holding a walking stick, while in the background three emblematic scenes are taking place: Christ confronting the Jew, Christ carrying the cross to Calvary, and the Wandering Jew conversing with two residents of the city he visits. Sold for a small sum as a broadsheet or in a chapbook by merchants and peddlers who often made their own supernatural embellishments to the text, the complaint was sung and read aloud in France and later translated into Flemish, Danish, and Dutch.

The myth flourished in seventeenth-century Europe. Dozens of folk renditions appeared in many lands, making the legend into a common cultural possession. By the nineteenth century, the power and familiarity of the image of the Wandering Jew allowed its frequent reconfiguration and application in a wide variety of literary and artistic treatments, some of which were not intrinsically related to Jews or their historical evolution. One such example was the hugely popular and much-translated anti-Jesuit satire of Eugène Sue, *The Wandering Jew* (1844–1845), which portrayed the mythic figure as a symbol of the downtrodden, himself the victim of the ruthless Jesuit villain. More typically, the legend also fed into a broad array of nineteenth-century anti-semitic contexts and arguments, literary and visual. In these incarnations, Ahasuerus took on the malicious attributes commonly ascribed to Jews and Judaism. In response, Jewish interpreters, both literary and visual, countered this tendency by putting a different valuation on Ahasuerus's eternal wandering and ubiquity; these were to be admired because they bore witness to the endurance and uniqueness of the Jews.

In an attempt to come to terms with the complex cultural significance of the myth, the folklore scholar Galit Hasan-Rokem has suggested that the Wandering Jew's "simultaneous presentation as local and itinerant, almost autochthonous as a nature spirit and as exotic as a complete stranger . . . signal the paradoxical identity of Eu-

ropean Jews in their own eyes and in the eyes of their Christian neighbors as at the same time completely local and familiar and on the other as deeply alien" (Hasan-Rokem and Dundes 1986, 52–53).

—Richard I. Cohen

**See also** Antichrist; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Doré, Gustave; Gospels; Iconography, Christian; Jesuit Order

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## Wannsee Conference

A prevailing conception among historians is that the Final Solution of the Jewish Question (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*), the Nazi euphemism for the mass murder of European Jewry, was a vast technical undertaking, an unprecedented state-sponsored crime dependent on a meticulous administrative operation. No event more aptly captures that image of soulless, bureaucratic detachment than the Wannsee Conference, the name given (after the war) to a two-hour meeting convened by Reinhard Heydrich, in accordance with Hermann Göring's instruction of July 31, 1941. In attendance at the villa Am Grossen Wannsee on January 20, 1942, were party functionaries and bureaucratic representatives, gathered to discuss the technical details pertaining to the Final Solution.

Evidence documenting Hitler's decision-making role in the genocide is rare and difficult to interpret; no signed order for the Final Solution has yet been found. So, too, the competencies and lines of command of various agencies of the state and party are difficult to establish precisely. The Wannsee Conference is a part of this general pattern. One surviving copy of the minutes gives a suggestive though incomplete account of the meeting, identifying the presence of

agencies and individuals responsible for administrative and legal jurisdiction in the exclusion and management of those deemed racially inferior, particularly the *Mischlinge* (Jews of mixed parentage) of the first and second degrees. Participants at the conference included representatives from the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, the Interior Ministry, the Ministry of Justice, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Race and Settlement Main Office, the Security Police, and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). Topics discussed included the achievements of past policies directed at the emigration of Jews and the benefits of those policies that were “of major significance to the coming Final Solution of the Jewish Question” (in Levy 1991, 254).

Adolf Eichmann, head of the IV B 4 of the Reich Security Main Office, supplied an inaccurate numerical breakdown of Jewish communities in Europe. The language used to indicate forced removal of Jews from these territories as “resettlement” sanitized the discussion of organizing mass murder. By the time of the conference, the bulk of eastern European Jewry had already been living in squalid ghettos for almost two years. The deportation of Jews to the East was camouflaged as “evacuation,” a euphemism that masked the untold misery, separation from family, and mental anguish of the deported. Heydrich noted in the minutes that the Final Solution would require combing out the Jews of Europe from “west to east” and that the success of this sweep would depend on the coordination of foreign ministries and the appointment of persons responsible for “Jewish Affairs” in the various countries occupied by the Nazis or subject to their influence. Despite the euphemisms and language of high politics, those at the meeting could have had little doubt about the real meaning of their discussions. They raised logistical and technical objections but none of a moral nature.

Historians contest the significance of the Wannsee Conference. It is difficult to describe the event as reflective of Hitler’s long-held desire for mass murder. If the conference were so important a moment in the realization of Hitler’s plans for Jews, why was he not present? Why were members of his inner elite not invited to deliberate on matters that promised to have a direct

impact on one of the regime’s major projects—the solution of the Jewish Question? Why was the Wehrmacht not present? The Transport Ministry, on which the SS would depend to supply trains for the mass deportations of Polish Jews (in the summer of 1942), was notably absent. The timing of the conference adds another element of disagreement in regard to its exact significance. Invitations were sent out on November 29, 1941, for a conference that was to convene on December 9 but was postponed a further six weeks, scarcely an argument for its crucial significance. It is, in any case, unlikely that the purpose of the Wannsee Conference could have been to make the decision for mass murder. According to some historians, this was already under way, at least against Soviet Jewry, since the attack on the USSR in June 1941.

Although convincing answers to these questions are still lacking, the Wannsee Conference is nonetheless important for understanding the launching of the Final Solution. It offers valuable insight into the culture of decisionmaking in the Third Reich. Heydrich apparently felt the need to solicit approval from individuals and agencies with competing ideologies and perspectives, to secure their commitment to and coordination with the implementation of genocide. The conference also served to begin (or attempt to begin) the synchronization of what had so far been localized actions of mass murder into a single European-wide program of genocide. It is probably a mistake to overinterpret the Wannsee Conference as the critical moment in the unleashing of the Final Solution. At the very least, however, the meeting sought to remove or neutralize potential resistance—political, ideological, technical—from within the governmental agencies of the Third Reich, and thus, it symbolized another critical step toward the destruction of the Jews of Europe.

—Simone Gigliotti

*See also* Eichmann, Adolf; Eichmann Trial; Einsatzgruppen; Göring, Hermann; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; Order Police

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### **Watson, Tom (1856–1922)**

Tom Watson became one of the most infamous antisemites in the United States in the early twentieth century. He was a populist demagogue who played the leading role in inciting the lynching of Leo Frank. Frank's extrajudicial execution, in turn, was the most notorious antisemitic murder in U.S. history.

Born just outside Thomson, Georgia, Watson considered himself a proud southerner. Yet he broke away from prevailing regional loyalties and joined the agrarian rebellion against tyrannical landlords, corporate monopolists, and the "money power." Although elected to the House of Representatives in 1890 as a Democrat, he soon left his party and became the leading congressman of the People's (Populist) Party and its presidential nominee in 1904 and 1908.

Ironically, before turning to the politics of hate, Watson—at the risk of his life—advanced the cause of black-white political unity. But he never became a full antiracist, and like almost all populists, he refused to support the "social equality" of the races, condoning neither blacks' freedom to marry across the race line nor their right to live in the same neighborhood as whites. Still, his advocacy of the political freedom of African Americans was remarkable, coming during one of the worst periods of racial oppression in the history of the United States.

After the disintegration of the People's Party, Watson revived his political career by becoming an extreme racist, trading also in anti-Catholicism and antisemitism. Eventually, he returned to Congress, this time as a senator, on a platform that connected the hatred of minorities and the populist resentment of elites.

Crucial to his political revival was the lynching of Leo Frank. Frank had been convicted, on flimsy evidence, of murdering one of the employees in the Atlanta pencil factory he managed.

As liberal forces throughout the nation sought the commutation of Frank's death sentence, Watson used the pages of his newspaper, the *Jeffersonian*, to recommend lynching of this "typical young libertine Jew" (in Woodward 1938, 438). As the conflict over Frank's fate heated up, he thundered: "The next Jew who does what Frank did, is going to get exactly the same thing that we give to Negro rapists" (in Woodward 1938, 443). Nevertheless, Georgia's governor commuted Frank's death sentence. Watson ultimately got his wish, though, when a largely unmasked mob stormed into the state penitentiary and dragged Frank off to his death.

Why did Tom Watson turn out the way he did? This is perhaps the most difficult problem for those seeking to understand the populist legacy. C. Vann Woodward, in his magisterial *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (1938), argued that the violent intimidation and political betrayals that Watson and his followers suffered were, in the end, too much for almost any human being to endure. Watson, a learned historian and otherwise a sensitive soul, snapped, and his previously democratic search for the people's enemies turned sour—and deadly. Other scholars are not as charitable, seeing even in his search for a biracial alliance not an enlightened egalitarianism but evidence of a consistent political opportunism.

—Robert D. Johnston

**See also** Frank, Leo; Populist Movement; United States

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### **Webb, Beatrice (1858–1943)**

Beatrice Potter was born in 1858, the daughter of Richard Potter, who had railway and industrial interests, and his wife, Laurencina, the daughter of a Liverpool merchant. Beatrice received her early education at home, traveled on the Conti-



The writer and social activist Beatrice Webb. Across her lifetime she revealed a range of sentiments and a high degree of ambivalence concerning Jews. (Library of Congress)

ment, and then led a busy social life. But in her early twenties, various influences changed her life's direction. When her mother died, she became involved in her father's business, which broadened her outlook. She also became interested in working-class life and got involved in social problems through her contact with the social scientist Herbert Spencer, a family friend. The collection of her father's rents also led her into professional contact with her relative Charles Booth, a link that resulted in her contributing to his survey of life and labor in East London.

The most decisive step in her life came in January 1890 when she met and then married Sidney Webb. The two worked as a devoted team, with Beatrice's large unearned income to sustain their activities. They wrote and politicked unceasingly for social reform and change, assuming an increasingly important presence in the Labor Party and the Fabians.

Beatrice's early writings, at a time of Jewish

immigration from Russian Poland into the East End of London, presented the newcomers as "a race of producers with an indefinitely low standard of life" and "apparently without the capacity for combination." At the same time, they had developed a "love of profit as distinct from other forms of money earning" (in Holmes 1979, 19–20). In short, she presented the Jew as the embodiment of David Ricardo's ideal "economic man," one who knew none but economic motives. The description was overdrawn and simplistic, but it mirrored the opinions of many of her contemporaries, including J. A. Hobson. Historians continue to debate whether her assessments were antisemitic.

Her later writings reveal a continuing interest in racial and ethnic matters, again in common with many of her contemporaries, who contributed to the then budding social sciences. Her unpublished diary was peppered with gratuitous references to the ethnic roots of the many Jews she met. However, she enjoyed good personal relationships with many prominent Jews, such as Sir Ernest Cassel, who helped to fund the London School of Economics, one of the Webbs' creations. A visit to the USSR, which led to the Webbs' *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* (1931), brought her into contact with many Jews who had assumed senior positions in the Soviet Union. At about the same time, following the Palestine pogroms of 1929, she commented offensively to Chaim Weizmann: "I can't understand why the Jews make such a fuss over a few dozen of their people killed in Palestine. As many are killed every week in London in traffic accidents and no one pays attention" (in Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, 411). As these examples demonstrate, she revealed a range of sentiments and a high degree of ambivalence concerning Jews over her lifetime.

In her unpublished diary, she frequently spoke of being unwell and anticipated the approach of death long before it actually occurred at Passfield Corner in Hampshire on April 30, 1943.

—Colin Holmes

*See also* Britain; British Brothers League; Hobson, J. A.; *Ostjuden*; Socialists on Antisemitism, Wells, H. G.

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### **Webster, Nesta (1876–1960)**

Nesta Helen Bevan Webster was a writer, anti-semite, and world-conspiracy theorist, active in a number of British antisocialist, racist, and fascist organizations. She was born at the family estate of Trent Park, near Barnet in Herefordshire, England, the youngest of fourteen children. Her father was Robert Cooper Lee Bevan, a director of Barclay's Bank and a member of the Plymouth Brethren; her mother, Robert's second wife, was Frances Shuttleworth, the daughter of the bishop of Chichester. Nesta spent her childhood and youth in England and traveling in Europe and the British Empire and was educated for a short time at Westfield College in Hampstead, leaving in 1897 without a degree. In 1904, she married Arthur Webster (d. 1942), a district superintendent of police in Fatehgarh, India. They had two daughters.

She began her writing soon after marrying, eventually publishing three novels. But she is most famous for her historical polemics, which fleshed out her arcane conspiracy theories. Of the eight substantial volumes in this genre, the most influential was *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* (1924). She wrote an autobiography, *Spacious Days* (1950), which detailed her life up to the outbreak of World War I and described her intellectual genealogy, including her fascination with the French Revolution, her interest in world religions, and her relationship to women's movements. Her skepticism about feminism, she explained, was the result of its infiltration by the forces of the world conspiracy. Yet she simultaneously claimed to reject Victorian notions of women's separate sphere.

The autobiography ends without a discussion of her activities following the war, when she emerged as a leading figure on the British extreme Right. During the 1920s, she was a regular contributor to *The Patriot*, the ultranationalist and xenophobic paper launched by the duke

of Northumberland that publicized the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Britain, and to *The Nineteenth Century and After*. Both venues allowed her to expatiate on the threats posed to civilization by scheming Freemasons, Illuminati, atheists, Bolsheviks, and world Jewry. She was also a member of the Anti-Socialist Union and the author of its handbooks.

It was in *The Patriot* that a recruitment article appeared for the newly formed British Fascisti (BF) in 1923. Webster became involved in this organization and sat on its Grand Council but left the BF to form her own Patriots' Enquiry Centre in 1927. Although she did not become a member of the British Union of Fascists, she shared its admiration for Nazi Germany during the 1930s, as evidenced in her 1938 pamphlet "Germany and England." She was approached by Sir Barry Domvile to help with the activities of the pro-German *The Link*; and she continued writing for *The Patriot* until it folded in 1950. Her work has had a considerable influence on extreme right-wing politics in the United States and is esteemed by Pat Robertson, the John Birch Society, and the militia and patriot movements.

—Julie V. Gottlieb

**See also** Barruel, Augustin; Britain; British Union of Fascists; Freemasonry; Judeo-Bolshevism; Militia Movement; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

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### **Weimar**

The Weimar Republic, Germany's first parliamentary democracy, came into being in 1919 following defeat in World War I and amid economic and political turmoil. For the next fourteen years, its enemies on the extreme Left—the Communists—and the extreme Right—ultimately the Nazis—sought its destruction. Although it survived its difficult first years and enjoyed comparative success and growing acceptance from 1924 to 1929, it could not survive the Great Depression and the Nazi onslaught. War, defeat, political radicalization, and eco-

nomic crises combined to intensify and broaden antisemitism, particularly among a small minority of militant racists who attributed all of Germany's problems to the Jews. Drawing on ideas and institutions that predated 1919, these radical elements were most active during the troubled early and late years of the republic. More common, however, were moderate forms of antisemitism that stopped well short of wishing harm to the Jews but ultimately played into Hitler's hands.

The charges leveled at Jews by radical antisemites were not new; rather, they were old calumnies adapted to Weimar conditions. In the immediate postwar years, they stressed the Jews' alleged lack of patriotism. Figures based on a 1916 census of Jewish soldiers fighting for Germany were manipulated to show that they were underrepresented on the fighting fronts. The participation of Jews in leftist and antiwar agitation was held as proof that they had helped deliver a "stab in the back" to the German army in 1918. Later, the charges continued, Jewish socialists and communists such as Rosa Luxemburg and Kurt Eisner had tried to impose a Marxist dictatorship in Germany. When that failed, Jewish liberals had brought an "un-German" democratic system to the nation. That a Jewish law professor, Hugo Preuss, had helped write the Weimar constitution assured that radical antisemites would castigate it as the "Jew Republic." So, too, did Jewish support for Weimar democracy.

Radical antisemites were equally determined to saddle the Jews with Germany's economic woes. Long prominent as merchants, businesspeople, and bankers, the Jews were accused of taking excessive profits during the war and manipulating the postwar economy for their exclusive benefit. Hence, food shortages, reparations, farm and business bankruptcies, inflation, and unemployment were blamed on them. Small businesspeople and shopkeepers were susceptible to allegations of unfair Jewish competition, particularly from department stores. The presence in Germany of nearly 100,000 largely unassimilated eastern European Jewish refugees (*Ostjuden*) fueled complaints that they took jobs and resources from Germans. Other charges against the Jews included their alleged contempt for Christianity

and their pollution of German culture. Avant-garde productions by the composer Arnold Schoenberg, the playwright Ernst Toller, and the novelist Alfred Döblin were held up as proof that Jews promoted decadent modernism and undermined traditional values. In fact, Jews no more dictated German culture than they dominated politics or economy. But that did not stop anti-Jewish zealots from spreading the somewhat contradictory stereotypes of Jews as bloodthirsty radicals and as mercenary capitalists to every corner of postwar Germany.

Chiefly responsible for disseminating this radical message during the early years of the republic was a new organization, the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutz-Bund (German Racial League for Defense and Defiance). It was founded in February 1919 by the Pan-German League, which had expounded ultranationalist and anti-Jewish views for decades before the world war. The new organization distributed millions of leaflets and brochures and raised money for the cause, with additional funds provided by the military and political hoping to shift responsibility for the lost war and the collapse of imperial Germany to the Jews. By the time the government banned it in 1922, the organization had attracted 200,000 members. Also active in spreading antisemitism were new radical fringe parties, such as Adolf Hitler's tiny National Socialist German Workers' Party in Munich, as well as the racist wing of the much larger German National People's Party. The agitation doubtless won new converts to antisemitism and disrupted relations between Jews and gentiles, but it generated little actual violence. The only important exception occurred in Berlin at the peak of the hyperinflation in November 1923, when a mob of unemployed citizens attacked the Scheunenviertel, an inner-city district inhabited by eastern European Jews. The police were slow to react but ultimately restored order and prevented the loss of life. The June 1922 assassination of Germany's foreign minister, Walther Rathenau, by superpatriotic university students was carried out as much for his moderate policies as for his Jewishness, and non-Jewish republican leaders were targeted as well.

During the prosperous "good years" of the republic, from 1924 to 1929, radical antisemitism

abated. The German National People's Party reined in its racist wing, which then seceded. Only Hitler's Nazi movement survived the shakeout of small parties on the extreme Right lunatic fringe, and it absorbed most of the racist militants. In 1928, the Nazi Party won a mere 2.6 percent of the votes in a national election. Two years later, that changed spectacularly as the Great Depression caused unemployment to surge and confidence in Weimar democracy to plummet. In 1932, the Nazis became the largest party, winning 37 percent of the vote. One year later, they came to power legally with the aid of Germany's conservative establishment, more the result of Germans' fear of the Communists than because of major concerns about the Jews.

Hitler seems to have sensed that anti-Jewish diatribes had limited popular appeal, and in contrast to his earlier speeches, he rarely mentioned the Jews during the last years of the Weimar Republic. The Nazi Party resorted to antisemitism in communities where it struck a chord but downplayed it elsewhere. Even when calling attention to the Jewish problem, Nazi propaganda offered no clear program for solving it. Statements by party leaders that law-abiding Jews had nothing to fear from a Nazi government seemed designed to allay public concern over isolated attacks by Nazi Storm troopers on Jews in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany. The inconsistency and lack of clarity that marked Nazi antisemitism from 1930 to 1933 left the impression of opportunism and discounted the importance of racism. Most of Hitler's new supporters came to him because they had lost confidence in the Weimar Republic and feared the Communists, not because they had converted to his views about the Jews. Insofar as they noticed those views at all, indifference toward the Jews and moderate antisemitism neutralized whatever aversion they might otherwise have felt for Nazi racism.

The small minority of radical antisemites that made up the core of the Nazi Party was opposed by an equally small minority of Germans who considered antisemitism a scandal and a threat. Some, such as those who belonged to the inter-confessional Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus (League against Antisemitism), did so in defense of Jewish rights. Others spoke out

against antisemitism primarily in order to defend Weimar democracy. This was especially true of the Social Democratic Party, which understood that a Nazi victory based, in part, on anti-Jewish appeals would mean the end of civil rights for all, Jews and gentiles alike. All these groups cooperated with the Jewish self-defense organization, the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith), which countered racist propaganda and brought legal proceedings against antisemites in the courts.

More numerous by far than the minorities of radical antisemites and their opponents were citizens across a broad spectrum of German society who were influenced to varying degrees by moderate forms of antisemitism. Moderate antisemites shared some of the doubts about the Jews expressed by the radicals without being persuaded that they were central issues or required urgent action. Unevenly distributed among the classes and regions of Germany, moderate antisemitism could be found among workers who distrusted Jewish capitalists, peasants who disliked Jewish moneylenders and cattle dealers, and conservatives of all classes who were troubled by Jewish liberalism. The educated middle classes were particularly susceptible. University students excluded Jews from fraternities and other social organizations and unsuccessfully demanded limits to the numbers of Jews allowed to matriculate. Some of their professors shared the view that Jews were overcrowding professions such as law, medicine, and journalism. Other civil servants, many of them holdovers from the imperial era, displayed similar prejudices. Judges sometimes handed down the mildest possible sentences to antisemites, and police officers were not always swift to respond to complaints from Jews. The German army was a hotbed of militant nationalism and did not welcome Jewish recruits. The German churches advocated just treatment and conversion of the Jews but also criticized them for fostering liberalism, socialism, materialism, and secularism. Such moderate antisemitism did not promote violence or advocate placing significant limits on Jewish rights, but it weakened resistance to Nazism in the last years of the republic.

The victory of Nazism in 1933 meant the triumph of radical antisemitism, but few Germans realized it at the time. To most of them, even the large minority that voted for Hitler, Nazi antisemitism seemed unremarkable.

—Donald L. Niewyk

**See also** Aryan Paragraph; Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919; Dinter, Artur; Fritsch, Theodor; German National People's Party; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Goebbels, Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; Jew Census; League against Antisemitism; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Party Program; *Ostjuden*; Pan-German League; Rathenau, Walther; Reventlow, Ernst zu; Rosenberg, Alfred; Scheunenviertel Pogrom; Socialists on Antisemitism; Thule Society

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### **Weininger, Otto (1880–1903)**

Born in Vienna in 1880, Otto Weininger is notorious as the Jewish thinker whom Hitler praised—for acting on the consequences of his thought by killing himself. Weininger shot himself in 1903 and is usually regarded as the classic example of a Jewish self-hater. This image is, however, superficial, and obfuscates valuable aspects of Weininger's thought, not least on the subject of antisemitism.

Weininger's main work, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character), was based on the idea that bisexuality is a universal phenomenon among human beings. Instead of men and women being distinct sexes, Weininger posited that there was some male and some female plasma in everyone, to varying degrees. He explained the complex spectrum of sexual types, including homosexuality, in terms of varying combinations of the ideal types of Man and Woman that lay behind empirical reality but were not of it.

He delineated these ideal types in terms redolent of conventional, misogynistic thinking on gender, strongly influenced by postromantic

German thinkers such as Arthur Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner. Man became the rational, intellectual, and moral principle and the genius, whereas Woman represented the earthbound, instinctive, and sensual side of human existence. Hence, Weininger asserted that the only true emancipation of women was from Woman.

His thesis often broke down in navigating between the empirical and the theoretical, and it was especially marred by his insistence on the superiority of all men to women. Even so, Weininger's purpose was emancipatory. He ultimately demanded equal rights for women as human beings and blamed men and their sexual demands for women's inability to free themselves from their "unconscious" female existence.

Weininger's significance to the study of antisemitism rests on the chapter in his book entitled "*Das Judentum*" (inadequately translated as Judaism). He apparently added this to demonstrate the applicability of his method in other subjects but also to extend the consequences of his thinking into the realm of religion. His analysis of the ideal types of the "Jew" and the "Aryan," similar to that of Man and Woman and similarly flawed, posited a polar opposition between the positive ideal of the Aryan Man and the negative ideal of the Jew, which allowed Weininger to indulge many of the prejudices about Jews acquired from his upbringing and his reading of cultural antisemites such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain. There were many similarities between the character of the Jew and of Woman; ultimately, though, there were crucial differences. If Woman represented the unconscious material world, the Jew represented something even worse: unbelief and nihilism. The Jew was the person who did not believe in anything, but "belief is everything." Therefore, the only way that the Jew could be redeemed was for him to overcome himself and become a Christian. (Weininger converted to Protestantism in 1902.)

On the face of it, this was clearly at least cultural antisemitism, but there were two aspects that resulted in a surprising reversal of expected conclusions. First, antisemitism was "Jewish." As with Man and Woman, "the Jew" was not present as such in empirical reality but was instead a

spiritual possibility for all individuals. Weininger stressed that his Jew was not to be confused with empirical Jews or even the Jewish religion but was a universal possibility (even if it might have found its strongest concentration in historical Judaism). Indeed, the antisemitism of Aryan artists such as Wagner was to be explained by their hatred of the Jew within themselves. Antisemitism, indeed, was doubly Jewish. It was a projection of the hatred of one's own Jewish self onto the Jewish other and, as such, illogical and immoral. Actual Jewish self-hatred, as the necessary starting point for redemptive self-overcoming, was good, but antisemitism diverted onto others the self-loathing that should have been tackled internally and was thus bad. Also, antisemitism by its very nature treated individuals in collective, generic terms, which went against Kantian, Aryan individualism and was a Jewish way of thinking.

Second, Weininger asserted, self-overcoming Jews were the hope of Mankind and were spiritually superior to non-Jewish Aryans. The discussion about Judaism became a discussion about Christianity, especially the meaning of Jesus Christ's being born a Jew. The Jew could never be a normal genius like an Aryan Man, but a self-overcoming Jew, such as Jesus Christ, could become the greatest genius of all—the founder of religion. The implication was that only Jews, most heavily concentrated among empirical Jewry, could have the truly Christian religious experience of self-struggle, in contrast to those purer and simpler Aryans who had a commensurately simpler approach to faith.

Weininger's approach to the Jewish Question universalized the Jewish problem as a general problem of nihilism, while also protecting Jews, including empirical Jewish individuals, from antisemitism by individualizing the problem's solution. Weininger's approach was clearly marked by conventional prejudices against Jewishness, but if this was antisemitism, it was a very strange form of it.

—Steven Beller

**See also** Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Freud, Sigmund; Hirschfeld, Magnus; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Schnitzler, Arthur; Schopenhauer, Arthur; Self-Hatred, Jewish; Wagner, Richard

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## Well Poisoning

In the twelfth century and earlier, Jews were frequently accused of poisoning individuals, especially in cases when the patients of Jewish doctors died. In conjunction with the charge of ritual murder, they were said to have thrown the bodies of their victims into wells. In 1308, 1316, and 1319, in scattered locales in southern France, these allegations culminated in the charge that Jews committed murder on a massive scale by poisoning wells. Jews and lepers were accused of conspiring to destroy Christendom. The charge appeared again during the 1320 Shepherds' Crusade (*pastoureaux*), when mobs of peasants attacked the Jews of southern France.

The stories grew increasingly fantastic, detailed, and wide-ranging. They also took on political overtones when Jews were said to conspire with foreign powers, the kings of Tunis and Granada. Chroniclers took these allegations seriously and claimed that Jews concocted their poisons from blood, urine, herbs, and spices. Other identified ingredients included snakes' heads, toads' legs, and women's hair. A Jew confessed under torture to having made poisons from frogs, lizards, and the flesh and hearts of Christians.

Jews were fined for the crime of *lèse-majesté* (insulting the sovereign) and had their possessions confiscated. Poor Jews were expelled on the basis of the charge; rich Jews were held for heavy ransom. In France, the context for these charges was a depleted treasury and a severe famine, which lasted from 1315 to 1322, exactly the years Jews had been allowed back into the country after their expulsion in 1306. Panic and greed created the atmosphere in which the myth could flourish.

Panic emerged again during the scourge of the Black Death in 1348, when widespread terror prompted a revival of the well poisoning charge. In areas where Jews appeared to die of the plague in fewer numbers than Christians, possibly because of better hygiene and greater isolation, lower mortality rates provided evidence of Jewish

guilt. In cases where Jews suffered more, however, this was seen as proof that they were the source of the disease. The well poisoning accusation united potent fears of science, religion, and politics to produce deadly consequences for Jews. Many thousands were killed. The Jews of Chinon, France, were put to death. A mass suicide took place at Vitry. A further 60 large and 150 small Jewish communities were extinguished.

The original charges were centered in southern France in the fourteenth century, but accusations of well poisoning became commonplace in the literature of the early modern period and spread far and wide thereafter. Christopher Marlowe's protagonist in *The Jew of Malta* is portrayed as one who enjoys poisoning wells. Accusations of Jewish well poisoning, which were originally limited in the medieval period, have reappeared in modern times in literature that links Jews with poison in allegorical terms as dangers to public health. The charge is reiterated in antisemitic propaganda found on the Internet.

—Emily Rose

**See also** Doctors' Plot; Host Desecration; *Jew of Malta, The*; Middle Ages, High; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Sorcery/Magic

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## Wells, H. G. (1866–1946)

The prolific English writer Herbert George Wells came from a lower-middle-class background. He made his name early in life with "scientific romances," such as his celebrated *Time Machine*, published in 1895. Being a professed Darwinist and socialist, he wrote numerous novels as well as sociological, political, and historical books in which he combined both outlooks. Generally, his works advocated a eugenically based scheme for a scientifically planned society in which an enlightened minority would lead humanity toward worldly salvation and thereby circumvent the dangers of racial degeneration. During the course of his life, Wells acquired a readership of mil-

lions. He became a public educator, who claimed to "have always refused to be enlightened and sympathetic about the Jewish question" (*Experiment in Autobiography*, 1934). Wells located the Jewish problem within a general framework of racial thinking that included colonized peoples as well as depraved sections of the gentile population he called the "rabble of the Abyss." Efficiency, he said, would be the test of whether peoples or alleged races had to "die out" so that a better future—that is, one in accord with Darwinian insights—could result (*Anticipations*, 1901).

Wells linked his ideas on degeneration, as the negative side of evolution, to a critique of modern capitalism; by this, he meant the spirit of commercialism, which, in turn, he held to be the essence of Jewishness. He argued that under the existing system, the "rat-like" and "intensely acquisitive" people would prevail like the "ignoble sort of Jew," whom he reproached as "the very type of it" (*New Worlds for Old*, 1908). He also spoke of a "racial Jewish commercialism" (*The Outline of History*, 1920).

On the basis of these ideas, Wells developed an outlook in which he constructed a dystopian societal vision of a Semitic England in the process of eroding traditional social unity and Anglo-Saxon values, replacing them with selfish individuality. The new money-defined and thus "pseudomorphous" (*Tono-Bungay*, 1909) Jewish gentry of Britain was eagerly learning the "art of breaking in Anglo-Saxon villagers." Some also used their connections to manipulate the London stock market (*Marriage*, 1912). Wells was certain that the Jewish people wanted to "bring the whole world at last under the benevolent but firm Jewish heel" (*The Outline of History*, 1920). He invoked an antisemitic dichotomy of a productive, caring capital against the conspiring Jewish money-grubbing that preyed parasitically on the social body politic.

Even though Wells took a stance against the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany, he held that "one could never tell whether a Jew was being a citizen or just a Jew" and that "their peculiarities aroused bitter resentment" (*The Shape of Things to Come*, 1933). Wells was still accusing Jews of a refusal to assimilate in 1939 (*Travels of a Republican Radical in Search of Hot*

*Water*), thus blaming their inherent qualities for the existence of antisemitism. Wells's ambivalent relationship to anti-Jewish violence was on view early in his literary career. His *Invisible Man* (1897) fights the temptation to "hit" the "silly countenance" of his Polish Jewish landlord when threatened by eviction but sets the house on fire instead.

—Sören Niemann-Findeisen

**See also** Belloc, Hilaire; Britain; Capital: Useful vs. Harmful; Chesterton, G. K.; English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; English Literature of the Twentieth Century; Eugenics; Nordau, Max; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Racism, Scientific; Social Darwinism; Webb, Beatrice

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Edith Wharton. With a plot that introduces a rich Jewish bachelor into the patrician society of old New York, Wharton's novel, *The House of Mirth* (1905), is a revealing study in the language of antisemitism.  
(Bettmann/Corbis)

## Wharton, Edith (1862–1937)

A wealthy American writer born into New York's high society, Edith Wharton wrote her best work as an embittered satirist of that society: a society in which (in her view) women existed only to be married and the only object of marriage was money. With a plot that introduces a rich Jewish bachelor into this social system, Wharton's novel *The House of Mirth* (1905) is a revealing study in the language of antisemitism.

*The House of Mirth* tells the story of Lily Bart, a pure and good young woman destroyed by the Darwinian apparatus of sex and money. As the tragic plot unfolds, a measure of Lily's degradation is that she is forced to consider marrying the Jew. Now, this Jew is only one of the men in Lily's world, and Wharton's satire is no more merciless to him than it has been to the others. In fact, compared to such Christian characters as the friend who tries to rape Lily, Rosedale the Jew

shows up relatively well. He is a vulgarian and a calculating social climber, but his affection for Lily is real, and a glimpse of him in an unguarded moment of tenderness convinces her that he would be a good father.

But none of this matters to the character Lily Bart, to her creator Edith Wharton, or to the readers for whom Wharton wrote. Like every book, *The House of Mirth* is a language system operating under the rules of a social grammar, and in 1905, that grammar regarded it as an absurdity for a subject such as "Lily" to take the appositive "Mrs. Rosedale." When the plot of the novel brings Lily to the point of doing so anyway, she becomes a solecism in herself: a communication that is socially wrong, like saying "I seen." Halfway through the book, therefore, a change occurs in the grammar governing "Lily." The name begins falling under the usage rules of gos-

sip. Having been used in sentences with the word "Jew," it is now a Jew-word.

"When a girl 's as good-looking as that [remarks one of Lily's acquaintances, Ned Van Alstyne] she 'd better marry; then no questions are asked. In our imperfectly organized society there is no provision as yet for the young woman who claims the privilege of marriage without assuming its obligations."

"Well, I understand Lily is about to assume them in the shape of Mr. Rosedale," Mrs. Fisher said with a laugh.

"Rosedale—good heavens!" exclaimed Van Alstyne, dropping his eye-glass.  
"Stepney, that 's your fault for foisting the brute on us."

"Oh, confound it, you know, we don't marry Rosedale in our family," Stepney languidly protested; but his wife, who sat in oppressive bridal finery at the other side of the room, quelled him with the judicial reflection: "In Lily's circumstances it 's a mistake to have too high a standard." (Bk. 1, chap. 14)

Since gossip now controls the word "Lily," it also controls the word's referent, the woman. Halfway through *The House of Mirth*, Lily has been able to reject Rosedale's proposal, but by the end—humiliated, impoverished, contaminated—she is forced to propose to him. With that act, Lily violates a social law of her world, and Rosedale reacts to her desperation in a hideously intimate way: by looking at and then speaking to her frankly, unmasked, as a man outside the law from birth—that is, as a Jew. Wharton introduces his speech with a descriptive passage written in the mercantile code language of traditional anti-semitism: "He met this with a steady gaze of his small stock-taking eyes, which made her feel herself no more than some superfine human merchandise." Then she has him say:

"Last year I was wild to marry you, and you wouldn't look at me: this year—well, you appear to be willing. Now, what has changed in the interval? Your situation, that 's

all. Then you thought you could do better; now—"

"You think you can?" broke from her ironically.

"Why, yes, I do: in one way, that is. . . . I want to have the run of the best houses; and I 'm getting it too, little by little. But I know the quickest way to queer yourself with the right people is to be seen with the wrong ones; and that 's the reason I want to avoid mistakes. . . .

I'm more in love with you than ever, but if I married you now I 'd queer myself for good and all, and everything I've worked for all these years would be wasted." (Bk. 2, chap. 7)

The book will end with Lily's death, of course. But the preceding passage has prepared the reader to see that her death will not be unhappy. Lily has survived the utmost humiliation a Christian woman can endure: to contemplate herself not just in economic terms but also in Jewish economic terms. Surviving to die a Christian, she enables Edith Wharton to continue writing a language with a Christian social grammar. In *The House of Mirth*, the chronicler of a world where women are subordinate to men and men are subordinate to money has given us a female Christ who dies to establish the price of the word "Jew."

—Jonathan Morse

*See also* English Literature of the Twentieth Century; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Seligman-Hilton Affair

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## White Power Movement

Members of the White Power movement commonly feel that the white race is losing or has lost its dominant position in American society and the world in general. At their rallies, they often

chant “White Power, White Pride” as they call for a return of whites to their former influence. As Betty Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile have pointed out, some question whether this is a social movement or simply various fractionalized groups with limited direction, leadership, and resources (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997, 9–17). Movement participants have been labeled white separatists, white supremacists, white nationalists, or white racialists, with subtle differences in the meanings of these terms. The many ideological divisions and strategic disagreements in the movement make generalizing difficult, but the Ku Klux Klan, National Socialists, and skinheads are major groupings. According to the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, George Lincoln Rockwell started the American version of the neo-Nazi movement in 1958 when he formed the American Nazi Party, which later became the National Socialist White People’s Party. Current National Socialist organizations in the United States support the policies of Hitler and the Third Reich to varying degrees and often celebrate Hitler’s birthday on April 20. Others in the movement question such support and criticize those displaying the swastika at rallies.

Movement supporters are also divided by their religious beliefs. Some argue that religion is a personal matter and/or that “my race is my religion.” Many espouse Christian Identity, others support the World Church of the Creator, and the number of racial pagans (for example, Odinists or Wotanists) associated with the occult is growing. These beliefs have been described as antisemitic by researchers. Michael Barkun identified three key tenets of Christian Identity: (1) white Aryans are the offspring of the tribes of Israel according to the Bible; (2) Jews are the children of the devil; and (3) the world is approaching a final apocalyptic struggle between good and evil, with Aryans battling to save the world from a Jewish conspiracy (Barkun 1997, x–xi). Christian Identity maintains that the white race is predominantly Semitic because it consists of descendants of the lost sheep of the House of Israel. Therefore, accusing white believers of being antisemitic is illogical. From the Christian Identity perspective, they may be anti-Jewish, but they are not antisemitic.

White Power advocates portray Jews differently from most other minorities. Jews are seen as powerful and formidable opponents; indeed, Jews who fill major positions in corporations, government, entertainment, international banking, and the media are frequently pictured as the archenemy harming the white race. Often, movement supporters use the acronym ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) to describe the federal government. Others in the movement recognize that whites occupy the major political positions, and they call them race traitors because they do not promote the interests of the white race. Some focus on trying to wake up whites so they can develop racial consciousness and identity.

Mattias Gardell has argued that many movement organizations detect a major Jewish conspiracy to rule the world and assume “that the thoughts and acts of every Jew everywhere by nature are synchronized to the end of exterminating the Aryan race to secure global supremacy” (Gardell 2003, 103). White Power movement members typically espouse many of the common stereotypes regarding Jews, picturing them as greedy, dishonest, clannish, conceited, and pushy, as well as power hungry. Some, however, compliment Jews for maintaining their identity and creating a separatist state (Israel).

The White Power movement tends to advance certain views associated with Holocaust revisionism (although revisionist historians may not necessarily espouse White Power ideology). Using the term *Holohoax*, many in the White Power movement question whether 6 million Jews really died in the Holocaust. Others applaud the Holocaust, and still others are disappointed that Hitler did not completely exterminate the Jews.

Although Jews tend to support liberal policies and reject white separatist goals, Carol Swain was surprised to find that a few Jews have aligned themselves with certain white nationalist beliefs. She has attributed this to their anger at affirmative action and other race-based policies, disdain for African Americans, and the decreasing antisemitism in the broader American population (Swain 2002, 70, 236).

—Betty A. Dobratz

**See also** American Nazi Party; Antichrist; Christian Identity Movement; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Internet; Ku Klux Klan; Militia Movement; Nazi Rock; Neo-Nazism, German; Rockwell, George Lincoln; United States

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convicted of procuring girls and women for Constantinople, was a watershed that provoked anti-semites in the Habsburg Empire. They ignored the fact that most of the victims were Jewish. Later, Hitler's lurid description of Viennese Jewish traffickers in *Mein Kampf* (1925) reflected the currency of this material.

There was a vigorous Jewish response to this dangerous *chillul hashem*, or “desecration of the Name,” as some leaders described it, and to the victimization of Jewish women, a minority of whom were truly being entrapped. Jewish workers in Warsaw destroyed brothels in the celebrated 1905 *Alphonse pogrom* (*Alphonse* was the slang term for pimp). Social ostracism caused the unclean ones to establish their own synagogue and cemetery both in Buenos Aires and in Constantinople. Jewish vigilantes worked against the traffickers in New York and Cardiff.

A systematic international effort emerged with two focal points. In England, the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, founded in 1896 with ongoing support from the Jewish Colonization Association, organized protective and police work in South America. In Germany at about the same time, the B'nai B'rith chapters of Hamburg and Berlin made this work part of the movement for Jewish self-defense against antisemitism.

In addition to building their own network of vigilance committees, Jews were central to the general international volunteer movement against white slavery, work that was ultimately taken over by the League of Nations. Jewish efforts were responsible for legislation against procuring and juvenile prostitution in Britain, South Africa, and Illinois and Louisiana in the United States. Many Jewish victims were dramatically rescued. The issue became a rallying cry for Jewish feminists in Germany, Hungary, and the United States. Combating white slavery promoted communal solidarity in a number of places and led German Jews to organize social reconstruction in Galicia, where impoverished *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) sometimes became involved in the traffic.

Jewish white slavery was a self-limiting phenomenon tied to the breakup of traditional Jewish life, mass migration, poverty, and persecu-

## White Slavery

Beginning about 1870, Jews played a conspicuous, if not a majority, role in white slavery, the dramatic contemporary term for the commercial prostitution that was the most extensive manifestation of organized crime in the pre-World War I era. Jewish procurers and brothel keepers were prominent in the cities of Poland, the Russian Pale, Hungary, Galicia, Bukovina, and Romania. Jews also trafficked gentile and Jewish women along every migratory route to western Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Asia. There were substantial colonies of “unclean ones,” as they were called by their hostile coreligionists in such places as New York, Buenos Aires, Johannesburg, and Constantinople, and there were smaller settlements in dozens of cities from Chicago to Rio de Janeiro to Harbin, Manchuria.

Jewish leaders feared, with good cause, that white slavery would provide powerful material for the emerging antisemitic movement, which became attentive as early as 1869 when Henry Gougenot des Mousseaux sardonically proclaimed that this new development displayed the “morality of the Talmud in action” (Bristow 1982, 22). Édouard Drumont agreed, and in Germany, Otto Glagau and Theodor Fritsch reported on every incident in their papers and pamphlets. The 1892 trial of twenty-two traffickers in the Galician city of Lemberg, who were

tion. Except in South America, it had largely disappeared by 1939.

—Edward Bristow

**See also** Drumont, Édouard; Fritsch, Theodor; Glagau, Otto; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; *Mein Kampf*; *Ostjuden*; Russia, Imperial; *Talmud Jew, The*

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## White Terror (Hungary)

The catastrophe of World War I generated social turmoil and political upheaval in the defeated Central Powers. In immediate postwar Hungary, an ineffective progressive government was supplanted in March 1919 by the Communist regime of Bela Kun, a dogmatic Bolshevik of Jewish origin. Although initially popular, the Soviet Republic Kun proclaimed in June 1919 quickly provoked a reactionary, xenophobic, anticommunist (White) reaction.

From March to August 1919, the doctrinaire and harsh communist regime nationalized private assets and liquidated 500 to 600 alleged “enemies of the working class.” Even though the heavily middle-class Jewish community suffered proportionately greater losses than the population in general, the presence of thirty-two members of Jewish origin among the Soviet’s forty-five commissars facilitated a fiercely antisemitic—and highly successful—propaganda campaign by the White junta. One of its abiding and fateful consequences was to implant in public opinion the notion that Hungarian Jewry and Kun’s regime were synonymous. Jews were reviled as the spirit behind communist revolution.

Originally, the White leadership consisted of two factions, one based in Vienna, the other in Szeged in southern Hungary. Although both vehemently opposed the Soviet regime, the Vienna

group, composed largely of aristocratic elements, advocated an authoritarian, neofeudal restoration of historic “Christian Hungary.” In contrast, the southern contingent, consisting of less influential social groups, championed the Szegeds Concept, an intransigent counterrevolutionary agenda of extreme nationalism, anticommunism, territorial revisionism, and virulent antisemitism. Unlike the aristocratic Whites, these lower-class elements also demanded a thorough restructuring of Hungary into a totalitarian state. The Szegeds later boasted that they pioneered fascism and Nazism in Hungary.

Despite his alignment with the Vienna group, Adm. Miklós Horthy, supremo of the 12,000-strong White militia, instituted the Szegeds’s uncompromising strategy of “national purification and regeneration,” a crusade to eliminate “alien Judeo-Bolshevik” elements in Hungary. In early August 1919, after Kun’s Soviet fled interventionist Romanian forces, Horthy’s militia intensified its terror campaign, massacring from 5,000 to 6,000 people, mainly Jews but also left-wingers and sundry other perceived traitors to Christian Hungary. The consciously intimidating nature of the White Terror was made clear by the public nature of the atrocities. Further, over 70,000 “suspects” were imprisoned in newly created concentration camps. The situation was so desperate that the traditionally patriotic Jews of Budapest felt impelled to submit a petition with 100,000 signatures to the Paris Peace Conference, begging the recent conquerors for the restoration of order in Hungary.

The relatively pragmatic Vienna Whites, concerned by the potentially disastrous financial and territorial consequences for Hungary at the peace talks, asked Horthy to restrain the extremists. Meanwhile, Hungarian Jewish leaders, with the notable exception of the Zionists, maintained their traditional stance of fervent patriotism, rejecting “international Jewry’s” attempts to intervene in Hungary’s internal affairs. Eventually, as domestic and foreign pressure forced Horthy to curb his fanatics, the violence diminished and finally ceased by late 1920. In retrospect, the White Terror can be seen as a first step toward the genocide of Hungarian Jewry.

—Tom Kramer

**See also** Horthy, Miklós; Hungary; Hungary, Holocaust in; Judeo-Bolshevism; Versailles Treaty  
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### Wiesenthal-Kreisky Controversy

The Wiesenthal-Kreisky controversy was a public argument in 1975 involving as the main actors the famed Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal and Bruno Kreisky, then chancellor of Austria. In October 1975, when Wiesenthal revealed that Friedrich Peter, leader of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), had distorted the nature of his military service during the war, the Jewish Kreisky became his defender and Wiesenthal's most bitter critic. The controversy put on display many issues regarding Jewish identity in Austria, the relationship of the post–World War II Austrian political elite to Austria's Nazi past, and, more generally, the resilience of antisemitic stereotypes. It also rehearsed many of the major themes that resurfaced with even greater passion a decade later during the Waldheim affair.

From the late nineteenth century, political allegiance in Austria has been pledged to one of three major “camps” (*Lager*): the Christian Socials, the Social Democrats, and the German Nationalists. Although the politics of this third Lager had always been ardently nationalist and antisemitic, they became predominantly Nazi during the final years before the Third Reich annexed Austria in 1938. The FPÖ, founded in 1956, emerged as the principal electoral home for former Nazis who had been disfranchised in the 1945 elections as part of de-Nazification but whose rights were restored in a 1948 amnesty. Peter became leader of the FPÖ in 1958.

Although Peter claimed to have served in the Waffen-SS, Wiesenthal learned in early Septem-

ber 1975 that he actually had been a member of the First SS Infantry Brigade, infamous for its mass murders behind the lines of the eastern front. If, after the upcoming October election, Kreisky were to invite the FPÖ to form a coalition with his Social Democratic Party, Peter would become the country's vice-chancellor. To prevent this, Wiesenthal gave the Austrian president, who had to approve government ministers, a dossier on Peter's past. The Social Democrats won an absolute majority, making a coalition government with the FPÖ unnecessary. But four days after the election, Wiesenthal decided to go public with his information anyway. Peter immediately conceded his service in the SS Brigade but claimed not to have participated in or known about the mass shootings, having just done his “duty as a soldier.”

The next day, Kreisky, who had lost family members in the Holocaust, publicly defended Peter and attacked Wiesenthal as the head of a “political mafia working against Austria.” Over the next two months, Kreisky's verbal attacks escalated. He accused Wiesenthal of character assassination, of dishonest methods, and of “crypto-racism.” He contemptuously referred to “that Wiesenthal” as an “alleged engineer”; intimated that Wiesenthal had fraudulently obtained his Austrian citizenship; held him responsible for the reemergence of antisemitism; and most notoriously, hinted that he had collaborated with the Gestapo. Wiesenthal sued Kreisky for defamation of character, and Peter sued Wiesenthal for the same.

Press commentary in Austria on this controversy mostly favored the chancellor, although many of his more inflammatory comments drew criticism from foreign observers. The affair ended almost as abruptly as it had begun. On December 3, 1975, Kreisky stated before parliament that he had “not characterized Wiesenthal as a Nazi collaborator”; the same day, Wiesenthal withdrew his lawsuit. Peter finally withdrew his suit against Wiesenthal in 1982. On the whole, the Austrian population supported Kreisky, not only because they agreed with what he said but also because of his Jewishness, which shielded him (but not them) from the charge of antisemitism. He was free to air many of their thoughts as well as their

defensiveness about the Nazi past and also their uneasiness at being reminded of it. Kreisky's disdain for Wiesenthal reflected the traditional hostility of assimilated Viennese Jews, as well as Austrian gentiles, toward the *Ostjuden* (eastern European Jews) who immigrated to Vienna from the East. His insinuations about Wiesenthal's dishonesty, vengefulness, hypocrisy, and non-Austrian origins helped legitimate and revive public expression of deep-seated anti-Jewish stereotypes.

—Richard Mitten

**See also** Austria; Christian Social Party (Austria); Lueger, Karl; *Ostjuden*; Pan-Germans (Austria); Schönerer, Georg von; Waldheim Affair

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## William of Norwich (d. 1144)

St. William of Norwich was the first Christian victim alleged to have been killed by Jews in a ritual murder. His story was told by Thomas of Monmouth, a monk who arrived in Norwich shortly after William's death and devoted himself to promoting William's cult beginning in 1150. He completed the seven books of William's life and miracles around 1170, dedicating the work to the bishop of Norwich.

The monk claimed that William, a twelve-year-old apprentice leatherworker, was lured by some Jews into the archdeacon's kitchen under the pretense of offering him a job. Having accepted money to let her son go around Passover, which fell at the same time as Easter, the boy's mother then became suspicious and asked his sister to follow him into the Jewry. When William's body was later discovered in the woods outside Norwich, the Jews were blamed for torturing and killing him in mockery of Christ. The body was eventually reburied in the monks' cemetery, a shrine erected in the church, and William's feast day was celebrated on March 24.

It is clear from Thomas's work that many people in Norwich did not believe his tale. The Jewish community in the town was large and successful, and the accusation of ritual murder does not seem to have substantially affected it, although the monk said many left Norwich on that account. Unlike later accusations of ritual murder, William's cult was not endorsed by the English Crown, and it does not seem to have played an important role in local relations between Christians and Jews.

Thomas of Monmouth repeatedly claimed that William's shrine was a popular object of pilgrimage. William's death was recorded in a few English chronicles and in a German monastery, but otherwise, he did not receive much attention. He was not mentioned in any Jewish sources of the period. It is not clear what connection existed between this, the first accusation of ritual murder, and later ones. There is no record of another such charge for more than a decade.

The few images of William recorded around Norwich point to a brief revival of his cult in the late Middle Ages when a guild sprang up and St. William was portrayed as a schoolboy holding a satchel, perhaps meant to serve as a virtuous model for the young boys of the Norwich cathedral priory. The cathedral now features a prayer for victims of intolerance at the site of the former shrine.

William's cult developed in the wake of the failed Second Crusade and not long after the Civil War in England, a time of brutal attacks against Jews on the Continent and fierce but intermittent fighting in England. Some scholars see this as first example of an accusation of ritual murder in the context of the rising indebtedness of Christians to Jews, which was a source of economic tension; others view it in relation to Thomas of Monmouth's religious concerns.

—Emily Rose

**See also** Crusades; Deicide; Host Desecration; Hugh of Lincoln; Middle Ages, High; Middle Ages, Late; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Simon of Trent

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### **Winrod, Gerald B. (1900–1957)**

Gerald B. Winrod was born on March 7, 1900, in Wichita, Kansas. Converted at age eleven to evangelical Protestantism and armed with an elementary school education, he began preaching at seventeen. In 1925, he organized a coalition of conservative and fundamentalist Christians into the Defenders of the Faith to combat theological modernism, evolutionism, and higher criticism of the Bible. In April 1926, Winrod launched the *Defender Magazine*, a monthly that attracted powerful voices of American fundamentalism and advertisements from fundamentalist publishing houses. The *Defender's* circulation grew to 100,000 in the 1930s.

Winrod's antisemitism, a function of his theology, developed into a coherent worldview. Although he had once praised Orthodox rabbis for repudiating modernism and evolution within Judaism and had scorned legends of Jewish ritual sacrifice of Christian children in the 1920s, he was, by 1933, elaborating an all-encompassing antisemitic philosophy of history grounded in scriptural prophecy. A dispensational premillenarian, he contended that history was divided into distinct epochs or dispensations. The current dispensation, initiated by Jesus Christ, was coming to an end as moral degeneration, the re-creation of the Roman Empire under Benito Mussolini (the most likely candidate for the Antichrist), and the return of Jews to Israel under the auspices of Zionism portended. Winrod prophesied the imminent return of Jesus Christ, who would defeat the Antichrist and reign over his millenarian kingdom. Within this prophetic scheme, apostate Jews stood at the center of Winrod's conspiratorial view of history.

In January 1933, Winrod published "Facing Ten Deadly Enemies at the Beginning of 1933" in the *Defender*. His decalogue comprised mod-

ernism, evolution, atheism, immorality, alcohol, communism, fascism, liberalism, war, and "the Hidden Hand." The following month, in "Unmasking the Hidden Hand—A Conspiracy," he introduced his readers to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, elaborating a theory of subversion by apostate Jewry stretching back to King Solomon and reaching forward to Armageddon. The spiritual ancestors of the Elders were responsible for ancient Israel's disobedience, the murder of Jesus, the Roman persecution of the ancient Christian church, the diabolical Talmud, and anti-Christian ideas throughout the centuries. Winrod linked the Elders to the Illuminati and to the rise of European Freemasonry and Marxism, which produced the French and Russian Revolutions. The Soviet Union, liberalism, the depression, and the New Deal were Judaic inventions. The Elders of Zion overlapped with leaders of world Zionism. In light of this threat, Winrod, who had visited Nazi Germany for four days in 1935, praised Adolf Hitler's suppression of Jewish subversives.

In another of his magazines, the *Revealer* (1934–1937), Winrod buttressed his prophetic musings with a relentless assault on President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. He claimed that apostate Jews were the descendants of the tribe of Dan, the son of Jacob. Roosevelt (and Mussolini) descended from this blood line. In 1938, Winrod muted his antisemitism to run for the U.S. Senate in the Kansas Republican primary. Hampered by unsubstantiated charges that he received funds from Nazi Germany, he won 53,149 votes and a third-place finish, campaigning as an economic conservative and isolationist.

In July 1942, Winrod led the list of twenty-eight defendants charged with sedition. In two subsequent indictments, the government claimed that his pro-Nazi propaganda cultivated insubordination in the armed forces and that he was part of an international Nazi conspiracy to subvert democracy. All three indictments were eventually dismissed.

After the war, the Defenders of the Faith, with an income of \$276,272 in 1950, acquired larger headquarters; the *Defender* boasted 100,000 subscriptions. Winrod maintained his claim that "International Jewish Communism" was well on the

way to undermining the nations and “exterminating of all Christians” (Roy 1953, 45). He spent his last years crusading on behalf of unconventional forms of medicine and cancer cures. He died of pneumonia on November 11, 1957.

—Peter R. D’Agostino

**See also** Antichrist; Freemasonry; Judeo-Bolshevism; Mussolini, Benito; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern); Talmud; Webster, Nesta; Zionism

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## Women and British Fascism

An examination of the role of women in interwar British fascist and racist organizations suggests a more complex and complicated role for them than that of “breeders of race and nation.” The history of this special relationship between women, British fascism, and antisemitism began in 1923, when the ultrapatriotic ex-service-woman Rotha Lintorn-Orman (1895–1935) founded the first British fascist movement, the British Fascisti (BF). Nesta Webster, conspiracy theorist and antisemite, sat on the BF’s Grand Council in the mid-1920s. In Fascist Children’s Clubs, organized by the women of the movement, children were taught lessons about patriotism, the limits of imperial citizenship, and xenophobia with texts such as A. H. Lane’s *The Alien Menace* (1928). Always wary of “foreigners,” the BF adopted a policy of overt antisemitism only in the 1930s, when anti-Jewish attitudes generally began to harden on the Right.

Oswald Mosley, the founder of the British Union of Fascists (BUF), proclaimed that “we want men who are men, and women who are women” in the BUF, but women came to play far more activist roles than he had envisioned. They represented 25 percent of the membership, joined male Blackshirts on marches, served as stewards at meetings, sold fascist newspapers, and



Three female Blackshirts, members of the British Union of Fascists, salute as they leave their Chelsea headquarters for Birmingham, where they will attend a meeting addressed by their führer, Oswald Mosley. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

canvassed for new members. They fully participated in the activities of the organization and its branches. The Women’s Section was established in London in March 1933, first under the leadership of Mosley’s mother, Maud Mosley (1874–1948); it functioned as a parallel paramilitary hierarchy and offered classes in speech making and fascist policy, as well as training in physical fitness and self-defense.

Full participation in the BUF also entailed active Jew-baiting on the part of women. They could, for example, be heard chanting: “The Yids, the Yids, we gotta get rid of the Yids.” Women’s antisemitism was clearly articulated in their contributions to the BUF’s newspapers and journals and in their propaganda at election time. Anne Brock-Griggs, the candidate for Limehouse in the London County Council elections, denounced Jews as slumlords, evil financiers, pornographers, and polluters of the Christian blood line. The pitch of women’s antisemitism

became shriller still with the launch in February 1940 of their own Women's Peace Campaign against the "Jew's War."

Women were also well represented in other extreme Right and "Jew-Wise" organizations: Unity Mitford (1914–1948), who proudly proclaimed herself "a Jew-hater" in Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer* in 1935, was a member of the BUF and the Anglo-German Fellowship, as well as Mosley's sister-in-law; women joined Arnold Leese's Imperial Fascist League; and the leading protagonist in Captain Archibald Ramsay's Right Club was Anna Wolkoff, who exhibited a degree of hysteria in her antisemitic outpourings. British women's antisemitism was often premised on antivivisectionist grounds and opposition to kosher slaughtering, as laid out by Mrs. Dudley Ward of the Nordic League and the British People's Party, in her vituperative booklet *Jewish "Kosher"* (1944).

The conflation of maternalist concerns with aggressive racism resulted in an ideology of "motherly hate." Judging from their actions in the first part of the twentieth century, women—and more than just a few of them—could become deeply complicit in British fascist and racist movements.

—Julie V. Gottlieb

*See also* Britain; Dietary Laws; Kosher Slaughtering; Mosley, Oswald; *Stürmer, Der*; Webster, Nesta

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### **Word about Our Jews, A (1880)**

Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896), the doyen of German national historians, regularly used his editorship of the influential journal *Prussian Yearbooks* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*) to proclaim his views on public affairs. Reacting to the sensational best-seller *The Victory of Jewry over Germandom* (1879) by Wilhelm Marr, the noisy launching of Court Chaplain Adolf Stoecker's Christian Social

Workers' Party in the national capital, and widespread anti-Jewish demonstrations elsewhere in the country, Treitschke spoke out on the Jewish Question in three successive monthly columns; in early 1880, he published them as the pamphlet, *A Word about Our Jews*.

Treitschke normally spoke with great authority on all matters affecting the well-being of the new German Empire. He approved of neither Marr, whom he had once called a windbag, nor Stoecker, whom he regarded as a shallow demagogue. He made a point of condemning the excesses of anti-Jewish agitation, its "coarseness and crudities," and the sort of extremism that blamed Jews for all the woes of the day. Far from a fanatic, Treitschke nevertheless went on to make his sympathies absolutely clear. The movement was fully justified, not as a return to the senseless Jew-baiting of earlier days but as a merited response of the *Volk* to the provocations of an ascendant Jewry. The "mammonism" of the Jews, their vulgarity, their sense of entitlement to full participation in German life—all these antagonized the *Praeceptor Germaniae* (moral guide of the Germans). Jewish preponderance in the press and in commerce, he warned, came at the expense of the authentic Germans and suggested a determination to take over. He made exceptions for a few of his favorites, but his generalized contempt for Germany's Jews was unmistakable. In a brutally dismissive phrase that later appeared on the mastheads of antisemitic newspapers and that the Nazis put on rubber stamps, Treitschke pronounced, "The Jews are our misfortune."

Long-established nations, such as France and England, could afford to talk about tolerance and scold the Germans for their prejudices, but Germany was too young and vulnerable to risk *Verjudung* (Jewification) or the creation of a mongrel culture. Treitschke demanded of Germany's Jews that they become "truly German," extinguishing the marks of their moribund religion and separate national identity. "Our Jewish fellow-citizens must resolve to be German without qualification, as so many of them have already done, to our benefit and their own. The task can never be wholly completed. A cleft has always existed between Occidental and Semitic essences." (in Levy 1991, 73). Such a sentiment, though deeply

hurtful to Jews who thought that they had already—proudly and wholeheartedly—opted for *Deutschtum* (Germanism), distinguished Treitschke from the racist antisemites who were rising to prominence at that time. Although he occasionally employed a racist vocabulary, he was no racist; he thought Jews could become much more German, if only they wanted to. He also rejected as uncivilized what would shortly become the essential demand of the political antisemites, the revocation of Jewish emancipation.

Although he condemned rowdy antisemitism, antisemitic activists were vastly encouraged by this pamphlet from a member of the intellectual elite. More “refined” antisemites also drew encouragement. He inspired a generation of university students, Germany’s future decision-makers; the most prominent among them was Heinrich Class, later president of the racist-

nationalist Pan-German League, who acknowledged the direct impact of his professor’s lectures on his own mission. Treitschke was one of the “founding spirits” of the antisemitic Association of German Students. Whatever his intent in *A Word about Our Jews*, his immediate and long-term effect was to make an ideology of hatred reputable enough for the educated.

—Richard S. Levy

**See also** Berlin Movement; Class, Heinrich; Emancipation; German Students, Association of; Marr, Wilhelm; Pan-German League; Stoecker, Adolf; Treitschke, Heinrich von; *Verjudung; Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The*

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# X

## Xanten Ritual Murder (1891–1892)

The murder of a five-year-old Christian boy on June 29, 1891, in the small town of Xanten, situated on the left bank of the Rhine not far from the German border with Holland, touched off a notorious case of ritual murder accusation.

A deeply Catholic town of about 4,000 people, Xanten was located in an area rich in ritual murder tales. These included a thirteenth-century case in Oberwesel, across the river, and two cases in the early nineteenth century: Dormagen in 1819 and Neuss in 1834. In 1891, the first person to accuse the Jews of killing the boy was a local Catholic butcher, Heinrich Junkermann, who on the morning after the murder leveled the accusation against his neighbor, Adolph Buschhoff, a Jewish butcher. By late afternoon, rumor and gossip spread through the town as countless people came forward to report on what they perceived as the suspicious behavior of Buschhoff.

The initial accusers were, by their own admission, antisemites, and, in the view of others, marginal to the community. But their accusations were supported by a local medical examiner and a local priest who gathered evidence against the Jews. The priest also helped the Catholic butcher compose a written affidavit attesting that the boy's throat had been cut according to the technique a kosher butcher would have employed. Local demonstrations against the Jews picked up pace, and antisemitic newspapers wrote about "an authentic ritual murder."

Recognizing their position as precarious, the Jews of Xanten petitioned the Prussian minister of the interior to send a qualified police inspector. If only the killer could be found, the tempest would pass, they hoped; in fact, it had just begun. When the Berlin inspector found rumors generated by the ritual murder myth credible, he in-

dicted the Jewish butcher. A local judge, however, found the evidence specious.

The judge's dismissal of the case angered the antisemites. Populist newspapers, whether anti-semitic, Catholic, or conservative, portrayed the release of Buschhoff as a travesty of justice. In the Prussian state parliament, legislators discussed the merits of the case, and in Xanten, local authorities were impressed by the hue and cry. With new evidence, they again arrested Buschhoff and his family, who were alleged to be his accomplices. But the trial by jury, which took place in Cleve District Court in July 1892, resulted in a verdict of not guilty.

The acquittal brought on a hail of criticism and begot another round of violence. In Xanten and the area around it, rioters desecrated Jewish cemeteries, tossed rocks smeared with blood through the windows of Jewish homes and businesses, and painted "blood-red crosses" on Jewish buildings. In nearby Grevenbroich, rioters vandalized the synagogue.

The Xanten case prompted the League against Antisemitism to count ritual murder accusations in Europe, and by 1900, they had listed over 100, distinguishing the last decade of the nineteenth century as particularly prone to this seemingly medieval superstition. Widely discussed in newspapers and political pamphlets, the Xanten case also helped antisemitic parties achieve significant successes in the Reichstag elections of 1893. Finally, the case suggests something of the rootedness of the ritual murder tale in the folklore of the Catholic Rhineland and the ease with which it could incite Christian townspeople against their Jewish neighbors.

—Helmut Walser Smith

*See also* Antisemitic Correspondence; Antisemitic Political Parties; Hep-Hep Riots; Kosher

Slaughtering; League against Antisemitism; Polná Ritual Murder; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Ritual Murder (Modern)

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# Y

## Yellow Badge

In the Muslim world, specific markings were used to distinguish and humiliate individuals not belonging to the Islamic faith but dwelling within Muslim-dominated lands. The practice seems to have been introduced by the caliph Umar II in the early eighth century, although it was unevenly applied throughout the Middle Ages. In medieval Christendom, Jews were often forced to wear distinguishing marks or clothing. The earliest extant legislation mandating special signs of separation for Jews was canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. According to this canon:

In some Church provinces a difference in dress distinguishes the Jews and Saracens from the Christians, but in certain others such a confusion has grown up that they cannot be distinguished by any difference. Thus it happens at times that through error Christians have relations with the women of Jews or Saracens, and Jews and Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, that they may not, under pretext of error of this sort, resort to excusing themselves in the future for the excesses of such accursed intercourse, we decree that such [Jews and Saracens] of both sexes in every province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress. Particularly, since it may be read [in *Numbers* 15:37–41] that this very law has been enjoined on them by Moses.

Throughout medieval Europe, there was great divergence in the extent to which such legislation was enforced and a good deal of diversity regarding the types of markings—hats, patches, and so

on. Colors also varied. Although yellow was most typical, some sources mention or depict other colors; in early modern Venice, for example, mention is made of the color red. Although Jews were consciously singled out, in some places other marginal groups, most especially heretics and prostitutes, were also forced to wear distinguishing marks.

The application of the distinction seems to have waned in Europe during the early modern period, and it was abrogated in most places at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century as Jewish emancipation spread. The badge was reintroduced by the National Socialists in Germany in the late 1930s.

—Dean Phillip Bell

**See also** Ghetto; Innocent III; Islam and the Jews; Lateran Council, Fourth; Middle Ages, Early; Middle Ages, High; Middle Ages, Late; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Yellow Star

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## Yellow Star

In reaction to the Nazi boycott of April 1, 1933, Robert Weltsch, editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau*, wrote: “Wear It with Pride, the Yellow Spot.” At that moment, however, there was still no system of obligatory physical markers for Jews in Germany. Weltsch probably drew his



A Jewish couple in the Budapest ghetto. Ordered to wear yellow stars prominently displayed on their clothing, Hungarian Jews were first identified, then isolated, and finally murdered in the spring and summer of 1944.  
(Yevgeny Khaldei/Corbis)

metaphor from the antisemitic graffiti and pamphlets that accompanied the boycott.

Historically, of course, Jews in and beyond Europe had been compelled to wear distinguishing markings of a certain shape or color on their clothes, hats, or shoes to make them instantly identifiable to other populations or religious groups. Often, this requirement was meant to be humiliating. Yellow was the color that designated Jews in Muslim realms. The practice was frequently adopted in Christian lands, although the reason for the choice of color has never been established.

The markings began to disappear from Christian Europe in the modern era and were fully done away with as Jews achieved emancipation during the course of the nineteenth century. It was Reinhard Heydrich who, shortly after the Night of Broken Glass pogrom of November 1938, first suggested imposing special signs for German Jews. During the campaign in Poland,

German occupying authorities issued random orders to disclose Jewish businesses through special symbols. Soon, Jews were ordered to wear signs on their clothing. In Lublin, for example, the ordinance called for a yellow insignia to be worn on the left breast, bearing the inscription "Jew." On November 23, 1939, Hans Frank decreed that all Jews in the General Gouvernement of Poland over the age of twelve would wear a white armband with a blue Jewish Star of David. Jews received the same order in the annexed parts of Silesia, where the armband was replaced by an insignia. In the city of Kalisz, the chief administrator ordered the wearing of an armband 4 centimeters in width and "of a Jew-yellow color." A month later, he changed his mind, ruling in favor of a 10-centimeter yellow Star of David to be worn on the right breast and back.

Following the invasion of the USSR, the same measures for the physical identification of Jews were implemented. Gradually, the yellow star be-

came the preferred symbol in all locales. Jews who failed to wear the insignia or observe the appropriate regulations for its display were fined, jailed, or, in extreme cases, killed. In ghettos and concentration camps, variations of the star identified members of the Jewish police or Jewish council personnel. Inmates in concentration camps were classified by triangles of various colors, designating the reasons for their incarceration: homosexuals (pink), "asocials" (black), Jehovah's Witnesses (purple), and so on. Jews always wore two superimposed triangles (to make a Star of David), one of them yellow with letters displaying their "racial" origins and the other indicating their "crimes."

From the end of September 1938, Jewish passports were stamped with a large red *J*. Ration cards were first marked with a *J* and, in September 1942, imprinted with *Jew*. The yellow star, applied in the German-controlled regions of Europe beginning in 1939, did not become obligatory in the Old Reich until September 1941. At all times, every Jew over the age of six was to wear a "securely sewn, palm-sized, black-bordered, and six-sided star of yellow cloth" on the left breast of his or her outer clothing. On the star, in faux Hebrew lettering, stood the word *Jew*. Covering or obscuring the symbol was a punishable offense. In March 1942, Jews also had to affix the star to the doors of their dwellings.

The classification of Jews by means of visible signs completed both their social and their legal isolation. The system allowed authorities, particularly the police, to identify Jews easily; arrest them more effortlessly; and exercise control over their habitations, movements, and general behavior. The non-Jewish population was simultaneously transformed into an auxiliary police force, able to monitor the actions and presence of Jews at all times. The Jewish victims were paralyzed by the sense of being under permanent scrutiny. Trying to get around the system risked denunciation by one's neighbors; few Jews were willing to take that chance. Their inescapable visibility rendered them less and less likely to resist the overwhelming forces that controlled their lives.

—Matthias Brosch  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Boycott of Jewish Shops, Germany; Emancipation; Islam and the Jews; J Stamp; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews; Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom); Yellow Badge

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## Young Germany

In opposition to the post-Napoleonic restoration's intensification of political oppression and especially of censorship after 1815, a number of dissident writers emerged in the 1830s who were collectively known as Young Germany. The term was applied to them almost by accident, for they were not revolutionary like the contemporary Young Italy movement, nor were they bound to one another in an organized conspiracy. The group has been variously defined, but all definitions include at least four writers—Ludolf Wienberg (1802–1872), Heinrich Laube (1806–1884), Theodor Mundt (1808–1861), and Karl Gutzkow (1811–1878)—whose works were banned in a decree of the Germanic Confederation of December 10, 1835. At the insistence of the Austrian chancellor, Prince Metternich, the name of Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) was added. An occasion for depoliticizing government action against the dissidents was provided by Gutzkow's novel *Wally, die Zweiflerin* (Wally the Skeptic [1835]), which challenged conventional views on religion and sexual relations. The author was consequently prosecuted and jailed on grounds of blasphemy and pornography. Providing middle-class support for the ban (though not the instigator of it, as has been believed) with a campaign against the novel was the influential critic Wolfgang Menzel, who—for reasons still imperfectly understood—just at that time mutated from a liberal literary historian to a conservative, nationalistic ideologue with a pronounced antisemitic tendency. He began to refer to Young Germany as Young Palestine, even though none of the Young Germans proper was Jewish. In so doing, he was attempting to devalue them by association with their older models of Jewish origin, Heine and Ludwig Börne, and with immoral, frivolous, and unpatriotic—that is, French—ideas.

In fact, the Young Germans exhibited, in various ways, the typical attitudes of enlightened liberalism: pleasant associations with individual Jews, lack of interest in or knowledge of Judaism as a consequence of having left traditional religious belief behind, support of emancipation in the interest of dissolving Jewish identity in assimilation, and a readiness to accept commonplace prejudices about the Jews as a collectivity. Wienbarg, who advocated the Norwegian constitution of 1814 as a model for a democratic Germany, was untroubled by its ban of Jews (and Jesuits) from the kingdom. Gutzkow, with his tendency to extreme convictions, was a particularly convoluted case. He had close associations with Jewish contemporaries and was a strong admirer of Börne, whose biography he wrote (thus incidentally making him an enemy of Heine), though at one point, he was astonished to discover that Börne was Jewish. Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta* (1846) was the first German drama with a serious Jewish protagonist in the fifty-seven years since Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. Acosta (or D'Acosta, 1590–1640), a dissident *marrano* (crypto-Jew) from Portugal who was twice excommunicated and finally driven to suicide by the Orthodox Jewish authorities in Amsterdam, is presented as an inspiration to the young Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677), who had become important to the pantheistic thought of German culture. The drama was staged throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, although critics have long recognized that it has little to do with Jews, as Gutzkow himself agreed; it is a demonstration in favor of freedom of thought for modern religious skepticism directed against the oppressors of the author's own time. Gutzkow was strongly opposed to the preservation of Jewish identity, insisting that there not be any more "tribes" and that all spirituality be dissolved in a universal world religion. Although supporting emancipation in the expectation that it would eradicate Jewishness, in many writings he expressed intense hostility toward the Jews as they so exasperatingly continued to be. The Jewish author Berthold Auerbach pronounced him an "intimate enemy of the Jews." However, since he ultimately came to hate everyone, it is hard to tell whether this was a particular animosity. At the

end of his life, he suffered from mental illness, believing that the Jews were persecuting him.

Friendliest to the Jews among the Young Germans was Laube, who was Heine's most faithful supporter until they had a breach over politics in 1848. Laube remained grateful for warm experiences with charitable Jews in his impoverished youth. His novel about the Polish revolution of 1831, *Die Krieger* (The Warriors [1837]), portrays a Jewish youth who tries to become a modern man through progressive political commitment but finds he is allowed no human relationship among the revolutionary aristocrats, the democrats, or the rebellious people; in bitterness, he reverts to the role of a traditional peddler. In German fiction, Laube's work is the most empathetic portrayal of modern Jewish identity before Auerbach's early novels. Yet even Laube fell back into conventional prejudice on one occasion. The incident concerned his 1844 drama *Struensee*, the performance of which was blocked by the powerful composer Giacomo Meyerbeer in the interest of protecting his late brother Michael Beer's twenty-year-old drama on the same subject, even though it was regarded as unplayably old-fashioned. Laube took Meyerbeer's notoriety for applying his personal wealth to the advancement of his career as license to declare competitive commercialism an un-German trait of a foreign Jewish element forcing itself into literature, especially in Berlin. In the introduction to his drama, Laube devoted a few pages to a demand for radical emancipation to make Jews less foreign—Auerbach is said to be proof that a Jew can be completely Germanized—but in his rage, he permitted himself an outburst that rings ominously in retrospect: "Either we must be barbarians and drive out the Jews to the last man, or we must incorporate them." The intemperate expression has been linked to Richard Wagner's antisemitic invective that was formulated a few years later and was also at least partly motivated by resentment of Meyerbeer. Although Laube's overall record should not be dissolved in this one episode, it indicates how readily antisemitic atavisms surfaced in moments of frustration.

—Jeffrey L. Sammons

*See also* Emancipation; Heine, Heinrich; Judaism in Music; Wagner, Richard

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### **Young Hegelians**

Following the repressive Carlsbad Decrees (of 1819), G. W. F. Hegel censored himself and muted potentially subversive pronouncements to avoid open conflict with the Prussian authorities. This invariably lent additional ambiguity to the meaning and implications of his complex philosophical system and rendered the conflicts emerging among his students and followers soon after his death in 1831 all the more acrimonious.

Hegel contended that philosophy and religion were but two distinct modes of understanding and expressing truth. Putting them on the same footing was seen, by some, as heretical, ultimately privileging the god of the philosophers over the god of the theologians. Hegel also suggested that his thought and the form of Protestantism he envisaged reflected the imminent consummation of the identity of the real and the rational. This philosophical argument had potentially important consequences, for Hegel implied or seemed to imply that the Prussian bureaucracy was the universal class whose objective task was to facilitate this process. Had Hegel's relevant remarks been of a factual or of a normative nature? Had he suggested that the contemporary Prussian state was on the verge of perfection, or had he instead tried to cajole the authorities into doing their historical/philosophical duty?

Either way, the very thing that signaled the threat of Hegel's system to his critics on the Right represented its promise to his more radical adherents on the Left—the Young (or Left) Hegelians. On both fronts, Hegel's more conformist disciples, the Old (or Right) Hegelians, sought to defend him against the suggestion he had been anything other than an orthodox Protestant or loyal and enthusiastic subject of the Prussian regime.

It was not only the inherent ambiguities of

Hegel's thought, however, that rendered the ensuing controversy so vehement that any notion of a unitary Hegelian school became impossible. The circumstances of the dispute contributed directly to this outcome. Although the Old Hegelians, perhaps, stood a chance of appeasing the establishment, their ostensible defense of Hegel could only radicalize the Young Hegelians. For them, that defense misrepresented Hegel's thought and led to an overt affirmation of the current state of affairs that betrayed Hegel's vision. The accession of Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1840, who soon professed a bizarre Christian romanticism and a loathing for Hegelianism of any kind, seemed to underscore just how groundless the claims of the Old Hegelians had been.

The Young Hegelians soon began to question (in principle) the role that they had hitherto assigned the Prussian state in facilitating the identity of the real and the rational. Beyond that, they also increasingly abandoned the whole notion that reality was the outgrowth of an overarching rational idea or set of ideas and instead began to examine ideas as reflections of an independent, objective reality. Most prominent among them were David Friedrich Strauss (whose *Life of Jesus* [1835] was a milestone in the formulation of the Young Hegelian challenge), the publisher Arnold Ruge, August von Cieszkowski, Max Stirner, Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, and the young Karl Marx.

The Jewish Question was not a primary concern of the Young Hegelians and was not treated in a consistent fashion by them, although the debate on Jewish legal status in the early 1840s obviously caught their attention and prompted some of them to comment publicly. Their ambiguities and conventional prejudices notwithstanding, they generally inclined toward perceiving Jewish emancipation as a test case for emancipation more generally. They tended to direct many of the criticisms previously associated specifically with Judaism against religion in general. Given their Hegelian roots, they nevertheless felt the need to maintain the notion of a relative superiority of Christianity over Judaism. Thus, they were left with fewer but all the more negative stereotypes at their disposal to explain the distinction between Judaism and Christian-

ity. On the whole, however, the religious rather than ethnic or racial focus of these stereotypes and the heavy philosophical diction of the Young Hegelians rendered their writing of limited use to emerging modern antisemitism.

—Lars Fischer

**See also** Bauer, Bruno; Emancipation; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Hegel, G. W. F.; Jewish Question; *Jewish Question, The* (1843); Marx, Karl

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## Youth Movement (German)

In the words of Walter Laqueur, one of its many historians, the German youth movement should be studied as a virtual microcosm of twentieth-century Germany. The movement that emerged at the close of the nineteenth century as a simple ramblers' club for high school and college students swiftly developed into a multifaceted sociological and cultural phenomenon.

The German youth movement unfolded in two phases: the initial *Wandervogel* (literally, migratory bird) period, from about 1896 to 1919, and the era of the youth leagues (*Bünde*), dating from approximately 1920 to 1933. In both stages, the reaction to political and ideological developments within the general youth movement varied markedly. During the initial phase, political and religious neutrality was a stated goal. In the era of the leagues, this neutrality vanished.

Scholarly literature on the youth movement frequently describes it as part of a generational conflict, a reaction by the younger generation against the outmoded social norms of the German Empire and the alienation that it bred. Urgent questions about "a new identity" and the search for "authentic culture" formed the background. The youthful community's rambling into the countryside and the movement's emotionally charged special events were not seen as ends in themselves but rather as expressions of longing for a new, emancipatory design for living. The idealism of the educated bourgeoisie

and the life reform movement, spontaneity, and an overly romantic enthusiasm blended together into an identifiable youth culture.

The bourgeois youth movement was not revolutionary. Despite its declared political-religious neutrality, it remained the captive of its social base and brought its values to bear on the social and political conflicts of the age. Among these were the antisemitic tendencies widely present in the middle classes of Wilhelmine Germany.

An early "age of innocence" came to an end as *völkisch* (racist-nationalist) ideology conquered the bourgeois youth movement. Under the leadership of Karl Fischer, a striking change of direction took place, leading to the cultivation of "old German values" (*Altdeutschum*) and a delving into the mythic past. In fact, the leaders of the movement fashioned their ideals from their parental homes and from the literature that inculcated national pride and patriotic thinking. The movement's periodicals set the tone, giving pride of place to *völkisch* writers. The *völkisch* trend and the more or less accentuated antisemitism it always contained resulted in the public "antisemitism debate" of 1912 and 1913. A collective youth movement position on the Jewish Question is difficult to determine, however, because the great majority of the members did not speak out in any consistent way and most simply had no well-considered opinion on the issue.

If, however, the few prominent individuals, leaders of key constituent groups, favored authors, and other individuals who often functioned in the public sphere are taken into consideration, then the conclusion would be a different one. These leaders provided the influential role models for impressionable young people; they were the "insiders" capable of presenting youth culture to the none-too-friendly outside world, and they exerted a decisive influence on attitudes in the process of being formed. This dedicated *völkisch* stratum dominated the movement and—fatefully—introduced a destructive antisemitism into its outlook. And it is noteworthy that this negative image of Jews was not of the old-fashioned kind—the product of religious, political, or economic conflicts—but rather one founded on racism. The Jew, they argued, was the "other,"

irreparably alienated from Nature, the German landscape, the German peasant, and the ancient Germanic ceremonies.

Until just before the outbreak of World War I, there seems to have been no fixed policy with regard to Jewish membership in the various bourgeois youth groups. But when a Jewish girl was denied membership on the basis of her descent by the Zittau (Saxony) chapter of the Wandervogel in 1913, it led to an expansive, clarifying discussion of the Jewish Question. At that juncture, antisemitism strengthened its hold over the movement. Counteractions by individual leaders, local groups, or regional organizations had little or no effect. The Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, true to its assimilationist principles, urged Jewish young people to persevere in their efforts to stay in the Wandervogel or to join it and not "to return to the ghetto." However, to escape the stigma of antisemitic agitation and the arbitrary exclusiveness of the Wandervogel leadership, Zionist-oriented groups recruited vigorously for their own Jewish hiking clubs, especially the Blue and Whites (Blau-Weiss Bünde), which experienced a large increase in membership at this time.

The end of the war ushered in the next phase of the youth movement, the league era. Many of the crucial questions concerning this phase of development have yet to be studied in a thorough way. How was *völkisch* ideology imported into the youth movement of the Weimar Republic? Which of the individual youth organizations were open to and/or disposed toward antisemitic tendencies and practices? And finally, how did *völkisch* and antisemitic ideologies within the youth leagues play into the synthesizing National Socialist movement?

—Andreas Winnecken  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; Jewish Question; National Socialist German Workers' Party; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar; Zionism

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# Z

## Zionism

Zionism is the Jewish nationalist movement that began in the nineteenth century, led to the founding of the state of Israel, and continues to support Israel's existence today. Its basic tenet is that the Jews constitute a nation and that, as such, they should have a Jewish state as their national homeland in Eretz Israel (Palestine).

A persistent myth about the foundation of Zionism was that it was a direct response to antisemitism. This myth is embodied in the claim that Theodor Herzl was "converted" to Zionism because of his experience of the Dreyfus Affair in 1895. However, the relation between antisemitism and Zionism is more complicated than this.

Zionism was the combination of two movements, one centered on western and central Europe and the other on eastern Europe, primarily Russia. "Political" Zionism began as the response of highly acculturated central European Jews, most notably Herzl and his right-hand man, Max Nordau, to what they saw as the failure of legal emancipation to provide real integration of Jews into their respective national societies because of the emergence of modern antisemitism. Zionism, for them, was a means not merely of escaping antisemitism but also of reforming what they saw as the many social and even moral problems of so-called modern European Jewry. Once they had "rediscovered" their own Jewish national identity, both insisted that they had found their authentic selves and that their Zionism was now quite independent of antisemitism.

Practical and cultural Zionism, centered largely in Russia, antedated the political variant by over a decade, tracing its roots to the Hibbat Zion movement of the early 1880s. Leo Pinsker's *Autoemancipation* (1882) anticipated most of Herzl's later thought. This first Zionist move-

ment had also been a response to an outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in the wave of pogroms of the 1880s, but it was based on a strong, prior sense of Jewish ethnic identity, even Jewish secular nationality, as expressed in the work of Perez Smolenskin in the 1860s. Cultural Zionists, such as Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginzberg), were already writing in the 1880s.

Zionism only achieved real momentum in the late 1890s, when Herzl's political movement combined with the Zionism already active, but inchoate, in Russia and eastern Europe. Antisemitism thus played a *necessary* role in the movement's success, by persuading first Herzl and his Western followers and later still a large part of western, eastern, and central European Jewry of the impossibility of a true integration of Jews into European society. Moreover, antisemitism's durability was central to the political Zionists' logic. It explained why Western assimilated Jews were suffering and would continue to suffer an existential moral crisis because it made real assimilation impossible; antisemitism could also be blamed for the dire material condition of the Eastern Jewish masses. If antisemitism was a permanent condition, then the only long-term solution to both crises was the creation of a Jewish state or homeland.

Antisemitism was not, however, a *sufficient* cause of Zionism, even in its political form. Cultural Zionists had a Jewish nationalist program concerning the reform of traditional Jewish society and culture and the development of an "authentic" Jewish language, modern Hebrew, that was quite independent from considerations of antisemitism. Political Zionists also had plans for modernizing European Jewry that were much more than an attempt to counter antisemitism and that originated in the original ideology of

emancipation and the Jewish Enlightenment that preceded it.

Some of the Zionist critique of European Jewry has been seen as an internalized form of antisemitism, but in most cases, it was the result of internally generated, intra-Jewish considerations. Ahad Ha'am's desire to reform the language Jews speak, for instance, giving up Yiddish for modern Hebrew, can be viewed as independent of antisemitic attacks on the "impure" language of the Jews. Nordau's call for a "muscle Jewry" can similarly be viewed as having more to do with his own views as a physician and the author of *Degeneration* and with general contemporary concerns about national physical fitness, rather than with an internalization of antisemitic stereotypes about puny Jews.

Part of the confusion about the parallels between Zionist and antisemitic thought concerning Jews is that Zionism and antisemitism drew much of their inspiration and logic from the same source: nationalism. As an emancipatory nationalism, albeit for a Diasporic nation, Zionism shared the ideas of other nationalisms. Political Zionists such as Nordau, for instance, accepted the notion that it was natural for nations not to want to tolerate "foreign" groups within their borders and that members of minorities, such as the Jews, therefore had to choose *either* total assimilation *or* leaving to form their own nation.

The links between Zionist and antisemitic thought through nationalist ideology should be carefully considered, however. Although Nordau and Herzl might have accepted some of the central tenets of European nationalism in asserting that the Jews were a nation and could only realize themselves as a nation in their own Jewish state, they also saw the future Zionist state as being an exemplar of cosmopolitan pluralism—a model that would free the world from the sort of exclusive nationalism that had created modern antisemitism.

—Steven Beller

**See also** Degeneration; Dreyfus Affair; Emancipation; Herzl, Theodor; Jewish Question; Masculinity; Nordau, Max; Pale of Settlement; Pogroms; Schnitzler, Arthur; Self-Hatred, Jewish

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## Zola, Émile (1840–1902)

With the publication of his essay collection, *The Experimental Novel* (1880), and *L'Assommoir*; *The Dram Shop*, *Nana*, and *Germinal*, part of the Rougon-Macquart cycle of novels (1877–1885), the French writer Émile Zola became the major voice of literary naturalism. Worldwide fame also came to him as a result of the Dreyfus Affair. The highpoint of his engagement in the case was marked by "J'accuse" (I accuse), his open letter of January 13, 1898, addressed to the president of the Third Republic.

Zola became involved in the case of Alfred Dreyfus rather late, after the captain had already been convicted and deported to Devil's Island. Following a long conversation with the vice-president of the *Senat*, Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, Zola published three articles between late November and early December 1897 in *Figaro*, detailing the current state of the affair and its ideological and political background. He subjected the popular notion of a "Jewish Syndicate" to scathing irony. In his article "Protocol," he denounced antisemitism and the "despicable exploitation of patriotism" by the press. The immediate occasion for the open letter to the president of the Third Republic was the acquittal by a military court of Maj. Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy—since revealed as the true guilty party.

Zola's long article took up the entire first page and a part of the second of the newspaper *L'Aurore*. It was considered the first thorough portrayal of the course of the affair. In its concluding litany of charges, all of which began with "I accuse," he indicted the leadership of the French army, the judges of the military courts, prominent members of the government, and even President Felix Faure for knowingly having condemned an innocent man or for having illegally covered up the grounds for his conviction. Zola's stand represented an act of civil courage, and it was a defining moment in the emergence of the "engaged intellectual." "J'accuse" brought the Dreyfus Affair to the point of moral and politi-



French novelist Émile Zola. On January 13, 1898, during the height of the Dreyfus Affair, Émile Zola challenged anti-Dreyfusards with the publication of his "J'accuse" letter in a French newspaper. (Library of Congress)

cal crisis and had repercussions far beyond the borders of France. Zola was convicted of slander and assessed a large fine, but he avoided imprisonment by going into exile in England (in July 1898), where he stayed nearly a year before returning to France.

That Zola should risk his lofty reputation and his chance of being named to the French Academy was, at least at first glance, somewhat surprising. In at least a few of his novels, there are antisemitic stereotypes of an economic and "intellectual" nature that were commonplace in that era. The parliamentary deputy Kahn, a banker's son, in *His Excellency* is undoubtedly an antisemitic characterization, as is Steiner, the Jewish banker in *Nana*, and especially Gundermann, another Jewish banker, from *Money*.

Nonetheless, Zola reacted angrily against the antisemitism being spread by Édouard Drumont's *La France juive* (1886) and his newspaper, *La Libre parole*. In May 1896, well before his involvement in the Dreyfus case, he wrote an article for *Figaro* entitled "On Behalf of the Jews."

In it, he labeled antisemitism as monstrous and senseless, declaring that it would throw France back to the era of the wars of religion. Biological racism, he argued, was only a pretext for socially and economically motivated antisemitism, which he regarded as the main evil. If Jews actually dominated economic life—and there were certainly Christian exploiters as well—then this was the fault of a society that had ostracized them for centuries and hindered their complete assimilation. Blaming Jews for social shortcomings was nothing more than a hypocritical, mendacious, and misguided sort of socialism.

Zola's engagement in the Dreyfus Affair, part of a long public career on behalf of unpopular causes, was not without its personal costs. In the violent wave of antisemitism following "I accuse," he was reproached with his Italian parentage (his father was a Venetian), his patriotism was impugned, and he was accused of being in the pay of the Jews. It is not impossible that his death in 1902 by carbon monoxide poisoning, from a blocked chimney, was an assassination carried out by a nationalist fanatic.

—Karl Ziegler  
Richard S. Levy, translation

**See also** Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; France; *France juive*, *La*; Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in; Lienhard, Friedrich

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### Zündel, Ernst (1939– )

The neo-Nazi, antisemite, and Holocaust denier Ernst Christof Friedrich Zündel was born to a family of simple, pious Christians—his father was a woodcutter and served as a medic in World War II—in Calmbach, a village in the Black Forest region of Germany. He emigrated to Canada in 1958 and settled in Toronto in the 1960s, where he ran a successful photo-retouching business for magazines. The Canadian Nazi Adrien

Arcand, who had spent World War II in prison, shared his racist, antisemitic library with Zündel and introduced him to white supremacist groups in Canada and abroad. Zündel cowrote with Eric Thomson *The Hitler We Loved and Why* (1977). Together, they portrayed Hitler as “this humble, totally dedicated savior” who “saved White civilization” and had “the vision to create a happy and sound society,” meaning no Jews or other “race-defilers”: “We love you, Adolph [sic] Hitler,” they gushed.

By the early 1980s, Zündel’s extremist antisemitism, Holocaust denial, and Nazi agitation were too blatant to be ignored. Attempts to prosecute him began in 1985, when the Holocaust survivor Sabina Citron brought suit against him. He was found guilty in a jury trial for knowingly spreading “false news” that was likely to do harm to a recognizable group of people; he was sentenced to fifteen months in jail. In 1987, the Appeals Court found that the law making false news punishable was constitutional, but it granted a retrial due to judicial irregularities. At the second trial in 1988, no Holocaust survivors testified, and historian Christopher Browning (replacing Raul Hilberg) served as the leading expert witness. Zündel was found guilty again and sentenced this time to nine months of imprisonment. In 1990, the Appeals Court upheld the decision, the sentence, and the constitutionality of the false news law. In 1992, however, the Supreme Court overturned Zündel’s conviction, finding the law too vague and therefore unconstitutional.

Zündel celebrated his “victory for free speech” by renewing the barrage of antisemitic hatred and Holocaust denial. The Canadian Human Rights Commission brought an action against him in “a hearing on the merits.” The hearing before a tribunal of three persons (reduced to two when the academic member had to return to his university) ran fifty-five days but dragged on over five years (from 1996 to 2001), thanks largely to the defense counsel’s delaying tactics. Frederick M. Schweitzer, the commission’s principal expert witness, established that over many centuries, there was a correlation between antisemitic propaganda and persecution of Jews, that Zündel’s antisemitic writings repli-

cated classic lethal antisemitism, and that therefore Zündel’s antisemitic attacks would likely injure Jews. Although he never took the witness stand, Zündel was invariably present at the hearing until February 2001, when he fled to the United States. There, he married his third wife, a U.S. citizen, and swiftly resumed disseminating hate literature on the Internet.

Meanwhile, the tribunal’s decision (of January 18, 2002) barring Zündel from the Internet hinged on its perception of his propaganda as “hate messages” that were “likely to expose a person or persons to hatred or contempt by reason of the fact that that person or those persons are identifiable on the basis of a prohibited ground [religion, race, and so on] of discrimination.” The decision placed a stigma on Zündel, as it did on those so-called experts summoned to testify on his behalf, all of whom were rejected by the tribunal as “unreliable” and “unqualified.” These included Robert Countess, Robert Faurisson, and Tony Martin, a professor who accuses Jews of being the principal architects of the Atlantic slave trade. Mark Weber, editor of the denier *Journal of Historical Review*, was allowed to testify only on his knowledge of how Holocaust deniers operate.

For overstaying his U.S. visa, Zündel was deported back to Canada in February 2003. In May of that year, a Canadian federal judge declared him a threat to national security. In March 2005, the Canadian Appeals Court, declaring him a threat to the international community of nations, deported him to Germany where he was immediately arrested and where he remains subject to prosecution for hate speech and Holocaust denial. Prone to self-dramatization, Zündel has dressed in a bulletproof vest and carried a cross “like Jesus on his way to Calvary.” Reportedly, he has also derived great personal profit from his massive distribution of antisemitic and Holocaust denial propaganda in all its forms.

—Frederick M. Schweitzer

*See also* Auschwitz Lie; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Institute for Historical Review; Internet; Irving, David; Leuchter Report; Neo-Nazism, German; *Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*; Slave Trade and the Jews; White Power Movement

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# INDEX

Boldface indicates titles and page numbers of main entries.

Aaron of York (ca. 1190–1253), 326  
Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1163), 12  
Åberg, Einar (1890–1970), 693  
Ação Integralista Brasileira (Integralist Party), 83  
**Action Française**, 1–2, 57, 58, 93, 162, 223, 240, 449, 639, 731  
**Adams, Henry** (1838–1918), 2–3, 511  
Adenauer, Konrad (1876–1967), 270–271  
Adler, Emil, 299  
Adler, Viktor (1852–1918), 49, 424, 436, 643  
Adorno, Theodor (1903–1969), 215, 257, 752  
Adso of Montier-en-Der (d. 992), 20  
**Adversus Iudeos** (386–387), 3–4, 121  
    as a genre, 461  
Affirmative Action, 5, 193, 767  
**African American–Jewish Relations**, 4–6  
    See also Black Nationalism; Farrakhan, Louis; Nation of Islam; Racism, Scientific; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)  
*Against the Inveterate Obstinacy of the Jews*, 541  
**Agobard** (779–840), 6, 458, 460, 539  
**Agrarian League** (Bund der Landwirte), 6–7, 8, 76, 157, 264, 287, 422, 455, 744  
Agrippa II (27–100 CE), 616  
Ahad Ha'am (Asher Hirsch Ginzberg, 1856–1921), 630, 787

Ahasuerus. *See* Wandering Jew  
**Ahlwardt, Hermann** (1846–1914), 7–8, 574  
Aizawa, Seishisai (1782–1863), 364  
Aizman, David (1869–1922), 631  
Aksakov, Ivan (1823–1886), 551  
Aktion Höss, 324  
Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), 701  
Albrecht I, King and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1298–1308), 602  
Alecsandri, Vasile (1818–1890), 617  
Aleichem, Sholem (1859–1916), 624, 631, 713  
Alexander II, Pope (r. 1061–1073), 460  
Alexander II, Tsar (1818–1881), 378, 551–553, 629, 630  
Alexander III, Tsar (1845–1894), 629, 630, 551  
Alexander, King of Yugoslavia (1888–1934), 726  
Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), 9, 20, 29  
Alexander VI, Pope (r. 1492–1503), 578  
Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1492–1506), 426  
Alexandria, 9, 29, 122, 130, 176, 467, 479, 521–522, 610  
**Alexandrian Pogrom**, 9, 29, 130–131, 176  
Alexianu, Gheorghe (d. 1946), 619  
Alfonsi, Petrus (1062–1110?), 701  
**Algeria**, 9–10, 33, 139, 145, 146, 594  
Ali, Rashid (1892–1965), 221, 337  
Alien Registration Act (1938), 268  
**Alliance Israélite Universelle**, 10–12, 282, 409, 470, Alliance of Young Democrats—Fidesz (Hungary), 336  
Allosemitism, 544  
**Almohad Persecution**, 12–13  
Almoravids, 12  
**Alsace**, 13–16, 58, 198, 202, 218, 239, 298, 345, 463  
Alter, Wiktor (1890–1943), 373  
Altermann, Raul (d. 1964), 697  
Althans, Ewald (1966–), 349  
Altman, Natan (1889–1970), 631  
*Altneuland* (1902), 301  
*Am Heiligen Quell*, 435  
Amalek, 116, 288  
Amann, Max (1891–1957), 453  
Ambrose (ca. 333–397), 123–125, 169, 211  
America First Committee, 423–424  
American First Party, 151, 663  
**American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States**, 16–17, 18, 72, 174, 233, 722  
American Jewish Congress, 16, 17, 72, 598, 722  
**American Nazi Party**, 17–18, 108, 173, 609, 767  
Améry, Jean (1912–1978), 253  
Anabaptists, 454  
Ancona, 216, 651, 531  
Andrian, Leopold von (1875–1951), 257  
Anglo-Jewish Association, 11  
**Angriff, Der**, 18–19, 278  
Anjou, 155, 462  
Anskey, Semyon (1863–1907), 631  
Antelami, Benedetto (ca. 1150–ca. 1230), 339  
Anthroposophical Society, 683  
**Antichrist**, 19–20, 245, 341, 402, 431, 509–510, 567–568, 637, 638, 718, 772  
Anti-Chinese and Anti-Jewish National League (Mexico), 456  
Anti-Defamation League (ADL), 16, 152, 222, 243, 315, 466, 484, 597–598, 655, 663, 722, 767

- Anti-Jewish League of Algiers, 10, 594
- Antioch, 3, 121, 122–123
- Antiochus IV (d. 163 BCE), 128, 178, 560, 616
- Antisemites' Catechism*. See *Handbook of the Jewish Question*
- Antisemites' Petition**, 20–21, 62, 236, 296, 422, 500, 752
- Antisemitic Correspondence**  
(*Antisemitische Korrespondenz*), 21–22, 249, 382, 422
- Antisemitic People's Party  
(Antisemitische Volkspartei), 22
- Antisemitic Political Parties**  
(Germany, 1879–1914), 20–21, 22–23, 63, 105, 111, 244, 267, 411, 416, 574
- Antisemitism, Accusations of**, 23–24
- Antisemitism, Etymology of**, 24–25
- Anti-Zionism**, 25–26, 271, 336, 358, 366, 418, 457, 500, 673
- Anti-Zionism in the USSR**, 26–28, 149, 260, 581, 659–660, 725
- Antonelli, Cardinal Giacomo (1808–1876), 470
- Antonescu, Ion** (1882–1946), 29, 353, 619  
attempted rehabilitation of, 620  
*See also* Romania, Holocaust in
- Antoninus Pius, Emperor (86–161), 128, 704
- Apion** (early first century CE), 29–30, 178
- Aquarius, Age of**, 30, 501
- Aquinas, Thomas (1225–1274), 590
- Arab Boycott**, 32–33
- Arab League, 32, 33
- Arabic Antisemitic Literature**, 30–32
- Arafat, Yasir** (1929–2004), 5, 33–34, 398
- Arcand, Adrien (1900–1967), 95, 790
- Arch of Titus**, 34–35
- Arco-Valley, Anton von, 706
- Arco-Zinneberg, Count Ludwig von (1840–1882), 589
- Arendt, Hannah (1906–1975), 196, 292, 317, 569, 594, 732
- Argentina**, 35–37, 88–89, 195, 196, 697, 540, 726
- Ariosophy, 269, 682, 705
- Arius, 122
- Arkush, Allan (1949–), 747
- Armanship, 412, 425
- Armed Forces of the United States**, 37–39  
*See also* General Orders No. 11; Moseley, George Van Horn; Patton, Gen. George; United States
- Armstrong, Louis (1901–1971), 33
- Arndt, Ernst Moritz** (1769–1860), 39, 62, 91, 601, 681, 743
- Arnim, Achim von (1781–1831), 179
- Aron, Raymond (1905–1983), 639
- Arrow Cross (Nyilas), 330, 333, 696
- Arrowsmith, Harold Noel (1886–1955), 17
- Artamanenbund, 297
- Artuković, Andrija (1899–1988), 726
- Aryan Christ, and Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, 114  
championed by Naudh, H., 383  
in writings of Dinter, Artur, 180  
in Schopenhauer, Arthur, 644  
and Wagner, Richard, 644
- Aryan Paragraph**, 39–40, 228, 492, 516, 580
- Aryan Theater**, 40–41, 474–475
- Aryanization** (Germany), 41–43, 279–280, 363, 572, 736
- Aryanization,  
in France, 162, 739–740  
in Romania (Romanianization), 29, 619  
in Sudetenland, 689  
*See also* Croatia, Holocaust in;  
Slovakia, Holocaust in;
- Ascher, Saul (1767–1822), 227
- Asch, Sholem (1880–1957), 631
- Ashkenazi of Gaza, Nathan (1644–1680), 651
- Ashkenazic Jews, 13, 14, 55, 210, 229, 496
- Association for International Politics and Economics (Japan), 364
- Association of Honorable Traders, Industrialists and
- Professionals (Mexico), 456
- Association of Militant Atheists, 389
- Assumptionist Fathers, 531
- Auerbach, Berthold (1812–1882), 782
- Augsburg Confession, 454
- Augustine of Hippo** (354–430), 43–45, 169, 211, 438, 544, 615, 690  
and doctrine of witness, 458–460, 538–539
- Augustus, Caesar (63 BCE–14 CE), 131, 611, 614
- Aum Shinrikyō (Pure Truth), 366
- Auředníček, Zdenko, 558
- Auschwitz, 38, 68, 90, 150, 225, 271, 354, 401, 418, 496, 533, 557, 662, 675, 740  
and Hungarian Jewry, 74, 318, 323–324, 331–332, 374
- Auschwitz Lie**, 45, 162, 320, 419–20
- Australia**, 45–48, 213, 321, 349, 477, 586
- Austria**, 48–50, 199, 321, 376, 506, 752–753, 770–771  
Austrian Empire, 55, 161, 197, 218, 325, 373, 376, 456, 604  
Austro-Hungarian Empire, 70, 74, 118, 267, 282, 300, 304, 407, 424–425, 436, 642–643, 745  
First Austrian Republic, 49, 68, 119, 390, 404, 746
- Austria, Annexation of (*Anschluss*), 195, 212, 305–306, 363, 475
- Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), 770
- Auto-da-Fé**, 50–51, 348
- Axelrod, Pavel (1850–1928), 668
- B'nai B'rith, 242–243, 256, 289, 722
- Babi Yar, 200, 724
- Babylon, 19, 20,
- Badoglio, Pietro (1871–1956), 518
- Baeck, Elias (1679–1745), 99–100
- Baghdad, 31, 221, 337
- Bahai, 352, 398
- Bahr, Hermann (1863–1934), 404
- Bahrain, 194, 469
- Bailey, Alice** (1880–1949), 30, 53, 73, 351–352, 375, 501–503, 550–551

- Bailey, Herman "Kofi" (1931–1981), 687
- Baker, Josephine (1906–1975), 421
- Balfour Declaration, 736
- Balfour, Arthur James (1848–1930), 625
- Ballestrem, Franz von (1834–1910), 111
- Balzac, Honoré de** (1799–1850), 54, 655
- Bamberg Manifesto, 737
- Bandera, Stepan (1909–1959), 717
- Banker, Jewish**, 8, 55–56, 237, 473, 498, 737
- in American populism, 56, 513, 559,
- condemned by Father Coughlin, 140–141
- in Disraeli's *Coningsby*, 181
- held responsible for the crash of 1873, 246
- in the fiction of Norris, Frank, 513
- in Nazi propaganda, 760
- as subject of satire and caricature, 231, 233, 400
- and Toussenel, Alphonse, 710
- in Zola's novels, 789
- See also* Balzac, Honoré; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Court Jews; Populist Movement; Rothschilds; Shylock
- Banna, Hasan al- (1906–1949), 279, 478
- Bannister, Jack (1760–1836), 627
- Bar Kochba (d. 135 CE), 56
- Bar Kochba Revolt**, 56–57, 128, 175, 610, 616, 699
- Barbie, Klaus (1913–1991), 142–145, 147
- Barcelona, 225, 590, 674
- Bardèche, Maurice** (1909–1998), 57–58, 82, 224, 420
- Bardossy, Laszlo (1890–1946), 330
- Barnes Review, The*, 349
- Barnes, Harry Elmer (1889–1968), 319, 320
- Barrès, Maurice** (1862–1923), 1, 58–59, 223, 415
- Baruel, Augustin** (1741–1820), 59, 191, 455–456
- Bartels, Adolf** (1862–1945), 59–60, 294, 423, 444, 681, 744
- Baruch, Bernard (1870–1965), 663
- Bassermann, Albert (1867–1952), 703
- Batista, Fulgencio (1901–1973), 156
- Bauer, Bruno** (1809–1882), 60–62, 446, 735
- influence on antisemites, 61, 386, 445
- radicalization of his views on the Jewish Question, 60, 381, 386, 749
- See also* Jewish Question, The; Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon; Marx, Karl; Young Hegelians
- Bauman, Zygmunt (1925–), 318
- Bavaria, 76, 96, 218, 270–271, 297–298, 308, 325, 403, 407, 454–456, 517, 589–590, 706
- Bayreuth Circle**, 62–63, 113
- Bayreuth Festival, 20, 236, 750, 752
- Bayreuther Blätter*, 751
- Beauvoir, Simone de (1908–1986), 639
- Bebel, August (1840–1913), 667
- Bechly, Hans (b. 1871), 263
- Becker, Carl (1873–1945), 114
- Beckmann, Max (1884–1950), 166, 167, 490
- Beerhall Putsch (1923), 113, 265, 302, 433, 486, 507, 622, 641, 745
- Beilis Case**, 63–64, 106, 129, 315, 565, 570, 607, 628, 630–632, 668
- Beilis, Menachem Mendel (1874–1934), 63
- Beirut, 31, 33, 337, 349
- Bekker, Paul (1882–1937), 476
- Belarus, 199, 527, 723
- Belasset, 326
- Belev, Alexander (1900–1944), 90
- Belloc, Hilaire** (1870–1953), 64–65, 76, 115–116, 390
- Bencheikh, Soheib (1961–), 359
- Benedict XIII, Pope (1328–1422), 225
- Benedict XIV, Pope (1675–1758), 459
- Benedict XV, Pope (1854–1922), 532
- Beneš, Edvard (1884–1948), 421
- Benjamin, Judah P. (1811–1884), 37, 660
- Benjamin, Walter (1892–1940), 257
- Benn, Gottfried** (1886–1956), 65–66
- Benoist, Alain de (1943–), 223
- Berdiaev, Nikolai (1874–1948), 632
- Berg, Alban (1885–1935), 478
- Bergelson, David (1884–1952), 631
- Bergen-Belsen, 271, 332
- Bergner, Elisabeth (1900–1986), 703
- Beria, Lavrenti (1889–1953), 183, 373
- Berlin, 18, 21, 79–81, 179, 227, 267, 278, 381, 486, 525, 574, 641, 684–685, 711
- Berlin Movement**, 22, 66–67, 75, 119–120, 236, 422, 685
- Berliner Wespen*, 401
- Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), 154, 728
- Bernardino da Feltre (1439–1494), 655, 657
- Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), 242, 464
- Bernstein, Eduard (1850–1932), 452, 667
- Bernstein, Herman (1876–1935), 163, 235
- Bernstein, Otto, 703
- Bertram, Ernst (1884–1957), 257
- Bessarabia, 29, 199, 353, 399, 405, 410, 581, 618–619
- Best, Werner** (1903–1989), 67–68
- Beta, Ottomar (1845–1913), 63
- Bettauer, Hugo** (1872–1925), 68–69
- Bialik, Khaim Nakhman (1873–1934), 400, 631
- Bialystok, 634, 688
- Biarritz** (1868), 69–70, 431, 569, 584
- Bickel, Shlomo (1896–1969), 655
- Bielfeld, Baron Jakob Friedrich de (1717–1770), 680
- Bielohlawek, Hermann (1861–1918), 437
- Bilroth, Theodor** (1829–1894), 70–71
- Birkenau. *See* Auschwitz
- Birnbaum, Nathan (1864–1937), 522
- Bismarck, Otto von (1815–1898), 159, 244, 264, 287, 401, 407, 665
- and the antisemitic movement, 11, 22, 66–67, 382, 685, 749

- Bitburg, 271
- Black Hundreds**, 71–72, 552, 582, 634
- Black Nationalism**, 72
- Black Panther Party, 72, 504, 687
- Black Power Movement, 484, 503, 608
- Blanche of Castile (1188–1252), 701
- Blanchot; Maurice (1907–2003), 224
- Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805–1881), 666
- Blaurer, Ambrosius (1492–1564), 592
- Blavatsky, Helena** (1831–1891), 53, 72–73, 501, 503, 645–646, 704–705
- Bleichröder, Gerson von (1822–1893), 8, 55
- Bloch, Joseph Samuel** (1850–1923), 73–74, 558, 700
- Blois, 217, 462, 604–605
- “Blood for Trucks” (Brand-Grosz Mission)**, 74–75
- Blood Libel. *See* Ritual Murder
- Blum, Léon (1872–1950), 15, 82, 93, 146, 238, 240, 421, 667, 731, 738
- Blume, Friedrich (1893–1973), 477–478
- Blumenthal, W. Michael (1926–), 251
- Boas, Franz (1858–1942), 215
- Böckel, Otto** (1859–1923), 7, 75–76, 130, 263, 403, 685
- Boer War**, 76–77, 84–85, 206, 286, 311, 512
- Bogrov, Dmitri (1887–1911), 669
- Böhme, Karl (b. 1877), 264
- Bologna, 11, 470–471, 590
- Bolsheviks, 108, 389, 476, 510, 567, 582, 638, 677, 723
- See also* Judeo-Bolshevism
- Bonald, Louis de (1754–1840), 14, 718
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich (1906–1945), 40
- Boniface Society for Catholic Germany**, 77–78, 609, 701
- Bonnet, Charles de (1720–1793), 414
- Bonus Marchers, 472
- Bonus, Arthur (1864–1941), 744
- Book Burnings (May 10, 1933)**, 78–79, 316
- Booth, Charles (1840–1916), 758
- Boris III, Tsar of Bulgaria (1894–1943), 90
- Bormann, Martin (1900–1945?), 308, 487, 488
- Born, Max (1882–1970), 545
- Börne, Ludwig (1786–1837), 294, 387, 781–782
- Bosch, Carl (1874–1940), 258
- Bosch, Robert (1861–1942), 258
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 149–150, 337, 431, 726
- Boston, 2, 134, 598, 661
- Bottai, Giuseppe (1895–1959), 585
- Boulanger, Georges Ernest (1837–1891), 58, 192, 240, 415
- Bourget, Paul (1852–1935), 49
- Bousquet, René (1910–1993), 142, 145–147, 162
- Boycott of 1912 (Poland)**, 79–80
- See also* Dmowski, Roman
- Boycott of Jewish Shops (Germany, 1933)**, 42, 80–81, 228, 779
- Brand, Joel, 74–75
- Brandes, Georg (1842–1927), 237
- Brandišauskas, V., 428
- Brasilach, Robert** (1909–1945), 57, 81–82, 223–224, 591
- Brazauskas, Algirdas (1932–), 429
- Brazil**, 82–83, 133, 660–881, 688
- Brazilian National Revolutionary Party, 586, 625, 758
- Breker, Arno (1900–1991), 295
- Brentano, Clemens (1778–1842), 179
- Breviary of Alaric*, 458
- Bridge, Thomas, 561
- Britain** (1871–1939), 27, 83–86, 107–108, 116, 133, 161, 311, 320, 449, 472–474, 586, 625, 758
- British Brothers League**, 86–87
- British Fascisti, 759, 773
- British Union of Fascists**, 85, 86–87, 472–473, 759, 773
- Broszat, Martin (1926–1989), 303, 354
- Browning, Christopher (1944–), 318, 790
- Bru, Loredo (1875–1946), 156
- Brücke, Jorg (1880–1967), 650
- Bruhn, Wilhelm (1869–1951), 8, 574
- Bryan, William Jennings (1860–1925), 8, 207
- Buber, Martin (1878–1965), 397
- Bubis, Ignatz** (1927–1999), 87–88, 271
- Bucer, Martin (1491–1551), 592
- Buchan, John (1875–1940), 206
- Buchenwald, 309, 321
- Bucher, Lothar (1817–1892), 382
- Buenos Aires Pogroms**, 36, 88–89
- Bukovina, 29, 410, 618–619, 768
- Bulgakov, Sergei (1871–1944), 632
- Bulgaria, Holocaust in**, 89–91, 675
- Bund, Jewish Workers’, 80, 400, 552, 554, 630, 635, 668
- Bunge, N. Kh. (1823–1895), 451
- Bunting, Basil (1900–1985), 563
- Burgos, 185, 674
- Burns, John (1858–1943), 84
- Burschenschaften**, 40, 90–91, 248, 643
- Burtsev, Vladimir (1862–1942), 570
- Burzio, Giuseppe (1901–1966), 707
- Buschoff, Willy, 703
- Businessmen’s Union (Lithuania), 428
- Butler, Richard Girnt (1920–), 118
- Butmi, Georgii V. (1856–1918?), 584
- Butz, Arthur (1945–), 320, 349
- Buxtorf, Johannes (1645–1705), 210
- Caesarea, 521
- Cahen, Samuel (1796–1862), 710
- Cairo, 9, 31–33, 337, 479
- Caligula (Gaius Caesar Germanicus, 12–41 CE), 9, 29, 130, 611
- Callot, Jacques (ca. 1592–1635), 99, 102
- Calvin, John (1509–1564), 592, 690
- Camelots du Roi, Les**, 1, 93–94, 639
- Cameron, William J. (b. 1878), 117, 163–164, 233
- Camisas Doradas (Golden Shirts), 457
- Camus, Albert (1913–1960), 224
- Canada**, 94–96, 321, 358–359, 419, 789–790
- Canon Law, 6, 55, 96, 122–123, 128, 346–347, 413, 459, 538, 590, 701, 799

- Canterbury Tales*, 204, 326
- Capistrano, John of** (1386–1456), 96–97
- Capital: Useful versus Harmful, 97–98**, 652–654, 745–746
- Adams, Henry, and, 2
  - Fourier, Charles, and, 238
  - and German antisemitic organizations, 262–263, 296–297, 493–494
  - Norris, Frank, and, 511–513
  - Wells, H. G., and, 764
  - See also* English Literature from Chaucer to Wells; Populist Movement; Shylock; Socialists on Antisemitism
- Capito, Wolfgang (1478–1541), 592
- Caporetto, Battle of, 565
- Caprivi, Leo von (1831–1899), 8, 264, 708
- Caracalla, Emperor (188–217), 610
- Cardiff, 768
- Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early), 98–102**, 371, 372, 624, 560
- See also* Hogarth, William; Rowlandson, Thomas
- Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern), 17, 102–107**, 229, 231, 320, 357, 495, 624–625, 739
- See also* Doré, Gustav; *Fliegende Blätter*; *Kladderadatsch*; *Simplicissimus*
- Carlsbad Decrees (1819), 298, 783
- Carlyle, Thomas (1795–1881), 137, 165
- Carmichael, Stokely (1941–1998), 503, 686
- Carol II, King of Romania (1893–1953), 29, 132, 279, 353–354, 411, 619
- Carové, Friedrich Wilhelm (1789–1852), 91, 291
- Carpentras, 415
- Carto, Willis A. (1926–), 107–108**, 348–349, 420–421, 608
- Casimir IV, King of Poland (1427–1492), 96
- Cassel, Ernest (1852–1921), 758
- Cassirer, Paul (1871–1926), 65
- Castan, Siegfried Ellwanger (1928–), 83
- Castro, Fidel (1926–), 156
- Cather, Willa (1873–1947), 208
- Catherine II, Empress of Russia (1729–1796), 456
- Cause of World Unrest, The** (1920), 108–109, 286, 566
- Cavour, Count Camillo Benso di (1810–1861), 11
- Ceausescu, Nicolae (1918–1989), 619–620
- Céline, Louis-Ferdinand** (1894–1961), 57, 82, 109–110, 223–224, 591
- Celsus (active late 2<sup>nd</sup> century C. E.), 521
- Center Party**, 66, 110–111, 263, 342, 403, 407, 719
- See also* *Kulturkampf*; Ultramontanism
- Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, 111–113**, 417, 761, 785
- Central Conference of American Rabbis, 72
- Central Council of Jews in Germany, 88
- Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Austria), 195, 506
- Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Germany), 508
- Centralverein. *See* Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith
- Chagall, Marc (1887–1985), 167, 631
- Chamberlain, Houston Stewart** (1855–1927), 113–115, 410, 587, 660, 664, 693, 762
- endorsement of Hitler, 113
  - influence on Nazis, 114–115, 180, 480–481, 621
  - relationship to the Wagners, 62, 113, 476, 750–752
  - See also* *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology
- Chamberlain, Neville (1869–1940), 306
- Chaplin, Charles (1889–1977), 316
- Charcot, Jean-Martin (1825–1893), 191
- Charington, Spencer, 86
- Charles Martel Society, 214
- Charles of Anjou (1246–1285), 216
- Charles the Bald, King and Holy Roman Emperor (823–877), 671
- Charles X, King of France (1824–1830), 282
- Chartists, 136
- Chaucer, Geoffrey (ca. 1343–1400), 204, 326
- Chautemps, Camille (1885–1963), 682
- Chayla, Armand Alexandre de Blanquet du (1885–1945), 570
- Cheka, 389, 431, 565
- Chelmno, 555
- Chesterton, Cecil (1879–1918), 64
- Chesterton, Gilbert Keith** (1874–1936), 115–116, 208
- Chicago, 512, 598–599, 768
- Chirac, Jacques (1932–), 740
- Chirikov, Ergesit (1864–1932), 631
- Chmielnicki Massacres, 116–117**, 592
- Chmielnicki, Bogdan (1595–1657), 116
- Chomsky, Noam (1928–), 225
- Christian antisemitism.
- See theological expositions of* Augustine of Hippo; Capistrano; Chrysostom, John; Church Fathers; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Gospels; Innocent III; Luther, Martin; Origen; Peter the Venerable; Reformation
  - See theologically-based expressions of* Antichrist; *Auto-da-Fé*; Christian State; Crusades; Deicide; Host Desecration; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Supersessionism; Talmud Trials
  - See cultural examples of* Iconography, Christian; Passion Plays, Medieval
  - See institutional manifestations of* Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; Church Councils (Early); *Civiltà Cattolica*; Dominican Order; Inquisition; Jehovah's Witnesses; Lateran Council, Fourth; Russian Orthodox Church; Vatican Council, First
  - See political-ideological applications of* Christian Identity Movement; Churches under Nazism; Deutsche Christen; Institute

- Christian antisemitism. (*cont'd*)  
 for the Study and  
 Eradication of Jewish  
 Influence on German  
 Church Life; *Kulturkampf*  
 Ultramontanism
- Christian Commonwealth, 541
- Christian Democratic Austrian  
 People's Party (ÖVP),  
 752–753
- Christian Front, 141, 721
- Christian Identity Movement,**  
**117–118**, 465
- Christian Party (U.S.), 541
- Christian Social Party (Austria)**,  
 40–41, 68, **118–119**,  
 424–425, 532, 642–643  
*See also* Lueger, Karl; Vogelsang,  
 Karl von
- Christian Social Party (Germany)**,  
 22–23, 66–67, **119–120**,  
 749  
*See also* Our Demands on Modern  
 Jewry; Stoecker, Adolf
- Christian State**, 39, **120–121**, 179,  
 201–203, 244, 380, 644,  
 676, 735, 749
- Christiani, Pablo (d. 1274), 195,  
 462, 590
- Christophersen, Thies  
 (1918–1997), 45, 320
- Chrysostom, John** (349–407), 3–4,  
**121–122**, 169, 175, 387,  
 460, 539, 613, 690
- Church Councils (Early)**,  
**122–123**
- Church Fathers**, 6, **123–125**, 191,  
 211, 637, 690
- Churches under Nazism**, **125–127**  
*See also* Deutsche Christen;  
 Institute for the Study and  
 Eradication of Jewish  
 Influence on German  
 Church Life
- Churchill, Winston (1874–1965),  
 74, 473, 625
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106–43  
 BCE), 613–614
- Cieszkowski, August von  
 (1814–1894), 783
- Citron, Sabina, 790
- Circumcision**, 20, 56, 124,  
**127–129**, 393, 448, 520,  
 539, 604, 613, 616–617,  
 628, 704
- Civic Improvement of the Jews, On*  
*the* (1781), 13, 184, 202,  
 457
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 5, 72
- Civil War, American, 37, 256, 720
- Città Cattolica**, **129–130**, 370,  
 531  
 and Mortara Affair, 549  
 and ritual murder charges, 129
- Class, Heinrich** (1868–1953), **130**,  
 342–343, 410, 493  
*See also* Pan-German League;  
*Völkisch* Movement and  
 Ideology
- Claudius, Emperor** (10 BCE –54  
 CE), **9, 130–131**, 610
- Clausewitz, Carl von (1780–1831),  
 179
- Cleaver, Eldridge (1935–1998), 504
- Clemenceau, Georges (1841–1929),  
 370
- Clement III, (anti)Pope (ca.  
 1025–1100), 152
- Clement IV, Pope (1265–1268),  
 347
- Clermont-Tonnerre, Count  
 Stanislas de (1757–1792),  
 14, 239, 680
- Cleveland, Grover (1837–1908),  
 559
- Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea**  
 (1899–1938), **131–132**,  
 158, 618, 620  
*See also* Iron Guard
- Cohen, Hermann (1842–1898),  
 397
- Cohn, Roy M. (1927–1986), 622
- Coin Clipping**, **132–133**, 142
- Cologne, 152, 154, 218, 271,  
 446–447, 461, 543
- Colonial America**, **133–135**,  
*See also* Slave Trade and the Jews
- Colvin, Ian (1877–1938), 109
- Cominform, 678
- Commissar Order**, **135–136**, 199
- Communism. *See* Judeo-  
 Bolshevism; Purges, Soviet;  
 Rosenberg Trial; Russia,  
 Post-Soviet; Stalin, Joseph;  
 Stalinization of Eastern  
 Europe; USSR
- Confucius (551–479 BCE), 563
- Congar, Yves (1904–1995), 185
- Congress of Vienna (1815), 103,  
 202, 248, 298
- Coningsby** (1844), **136–137**, 181,  
 625, 692
- Conservative Central Committee,  
 66, 67
- Constantine Pogrom** (1934), 10,  
**139–140**
- Constantine, Emperor** (274–337  
 CE) emperor of West  
 312–337; sole emperor  
 324–37), 122–123, 128,  
**137–139**, 610, 611
- Constantinople, 121, 123, 284, 610,  
 651, 768
- Constitution of Medina, 469
- Constitutional Democrats (Kadets),  
 582, 631
- Conte, Vasile, 617
- Conversos*, 347, 369, 463, 577–578
- Corneilhan, Georges, 31
- Cornwallis, Kinahan (1883–1959),  
 221
- Coughlin, Charles E.** (1891–1979),  
**140–141**, 268, 663, 721
- Council of Antioch, 123
- Council of Elvira, 122
- Council of Nicaea, 122
- Council of Trent, 657
- Council to Aid Jews (Zegota), 485
- Countess, Robert, 790
- Court Jews**, 55, **141–142**, 625  
*See also* Jud Süss
- Cousteau, Pierre-Antoine  
 (1906–1958), 223
- Craig, Gordon Alexander (1913–),  
 232
- Crash of 1873, 254, 276, 422, 436,  
 525
- Crémieux Decree, 10, 139,  
 Crémieux, Adolphe (1796–1880),  
 11, 161, 198
- Crimes against Humanity (French  
 Trials)**, **142–147**
- Crljen, Danijel, 150
- Croatia**, **147–149**, 539, 726
- Croatia, Holocaust in**, **149–150**,  
*See also* Pavelić, Ante; Ustasha  
*Croix, La*, 531
- Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658), 370
- Cross and the Flag**, **150–152**, 663
- Cruikshank, George (1792–1878),  
 101, 176–177
- Cruikshank, Isaac (ca. 1756–1811),  
 101
- Crusades**, 44, **152–155**, 346, 462,  
 563
- First Crusade (1096–1099),  
 152–154, 169, 460, 461,  
 602, 604

- Second Crusade (1147–1149), 154, 522, 603, 771, 542
- Third Crusade (1189–1192), 154
- Fourth Crusade (1198–1204)
- Fifth Crusade (1217–1221), 346
- Csurka, István (1934–), 335
- Cuba, 155–156**, 661, 687
- Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism?*, 156–157, 575
- Curzon, George Nathaniel (1859–1925), 472
- Cuza, A. C.** (1857–1946), 131–132, 157–158, 279, 410–411, 617–618
- Cyprian (d. 254 CE), 6, 211
- Czech Republic, 557
- Czechoslovakia, 27, 199, 306, 558, 579, 607, 636, 659, 662, 675, 677, 679–680, 689, 707
- D'Alembert, Jean-le-Rond (1717–1783), 456
- D'Alquen, Gunter (b. 1910–), 645
- D'Amato, Al (1937–), 596
- Dachau, 127, 321, 324, 687
- Dahn, Felix** (1834–1912), 159–160
- Daily Telegraph Affair, 130
- Daluege, Kurt (1897–1946), 520
- Damascus Blood Libel**, 11, 31–32, 160–161, 294, 470, 545, 605–606
- See also* Ritual Murder (Modern)
- Danihel, Karol, 310
- Dannecker, Theodor (1913–1945), 90, 518
- Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis** (1897–1980), 146, 161–162
- Darré, Walter (1895–1953), 297
- Darville, Helen (Demidenko, 1971–), 47
- Darwin, Charles (1809–1882), 211, 586, 664
- Dashevskii, Pinkas, 405
- Daumier, Honoré (1807–1879), 103, 186
- Davenport, Charles (1866–1944), 212
- Davis, David Brion, 647
- Dawidowicz, Lucy (1915–1990), 317
- Day of Potsdam (1933), 125
- De Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970), 82, 224, 421, 739
- De Lucena, Abraham, 688
- De Mille, Cecil B. (1881–1959), 315
- Dearborn Independent and The International Jew**, 162–164, 233–234, 406, 566
- Debit and Credit** (1855), 165, 247–248, 583
- See also* Freytag, Gustav
- Deckert, Josef (1843–1901), 49, 564
- Degenerate Art**, 165–167, 168, 490
- Degeneration**, 58, 84, 114, 167–168, 188, 206, 240–241, 277, 297, 319, 423, 476, 640, 764
- Degeneration* (1892, 1895), 167–168, 510–511, 788
- Deicide**, 5, 125, 129, 138, 168–169, 191, 241, 315, 498, 505, 512, 517, 707
- See also* Host Desecration, Ritual Murder (Medieval)
- Delamuraz, Jean-Pascal (1936–1998), 596
- Delitzsch, Franz (1813–1890), 700
- See also* Philosemitism
- Demonstratio Adversus Iudeos**, 170
- De-Nazification, 173, 180, 293, 326, 435, 517, 536, 659, 770
- Denikin, Anton (1872–1947), 636
- Denis of Luxemburg, 20
- Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany**, 88, 170–172, 270
- Deutschbund, 130, 263, 411–412, 528, 640, 744
- Deutsche Christen**, 125–126, 169, 172–173, 349–350
- See also* Churches under Nazism
- Deutsche Schriften*, 409
- Deutscher, Isaac (1907–1967), 389
- Deutschsoziale Partei, 22, 262, 422, 575
- Deutschsoziale Reformpartei (German Social Reform Party), 22
- Deutschvölkische Partei, 60
- Devi, Savitri** (Maximiani Portas, 1905–1982), 173–174
- Dewar, Thomas (1864–1930), 86
- Dewey, Melvil** (1851–1931), 174
- Dhimmis*, 9, 30, 352–353, 357, 397–398
- Diaghilev, Serge (1872–1929), 562
- Dialogue with Trypho**, 170, 174–175
- Diary of Anne Frank*, 365
- Diaspora, 4, 24, 170, 300, 447, 610–611, 614, 723
- Diaspora Revolt** (115–117 CE), 175–176, 611
- Dickens, Charles** (1812–1870), 101, 165, 176–177, 205, 207, 248, 561, 583, 655, 692
- Diderot, Denis** (1713–1784), 13, 177–178
- Didier, Christian (1925–), 147
- Dietary Laws**, 178–179, 402–403, 560, 604, 613, 615, 774
- Dilling, Elizabeth (1894–1966), 193
- Dillingham Committee, 343
- Dining Society, Christian-German**, 179–180, 733
- Dinnerstein, Leonard, 4, 720
- Dinter, Artur** (1876–1948), 180, 265, 658–659
- Dirty War, 36
- Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 343
- Disraeli, Benjamin** (1804–1881), 84–85, 101, 136–137, 180–182, 188, 207, 505, 577, 625, 692
- Dix, Otto (1891–1969), 166
- Dmowski, Roman** (1864–1939), 79, 182, 484–485
- Döblin, Alfred (1878–1957), 760
- Doctors' Plot (1953)**, 182–184, 259, 581, 659, 680, 725
- Döllinger, Ignaz (1799–1890), 77
- Dönitz, Karl (1891–1980), 306
- Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von** (1751–1820), 184, 202, 248
- See also* Emancipation; Philosemitism
- Dohm, Ernst (1819–1883), 400, 457–458
- Dominican Order**, 185, 225–226, 242, 347–348, 471, 543–544, 577–578, 590, 605, 710
- See also* Inquisition
- Domitian, Emperor (51–96 CE), 34, 610, 611, 615
- Donin, Nicholas (active mid-13<sup>th</sup> century), 185, 698, 701

- Donnelley, Ignatius (1831–1901), 511
- Dontsov, Dmytro (1883–1973), 717
- Doré, Gustave** (1832–1883), **186–187**, 207
- Doriot, Jacques (1898–1945), 224, 591
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor** (1821–1881), 168, **187–188**, 551, 569, 628, 632, 681
- Dracula**, **188–189**, 205  
*See also* Degeneration
- Drexler, Anton (1884–1942), 486, 706
- Dreyfus Affair**, 28, 63, **189–191**, 238, 370, 379  
in French politics, 1, 10, 15, 58, 192, 448, 594, 667, 788–789  
and foreign opinion, 2, 65, 115, 148, 232, 668, 684, 714  
and Jewish response to, 11, 300, 315–316, 787  
*See also* Drumont, Édouard; Herzl, Theodor; Maurras, Charles; Zola, Émile
- Dreyfus, Alfred (1859–1935), 106, 189, 240
- Drieu la Rochelle, Pierre (1893–1945), 57, 224, 591
- Droste-Hülshoff, Annette von (1797–1848), 383–384
- Drumont, Édouard** (1844–1917), 10, 15, 31, 55, **191–192**, 240–241, 681, 700, 768  
and the Dreyfus Affair, 189–191, 192, 789  
*See also* *France juive, La*
- Du Maurier, George (1834–1896), 205, 207, 691
- Dubnow, Simon (1860–1941), 400, 451, 553, 631
- DuBois, W. E. B. (1868–1919), 5, 661
- Dubrovin, A. I., 71, 581
- Dugin, Aleksandr (1962–), 633
- Dühring, Eugen** (1833–1921), **192–193**, 290, 386, 495, 587, 667, 681, 736  
his radical solutions of the Jewish Question, 276, 381–382
- Duke, David** (1950–), 108, **193–194**, 349
- Duma, 71, 79, 405, 581–582, 631, 633, 634–635, 718
- Durban Conference on Racism and Xenophobia (2001), 26
- Düsseldorf, 154, 171, 270–271, 293, 476–477
- Dutch West India Company, 133, 688
- Eastern Orthodox Church, 4, 690, 718
- Eckart, Dietrich (1868–1923), 73, 480, 493, 706
- Ecker, Jakob (d. 1912), 78, 564
- École Normale Supérieure, 57, 81, 223, 639
- Edison, Thomas Alva (1847–1931), 315, 349, 705
- Edward I, King of England (1239–1307), 132, 216, 327
- Egypt (modern), 31, 33, 160–161, 361, 483
- Ehrenburg, Ilya (1891–1967), 373
- Eichmann, Adolf** (1906–1962), 74–75, 90, **195–196**, 506, 662, 756  
and the Holocaust in Hungary, 323, 331–332
- Eichmann Trial**, 36, **196–197**, 697
- 1848, 197–199**, 232  
anti-Jewish violence in, 15  
in France, 277, 571  
and Jewish emancipation, 203, 445
- Jewish emancipation, opposition to, 39, 386, 644, 749
- Jews' exploitation of revolutions of, 61, 386, 466
- in the German states, 60–61, 91, 165, 232, 286, 400, 601, 735
- in Hungary, 327
- and the papacy, 548, 719, 733
- Einsatzgruppen**, 125, 135, **199–200**, 302, 318, 428, 555, 724  
*See also* Commissar Order, Order Police, Wannsee Conference
- Einstein, Albert (1879–1955), 421, 545–547
- Einstein, Alfred (1880–1952), 476, 477
- Einstein, Carl (1885–1940), 65
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1890–1969), 17, 471, 472, 623, 663
- Eisler, Hanns (1898–1962), 228
- Eisner, Kurt (1867–1919), 706, 760
- Election, An* (1754), 312–314
- Elghanian, Habib (d. 1979), 352, 398
- Eliot, T. S.** (1888–1965), **200–201**, 208, 562
- Elisabeth, Empress of Austria (1837–1898), 295
- Emancipation**,  
*See also* Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914); Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; 1848; Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste; Jew Bill of 1753; Jewish Question; Nuremberg Laws; Philosemitism
- Emicho of Flonheim (d. 1139), 153
- Eminescu, Mihai (1850–1889), 157, 617
- Encyclopédie*, 177, 456
- Endeks. *See* National Democrats (Poland)
- Engels, Friedrich (1820–1895), 27, 97, 447, 452, 667–668  
and Dühring, Eugen, 192, 667  
*See also* Socialists on Antisemitism
- English Literature from Chaucer to Wells**, **204–206**
- English Literature of the Twentieth Century**, **206–209**
- Entdecktes Judenthum** (1700, 1711), **209–210**, 609, 700  
*See also* Reformation, Talmud, *Talmud Jew, The*
- Erasmus, Desiderius** (1466–1536), **210–211**, 544
- Erfurt, 98, 171, 218, 437
- Eriksson, Elof (1883–1965), 693
- Erzberger, Matthias (1875–1921), 111, 270
- Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853–1855), 62, 277, 586, 640
- Esterhazy, Ferdinand Walsin (1847–1923). *See* Walsin-Esterhazy, Marie Charles Ferdinand
- Ethiopia, 203, 432, 480, 566
- Eudoxia, Empress (d. 404 CE), 122
- Eugenics**, **211–212**, 239, 665  
in the United States, 38, 212, 472

- in Germany, 167, 212, 445, 446, 496, 528, 640
- See also* Evolutionary Psychology; Social Darwinism; Racism, Scientific Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339), 123
- Evans-Gordon, William Eden (d. 1913), 86
- Evian Conference**, 212–213, 363
- Evolutionary Psychology**, 194, 213–216, 587, 665
- Ewige Jude, Der* (1940), 106, 229–230, 278, 491
- Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), 47
- Exodus (inverted version), 29, 442, 644
- Expulsions, High Middle Ages**, 216–218
- Expulsions, Late Middle Ages**, 218–219
- Fabians, 64, 758
- Fackel, Die*, 114, 405
- Fagin, 101, 165, 176
- Fagius, Paul (1504–1549), 592
- Fahrenkrog, Ludwig (1867–1952), 744
- Fair Housing Act, 599
- Falangism, 156, 485, 697
- Falwell, Jerry (1933–), 20
- Farhud** (1941), 221, 337
- Farhi, Gabriel, 359
- Farias, Victor (1940–), 293
- Farrakhan, Louis** (1933–), 5, 221–223, 484, 660
- See also* Nation of Islam
- Farrell, Jean, 349
- Fascist Intellectuals (French)**, 223–225
- See also* *Action Française*, Bardèche, Maurice; Barrès, Maurice; Brasillach, Robert; Céline, Louis-Ferdinand; France (1789–1939); Maurras, Charles; Rebattet, Lucien; Vichy
- Fassbinder, Rainer Werner (1945–1982), 88, 253, 271
- Fatah. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization
- Fatherland Party (Vaterlandspartei), 111, 130
- Faulhaber, Cardinal Michael (1869–1952), 517
- Faurisson, Robert** (1929–), 57, 162, 225, 320
- Feder, Gottfried (1883–1941), 98, 493, 494, 706
- Federal Reserve Bank, 140, 465
- Fehme, 250, 270
- Felderer, Ditlieb (1942–), 349
- Feletti, Father, 471
- FERERA, David, 688
- Ferrer, Vincente** (1350–1419), 185, 225–226
- See also* Dominican Order; Inquisition
- Feuerbach, Ludwig** (1804–1872), 226–227, 455, 783
- Feyre, Michel, 652
- Fichte Society of 1916, 263
- Fichte, J. G.** (1762–1814), 39, 62, 91, 227–228, 291, 681, 743
- Fielding, Henry (1707–1754), 98, 100
- Fields, Edward (1932–), 193
- Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in**, 228
- See also* Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939)
- Film Propaganda, Nazi**, 228–230
- See also* Goebbels, Joseph
- Filov, Bogdan (1883–1945), 90
- Final Solution. *See* Holocaust
- Findhorn Foundation, 502
- Fiorentino, Giovanni (1467–1506), 653
- Fips (Philipp Rupprecht), 687
- First Crusade, *See* Crusades
- Fischer, Eugen (1874–1967), 496
- Fischer, Karl (1881–1941), 784
- Fischer, Theodor, 569–570
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott (1896–1940), 208
- Fleischhauer, Ulrich (b. 1899), 570
- Fleming, Gerald, 354
- Fleming, Ian (1908–1964), 207
- Fliegende Blätter**, 103–106, 230–232, 400
- Florensky, Pavel (1882–1937?), 628, 632
- Follen, Karl (1796–1840), 91
- FONG—Friends of the New Germany, 268
- Fontane, Theodor** (1819–1898), 232–233, 247
- Ford, Henry** (1863–1947), 16, 83, 163–164, 233–236, 250, 315, 390–391, 406, 663, 694, 717, 721
- Forster, Arnold, 484
- Förster, Bernhard** (1843–1889), 20, 62, 236–237, 296, 504
- Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth** (1846–1935), 236, 237
- Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, The* (1899), 113, 480
- Fourier, Charles** (1772–1837), 191, 237–238, 239, 282, 266, 570, 710
- France**, 11, 55, 142–147, 238–240, 718–719
- Emancipation of Jews in, 13–15, 160, 198, 202, 238–239, 283–284, 378, 666, 740
- Holocaust in, 68, 161–162, 319–322, 591, 731–732, 738–741
- in the Middle Ages, 6, 12, 13, 124, 152–155, 185, 216–219, 458–465, 701, 754–755
- and Muslim minority, 358–359, 415–416
- post–World War II, 11, 109, 142–147, 162, 224, 415–416, 639–640
- See also* *Action Française*; Algeria; Alsace; Diderot, Denis; Dreyfus Affair; Drumont, Édouard; Fourier, Charles; *France juive, La*; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Infamous Decree; Le Pen, Jean-Marie; Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph; Rothschilds; Toussenel, Alphonse; Vichy; Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de
- France juive, La** (1886), 189, 191, 240–241, 710, 789
- Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), 241
- Franciscan Order**, 55, 96, 185, 241–242, 346–347, 605, 655
- Franck, James (1882–1964), 545
- Franco, Francisco (1892–1975), 57, 156, 162
- attitude toward Nazi persecution of Jews, 674–675
- Franco-Prussian War, 11, 82, 159, 239, 241
- Frank, Anne (1929–1945),
- Frank, Hans (1900–1945), 706 780
- Frank, Josip (1844–1911), 148

- Frank, Leo** (1884–1915), 16, 242–243, 316, 720, 757
- Frank, Semyon (1877–1950), 630
- Frank, Walter (1905–1945), 495
- Frankfurt am Main, 67, 75, 88, 210, 298, 344, 388, 543
- Frankfurt School, 65, 215
- Franklin, Leo M. (1870–1948), 234
- Frantz, Constantin** (1817–1891), 63, 244, 751
- Franz Joseph, Kaiser (1813–1916), 323, 436, 558
- Frederick II, the Great, King of Prussia (1713–1786), 158, 456
- Frederick William II, King of Prussia (1786–1797), 184, 680
- Frederick William IV, King of Prussia (1795–1861), 121, 675–676, 783
- Freemasonry**, 244–246, 680  
antisemites' attacks on, 8, 282, 433–435, 448, 618  
as agency of conspiracy, 59, 241, 456, 759  
as ally/tool of Jews, 182, 191, 269, 289, 366, 456, 663, 718  
as imimical to Catholicism, 59, 111, 141, 182, 402, 456, 548, 733, 734  
Nazi persecution of, 199, 480  
and Protestantism, 663, 772  
and *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 509, 567–570
- Freikorps, 324, 706
- Frenzel, Elisabeth (1915–1997), 702
- Freud, Sigmund** (1856–1939), 65, 79, 215, 246–247, 391–392, 421, 642, 649, 658, 715, 572–573
- Freundlich, Otto (1878–1943), 167
- Freytag, Gustav (1816–1895)**, 165, 247–248, 583  
*See also Debit and Credit*
- Frick, Wilhelm (1877–1946), 515
- Friedrich I, Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor (1152–1190), 154, 267
- Friedjung, Heinrich (1851–1920), 49, 424
- Friedländer, Saul (1932–), 318–319
- Fries, Jakob Friedrich** (1773–1843), 248–249, 298
- Fritsch, Theodor** (1852–1933), 22, 157, 249–250, 265–266, 269–270, 422, 568, 650–651  
and the assassination of Walther Rathenau, 705–706  
and *Handbook of the Jewish Question*, 289–291  
and the Imperial Hammer League, 344–345, 587
- Friuli, 216
- Fuchs, Eduard (1870–1940), 103
- Fugu Plan**, 250–251, 365
- Galen, Cardinal Clemens August Count von (1878–1946), 127
- Galicia, 48, 717, 768
- Galinski, Heinz (1912–1992), 271
- Galton, Francis (1822–1911), 211–212
- Garbage, the City and Death, The**, 88, 253–254, 271
- Gartenlaube, Die**, 254–255  
*See also Glagau, Otto*
- Garvey, Marcus (1887–1940), 660
- Gascony, 216
- Gaysot Law, 225
- Gaza Strip, 503, 687
- Gebssattel, Konstantin von (1854–1932), 745
- Geist, Raymond, 580
- Gemlich Letter** (1919), 157, 255–256, 575  
*See also Hitler, Adolf*
- General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives), 162, 731, 739
- General Gouvernement of Poland, 555, 780
- General Orders No. 11**, 37, 257
- George, Heinrich (1893–1946), 229
- George, Stefan** (1868–1933), 66, 257–258
- Gerigk, Herbert (b. 1905), 476
- Gerlach, Ernst Ludwig von (1795–1877), 121, 749
- Gerlach, Helmuth von (1866–1935), 120
- Gerlach, Leopold von (1790–1861), 121, 179
- German Big Business and Antisemitism** (1910–1945), 258–259
- See also* Aryanization (Germany); Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939)
- German Democratic Republic (East Germany)**, 171, 259–260, 498, 623, 677, 573
- German Eastern Marches Society** (Deutscher Ostmarkenverein), 260–261, 744
- German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy, 573
- German Labor Front, 19, 263
- German National People's Party**, 120, 130, 261–262, 325, 575, 600, 624, 760, 761
- German National Socialist Workers' Party (Czechoslovakia), 689
- German National White Collar Employees Association**, 262–263, 344, 744
- German Peasant League**, 263–264, 455
- German People's Church, 180
- German Peoples Party (DVP), 264
- German Racial Freedom Party**, 180, 264–266, 600, 745
- German Racial League for Defense and Defiance** (Deutschvölkischer Schutzbund und Trutz-bund), 180, 265, 266–267, 344, 624, 682, 705, 737, 745, 760  
*See also* Imperial Hammer League; Pan-German League; Roth, Alfred
- German Social Reform Party. *See* Deutschsoziale Reformpartei
- German Students, Association of** (Verein Deutscher Studenten), 21, 76, 267–268, 287, 422
- German University Ring, 67
- Germania*, 25, 111
- Germanic Confederation, 197, 781
- Germanic Order**, 269–270, 682, 706
- Germany, Federal Republic of (West Germany)**, 106, 171, 270–272, 304, 702  
*See also* Bubis, Ignatz; Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany; *Garbage, the City and Death, The*; Historians' Controversy; Nazi Rock; Neo-Nazism, German

- Gerresheim, Bert (1935–), 295  
 Gerron, Kurt (1896–1944), 703  
 Gershenson, Mikhail (1869–1925), 630  
 Ghannouchi, Rached (1941–), 360  
**Ghetto**, 204, 216, 245, **272–275**, 357, 462, 464, 523, 530–531, 534, 583, 624, 673, 676, 691, 785  
**Ghetto Benches**, **275–276**  
*Ghetto, Das* (1894), 300  
 Gide, André (1896–1951), 110  
 Gigi, Albert (1944–), 359  
 Gillray, James (1756–1815), 101, 626  
 Gintzburg, G. O., 451  
 Giscard-d’Estaing, Valéry (1926–), 145  
**Glagau, Otto** (1834–1892), 254, **276**, 768  
*See also Gartenlaube, Die Glasnost*, 725  
*Gleichschaltung*, 487, 579  
 Glemp, Józef (1929), 367, 557  
 Global Restoration Party (Chikyū ishin tō), 365  
**Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de** (1816–1882), 62, 114, **276–277**, 474, 528–529, 586, 618, 640, 752  
 Gobineau Society, 528, 640  
**Goebbels, Joseph** (1897–1945), 79, 141, 166, 228–229, 257, **277–278**, 381, 477, 486–491, 517, 702  
 and the Night of Broken Glass, 509  
*See also Angriff, Der; Film Propaganda, Nazi*  
 Goedsche, Herrmann (Sir John Retcliffe, 1816–1878), 69, 431, 569, 584  
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1832), 62, 113, 232, 388, 683, 702  
**Goga, Octavian** (1881–1938), 29, 158, **278–279**, 411, 618  
 Golden, Harry (1901–1981), 209  
 Goldhagen, Daniel J., 318  
 Goldschmidt, Richard (1878–1958), 212  
 Golovinskii, Matvei (1865–1920), 568  
 Gombos, Gyula (1886–1936), 329  
 Gomperz, Theodor (1832–1912), 649  
 Gomułka, Władysław (1905–1982), 556, 679  
 Goodwyn, Lawrence (1928–), 559  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail (1931–), 638, 717, 725  
**Göring, Hermann** (1893–1946), 136, **279–280**, 488, 693, 755  
 and Aryanization, 42, 80, 493  
 and the Night of Broken Glass, 506–507  
 Göring, Matthias (1879–1945), 392, 573  
 Görres, Joseph von (1776–1848), 121, 719  
**Gospels**, 60–61, 180, 226, **280–282**, 350, 396, 535, 690  
 Gottschalk, Joachim (1904–1941), 228, 703  
 Goudchaux, Michel (1797–1862), 198  
**Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri** (1805–1876), 191, **282–283**, 710, 768  
 Gotovtsev, D. V., 450, 451  
 Grabski, Władysław (1874–1938), 485  
 Graefe, Albrecht von (1868–1933), 192, 265  
 Graetz, Heinrich (1817–1891), 747  
 Graf, Jürgen (1951–), 349  
 Graham, Gwethalyn (1913–1965), 208  
 Grant, Madison (1865–1937), 212, 533–534  
 Grant, Ulysses (1822–1885), 37, 256, 649, 720  
 Granville, George (1667–1735), 654  
 Grattenauer, Karl (1773–1838), 681  
 Grau, Wilhelm (1910–2000), 495  
 Great Poland Camp (OWP), 182, 275, 485  
 Green Shirts (Brazil), 83  
 Greene, Graham (1904–1991), 115  
 Greenglass, David (1922–), 622  
 Greenglass, Ruth (1925–), 622  
**Grégoire, Henri-Baptiste** (1750–1831), 13–14, **283–284**,  
**Gregory the Great, Pope** (ca. 540–604), 19, **284–285**, 458, 460, 611  
 Gregory IX, Pope (1227–1241), 347, 590  
 Gregory XIII, Pope (1502–1585), 657, 701  
 Gregory XVI, Pope (1831–1846), 531  
 Greyshirts, 672, 673  
 Griffith, D. W. (1875–1948), 315  
 Grillparzer, Franz (1791–1872), 40, 703  
**Grimm, Brothers**, **285–286**  
 Grimm, Jakob (1785–1863), 159  
 Grimm, Wilhelm (1786–1859), 285  
 Gropius, Walter (1883–1969), 441  
 Gross, Jan Tomasz (1934–), 366–367, 557  
 Grossman, Vasily (1905–1964), 373  
 Grosz, Andor, 74–75  
 Grosz, George (1893–1959), 65, 166  
 Groulx, Abbé Lionel (1878–1967), 94  
 Grüber, Heinrich (1891–1975), 127  
 Grünbaum, Fritz (d. 1941), 703  
 Gründgens, Gustav (1899–1963),  
 Grundmann, Walter (1906–1976), 349  
 Grüninger, Paul (1891–1972), 702  
 Grynszpan, Herschel (1921–), 507  
 Guérin, Jules (1860–1910), 192  
 Guesde, Jules (1845–1922), 666  
 Guibert de Nogent, Abbot (1055–1125), 458  
 Guidici of Ventimiglia, 656  
 Guizot, François (1787–1874), 738  
 Gumilev, Lev (1912–1992), 634  
 Gumpel, Peter, 549  
 Gumplowicz, Ludwig (1838–1909), 664  
 Gundolf, Friedrich (1880–1931), 257, 702  
 Günther, Hans F. K. (1891–1968), 495  
 Gustloff, Wilhelm (1895–1936), 694–695  
 Guthrie, Murray (1869–1911), 86  
 Gutzkow, Karl (1811–1878), 781–782  
 Guzman, Dominic de (ca. 1170–1221), 185  
**Gwynne, H. A.** (1865–1950), 108–109, **286**  
 Gypsies (Roma/Sinti), 29, 89, 125, 317–318, 335, 490, 521, 540, 620, 726

- Habermas, Jürgen (1929–), 271, 304
- Hadith, 12, 34, 357, 361, 470
- Hadrian, Emperor (Publius Aelius Hadrianus, 76–136 CE), 56, 61, 128, 611
- Haeckel, Ernst (1834–1919), 297, 586, 664
- Hagar, 459
- Hahn, Diederich** (1859–1918), 7, 267, 287–288
- Halder, Franz (1884–1972), 135
- Haman**, 116, 288
- Hamas**, 288–289, 358, 360
- Hamburg, 55, 156, 202, 262, 268, 293, 295, 298, 344, 445, 466, 486, 651, 741, 768
- Hammerstein, Wilhelm von (1838–1904), 708
- Hananel, Ascher (1895–1964), 90
- Handbook of the Jewish Question** (*Antisemites' Catechism*), 193, 249, 289–291, 376, 391, 686
- Handlin, Oscar (1915–), 559
- Hansa League (Hansabund), 264
- Hansemann, Ferdinand von (1861–1900), 260
- Harbin, Manchuria, 768
- Harden, Maximilian (1861–1927), 79
- Harding, Warren G., President (1865–1923), 163
- Harlan, Veit (1899–1964), 106, 229–230, 385
- Harlot's Progress, A*, 312–313
- Harte, Bret (1836–1902), 714
- Hartmann, Franz (1838–1912), 705
- Harwood, Richard E. (Richard Verall), 319
- Hasse, Ernst (1846–1908), 130, 528
- Hasselmann, Wilhelm (1844–1916), 667
- Hasselriis, Louis (1884–1912), 295
- Haushofer, Karl (1869–1946), 73
- Hausner, Gideon (1915–), 196
- Haverbeck, Werner (1909–1999), 684
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804–1864), 207
- Hayden, Tom (1939–), 503–504
- Hazlitt, William (1834–1913), 655
- Hecataeus of Abdera (4<sup>th</sup> century CE), 467
- Hegel, G. W. F.** (1770–1831), 60–61, 226, 291–292, 643  
*See also* Young Hegelians; *Jewish Question, The*
- Heidegger, Martin** (1889–1976), 66, 257, 292–293, 639
- Heine, Heinrich** (1797–1856), 79, 91, 254, 293–295, 751  
 and antisemitism, 59, 294  
 Karl Kraus' critique of, 648  
 and Young Germany, 781–782
- Heine Monument Controversy**, 295–296
- Heine, Salomon (1767–1844), 293
- Heine, Thomas Theodor (1867–1948), 657–658
- Heisenberg, Werner (1901–1976), 547
- Hell, François Joseph Antoine de (1737–1794), 13
- Hellwig, Karl August (1855–1914), 344
- Helpmann, Alexander Lazarevich (Parvus) (1867–1924), 669
- Hemingway, Ernest (1899–1961), 208
- Henlein, Konrad (1898–1945), 689
- Henning, Wilhelm (b. 1879), 265
- Henrici, Ernst** (1854–1915), 66–67, 296, 500–501
- Henriot, Philippe (1889–1944), 145
- Henry III, King of England (1216–1272), 326–327
- Henry IV, King and Holy Roman Emperor (1056–1106), 152
- Henry of Winchester, 133
- Henry, Hubert Joseph (1846–1898), 190, 448
- Hentschel, Willibald** (1858–1947), 296–297, 344, 744
- Hep-Hep Riots** (1819), 297–299, 733
- Herder, J. G.** (1744–1803), 299–300
- Herod, King (37–4 BCE), 610
- Herter, Ernst (1846–1917), 295
- Hertzberg, Arthur (1920–), 72, 747
- Herzenstein, M. Ia. (1859–1906), 71
- Herzl, Theodor** (1860–1904), 11, 300–301, 328, 379, 389, 404, 511, 519, 532, 625  
 and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 509
- See also* Jewish Question; Self-Hatred, Jewish; Zionism
- Heschel, Abraham Joshua (1907–1972), 5, 475
- Heschel, Susannah, 350
- Hess, Rudolph (1894–1987), 452, 487, 706
- Hesse, 22–23, 67, 75–76, 88, 198, 271, 298, 455, 602, 624
- Heydrich, Reinhard (1904–1942), 67, 136, 199, 280, 302, 309, 354, 508, 780  
 and Wannsee Conference, 755–756
- Higham, John (1920–), 650
- Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–367), 123–124
- Hilberg, Raul (1926–), 317–318, 790
- Hillarion of Kiev, 637
- Hillel, Mordechai ben (1240–1298), 602
- Hillgruber, Andreas (1925–1989), 303
- Hilsner, Leopold (1876–1928), 557–558, 607
- Hilton, Henry (1824–1899). *See* Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Seligman-Hilton Affair
- Himmler, Heinrich** (1900–1945), 67, 74, 280, 301–302, 354, 488, 520–521, 645  
 and the Commissar Order, 135–136, 199–200  
 and the Night of Broken Glass, 506–508
- Hindenburg, Paul von (1847–1934), 305, 371–372, 433, 579
- Hinderbach, Johannes von, 656
- Hinduva (Hindu Nationalist) Movement, 173
- Hinkel, Hans (1901–1960), 490
- Hippler, Fritz (1909–2002), 229
- Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170–235), 170
- Hirose, Takashi, 365
- Hirsch, Samson Raphael (1808–1888), 397
- Hirschfeld, Magnus** (1868–1935), 302–303  
*See also* Homophobia
- Historians' Controversy**, 303–304
- Historisch-politische Blätter*, 719

- Hitler, Adolf** (1889–1945), **304–306**  
 anti-communism of, 486–487, *See also* Judeo-Bolshevism  
 Chamberlain, Houston Stewart and, 113  
 Christian churches, relationship to, 125–126, 180, 308, 533, 659  
 cultural views of, 166, 475–476, 489–491, 702, *See also* Degenerate Art  
 Dühring, Eugen, influence on, 193  
 economic thinking of, 98, 263, 279, 480  
 eugenics, views on, 212, 533  
 on educational reform, 494  
 Ford, Henry, and, 236  
 Fritsch, Theodor, and ambivalent relationship to, 249–250, 291, 686, 745  
 German National People's Party, 262, 325–326  
 Holocaust, role in, 135, 199, 255, 302, 306, 309, 317, 321, 330, 453, 508. *See also* Holocaust; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; Irving, David  
 Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al- and, 306, 337  
 and Jewish economic assets, 42, 80, 491–493, 579  
 Ludendorff, Erich and, 433–434, 435  
 Lueger, Karl, and admiration for, 118, 437, 531  
 miscegenation, views on, 515  
 Mosley, Oswald, and influence on, 473  
 and Mussolini, 404, 479  
 and Night of Broken Glass, 507  
 Nuremberg Laws 1935, role in, 515–516  
 occult influences on, 73, 173, 412, 425–426, 587  
 propaganda views of, 307–308, 375, 453, 486, 517, 570, 686, 761  
 pogrom antisemitism, rejection of, 157, 255–256, 575  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 568, 570, 621  
 racist views of, 255, 307, 412, 533, 587, 665  
 Schönerer, Georg von, and admiration for, 643  
 South Africa, influence on politics of, 672  
 Szalasi, Ferenc, and, 696  
 and U.S. radical Right, 17, 465, 608–609, 767, 790  
 and *völkisch* movement, 60, 130, 265, 266, 412, 422, 425–426, 480, 587, 706  
 and the Wagner family, and, 750, 752  
*See also* Aryanization (Germany); Gemlich Letter; Hitler's "Prophecy" (January 30, 1939); Hitler's Speeches (Early); Hitler's *Table Talk*; *Mein Kampf*; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Party Program; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; Weimar Hizb ut-Tahrir (Party of Liberation), 359  
 Hezbollah, 289, 360  
 Hlinka, Andrej (1864–1938), 662, 707  
**Hlinka Guard, 309–310**  
**Hlond, August** (1881–1948), **310–311**  
**Hobson, J. A.** (1858–1940), 76, **311–312**, 758  
*See also* Boer War  
 Hochhuth, Rolf (1931–), 549  
 Hofbauer, Clemens Maria (1751–1820), 719  
 Hofmann, Albert (1818–1880), 400–401  
 Hofmannsthal, Hugo von (1874–1929), 257, 404  
 Hofstadter, Richard (1916–1970), 559  
**Hogarth, William** (1697–1764), 100–101, **312–315**, 626  
*See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early)  
 Hoggan, David (1923–1988), 107, 319  
 Hohe Warte, 435  
 Holinshed, Raphael (d. 1580?), 133  
**Hollywood, Treatment of Antisemitism in, 315–316**  
**Holocaust, 316–319**  
*See also* Best, Werner; Commissar Order; Eichmann Trial; Einsatzgruppen; Göring, Hermann; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Höss, Rudolf; Jehovah's Witnesses; National Socialist German Workers' Party; October Roundup (Rome, 1943); Order Police; Pius XII, Pope; Vichy; Wannsee Conference  
*See also specific countries*, Holocaust in  
**Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism, 319–322**  
 in Australia, 47  
 in Brazil, 83  
 in France, 57, 162, 225  
 in Germany, 45, 498  
 in Hungary, 336  
 in Lithuania, 430  
 and New Age promotion of, 173  
 in Romania, 620  
 in South Africa, 673  
 in U.S., 107, 193, 348–349, 420, 608, 663, 790  
*See also* Auschwitz Lie; Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Fascist Intellectuals (French); Historians' Controversy; Institute for Historical Review; Internet; Irving, David; Islamic Diaspora; *Leuchter Report*; Militia Movement; New Left; Nazi Rock; Neo-Nazism, German; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Rockwell, George Lincoln; Zündel, Ernst  
*Holy Family, The*, 447  
 Holy Roman Empire, 13, 48, 216, 388  
 Home Army (Poland), 485  
**Homophobia, 322–323**  
 Honecker, Erich (1912), 260  
 Honorius, Emperor (384–423), 704  
 Hoover, Herbert (1874–1964), 140, 471  
 Hoover, J. Edgar (1895–1972), 622  
 Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus, 63–8 BCE), 613, 614  
*See also* Roman Literature  
**Horthy, Miklós (1868–1957), 323–324**  
*See also* Hungary (1848–1944); Hungary, Holocaust in; White Terror (Hungary)

- Höss, Rudolf (1901–1947)**, 225, 324–325
- Host Desecration**, 48, 96, 169, 219, 325–326, 368, 462, 464, 542, 563, 602–604
- House Committee on Un-American Activities, 663
- Hoveve Tsion (Lovers of Zion), 519, 522
- Hrúzová, Anežka (d. 1899), 607
- Huberman, Bronisław (1882–1947), 555
- Hugenberg, Alfred** (1865–1951), 262, 325–326,
- Hugh of Lincoln** (d. 1255), 326–327, 604  
*See also* Ritual Murder (Medieval)
- Human Potential Movement, 502
- Hungary (1848–1944)**, 327–331  
*See also* Horthy, Miklós; Hungary, the Holocaust in; Judeo-Bolshevism; Kallay, Miklós; *Numerus Clausus* (Hungary); *Ostjuden*; Szalasi, Ferenc; Tiszaeszlár Ritual Murder; White Terror
- Hungary, Holocaust in**, 331–333  
*See also* Eichmann, Adolf; Höss, Rudolf
- Hungary, Pogroms in**, 333–334
- Hungary, Post-Soviet**, 334–336
- Hunt, James, 586
- Hussaini, Mufti Hajj Amin al-** (1895–1974), 221, 336–337, 478  
relationship to the Nazis, 336
- Husserl, Edmund (1859–1938), 292
- Hussites, 96, 155
- Hutten, Ulrich von (1488–1523), 544
- Iassy, 132, 353
- Ibn Tumart (d. 1130), 12
- Ibsen, Henrik (1828–1906), 40, 423
- Iconography, Christian**, 339–342  
*See also* Antichrist; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Deicide; Dickens, Charles; *Judensau*; Passion Plays, Medieval; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Wandering Jew
- If I Were the Kaiser** (1912), 130, 342–343, 493, 529
- Ignatiev, N. P. (1832–1908), 450–451, 552
- Illuminati, 59, 245, 456, 759
- Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.)**, 343–344
- Immigration Reform Association, 86
- Immigration Restriction League, 212
- Imperial Fascist League, 85, 87, 774
- Imperial Hammer League** (Reichshammerbund), 344–345  
*See also* Fritsch, Theodor; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Germanic Order
- Imredy, Bela (1891–1946), 329
- India, 33, 72, 173, 203, 242, 348, 644, 705, 759
- Infamous Decree**, 345–346  
*See also* Alsace; Usury
- Innocent III, Pope** (1160/61–1216), 241, 346–347, 701  
*See also* Lateran Council, Fourth; Usury; Yellow Badge
- Innocent IV, Pope (1243–1254), 701
- Inquisition**, 347–349  
and *conversos*, 216, 369, 463, 661  
and Jews in flight from, 133, 137, 661, 670  
in modern times, 51, 82, 155, 470, 532, 674  
in the New World, 51, 155, 661  
*See also* *Auto-da-fé*; Dominican Order; Jesuit Order; Papacy, Modern; Raymund of Peñafort; Spain under Franco; Torquemada, Tomás de
- Institute for Historical Review (IHR)**, 348–349  
*See also* Carto, Willis; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism
- Institute for the History of the New Germany,
- Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Church Life**, 349–350
- Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism, 359
- Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, 495
- Intentionalist/Functionalist Debate.  
*See* Holocaust
- Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, 213
- International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, 392, 573
- Internet**, 350–351
- Intifada, First, 34, 289, 457  
Intifada, Second, 26, 33, 289, 359, 457
- Inuzuka, Koreshige (1890–1965), 251, 365
- Invocation, The Great**, 351–352
- Ioann, Metropolitan of Saint Petersburg and Ladoga, 634, 637
- Iollo, G. B. (1859–1907), 71
- Ionescu, Nae (1890–1940), 617
- Iorga, Nicolae (1871–1940), 158, 618
- Iranian Revolution**, 352–353  
*See also* Islamic Fundamentalism; Khomeini, Ayatollah
- Iraq, 26, 31, 336  
*See also* Farhud
- Iron Guard**, 353–354  
*See also* Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Romania, Holocaust in
- Iron Wolf (Lithuania), 428
- Irving, David** (1938–), 349, 354–356, 420  
his libel suit against Lipstadt, Deborah, 225, 321, 355  
*See also* Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism
- Irving, Henry (1838–1905), 653
- Isaac, Jules (1878–1963), 734
- Ishiguro, Shirō, 251
- Ishmael, 459, 538–539
- Islam and the Jews**, 356–358  
*Dhimmis*, 9, 30, 352–353, 357, 397–398
- Hadith, 12, 34, 357, 361, 470
- Koran, 12, 34, 356, 361, 468, 479  
*See also* Almohad Persecution; Anti-Zionism; Arab Antisemitic Literature;

- Hamas; Iranian Revolution; Islamic Diaspora; Islamic Fundamentalism; Mohammed; Muslim Brotherhood; Nation of Islam
- Islamic Diaspora, 358–360**
- Islamic Fundamentalism, 360–361**
- and *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 361
- Israel, Ancient,
- Israel, State of, 34, 38, 106–107, 156, 196–197, 259, 270–271, 289, 322, 365, 472, 545, 639, 718
- and Eichmann Trial, 196–197
  - and the Internet, 351
  - and New Left, 503
- See also* Anti-Zionism; Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Zionism
- Itagaki, Yūō (1931–), 365
- Italian Social Republic (Salo Republic),
- Italy, 55, 213, 274, 719
- Emancipation of Jews in, 197
  - Fascism in, 403, 404, 442–443, 473
  - Holocaust in, 150, 195, 518, 584–585
  - in the Middle Ages, 12, 96, 284, 459, 655–657
- See also* Bunker, Jewish; Ghetto; *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists*; Mortara Affair; Mussolini, Benito; October Roundup (Rome, 1943); Preziosi, Giovanni; Racial Laws (Italy); Roman Empire
- Itzig, Veitel, 165, 247, 583
- J Stamp, 363–364, 695**
- J'accuse!* (1898), 190
- Jabotinsky, Vladimir (1880–1940), 543
- Jackson, Jesse (1941–), 5
- Jäckel, Eberhard (1933–), 255, 317
- Jacobins, 14, 59, 202, 245, 455–456
- Jaeger, Malte, 230
- Jagiello, Eugeniusz, 79
- Jagmetti, Carlo (1932–), 596
- Jahjah, Dyab Abou (1971–), 359
- Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig (1778–1852), 39, 91, 743
- James, Henry (1843–1916), 208
- Japan, 90, 141, 343, 364–366, 401, 624, 636**
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in, 365
  - See also* Fugu Plan
- Japanese Red Army, 365
- Jaroslavski, Emeljan, 389
- Jaurès, Jean (1854–1914), 667
- Je suis partout*, 57, 81, 223, 224, 591
- Jedwabne, 366–367, 557**
- See also* Kielce Pogrom; Poland
- Jeffries, Leonard (1937–), 5, 660
- Jehovah's Witnesses, 125, 317, 367–368, 781**
- Jerome (ca. 340–420), 19, 123, 169, 211
- Jerrold, Blanchard (1826–1884), 206
- Jessner, Leopold (1878–1957), 703
- Jesuit Order, 59, 129, 369–370, 532, 549, 718**
- and anti-Jesuit sentiment, 247, 409, 444, 456, 480, 680, 755, 782
- See also* Barruel, Augustin; *Civiltà Cattolica*; Dreyfus Affair; Freemasonry; Judeo-Bolshevism; *Kulturkampf*; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First
- Jew Bill (1753), 100, 133, 313, 314, 370–371, 655**
- Jew Census (1916), 371–372, 623, 737**
- Jew of Malta, The (1633), 372–373**
- See also* Shylock, Well Poisoning
- Jew of Venice, The* (1701), 654
- Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, 183, 373–374, 581, 659, 677, 725**
- Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, 768
- Jewish Colonization Association, 768
- Jewish Council (Budapest, 1944), 374**
- Jewish Force, 375**
- Jewish Labor Service (Hungary), 329, 331, 333, 374
- Jewish Peril, The* (1920), 108, 568
- "Jewish" Press, 118, 375–377, 436, 526**
- Jewish Question, 22, 48, 239, 311, 377–380, 419, 524, 574, 734, 783–784**
- assimilation as solution to, 119, 128, 247, 423, 445, 528, 774
  - Christian conversion as solution to, 39, 120, 510
  - legal restrictions on Jews as solution to, 67–68, 76, 192–193, 255, 412, 451, 749
  - parliamentary debates of, 249, 749
  - in popular culture, 106, 230–231, 254–255, 289–291, 499, 559, 658, 666–668, 687, 784–785
  - socialists on, 418, 452, 639
  - as a tool of political mobilization, 20, 22–24, 76, 191–192, 264–265, 276, 436–437, 445, 685
- See also the individual views of* Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Bauer, Bruno; Class, Heinrich; Dmowski, Roman; Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von; Drumont, Édouard; Dühring, Eugen; Fontane, Theodor; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Herzl, Theodor; Hitler, Adolf; Lagarde, Paul de; Léon, Abram; Mann, Thomas; Marr, Wilhelm; Marx, Karl; Mehring, Franz; Preziosi, Giovanni; Sartre, Jean-Paul; Schönerer, Georg von; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr; Toussenel, Alphonse; Wagner, Richard
- Jewish Question, The (1843), 380–381**
- See also* Bauer, Bruno; Marx, Karl
- Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem, The (1880), 381–382**
- See also* Dühring, Eugen
- Jewish Syndicate, 240, 241, 788
- Jews and the German State, The (1861), 382–383**
- Jews in the Army, The* (*Die Juden im Heere*, 1919), 623–624
- Jews, Kings of the Epoch, History of Financial Feudalism, The* (1845), 238, 239, 710

- Jews' Beech, The** (1842), **383–384**
- Jihad, 289, 361, 478
- Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1132–1202),  
242
- Johannesburg, 311, 768
- John I, King of Castile and Leon  
(1358–1390), 673
- John of Kronstadt (1829–1908),  
509–510
- John of Lexington, 326–327
- John XXIII, Pope (1881–1963),  
533, 548, 734
- John Paul II, Pope (1920–), 533,  
557, 734
- Johnson, Lyndon B. (1908–1973),  
5
- Joly, Maurice (1829–1879), 569,  
570
- Jonas, Hans (1903–1993), 292
- Jordan, Colin (1923–), 173
- Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor  
(1741–1790), 456
- Josephus, Flavius (ca. 37–100 CE),  
29–30, 131, 442, 610, 644
- Jospin, Lionel (1937–), 359
- Joyce, James (1882–1941), 208
- Joyce, William ("Lord Haw Haw,"  
1906–1946), 87
- Jud Süss** (Joseph Süss  
Oppenheimer, 1692–1738),  
**384–385**
- See also* Court Jews
- Jud Süss* (1940), 106, 229–230,  
278, 491, 495
- See also* Film Propaganda, Nazi
- Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon**  
(1862), **385–386**
- See also* Bauer, Bruno
- Judaism in Music** (1850, 1869),  
**386–387**, 476, 489, 735,  
750–752
- Judaizing, 3–4, 121, 139, 169, 191,  
211, 219, 347–348, 438,  
454, 459–463, 539, 544,  
637–638, 728, 578
- Judenflinten*, 8
- Judensau**, 99–100, 301, **387–388**,  
560–561
- See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish  
(Early); Pork
- Judenstaat, Der* (1895), 301
- Judeo-Bolshevism**, **389–391**
- See also* Freemasonry; *Handbook  
of the Jewish Question*; Hitler,  
Adolf; *Protocols of the Elders  
of Zion*; Rosenberg, Alfred;
- Webster, Nesta
- Judge, William Q. (1851–1896), 72
- Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish  
Cultural League), 490
- Julian, Emperor (332–363), 137
- Jung, Carl Gustav (1875–1961),  
391–393**
- See also* Psychoanalysis
- Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 163  
CE), 170, 174
- Justinian Code**, 285, **393–394**,  
611
- See also* Roman Empire;  
Theodosian Code
- Juvenal (67–140 CE), 467,  
613–617
- Kabbalah, 283, 564, 599
- Kahler, Erich (1885–1970), 257
- Kalisch, David (1820–1872), 400
- Kallay, Miklós** (1887–1967), 323,  
330–331, **395–396**
- Kallen, Horace (1882–1974), 475,  
533–534
- Kamenev, Lev (1883–1936), 724
- Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur  
(Combat League for German  
Culture), 476, 489
- Kant, Immanuel** (1724–1804), 62,  
227, 248, 257 **396–397**,  
643, 763
- Kantorowicz, Ernst (1895–1963),  
257
- Kapp Putsch, 433
- Kapp, Wolfgang (1858–1922), 745
- Kara, Avigdor (d. 1439), 564
- Karl Alexander of Wurttemberg,  
Duke (d. 1737), 234,  
384–385
- Karsavin, Nikolai (1882–1952),  
632
- Kaskel, Cesar, 256
- Kasztner Transport. *See* "Blood for  
Trucks" (Brand-Grosz  
Mission)
- Kates, Adolph (1886–1957), 156
- Kaufman, Irving R. (1910–1992),  
622–623
- Kaulbars, A. V. (b. 1844), 519
- Kaunas, 251, 365, 428–429
- Kautsky, Karl (1854–1938), 667
- Kean, Edmund (1787–1833), 654
- Kefauver, Estes (1903–1963), 598
- Keil, Ernst (1816–1876), 254
- Keitel, Wilhelm (1882–1946), 135
- Kennedy, Joseph (1888–1969), 550
- Kennemann, Hermann  
(1815–1910), 260
- Kenner, Hugh (1923–), 115
- Kerr, Alfred (1867–1948), 444
- Kessel, Joseph (1898–1979), 421
- Khalid Muhammed, 484
- Khomeini, Ayatollah**  
(1902–1989), **397–398**, 673
- See also* Iranian Revolution
- Khvol'son, Daniil (1819–1910),  
430
- Kielce Pogrom** (1946), 311,  
**398–399**
- Kiev, 63–64, 200, 527, 552, 565,  
607, 634–635, 637, 718,  
724
- Kikeriki*, 104
- King, Mackenzie (1893–1950), 95
- King, Martin Luther Jr.,  
(1929–1968), 5, 475,  
686–687
- Kirdorf, Emil (1847–1938), 258
- Kishinev Pogrom**, **399–400**, 581
- Kitchener, Horatio Herbert  
(1850–1916), 77, 286
- Kitt, Eartha (1927–), 33
- Kittel, Gerhard (1888–1948), 496
- Kladderadatsch**, 104–106,  
**400–401**
- Klages, Ludwig (1872–1956), 257
- Klarsfeld, Arno (1965–), 144–145
- Klarsfeld, Beate (1939–), 143
- Klarsfeld, Serge (1935–), 143, 146
- Keist, Heinrich von (1777–1811),  
179
- Klemperer, Otto (1885–1973), 228,  
476
- Klemperer, Werner (1920–2000),  
228
- Klimt, Gustav (1862–1918), 441
- Knauer, Ferdinand (1824–1889),  
263
- Knights Templar, 456
- Knox, Robert (1791–1862), 586
- Knox, Ronald (1888–1957), 115
- Kövér, László (1959–), 336
- Kohl, Helmut (1930–), 271
- Kokoschka, Oskar (1886–1980),  
441
- Kol Nidrei* prayer, 699
- Kolbe, Maksymilian** (1894–1941),  
**401–402**
- Konitz Ritual Murder** (1900),  
**402**, 607
- Koresh, David (1959–1993), 465
- Korn, Bertram (1918–1979), 646

- Korngold, Erich (1897–1957), 228
- Korolenko, Vladimir (1853–1921), 400
- Kortner, Fritz (1892–1970), 228, 703
- Kosher Slaughtering, 402–403**
- See also* Dietary Laws
- Kostov, Traicho (d. 1948), 679
- Kotzebue, August von (1761–1819), 91, 249
- Kozhinov, Vadim (1930–2001), 634
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von (1840–1902), 70, 247, 629
- Krakow, 202, 210, 554, 557
- Kralik, Richard von** (1852–1934), 403–404
- Kramer, Walther (1881–1964), 650
- Kraus, Karl** (1874–1936), 50, 114
- See also* Self-Hatred, Jewish
- Krauss, Werner (1884–1959), 229–230, 294, 404–405, 647
- Kravchuk, Leonid (1934–), 717
- Kreisky, Bruno (1911–1990), 770–771
- Krenek, Ernst (1900–1991), 476
- Kretschmer, Ernst (1888–1964), 392
- Kruger, Paul (1825–1904), 76
- Krushevani, Pavolaki** (1860–1909), 399, 404–406, 567, 582
- See also* Protocols of the Elders of Zion
- Ku Klux Klan** (1915–1941), 117, 193, 243, 268, 315, 406, 465, 721, 767
- Kubowitzki, A. Leo (1896–1966), 549
- Kuhn, Fritz (1896–1951), 268
- Kulturkampf**, 111, 406–407, 701
- See also* Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; Center Party, Papacy, Modern; *Talmud Jew, The*; Ultramontanism
- Kun, Bela (1886–1936), 329, 390, 769
- Kunmadaras, 333
- Kunschak, Leopold (1871–1953), 49
- Kunze, Richard (1872–1945?), 157
- Kuyper, Abraham (1837–1920), 498
- Kvaternik, Eugen Dido (1910–1962), 726
- L’Osservatore Romano*, 531
- Laden, Osama Bin (ca. 1957–), 361
- LaFarge, John (1880–1963), 532
- Lafargue, Paul (1842–1911), 666
- Lafer, Horacio (1900–1965), 83
- Lagarde, Paul de** (1827–1891), 62, 409–410, 700, 751
- criticism of the German Empire, 744
  - influence on Nazis, 409, 481
  - warnings against *Verjudung*, 736
- See also* Völkisch Movement and Ideology
- Lainez, Diego (1512–1565), 369
- Lake Placid Club, 174
- Lamennais, Hugues de (1782–1854), 718
- LANC—National Christian Defense League** (Romania), 132, 158, 279, 410–411, 618
- Landau, Alfred (1842–1902), 630
- Landau, Moshe (1912–), 196
- Landra, Guido (1913–1980), 442
- Lang, Fritz (1890–1976), 228
- Langbehn, Julius (1851–1907), 693, 744
- Lange, Friedrich** (1852–1917), 411–412, 640, 744
- and attempt to unify the *völkisch* movement, 411
  - and Class, Heinrich, 130
- See also* Völkisch Movement and Ideology
- Langen, Albert (1869–1909), 657
- Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg** (1874–1954), 412–413
- influence on Hitler, 587
  - and the occult, 426, 587, 744
- Lanzmann, Claude (1925–), 556
- Las Navas de Tolosa, Battle of (1212), 12
- Laski, Harold (1893–1950), 212
- Laskin, Bora (1912–1984), 95
- Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825–1864), 254, 667–668
- Lateran Council, Fourth** (1215), 346, 413–414
- and canon law regarding Jews, 346, 701
  - and usury, 462
  - and yellow badge, 462, 779
  - and Host Desecration, 325
- Laube, Heinrich (1806–1884), 384, 781–782
- Laubinger, Otto (1892–1935), 703
- Laubreaux, Alain (1899–1968), 223
- Laughlin, Harry (1880–1943), 212
- Laughlin, James (1914–1997), 563
- Lavater, Johann Kaspar** (1741–1801), 414–415
- Le Bon, Gustave (1841–1931), 191
- Le Pen, Jean Marie** (1928–), 15, 359, 415–416
- League against Antisemitism (Austrian), 70
- League against Antisemitism** (Abwehr-Verein, Germany), 248, 416–417, 684
- non-Jewish membership of, 112, 416, 761
  - and Xanten Ritual Murder, 777
- See also* Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith
- League of National Socialists (Kokka shakaishugisha dōmei, Japan), 365
- League of Nations, 480, 513, 768
- League of Patriots, 58
- League of the French Fatherland, 58
- Lease, Mary E. (1850–1933), 559
- Lebanon, 33, 336, 349, 457
- Lebensraum*, 195, 305–309, 477, 494
- Lecache, Bernard (1895–1968), 421
- Lederer, Hugo (1871–1940), 295
- Leech, John (1817–1864), 101, 576
- Leese, Arnold (1878–1956), 87, 774
- Leffler, Siegfried (1900–1983), 172, 349
- Legion of the Archangel Michael.
- See* Iron Guard
- Leguay, Jean (d. 1989), 162
- Lehmann, Julius Friedrich (1860–1954), 533, 774
- Lehr, Adolf (1839–1901), 528
- Leipzig, 8, 21, 91, 156, 184, 227, 249, 267, 287, 344, 650, 711
- Leipziger, Henry, 174,
- Lemke, William (1878–1950), 140, 663
- Lenard, Philipp (1862–1947), 546
- Lend-Lease, 663
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (1870–1924), 366, 389, 668
- See also* Socialists on Antisemitism
- Lenz, Fritz (1887–1970), 212, 215
- Lenz, Jakob (1751–1792), 414

- Leo XII, Pope (1760–1820), 531  
 Leo XIII, Pope (1878–1903), 64,  
     407, 531  
 Leon de Modena, Rabbi  
     (1571–1648), 729  
**Leon, Abram** (1918–1944),  
     417–418  
*See also* Socialists on  
     Antisemitism  
**Leskov, Nikolai Semenovich**  
     (1831–1895), 418–419  
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim  
     (1729–1781), 396  
*Die Juden*, 458  
     on Jewish Emancipation, 202  
*Nathan the Wise*, 232, 545, 655,  
     750, 782  
*See also* Emancipation;  
     Philosemitism  
 Lessing, Theodor (1872–1933), 648  
**Leuchter Report**, 45, 225, 321,  
     419–420, 354  
 Leuchter, Fred (1943–), 419  
 Leutheuser, Julius (b. 1900), 172  
 Levenson, J. C. (1922–), 2  
 Leveridge, Richard (1670–1758),  
     312  
 Levi, Hermann (1839–1900), 750,  
     752  
 Levinson, Barry (1942–), 209  
 Levy, Abraham (1878–1957), 672  
 Levy, Uriah P. (1792–1862), 37  
 Lewis, C. S. (1898–1963), 115  
 Libanius (314–ca. 394), 121  
**Liberty Lobby**, 107, 320, 348,  
     420–421  
*Libre parole, La*, 189, 191, 240,  
     789  
**LICA—International League  
     against Antisemitism**  
     (Ligue Internationale Contre  
         l’Antisémitisme), 421  
 Lichtenberg, Bernhard  
     (1875–1943), 127, 313  
 Licinius, Emperor (250–325), 137  
 Lieber, Ernst (1838–1902), 111  
**Liebermann von Sonnenberg,**  
     Max (1848–1911), 22–23,  
     66, 236, 276, 296–297, 403,  
     422  
     and ideas on harmful versus  
         useful capital, 97–98,  
 Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826–1900),  
     403  
 Liebold, Ernest G. (1884–1956),  
     163, 233  
 Liechtenstein, Alois (1846–1920),  
     746  
**Lienhard, Friedrich** (1865–1929),  
     63, 422–423  
*Life of Jesus* (Strauss, 1835), 783  
*Life of Jesus* (Renan, 1863), 594  
 Lillienblum, Moshe Leib  
     (1843–1910), 630  
 Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865),  
     663  
**Lindbergh, Charles** (1902–1974),  
     423–424, 721  
 Lindsey, Hal (1929–), 20  
 Lingen, Theo (1903–1978), 703  
 Lintorn-Orman, Rotha  
     (1895–1935), 773  
**Linz Program** (1882), 49,  
     424–425, 643  
 Lippert, Julius (1895–1956), 18  
 Lissitzky, El (1890–1941), 631  
**List, Guido von** (1848–1919),  
     269, 412, 425–426, 474,  
     682, 744  
 Liszt, Franz (1811–1886), 750  
**Lithuania**, 276, 426–428, 527,  
     564–565, 605, 630, 677  
**Lithuania, Holocaust in**, 251, 365,  
     428–429  
**Lithuania, Post-Soviet**, 429–430  
 Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF),  
     429  
**Liutostanski, Ippolit**  
     (1835–1915/1918?),  
     430–431  
**Ljotić, Dimitrije** (1891–1945),  
     431–432  
 Locke, John (1632–1704), 709  
 Lodz Ghetto, 229, 318, 555  
 Lösener, Bernhard (1890–1952),  
     516  
 Löwenfeld, Raphael (1854–1910),  
     112  
 Löwenstein, Rudolf (1819–1891),  
     400  
 Löwith, Karl (1897–1973), 292  
 Lombardy, Duchy of, 216, 257  
 Lombroso, Cesare (1835–1909),  
     167, 188, 191  
 London, 55, 80, 87, 163, 188, 206,  
     311, 399, 450, 566, 606,  
     773, 576  
     and the East End, 86, 473, 758  
     medieval and early modern, 99,  
     132–133, 154, 313–314,  
     372, 626–627, 652, 709  
 London School of Economics, 758  
**Long, Breckinridge** (1881–1958),  
     432–433  
 Long, Huey (1893–1935), 663  
 López, Rodrigo (d. 1593), 652–653  
*Lorelei*, 294, 295  
 Lorenz, Alfred (1868–1939), 477  
 Lorre, Peter (1904–1964), 228  
 Louis Philippe, King of France  
     (1830–1848), 239  
 Louis the Pious, Holy Roman  
     Emperor (768–840), 6  
 Louis VII, King of France (ca.  
     1120–1180), 542  
 Louis IX, King of France  
     (1214–1270), 216–217  
 Louis XIII, King of France  
     (1601–1643), 102  
 Louis XVI, King of France  
     (1754–1793), 13  
 Louisiana, 661, 663, 768  
 Lowell, A. Lawrence (1856–1943),  
     514  
 Loyola, Ignatius (1491–1556), 369  
 Lübeck, 272, 344  
 Lucan (39–65 CE), 613  
 Lucis Trust, 53, 351, 502  
 Lucretius (ca. 99– ca. 55 BCE), 612  
**Ludendorff, Erich** (1865–1937),  
     265, 433–434, 744  
     and Hitler, 113, 434  
     as promoter of the *Protocols of  
         the Elders of Zion*, 705  
     and Tannenberg League, 60  
*See also* Völkisch Movement and  
     Ideology  
**Ludendorff, Mathilde**  
     (1877–1966), 433, 434–435  
**Ludendorff Publishing House**  
     (Volkswarte-Verlag), 434,  
     435–436  
**Lueger, Karl** (1844–1910), 40–41,  
     229, 436–437, 474  
     and the Christian Social movement,  
     49, 118, 247, 379  
     Hitler’s admiration for, 118, 531  
     influence of Vogelsang, Karl von  
         on, 746  
     and Schönerer, Georg von, 643  
*See also* Aryan Theater; Austria;  
     Christian Social Party  
         (Austria)  
 Lundén, Barthold (d. 1932), 693  
**Luther, Martin** (1483–1546), 247,  
     388, 437–439, 454,  
     592–593, 690, 749  
     appropriation by Nazis, 520

- influence on antisemites, 8, 296, 593, 663
- Lagarde's criticism of, 410
- See also* Churches under Nazism; Deutsche Christen; *Judensau*; *On the Jews and their Lies*; Reformation; Supersessionism
- Lutz, Carl (1885–1975), 332
- Luxemburg, Rosa (1871–1919), 667, 760
- Luzzatto, Simon (1583–1663), 202, 709
- Lynn, Richard (1930–), 213–214
- Lytton, Edward Bulwer (1803–1873), 705
- MacArthur, Douglas (1880–1964), 471
- MacDonald, Kevin B., 194, 214–215
- Maček, Vladko (1879–1964), 148
- Mach, Alexander (1902–1980), 310
- Machiavelli, Niccolo (1469–1527), 372–373, 569
- Macklin, Charles (1699–1797), 101, 654
- Madagascar Plan, 687
- Madrid, 674
- Maecenas, Caius (ca. 70–8 BCE), 614
- Maharishi, Ramana (1879–1950), 173
- Mahler, Gustav (1860–1911), 405, 441
- Mahler-Werfel, Alma** (1879–1964), 441–442
- Maillo, Aristide (1861–1944), 295
- Maimon, Solomon (1754–1800), 397
- Maimonides (1135–1204), 12, 210, 396
- Maine, Duchy of, 216
- Maistre, Joseph de (1753–1821), 1, 718
- Majdanek, 321, 354, 419–420, 555
- Makhno, Nestor (1889–1934), 636
- Malamud, Bernard (1914–1986), 63
- Malan, D.F. (1874–1959), 672
- Malcolm X (1925–1965), 5, 222, 484
- Malesherbes, Chrétien Guillaume de (1721–1794), 13–14
- Malthus, Thomas (1766–1834), 664
- Mamluke, 358
- Manasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), 202
- Manchuria, 251, 365, 768
- Mandel, Ernest (1923–1995), 418
- Manetho** (early third century BCE), 442, 644
- Manifesto of the Racial Scientists** (1938), 442–443
- See also* Mussolini; Racial Laws (Italy); Racism, Scientific
- Mann, Thomas** (1875–1955), 232, 410, 441, 443–445, 702
- March on Rome (1922), 565
- Marco Polo*, 366
- Marconi Scandal, 115
- Marcuse, Herbert (1898–1979), 292
- Margarita, Anton (b. 1500), 210
- Marian, Ferdinand (1902–1946), 229–230
- Markov, N. E. (1866–1945), 71
- Marlowe, Christopher (1564–1593), 205, 372–373, 654, 764
- Marowitz, Charles (1934–), 654
- Marr, Wilhelm** (1819–1904), 98, 236, 445–446, 774
- and Bauer, Bruno, 386
- and coining of the term *antisemite*, 24, 445, 736
- Jewish emancipation, views on, 446, 466
- and scientific racism, 445, 466, 495, 587, 741
- secular antisemitism of, 276
- and *Verjudung*, 736
- See also* Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914); *Mirror to the Jews, A*; *Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The*
- Marranos*, 577, 652, 661, 782
- Marsden, Victor E. (1866–1920), 108–109, 286
- Marshall, George C. (1880–1959), 471
- Marshall, Louis (1856–1929), 16, 164, 174, 233–235, 471
- See also* American Jewish Committee and Antidefamation Efforts in the United States
- Martial (ca. 40–114 CE), 613–615
- Martin, Tony (1942–), 790
- Martini, Raymund (1236–1286), 186, 590
- Martínez, Fernando, 673–674
- Martov, L. (1873–1923), 668
- Marwitz, Ludwig von der (1777–1837), 179
- Marx, Julius Henry (Groucho, 1890–1977), 597
- Marx, Karl** (1818–1883), 27, 97, 418, 445, 446–447
- anti-Jewish views of, 28, 452, 665, 667–668, 735
- On the Jewish Question*, 61, 236, 380, 386, 452, 633, 735, 783
- and Rosenberg, Alfred, 481
- See also* Judeo-Bolshevism; Socialists on Antisemitism
- Masaryk, Tomáš Garrigue (1850–1937), 421, 558, 607
- Masculinity, 447–448**
- See also* Homophobia
- Mass Sedition Trial (1944), 541
- Mather, Increase (1639–1723), 134
- Mathesius, Johannes (1504–1565), 593
- Matthes, Erich (1888–1970), 180
- Matthew of Paris (1200–1259), 327
- Mattogno, Carlo (1951–), 349
- Maulnier, Thierry (b. 1909), 57, 224
- Mauriac, François (1885–1970), 224
- Maurogontato, Isaac Pesaro (1817–1892), 198
- Maurras, Charles** (1868–1952), 448–449
- and Action Française, 1, 223
- and Dreyfus Affair, 448–449
- intellectual influence of, 157, 431, 591, 731
- and Vichy, 58, 449, 731
- See also* France (1789–1939)
- Maurus, Hrabanus (776–856), 453
- Max, Peter (1937–), 251
- Maxentius, Emperor (ca. 279–312), 137
- Maximus Thrax, Emperor (ca. 172–238), 170
- Maxse, James Leopold** (1864–1932), 84, 449–450
- May Laws (Russia), 450–451**
- See also* Pogroms (Russian, 1881); Russia, Imperial
- McCarthy, Joseph (1908–1957), 559, 622
- McDonald, James G., 212
- McLuhan, Marshall (1911–1980), 115

- Mecca, 468–469, 484  
 Medem, Alexander (1879–1923), 630  
 Medina, 356, 468–470  
**Mehring, Franz** (1846–1919), **452**  
 Meili, Christoph (1975–), 596  
**Mein Kampf** (1925–1926), 73, 118, 305, 317, 390, **452–453**, 480, 489, 597, 702, 768  
     in the post-Hitler era, 193, 620, 632, 717  
 Meinvielle, Julio (b. 1905), 697  
 Meir ben Simeon, 217  
 Meir, Golda (1898–1978), 549  
*Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, 752  
**Melanchthon, Philipp** (1497–1560), **453–454**  
 Meletius, Bishop, 121  
 Melito of Sardis (d. 180), 169  
**Memminger, Anton** (1846–1923), **454–455**  
*Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism* (1797–1803), 59, **455–456**  
     See also Jesuit Order; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*  
 Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix (1809–1847), 387, 491, 751  
 Mendelssohn, Moses (1729–1786), 13, 184, 202, 396, 414, 458  
     See also Lavater, Johann Kaspar; Philosemitism  
 Menn, Alexander (1935–1990), 638  
 Mensheviks, 389, 668  
 Menshikov, Mikhail (1859–1919), 657  
 Menzel, Wolfgang (1798–1873), 781  
*Merchant of Venice*, 40, 134, 205–207, 364–365, 373  
     See also Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Shakespeare, William; Shylock  
 Merker, Paul (1894–1969), 259  
 Metternich, Klemens von (1773–1859), 161, 625, 781  
 Mexican Revolutionary Action, 457  
**Mexico**, 233, 259, **456–457**  
 Meyer, Julius (1830–1894), 259  
 Meyer, Walter, 570  
 Meyerbeer, Giacomo (1791–1864), 386–387, 751, 782  
     See also *Judaism in Music*  
**Michaelis, Johann David** (1717–1791), **457–458**  
 Mickiewicz, Adam (1798–1855), 579  
**Middle Ages, Early** (430–1096), **458–460**  
**Middle Ages, High** (1096–1343), **460–463**  
**Middle Ages, Late** (1343–1453), **463–465**  
 MIEP—Party of Hungarian Truth and Life, 335–336  
 Mikhoels, Solomon (1890–1948), 183, 373, 677  
 Milice, 143–144  
**Militia Movement, 465–466**  
     See also Christian Identity Movement; Internet; Ku Klux Klan (1915–1941); Pelley, William Dudley; White Power Movement  
 Million Man March, 223, 484  
 Milner, Lord Alfred (1854–1925), 77  
*Mirror to the Jews, A* (1862), **466–467**  
     See also Marr, Wilhelm  
**Misanthropy, 467**  
     See also Dietary Laws; *Jew of Malta*; Roman Literature; Shylock; Well Poisoning  
*Mischling*, 490–492, 496, 516, 756  
 Mitford, Unity (1914–1948), 774  
 Mitteldeutscher Bauernverein, 76  
 Mitterrand, François (1916–1996), 146–147  
**Moczar, Mieczysław** (1913–1986), **467–468**  
     See also Purge of 1968 (Poland)  
**Mohammed** (ca. 570–632), **468–470**  
     See also Islam and the Jews  
 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (1939), 428  
 Mommsen, Theodor (1817–1903), 296, 712  
 Mond, Benjamin, 55  
 Monroe, Marilyn (1926–1962), 33  
 Montefiore, Moses (1784–1885), 11, 161, 549  
 Montherlant, Henry de (1895–1972), 224  
 Moore, Brian (1921–), 143  
 Moore, Marianne (1887–1972), 201, 563  
 Morand, Paul (1888–1976), 224  
*More Judaico* (Jews' Oath), 358  
 Morel, Benedict-Auguste (1809–1873), 167, 191  
 Morès, Marquis de (1858–1896), 192  
 Morgenthau, Henry (1891–1967), 553  
 Morgulis, Menashe (1837–1912), 630  
*Morning Post*, 108, 286, 566  
**Mortara Affair**, **470–471**, 545, 738  
     and the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 11  
     and Pius IX, Pope, 531, 549, 733  
     See also Ultramontanism  
**Moseley, George Van Horn** (1874–1960), **471–472**  
     See also Armed Forces of the United States  
 Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides) (1194–ca. 1270), 462  
 Mosley, Maud (1874–1948), 773  
**Mosley, Oswald** (1896–1980), 85, 87, **472–474**  
     espousal of antisemitism, 87, 472–473  
     and Hitler, Adolf, 473  
     and Mussolini, Benito, 473  
     See also Britain (1870–1939); British Union of Fascists; Women and British Fascism  
 Mossad, 335, 351  
 Mosse, George L. (1918–1999), 422, 600  
 Motovilov, Nikolai, 509  
 Moulin, Jean (1899–1943), 143  
 Mounier, Emmanuel (1905–1950), 224  
 Münster, Sebastian (1489–1552), 592  
 Müller, Adam (1779–1829), 179, 745  
 Müller, Ludwig, 172  
 Müller, Wilhelm, 546–547  
**Müller-Guttenbrunn, Adam** (1852–1923), **474–475**  
     and the Christian Social movement (Austria), 40–41  
 Müller-Oerlingshausen, Georg von, 258  
 Muhammed Ali of Egypt (1769–1849), 161  
 Muhammed, Elijah (1897–1975), 222, 484  
 Mukherjee, A. K. (1925–), 173  
**Multiculturalism, 475**  
 Mundt, Theodor (1808–1861), 781  
 Munich, 73, 103, 159, 218, 230, 390, 455, 601, 547, 719  
     and radical politics, 21, 67, 165, 265–266, 312, 304–305,

- 391, 480, 486–487, 621, 641, 665, 706
- Munich Pact (1938), 329, 707
- Mummery, A. F. (1855–1895), 311
- Munteanu, Marian (1962–), 620
- Murgaš, Karol, 310
- Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in, 475–477**
- Musicology and National Socialism, 477–478**
- Muslim Brotherhood, 33, 289, 336, 358–361, 478–479, 483**
- Mussolini, Benito** (1883–1945), 201, 479–480, 672, 772  
and admirers of, 141, 237, 278, 404, 472  
ambivalent antisemitism of, 443, 479–480  
and Hitler, Adolf, 443, 480, 486, 515  
responsibility for murder of Jews, 443, 515, 585  
and Winrod, Gerald B., 772  
*See also Manifesto of the Racial Scientists*; October Roundup (Rome, 1943); Racial Laws (Italy)
- Myth of the Six Million* (1969), 107
- Myth of the Twentieth Century, The** (1930), 480–481  
*See also* Rosenberg, Alfred
- Nageler, Viktor, 310
- Naguib, Mohammed (1900–1984), 483
- Nakasone, Yasuhiro (1918– ), 365
- Naples, 96, 216, 525, 624
- Napoleon I (Napoléon Bonaparte, 1769–1821), 59, 91, 718, 743  
and Jewish emancipation in France, 14, 238, 345, 378  
and Jewish emancipation outside France, 202, 238  
*See also* Alsace; France (1789–1939); Infamous Decree
- Napoleon III, (Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, 1808–1873), 569, 571  
and the Mortara Affair, 471, 549  
as supporter of the Jewish rights, 67  
and Veuillot, Louis, 738
- Narodnaia Volia (People's Will), 552, 668
- Nasir, Muhammad al- (d. 1214), 12
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel**  
(1918–1970), 361, 479, 483–484
- Nathan the Wise* (1779), 545, 782  
as antithesis to Shylock, 655  
hostility toward, 232, 750  
*See also* Philosemitism
- Nathan, Joseph, 549
- Nation of Islam, 484**  
and the Anti-Defamation League, 222  
antisemitic views of Malcolm X, 5  
and Farrakhan, Louis, 5, 222  
and Khalid Muhammed, 484  
moderation of antisemitism, 22  
*See also* African American-Jewish Relations; Black Nationalism, Farrakhan, Louis; *Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*
- National-Socialistische Bewegung (Netherlands), 499
- National Agrarian Party (Romania), 158, 279, 682
- National Assembly (France), 10, 594, 680  
and Jewish emancipation, 14, 283, 378
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 5, 17
- National Center for Romanianization, 29
- National Christian Party (Romania), 411, 618
- National Democratic Party (Germany), 260, 271
- National Democrats (Poland),** 182, 275, 468, 484–485
- National Front (France), 15, 359
- National Front (Switzerland), 569
- National Front (U.K.), 319, 496
- National Representation of German Jews (Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden), 43
- National Socialist Freedom Party, 433
- National Socialist German Student League, 78, 267
- National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), 485–489**
- See also* *Angriff, Der*; German National People's Party;
- Goebbels, Joseph; Göring, Hermann; Himmler, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Hitler Speeches (Early); Holocaust; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939); Nazi Party Program; Neo-Nazism, German; Rosenberg, Alfred; Weimar
- National Socialist League (Britain), 87
- National Socialist White People's Party, 17, 767
- National Union of Veterans of the Revolution (Mexico), 457
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 430
- Naudh, H. (Johannes Nordmann, 1820–1887), 382–383
- Naumann, Friedrich (1860–1919), 120, 267, 287, 685
- Nazi Cultural Antisemitism, 489–491**  
*See also* Book-Burning (May 10, 1933); Degenerate Art; Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Goebbels, Joseph; Music, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; Musicology and National Socialism; *Myth of the Twentieth Century, The*; Nazi Party Program; Rosenberg, Alfred; Theater, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; *Verjudung*; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology
- Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939), 491–493**  
*See also* Aryan Paragraph; Aryanization (Germany); Best, Werner; Boycott of Jewish Shops (Germany); Eichmann, Adolf; Film Industry, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in; German Big Business and Antisemitism (1910–1945); Göring, Hermann; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP); Nazi Party Program; Night of Broken

- Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939) (cont'd)**
- Glass (November 1938)
  - Pogrom); Nuremberg Laws; Purge of the German Civil Service; Yellow Star
- Nazi Party Program**, 480, 489, 493–494
- Nazi Research on the Jewish Question**, 494–496
- and film, *Ewige Jude, Der*, 106
  - and Frank, Walter, 495
  - and Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, 495
  - precursor of, Dühring, Eugen, 192–193, 381–382
  - precursor of, Fritsch, Theodor, 289–291
  - precursor of, Günther, Hans F. K., 495
  - and Rosenberg, Alfred, 621–622
- Nazi Rock**, 496–497
- Nedić, Milan (d. 1945), 432
  - Neidhardt, D. M., 519
  - Neo-Nazism, 359, 420
    - in Argentina, Tacuara, 697
    - in Australia, 46
    - in Brazil, 83
    - and Christian Identity, 117
    - and Duke, David, 193, 349
    - and Holocaust Denial, 320–321
    - on the Internet, 350–351, 498
    - and the Institute of Historical Review, 349
    - and Nazi Rock, 496–497
    - and the Russian Orthodox Church, 637
  - See also* American Nazi Party; Carto, Willis; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism; White Power Movement
- Neo-Nazism, German**, 270, 497–498
- and Christoffersen, Thies, 45, 320
  - criminalization of, 270, 497–498
  - and Devi, Savitri, 173–174
  - and Irving, David, 354
  - and Zündel, Ernst, 789–790
  - See also* Auschwitz Lie; Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism
- Neo-Slavophiles, 633
- Nero, Emperor (37–68), 34, 611
- Netherlands in the Twentieth Century**, 127, 498–500
- Neu-Germania, 236, 237
  - Neue Enthüllungen: Judenflinten* (1892). *See Judenflinten*
  - Neumann, Franz (1900–1954), 317
  - Neumann, Robert (1897–1975), 294
- Neustettin Pogrom** (1881), 296, 500–501
- New Age**, 501–503
- See also* Aquarius, Age of; Bailey, Alice A.; Blavatsky, Helena P.; Devi, Savitri; Freemasonry; Jewish Force; Plan of the Hierarchy; Theosophy
- New Deal**,
- and Father Coughlin, 140–141, 721
  - and Winrod, Gerald B., 772
  - and Pelley, William Dudley, 541
- New Left**, 503–504
- New Poor Law of 1834 (Britain), 176
  - New York City, 38, 174, 587, 622, 649, 704
  - Newton, Richard (1777–1798), 101
  - Nicholas I, Tsar (1796–1855), 161, 419, 629
  - Nicholas II, Tsar (1868–1918), 71, 389, 551, 634
    - attitude toward Jews of, 629, 635
    - and the Beilis Case, 63
  - See also* Russia, Imperial; Russia, Revolution of 1905
- Nicholas of Lyra (1270–1340), 242
- Nicholas V, Pope (1447–1455), 96
- Nicolai, Friedrich (1733–1811), 202
- Niemöller, Martin (1892–1984), 40, 125–126, 266
- Nietzsche, Friedrich** (1844–1900), 168, 237, 444, 504–506
- and antisemites, 237, 504
  - characterization of Dühring, Eugen, 193
  - Nazi appropriation of, 237
  - and Wagner, Richard, break with, 504, 751
  - See also* Förster-Nietzsche, Elisabeth; Wagner, Richard
- Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 Pogrom)**, 89, 171, 506–508, 752
- church reaction to, 127, 508
  - and emigration of Jews, 68, 306, 693
  - and expropriation of Jewish property, 42, 493, 506
  - reaction of Hermann Göring to, 279, 493
  - as staged pogrom, 157, 229, 488
- See also* Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany since 1919; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939)
- Nilus, Sergei Aleksandrovich** (1862–1929), 245, 508–510
- as interpreter of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 509, 567
  - revival of interest in, 510
- See also* Antichrist; Freemasonry; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*
- Nimier, Roger (1925–1962), 223
- Nister, Der (1884–1950), 631
- Nixon, Richard M. (1913–1994), 598, 664
- Nizan, Paul (1905–1940), 639
- Noah, Mordecai (1785–1851), 720
- Noailles, Anna de (1876–1933), 421
- Nolde, Emil (1867–1956), 167
- Nolte, Ernst (1923–), 271, 304
- See also* Historians' Controversy
- Noontide Press, 107–108, 322
- Nordau, Max** (1849–1923), 167–168, 370, 510–511, 787–788
- See also* Degeneration; Zionism
- Nordic Ring, 212
- Norris, Frank** (1870–1902), 511–513
- See also* Capital: Useful versus Harmful; *Passing of the Great Race*; Populist Movement; Twain, Mark
- Norwich, Isaac of (d. ca. 1247), 98–99
- Nostra Aetate* (1965), 185, 533, 734–735
- Nothnagel, Hermann (1841–1905), 247
- Nugent, Walter, 559
- Numerus Clausus (Hungary)**, 329, 513–514
- Numerus Clausus (United States)**, 514–515
- Nuremberg Laws 1935**, 67–68, 515–516, 736

- Aryan paragraph and, 228, 492, 580
- imitation of outside Germany, 323, 330, 480, 485, 567, 662
- miscegenation and, 492, 659, 687
- precedents for, 21, 40, 180, 659
- religious definitions in, 126, 492
- See also* Antisemites' Petition; Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939); Nazi Party Program
- Nuremberg, International Criminal Tribunal, 142, 558
- Oberg, Carl (1897–1965), 146
- Oberammergau Passion Play**, 404, 517, 663
- See also* Passion Plays, Medieval
- October Manifesto (1905), 71, 519, 634–635
- October Roundup (Rome, 1943), 518–519**
- See also* Manifesto of the Racial Scientists; Mussolini, Benito; Pius XII; Racial Laws (Italy)
- Odessa Pogroms**, 519
- See also* Pogroms (Russian, 1881)
- Odo of Chateauroux (d. 1273), 701
- Olcott, H. S. (1832–1907), 72, 704
- Oldradus, 459
- Oliver Twist* (1838), 101, 176, 205, 561, 583, 692
- Olympia Rally, 87
- On the Jews and Their Lies** (1543), 519–520, 593
- Onganía, Gen. Juan Carlos (1914–1995), 36
- Oppenheim, Moritz (1799–1882), 254
- Orbán, Victor (b. 1963), 336
- Order of the New Templars, 412
- Order Police**, 199, 520–521
- See also* Einsatzgruppen; Holocaust
- Orel, Anton (1881–1959), 746
- Organization Consul, 270
- Origen** (ca. 185–ca. 251 or 254), 521–522
- See also* Deicide; Supersessionism
- Osiander, Andreas (1498–1572), 592
- Osipov, Vladimir (1938–), 638
- Oslo Peace Accords (1993), 289
- Ostara*, 412, 587
- Ostjuden**, 522–524, 641–642
- and agitation targeting, 206, 455, 524, 760
- in Austria, 48, 70, 768, 771
- in British politics, 83–87, 758
- in Canada, 94–95
- literary and journalistic depictions of, 276, 204–206, 533–534
- and Nazi treatment of, 492
- and the *numerus clausus* in the U.S., 514–515
- as subjects of satire, 104, 231, 400, 657
- and white slavery, 768
- See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); France (1789–1939); Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.); Pale of Settlement; Pogroms (Russian, 1881); Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Scheunenviertel Pogrom; Stavisky Affair; Weimar; *Word about Our Jews, A*; Zionism.
- Oswego Camp**, 524–525
- Ottoman Empire, 9–11, 160–161, 181, 203, 244, 606, 651–652
- Our Demands on Modern Jewry** (1879), 525–526
- See also* Berlin Movement; Christian Social Party (Germany); Stoecker, Adolf
- Oyabe, Zen'ichirō (1867–1941), 364
- Pact of Steel (1939), 480
- Pahlavi, Shah Mohammed Reza (1919–1980), 352, 397
- Pahlen Commission, 419, 630
- Pale of Settlement**, 274, 315, 450–451, 523, 527–528, 630–632, 635–636
- See also* May Laws (Russia); Pogroms (Russian, 1881) Russia, Imperial; Zionism
- Palestine Authority, 34, 289
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 33–34, 260, 289
- Palestine National Council, 33
- Palmerston, Lord (Henry John Temple), 1794–1865, 161
- Pamyat, 632–633
- Panama Scandal, 300
- Paneriai Forest (Lithuania),
- Pan-German League (Germany), 528–529**, 736, 737
- and Class, Heinrich, 130, 775
- and Hugenberg, Alfred, 325
- influence on Nazi program and ideology, 494
- members of, 180, 422, 600, 640
- relationship to antisemitic organizations, 261, 263, 266, 344, 760
- See also* Eugenics; *If I Were the Kaiser*; Racism, Scientific; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology
- Pan-Germans (Austria)**, 49–50, 529–530
- anti-Catholicism of, 746
- and exclusion of Jews, 529–530
- influence on National Socialism, 530, 643
- opposition to Austro-Liberalism, 49, 424–425
- See also* Hitler, Adolf; Linz Program; Schönerer, Georg von; *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology
- Papacy, Modern**, 530–533
- Concordat with Nazi Germany, 126
- and the Holocaust, 532, 549–550. *See also* October Roundup
- and John Paul II, Pope, 533, 557, 734
- and *Nostra Aetate*, 185, 533, 734–735
- and the Syllabus of Errors, 531, 719, 549
- See also* Christian Social Party (Austria); *Civiltà Cattolica*; Dreyfus Affair; Emancipation; Ghetto; *Kulturmampf*; Mortara Affair; Pius IX, Pope; Pius XII, Pope; Supersessionism; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First; Vatican Council, Second
- Papal States, 284, 348, 548–549, 733
- and Jews of, 273, 470–471, 530
- Papon, Maurice (1910–), 142–146
- Paris, 93, 144, 162, 197, 277, 448, 594, 739

- Paris (*cont'd*)  
 and Drumont, Édouard, 191, 241  
 Jews in, 54, 144, 189, 294–295, 300, 359, 456, 511, 636, 682–683, 738  
 medieval persecution of Jews in, 325, 369, 379, 462, 542, 602, 698, 701  
 Paris Peace Conference. *See* Versailles Treaty  
 Pariseo, Pier Paolo, 216  
*Parsifal* (1882), 504, 644, 750  
 Parti Populaire Français, 224  
**Passing of the Great Race** (1916), 533–534  
 alleged influence on Hitler, 533  
 and eugenics movement, 212  
 and restrictions on immigration in the U.S., 212, 587, 720  
*See also* Armed Forces of the United States; Evolutionary Psychology; Racism, Scientific; Social Darwinism  
**Passion Plays, Medieval**, 534–536  
 Pastors' Emergency League, 126  
 Patler, John (1938–), 17, 609  
 Patai, Robert (1846–1921), 424  
**Patton, Gen. George** (1885–1945), 536  
 and Holocaust survivors, 536  
 and Moseley, George Van Horn, 471–472  
**Pauker, Ana** (1893–1960), 536–538  
*See also* Stalinization of Eastern Europe  
**Paul** (d. 64 CE), 538–539  
 influence on Luther, 438  
 and supersessionism, 538, 690  
 Paul III, Pope (1468–1549), 348, 369  
 Paul IV, Pope (1476–1559), 273  
 Paul VI, Pope (1963–1978), 348, 533  
 Paul of Burgos (ca. 1351–1435), 185  
 Paulescu, Nicolae (1869–1931), 617–618  
 Paulus, Heinrich (1761–1851), 681  
**Pavelić, Ante** (1889–1959), 539–540  
 Pearson, Karl (1857–1936), 212  
 Pehle, John (1939–), 524  
 Pelagius II, Pope (579–590), 284  
 Pelham, Henry (1696–1754), 370  
**Pelley, William Dudley** (1890–1965), 118, 268, 540–541, 721  
 Pellikan, Konrad (1478–1556), 592  
 Pen, Yehuda (1854–1937), 631  
 Pereires Brothers, 55, 191  
 Perkins, Francis (1882–1962), 508  
 Pernerstorfer, Engelbert (1850–1918), 49, 424–425, 643  
 Perón, Isabela Martinez de, 36  
 Perón, Juan (1895–1974), 697  
 Pešev, Dimităr (1894–1975), 90  
 Pétain, Henri Philippe (1856–1951), 415, 449, 591, 731, 739  
 Peter the Hermit (ca. 1050–1115), 152, 153  
**Peter the Venerable** (ca. 1092–1156), 541–542, 701  
 Peter, Friedrich (1921–), 770  
 Peters, Carl (1856–1918), 528  
**Petliura, Symon** (1879–1926), 542–543  
 and post-Soviet Ukrainian nationalism, 717  
 in the Russian Civil War, 636  
 Petronius (ca. 27–66), 128, 131  
**Pfefferkorn, Johannes** (ca. 1468–1522), 543–544  
 as exemplar of Jewish self-hatred, 648  
 and banning of Jewish texts, 592, 599  
 and Reuchlin, Johann, 599–600  
 Pfister-Schwaighusen, Hermann von (1836–1916), 743  
 Philip Augustus, King of France (1165–1223), 217, 462  
 Philip III, King of France (1245–1285), 217  
 Philipon, Charles (1800–1861), 186  
 Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE–50 CE), 9, 521, 610  
**Philosemitism**, 117, 544–545  
 in Australia, 47  
 and Christian Hebraists, 544, 599–600  
 denounced by Mehring, Fanz, 452  
 in Japan, 365–366  
 and Toland, John, 709  
 in writing of Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von, 184  
*See also* Emancipation  
**Physics, "German" and "Jewish,"** 545–548  
*See also* Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Psychoanalysis  
**Pieds noirs**, 139  
 Pierce, William (1933–2002), 108, 195  
 and *The Turner Diaries*, 195, 465  
 Piłsudski, Józef (1867–1935), 182, 275, 485, 554  
 Pincherle, Leone, 198  
 Pinsker, Leo (1821–1891), 630, 787  
 Pinto, Isaac de (1717–1787), 747  
 Pirenne, Henri (1862–1935), 660  
 Pius VI, Pope (1775–1799), 530  
 Pius VII, Pope (1800–1823), 530  
 Pius VIII, Pope (1829–1830), 531  
**Pius IX, Pope** (1792–1878), 548–549  
 and Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri, 282  
 influence of the Revolution of 1848 on, 531, 548  
 role in the Mortara Affair, 470–471, 549, 733  
 use of modern media to defend Catholicism, 77, 129, 719  
 and Veuillot, Louis, 738  
*See also* Papacy, Modern; Ultramontanism; Vatican Council, First  
 Pius X, Pope (1903–1914), 348, 532  
 Pius XI, Pope (1922–1939), 532  
**Pius XII, Pope** (1876–1958), 549–550  
 and relations with Nazi Germany, 126, 532  
 response to the Holocaust, controversy concerning, 518, 532–533, 549–550  
*See also* Churches under Nazism; October Roundup (Rome, 1943); Papacy, Modern  
 Plamondon, Joseph, 94  
**Plan of the Hierarchy**, 550–551  
 Planetary Initiative, 502  
 Plateau, Marius (d. 1923), 93  
 Platen, Count August von (1796–1835), 294  
 Plato, 567  
 Plekhanov, G. V. (1856–1918), 668  
 Pleve, V. K. (1846–1904), 399–400  
 Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE), 612  
 Ploetz, Alfred (1860–1940), 212

- Ploetz, Berthold von (1844–1898), 263–264
- Pobedonostsev, Constantine Pavlovich** (1827–1907), 419, **551**, 629
- Pogroms, absence of, 89, 94, 358
- Alexandrian, 9, 29, 130–131, 176, 610
- and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 11, 160–161
- in Baghdad, 221, 337
- and the Black Death, 218
- in Buenos Aires, 36, 88–89
- in Constantine, 10, 139–140
- during the Crusades, 152–154, 169
- in Damascus, 11, 31–32, 160–161, 294, 470, 545, 605–606
- in Germany, Hitler's views on, 157, 255–256, 575
- and Marr, Wilhelm, rejection of, 742
- in Neustettin, 296, 500–501
- Night of Broken Glass (November 1938 pogrom), 89, 157, 171, 229, 488, 506–508, 752
- and Pudor, Heinrich, advocacy of, 575
- in the Scheunenviertel (Berlin), 641
- Hep-Hep Riots, 297–299, 733
- in Hungary, 333–334, 390
- in Tiszaeszlár, 707–708
- in Lithuania, 428
- in medieval Spain, 219, 673
- in Poland, 532
- Jedwabne, 366–367
- Kielce, 311, 398–399
- Prague Massacre (1389), 563–564
- during revolutions of 1848, 198
- during the Rindfleisch Massacres, 602
- in Russia, and the Black Hundreds, 71, 634
- 1903–1905, 71, 635
- Lenin's denunciation of, 668
- in Kishinev, 399–400, 405
- Odessa, 519
- during the Russian Civil War, 636, 723
- during World War II, carried out by Romanian troops, 619
- See also* Pogroms (Russian, 1881) and Stalinization of eastern Europe, 183, 679
- See also* Culture-Antisemitism or Pogrom-Antisemitism; Gemlich Letter; Hep-Hep Riots; Pogroms (Russian, 1881)
- Pogroms (Russian, 1881)**, 315, 419, 523, **552–553**, 668, 787
- governmental complicity, debate over, 519, 553, 629–630
- See also* Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.); Leskov, Nikolai; May Laws; *Ostjuden*; Pale of Settlement; Russia, Imperial; Zionism
- Polak, H. (1868–1943), 498
- Poland**, 96, 426–427, 459, 527, **553–556**, 592, 605
- See also* Boycott of 1912 (Poland); Dmowski, Roman; Ghetto Benches; Jedwabne; Kielce Pogrom; National Democrats (Poland); Purge of 1968 (Poland); Stalinization of Eastern Europe
- Poland since 1989**, **557**
- Poliakov, Leon (1910–), 317
- Polish Institute of National Memory, 366
- Pollasky, Marcus, 513
- Polná Ritual Murder**, **557–558**, 607
- Pompey (106–48 BCE), 610, 612–615
- Pompidou, Georges (1911–1974), 144
- Popular Front (France), 10, 15, 82, 146, 240, 667, 682, 738
- Populist Movement**, **558–559**
- and Norris, Frank, 511–513
- and Watson, Tom, 757
- See also* Agrarian League; Banker, Jewish; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Ford, Henry
- Pork**, **559–562**
- See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); *Judensau*
- Portugal, 82, 216, 219, 348, 369, 661, 675, 782
- Posse Comitatus, 465
- Poujade, Pierre (1920–2003), 415
- Pound, Ezra** (1885–1972), 201, 208, **562–563**
- Poznania (Posen), 198, 260, 310, 493
- Prague Massacre** (1389), **563–564**
- Pranaitis, Justinas** (1861–1917), **564–565**
- Preuss, Hugo (1860–1925), 760
- Preziosi, Giovanni** (1881–1945), **565–567**
- See also* *Manifesto of the Racial Scientists*; Mussolini, Benito; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Racial Laws (Italy)
- Primo de Rivera, Miguel (1870–1930), 674
- Project Reinhard, 555
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion**, 11, 69–70, 368, 456, **567–569**, 584
- and the Antichrist, 20
- and anti-Zionism, 27
- in Brazil, 83
- in Britain, 85, 108, 286
- in Fascist Italy, 443
- and Freemasonry, 245, 456, 565–566
- in Japan, 251, 364–365
- and Judeo-Bolshevism, 390, 723
- in the Muslim world, 31, 47, 107, 289, 359–361, 483
- in Nazi propaganda, 568, 569–570, 600, 621–622, 737
- promotional efforts of Fritsch, Theodor, 250, 290
- role in death of Rathenau, Walther, 705–706
- in Russia, Imperial, 405, 431, 509, 567, 584, 630
- in Russia, Post-Soviet, 632, 637
- in the Russian Civil War, 636
- and the Russian Orthodox Church, 637
- on trial in South Africa, 672
- in the U.S., 38, 141, 465, 663, 721, 772
- and Henry Ford's sponsorship of, 162–164, 233–234, 390
- and Webster, Nesta, 759
- See also* Barruel, Augustin; Biarritz; *Cause of World Unrest, The*; Dearborn Independent and *The International Jew*; Freemasonry; Fritsch,

- Protocols of the Elders of Zion**  
(*cont'd*)
- Theodor; Hitler's Speeches (Early); Internet; New Age; Nilus, Sergei; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* on Trial; *Rabbi's Speech, The*; Rosenberg, Alfred
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion on Trial**, 569–570, 694
- Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph** (1809–1865), 97, 191, 239, 570–571  
*See also* Socialists on Antisemitism
- Proust, Marcel (1871–1922), 109
- Provence, 152
- Prynne, William (1600–1669), 133
- Psychoanalysis**, 572–574  
*See also* Freud, Sigmund; Jung, Carl Gustav; Physics, "German" and "Jewish"
- Ptolemy I (ca. 87–150), 9
- Pudor, Heinrich** (1865–1943), 63, 156–157, 266, 574–575
- Pückler, Count Walter von** (1860–1924), 575
- Pujo, Maurice (1872–1955), 1, 93
- Punch**, 576–577  
*See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern)
- Pure Blood Laws**, 577–578
- Purge of 1968 (Poland)**, 578–579  
*See also* Moczar, Mieczysław; Poland; Stalinization of Eastern Europe
- Purge of the German Civil Service**, 579–580  
*See also* Nazi Legal Measures against Jews (1933–1939)
- Purges, Soviet**, 580–581  
*See also* Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors' Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; *Ostjuden*; Purge of 1968 (Poland); Slánský Trial; Stalin, Joseph; Stalinization of Eastern Europe
- Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich** (1879–1920), 71, 581–582
- Puritans, 2, 134, 653
- Puttkamer, Robert von (1828–1900), 120
- Quintilian (35–95 CE), 612, 615
- Qumran, 282
- Qutb, Sayyid (1906–1966), 289, 361, 479
- Raabe, Wilhelm** (1831–1910), 583–584
- Raaben, R. S. von, 399
- Rabbi's Speech, The**, 69, 431, 584  
*See also* *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*
- Rachkovskii, Piotr (1853–1910), 568
- Racial Laws (Italy)**, 584–585
- Racism, Scientific**, 585–587
- in African American–Jewish relations, 4–6
- Bauman, Zygmunt, analysis of, 318
- and Böckel, Otto, theories concerning, 75–76
- Class, Heinrich, popularization of, 130, 342–343
- and Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, 113–115, 410, 587, 660, 664, 693, 762
- and Drumont, Édouard, 191–192, 240–241
- and eugenics, 211–212, 239, 665
- and Goldhagen, Daniel J., 318
- and Grant, Madison, 533–534
- in Italian Fascism, 442–443, 565–567, 584–585
- Marr, Wilhelm, personal discovery of, 445, 466, 495, 587, 741
- Maurras, Charles, views on, 448–449
- and Nazi ideology, 212, 480–481, 489, 493–496, 533, 621–622
- and the Pan-German League's approach to the Jewish Question, 494, 528–529
- Schemann, Ludwig, and diffusion of Gobineau's theories, 276–277, 670
- See also* Evolutionary Psychology; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Nazi Party Program; Nazi Research on the Jewish Question; Social Darwinism
- Radek, Karl (1885–1939), 724
- Radio Maryja, 557
- Radowitz, Joseph Maria von (1797–1853), 121
- Radowitzky, Simon (1889–1956), 88
- Raffalovich, Marc Andre (1864–1934), 322
- Rainer, Luise (1910–), 228
- Rajk, László, 679
- Rami, Ahmed (1946–), 321, 349
- Rank, Otto (1884–1939), 629
- Ranke, Leopold von (1795–1886), 711
- Rapallo, Treaty of, 589
- Raphael (1483–1520), 341
- Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki) (1040–1105), 242, 459
- Rasputin, Gregori (1872–1916), 581
- Rassinier, Paul (1906–1967), 57, 225, 319
- Rath, Ernst vom (1909–1938), 507
- Rathenau, Walther** (1867–1922), 588–589, 705–706, 737  
and Fritsch, Theodor, 250, murder of, 250, 262, 265, 266, 270
- as subject of Nazi propaganda, 481
- See also* *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Self-Hatred, Jewish; "Three Hundred" The; Weimar
- Ratti-Menton, Benoit de, 31, 160
- Ratzenhofer, Gustav (1842–1904), 66
- Ratzinger, Georg** (1844–1899), 589–590
- Raven, Greg, 349
- Raymund of Peñafort** (1175/1180?–1275), 590–591  
and *Je suis partout*, 223–224
- Recared I, King of the Visigoths (ruled 586–601), 742
- Reconquista, 9
- Rée, Paul (1849–1901), 504–505
- Reformation** (1517–1648), 591–593  
*See also* Churches under Nazism; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Erasmus; Lavater, Johann Kaspar; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Michaelis, Johann David; *On the Jews and their Lies* (1543); Pfefferkorn, Johannes; Sweden

- Refusniks, 725
- Regensburg, 152, 154, 216, 219, 325, 602
- Régis, Max** (1873–1950), **594**  
*See also* Algeria
- Rehnquist, William H. (1924–), 598
- Reich Chamber of Culture, 166, 489
- Reich Flight Tax, 42
- Reich Security Main Office, 195–196, 756
- Reichensperger, Peter (1810–1892), 111
- Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold, 641
- Reichshammerbund. *See* Imperial Hammer League, Reichslandbund, 7, 157
- Reichsnährstand (Reich Agriculture Corporation), 297
- Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden. *See* National Representation of German Jews
- Reinhardt, Max (1873–1943), 703
- Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), 102, 141
- Remer, Otto Ernst (1912–1997), 349
- Renaissance Press, 174
- Renan, Ernest** (1823–1892), 24, 173, **594–595**
- Rerum novarum* (1891), 64
- Restitution (Switzerland)**, **595–597**
- Restricted Public Accommodations, United States**, **597**
- Restrictive Covenants**, **597–599**
- Reuchlin, Johann** (1455–1522), **599–600**  
and the Pfefferkorn Affair, 543–544, 592
- Reventlow, Ernst zu** (1869–1943), 265, **600–601**, 745  
and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 600
- Revolution of 1848. *See* 1848
- Rewbell, Jean-François (1747–1807), 14
- Rhodes, Cecil (1853–1902), 76
- Ricardo, David (1772–1823), 758
- Richard I, King of England (1157–1189), 154
- Richler, Mordecai (1931–2001), 209
- Riegner, Gerhart (1911–2001), 550
- Riehl, Wilhelm Heinrich** (1823–1897), **601–602**
- Rindfleisch Massacre** (1298), **602**
- Rio de Janeiro, 768
- Ritual Murder (Medieval)**, **602–605**  
alleged medicinal uses of, 447  
alleged magical efficacy of, 671–672  
in Austria, 48  
in *Canterbury Tales*, 204  
in Christian iconography, 341  
and circumcision, linked with, 128  
in Croatia, 147  
and the Second Crusade, 154  
and deicide, 169  
and dietary laws, 178  
in *Entdecktes Judenthum*, accounts of, 210  
and expulsion, justification for, 217, 219, 728  
and Jews, marginalization of, 464  
and *Judensau*, relationship to, 341, 387–388  
literary precedents in antiquity, 467  
and the Reformation as cause of decline in accusations of, 592  
as related to charges of host desecration, usury, and/or well poisoning, 325, 461, 563, 602, 728, 763–764  
in the Russian Orthodox Church, 637–638  
*See also individual cases* Hugh of Lincoln; Simon of Trent; William of Norwich
- Ritual Murder (Modern)**, **605–608**  
in the Arab world, late appearance of, 31  
Beilis case (Russia), 63–64  
and Catholic promulgation of, 129, 532  
and Damascus blood libel, 31, 160–161  
Dostoevsky, Fyodor, and probability of, 188  
in Hungary, 333  
and Jehovah's Witnesses, rejection of, 368  
in Kielce (Poland), 398–399  
and Kishinev (Russia), 399–400
- in Konitz (Germany), 402
- in Lithuania, 426–428
- and Liutostanskii, Ippolit, 430–431
- in Polná (Bohemia), 557–558
- Pranaïtis, Justinas, as expert on, 564–565
- Rohling, August, charges of, 73–74, 700
- Romanovs, “ritual muder” of, 389
- Rozanov, Vasilii, role in the Beilis case, 628–629
- Stürmer, Der*, featured in, 687
- in Tiszaeszlár (Hungary), 73, 707–708
- in Xanten (Germany), 777
- Rivero, José Ignacio (1895–1944), 156
- Robertson, Marion Gordon “Pat” (1930–), 151, 759
- Robespierre, Maximilien (1758–1794), 283
- Rockwell, George Lincoln** (1918–1967), 17–18, 107–108, **608–609**, 767
- Rodobrana, 309–310
- Rodriguez, Primitivo, 156
- Roesicke, Gustav (1856–1924), 7
- Rohling, August** (1839–1931), 31, **609**  
as plagiarist, 73–74, 700–701  
*See also* Bloch, Samuel Joseph; Boniface Society for Catholic Germany; Drumont, Édouard; *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Talmud; *Talmud Jew, The*
- Röhm, Ernst (1887–1934), 302, 488, 645
- Rolicki, Henryk (Tadeusz Gluzifski) 1888–1940, 715
- Rolland, Romain (1866–1944), 421
- Roma and Sinti. *See* Gypsies
- Roman Empire**, **610–612**  
*See also* Alexandrian Pogrom; Arch of Titus; Bar Kochba Revolt; Claudius; Constantine, Emperor; Diaspora Revolt; Justinian Code; Roman Literature; Theodosian Code
- Roman Literature**, **612–617**  
*See also* Augustine of Hippo; Chrysostom, John; *Handbook of the Jewish*

- Roman Literature** (*cont'd*)  
*Question*; Misanthropy; Pork; Ritual Murder (Medieval); Roman Empire
- Romania (1878–1920)**, 282, **617–618**  
and Jewish emancipation in, 11, 158, 203, 410  
*See also* Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea; Cuza, A. C.; Goga, Octavian; Iron Guard; LANC—National Christian Defense League
- Romania, Holocaust in**, **618–619**  
*See also* Antonescu, Ion; Iron Guard
- Romania, Post-Soviet**, **619–621**  
*See also* Holocaust Denial, Negationism, and Revisionism  
Romanian Orthodox Church, 618  
Ronald Lauder Foundation, 557  
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945), 74–75, 212, 508, 525  
and antisemitic attacks on, 140–141, 423, 472, 663, 721, 772  
Roques, Henri (1924–), 359
- Rosenberg, Alfred** (1893–1946), **480–481, 621–622**  
and Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, influence on, 480–481  
and Freemasonry, views on, 245  
influence on Devi, Savitri, 173  
Nazi Party Program, role in writing, 493  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, editing and dissemination of, 390–391, 568  
and purge of Jewish influence from German culture, 489, 702  
and religion of race, 115  
and research on Jews, 495  
*See also* Judeo-Bolshevism; *Myth of the Twentieth Century*. *The*
- Rosenberg, Ethel (1915–1953), 622  
Rosenberg, Julius (1918–1953), 622–623
- Rosenberg Trial**, **622–623**
- Roth, Alfred** (Otto Arnim, 1870–1940), 266, 344, **623–624**, 745  
*See also* German Racial League
- for Defense and Defiance; Jew Census (1916)  
Roth, Henry (1906–1995), 208  
Roth, Philip (1933–), 209  
Rothenberg, Jerome (1931–), 208  
Rothmund, Heinrich (1888–1961), 363
- Rothschilds**, 189, 239, **624–626**  
and Drumont, Édouard, 191, 241  
and Jewish banking, 55  
and Nazi propaganda, 229  
and Toussenel, Alphonse, attacks on, 239, 711  
as symbols of wealth and power, 103, 161, 191, 624, 625  
*See also* Banker, Jewish; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern)
- Rothschild, Lionel (1806–1879), 181, 625  
Rothschild, Mayer Amschel (1745–1812), 624  
Rothschild, Nathaniel Mayer (1840–1915), 625  
Rothstock, Otto (b. 1899), 68  
Rougemont, Denis de (1906–1985), 224
- Rowlandson, Thomas** (1756–1827), **626–628**  
*See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early)
- Rozanov, Vasilii** (1856–1919), **628–629**  
Rubens, Alfred (1903–1998), 101  
Rubinstein, Artur (1887–1982), 555  
Rubinstein, Josef (1847–1884), 750  
Ruby Ridge, 465  
Rudolf, Germar (1964–), 45, 321  
Ruge, Arnold (1802–1880), 446, 447, 783  
Rühle, Günther (1924–), 254  
Rühs, Friedrich (1779–1820), 91, 248–249, 298  
Ruppin, Arthur (1876–1943), 496  
Rushton, J. Philippe, 213  
Russell, Charles Taze (1852–1916), 368
- Russia, Imperial**, **629–632**  
*See also* Beilis Case; Black Hundreds; Dostoevsky, Fyodor; Kishinev Pogrom; Krushevan, Pavolaki; May Laws (Russia); Pale of Settlement; Pobedonostev, Konstanin Pavlovich; Pogroms (Russian, 1881); Pranaitis, Justinas; Russian Orthodox Church
- Russia, Post-Soviet**, **632–634**  
*See also* Judeo-Bolshevism; Marx, Karl; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Russian Orthodox Church; Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr
- Russia, Revolution of 1905**, **634–635**
- Russian Civil War**, **636–637**
- Russian Orthodox Church**, 188, **633, 637–638**  
and the Beilis case, 632  
career of Liutostanskii, Ippolit, 430–431, 632  
and Nilus, Sergei, 509–510  
and ritual murder, traditional belief in, 637–638  
Russo-Japanese War, 624, 634  
Rutilius Namatianus, Claudio (early fifth century), 612–613, 615  
*See also* Roman Literature
- Rydzyk, Tadeusz, 557
- Saeki, Yoshirō (1871–1965), 364  
Saint-Simon, Henri de (1760–1825), 666  
Saint-Simonians, 191, 239, 711  
Sakai, Shōgun (1870–1939), 364  
Saladin, 154, 346, 413  
Saliège, Jules-Gerard (1870–1956), 741  
Salvador, Joseph (1716–1786), 370  
Samassa, Paul (1868–1941), 528  
Samuel, Herbert (1870–1963), 336  
Samuel, Stuart M., 86  
San Martin, Grau (1887–1969), 156  
Sanacja Party (Poland), 485, 554  
Sand, Karl Ludwig (1795–1820), 249  
Sapiro, Aaron (1884–1959), 234–236  
Sarfatti, Margherita (1880–1961), 479  
Sarkozy, Nicholas (1955–), 359  
**Sartre, Jean-Paul** (1905–1980), **223, 293, 639–640**  
and Céline, Louis-Ferdinand, 110  
and Heidegger, Martin, 293  
Saudi Arabia, 33, 160

- Saxony, Kingdom of, 23, 227, 403, 455, 785
- Saxony-Weimar, Duchy of, 299
- Sayers, Dorothy (1893–1957), 115
- Schack, Wilhelm (1869–1949), 263
- Scharansky, Anatoly (1950–), 725
- Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm von (1775–1854), 244
- Schemann, Ludwig** (1852–1938), 640–641, 744  
and the Bayreuth circle, 62–63  
as promoter of Gobineau's ideas, 640  
*See also* *Völkisch* Ideology and Movement
- Schering, Arnold (1877–1941), 477
- Scheunenviertel Pogrom**, 641, 760
- Scheurer-Kestner, Auguste (1833–1899), 788
- Schmeitzner, Ernst (b. 1851), 63
- Schmeitzners International Monthly*, 61
- Schmitt, Carl (1888–1985), 676
- Schmitz, Richard (1885–1954), 49
- Schmoller, Gustav (1838–1917), 670
- Schneider, Ernst (1878–1957), 437
- Schnell, Silvio, 569–570
- Schnitzler, Arthur** (1862–1931), 404, 642
- Schoenberg, Arnold (1874–1951), 476–477, 760
- Schönerer, Georg von** (1842–1921), 642–643  
and the Linz Program, 49, 424  
pan-German ideas of, 49, 529–530  
as precursor of Nazism, 530  
*See also* Austria; Social Darwinism
- Scholz, Wilhelm (1824–1933), 400
- Schopenhauer, Arthur** (1788–1860), 290, 621, 643–644, 762
- Schott, Georg (1882–1962), 391
- Schütz, Friedrich Wilhelm von (1758–1819), 277
- Schwaner, Wilhelm (1863–1944), 744
- Schwartzbard, Shalom (1886–1935), 543, 636
- Schwarze Korps, Das**, 645
- Schweitzer, Hans (Mjöelnir) (1901–1980), 19
- Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, 303, 322
- Sebottendorf, Rudolf von (1875–1945), 73, 270, 706
- Secret Doctrine, The** (1888), 645–646
- Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The** (1991), 646–647  
*See also* African American–Jewish Relations; Farrakhan, Louis; Nation of Islam
- Seipel, Ignaz (1876–1932), 68
- Seleznev, Gennadii (1947–), 633
- Self-Hatred, Jewish**, 647–649  
*See also* Heine, Heinrich; Herzl, Theodor; Kraus, Karl; Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Levin; Walther, Rathenau; Weininger, Otto
- Seligman, Joseph (1818–1880), 55
- Seligman-Hilton Affair**, 597, 649–650  
*See also* Dewey, Melvil; Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants
- Seneca, the Younger (1–65 CE), 612–615
- Sephardic Jews, 56, 136, 178, 180, 210, 345, 370, 661
- Septimus Severus, Emperor (145–211), 611
- Serafim of Sarov (1759–1833), 509
- Seraphim, Peter-Heinz (1902–1979), 495
- Servatius, Robert, 196
- Servetus, Michael (ca. 1509–1553), 592
- Sessa, Karl B. A. (1786–1813), 103
- Settlement Heimland**, 650–651
- Séverine (1855–1929), 421
- Seville, 578, 673–674, 710
- Shabbetai Zevi** (1626–1676), 651–652
- Shahak, Israel (1933–2001), 193
- Shakespeare, William** (1564–1616), 652–654  
*See also* Shylock
- Shanghai, 251, 365
- Share International, 53, 502
- Shaw, George Bernard (1856–1950), 168, 206, 421
- Shaw, William Stanley, 86
- Shcheglovitov, I. G. (1861–1918), 64
- Shcherbakov, A. S. (d. 1945), 182
- Shehitah.** *See* Kosher Slaughtering
- Shepherds' Crusade, 155, 763
- Shestov, Lev (1866–1938), 630
- Shoah. *See* Holocaust
- Shylock**, 654–655
- Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service), 67, 195, 199, 756
- Sicily, 12, 96, 216
- Sidonia, 136–137, 181, 625
- Sidor, Karol (1901–1953), 310
- Siegfried of Querfurt (mid-12th century), 154
- Siemens, Carl-Friedrich von (1872–1941), 258
- Sienkiewicz, Henryk (1846–1916), 41
- Sigmaringen, 109, 591
- Silberner, Edmund (1910–), 28
- Silver Shirt Legion, 118, 540
- Sima, Horia (1907–1993), 353
- Simeon of Trier, 154
- Simon of Trent** (d. 1475), 326, 387–388, 464, 604–605, 655–657
- Simon Wiesenthal Center, 366
- Simon, Ernst Akiba (1899–1988), 371
- Simon, Pierre-Henri (1903–1972), 224
- Simonini, Jean-Baptiste, 456
- Simplicissimus**, 657–658
- Sin against the Blood** (1917), 658–659  
*See also* Dinter, Artur
- Singer, Isaac Bashevis (1904–1991), 555
- Sirota, Gabriela, 697
- Sisebut, King of the Visigoths (r. 612–621), 742
- Six Days' War (1967), and attitudes regarding Israel, 26–27, 149, 260, 271, 457, 483, 500, 503, 640, 687
- Sixtus IV, Pope (1414–1484), 347, 657
- Sixtus V, Pope (1521–1590), 657
- Skinheads, 359, 496–497, 767
- Slánský, Rudolph (1901–1952), 259, 679
- Slánský Trial**, 659–660, 679  
*See also* Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Stalinization of Eastern Europe
- Slaton, John (1866–1955), 243
- Slave Trade and the Jews**, 660–662

- Slave Trade and the Jews** (*cont'd*)  
*See also Secret Relationship between Blacks and Jews, The*  
 Slavinsky, Maksym, 543  
 Sleidan, Johannes (1506–1555), 593  
 Sliozberg, Henry (1863–1937), 630  
 Słonimski, Antoni (1895–1976), 555  
 Slovakia, 310, 707  
**Slovakia, Holocaust in**, 550, 662–663  
 Small Holders' Party (Hungary), 335  
 Smetona, Antanas (1874–1944), 427  
 Smidt, Maria, 336  
 Smith, Adam (1723–1790), 97  
 Smith, Bradley (1931–), 349  
**Smith, Gerald L. K.** (1898–1976), 18, 150–152, 663–664  
 and "dynamic silence" strategy, 17  
 and Father Coughlin, 140  
*See also Cross and the Flag, The*  
 Smolenskin, Perez (ca. 1842–1885), 787  
 Smuts, Jan (1870–1950), 673  
 Sobell, Morton (1917–), 622  
 Sobibor, 555  
 Social Credit Party (Canada), 95  
**Social Darwinism**, 664–665  
*See also* Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Eugenics; Evolutionary Psychology; Hitler, Adolf; Racism, Scientific; Schönerer, Georg von  
**Social Democratic Party (Germany)**, 28, 270, 574, 665–666, 761  
 Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), 259  
**Socialists on Antisemitism**, 666–669  
*See also* Fourier, Charles; Léon, Abram; Marx, Karl; Mehring, Franz; Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph; Social Democratic Party (Germany); Stalin, Joseph; Toussenel, Alphonse  
 Söderbaum, Kristina (1912–2001), 229–230  
 Solidarity, 556  
 Solomons, Israel (1860–1923), 101  
 Solov'ev, Vladimir (1853–1900), 510, 632  
 Solymosi, Eszter (1868–1882), 707–708  
**Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr** (1918–), 633, 669–670  
**Sombart, Werner** (1863–1941), 496, 633, 670–671  
 Sommerfeld, Arnold (1868–1951), 547  
 Sophocles (496–406 BCE), 563  
 Sorbonne, 57, 225  
**Sorcery/Magic**, 671–672  
 Sorel, Georges (1847–1922), 233–234  
 Soulcraft, 541  
**South Africa**, 26, 76–77, 84, 672–673, 768  
 South African War. *See Boer War*  
**Spain, Riots of 1391**, 673–674  
*See also* Ferrer, Vincente  
**Spain under Franco** (1938–1975), 674–675  
 Spangenberg, Cyriakus (1528–1604), 593  
 Spanish Civil War, 675  
 Spanknöbel, Heinz, 268  
 Spencer, Herbert (1820–1903), 758  
 Speyer, 152–153, 216  
 Spinoza, Benedict (1632–1677), 782  
 Springmann, Baldur (b. 1912), 684  
 Stabel, Oskar (b. 1901), 79  
*Stadt ohne Juden, Die* (1922). *See* Bettauer, Hugo  
 Stäglich, Wilhelm (1916–), 320  
**Stahl, Friedrich Julius** (1802–1861), 675–676  
*See also* Christian State  
 Stahlecker, Franz Walther (1900–1942), 200  
**Stalin, Joseph** (1879–1953), 676–677  
 and anti-Zionism, 26  
 and "Blood for Trucks," 74  
 and plans for large scale persecution of Jews, 183, 259, 373, 659, 725  
*See also* Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors' Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Pauker, Ana; Purge of 1968 (Poland); Slánský Trial; Stalin, Joseph; Stalinization of Eastern Europe; USSR  
 Stalinization of Eastern Europe, 677–680  
 Stark, Johannes (1874–1957), 546–547  
 State of the World Forum, 502  
**State-within-a-State**, 680–681  
**Stauff, Philipp** (1876–1923), 681–682  
**Stavisky Affair**, 682–683  
 Stavisky, Sacha (1886–1934), 682  
 Steed, Henry Wickham (1871–1956), 377  
 Steiner, George (1929–), 109, 224  
**Steiner, Rudolf** (1861–1925), 683–684  
 Steinschneider, Moritz (1816–1907), 24  
 Stengel, Theophil (b. 1905), 476  
 Stephen Roth Institute, 359  
 Stern, Samuel, 374  
 Stewart, A. T., 649  
 Stirner, Max (1806–1856), 783  
**Stoecker, Adolf** (1835–1909), 287, 681, 684–685  
 and Ahlwardt, Hermann, 8  
 and the Berlin Movement, 66–67  
 his lack of appeal for workers, 22, 119–120, 525, 574, 665  
 and making antisemitism respectable, 381, 525, 685  
 relations with the Conservative Party, 66, 120, 708, 749  
 and radical antisemitism, 66, 192, 263, 296  
*See also* Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914); *Our Demands on Modern Jewry*; Tivoli Program  
 Stoker, Bram (1847–1912), 188, 205  
 Stolberg-Stolberg, Joseph (1804–1859), 77  
 Stolypin, Peter (1862–1911), 64, 581, 669  
 Storm troopers (Sturmabteilungen, SA), 42, 80, 302, 305, 486–488, 761  
 and Night of Broken Glass, 507–508  
 Strabo (ca. 63–3 BCE), 610  
 Strasbourg, 14, 98, 593  
 Strasser, Gregor (1882–1934), 246, 487, 600  
 Strasser, Otto (1897–1974), 278, 246

- Strauss, David Friedrich (1808–1874), 783
- Streicher, Julius** (1885–1946), **685–686**
- Stremann, Gustav (1878–1929), 575
- Strossmayer, Josip Juraj (1815–1905), 147
- Struensee* (1844), 782
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**, **686–687**
- Stürmer, Der**, 368, **687–688**
- and antisemitic coarseness, 106–107, 495
  - and ritual murder allegation, 558
- See also* Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Streicher, Julius
- Stuyvesant, Peter** (1592–1672), **688**
- Sudeten German Party (Czechoslovakia), 689
- Sudeten Germans**, **688–689**
- Sue, Eugène (1804–1857), 755
- Sugihara, Chiune (1900–1986), 251, 365
- Supersessionism**, **689–691**
- See also* Augustine of Hippo; Chrysostom, John; Gospels; Iconography, Christian; Luther, Martin; Paul; Vatican Council, Second
- Suphan, Bernhard Ludwig (1845–1911), 299
- Sutro, Adolph (1830–1898), 714
- Svengali**, **691–692**
- Sverdlov, Jacob (1885–1919), 389
- Swastika, 17–18, 36, 193, 269, 365, 425, 426, 429, 455, 486, 651, 693, 697, 706, 767
- Sweden**, **692–694**
- Swift, Wesley (d. 1970), 117–118
- Switzerland, Restitution**, **694–695**
- Syllabus of Errors (1864), 531, 549, 719
- Syria, 11, 30–32, 160–161, 610
- Szalasi, Ferenc** (1897–1946), 330, 332, 374, **695–696**
- Szeged Concept, 769
- Szeryng, Henryk (1918–1988), 555
- Sztojay, Dome (1883–1946), 331
- T-4 Euthanasia Program, 318
- Taaffe, Count Eduard (1833–1895), 643
- Tacitus, Cornelius (55–120 CE), 613–616
- prejudicial views on Jewish law, 128, 178
- See also* Roman Literature
- Tacuara**, 36, **697–698**
- See also* Argentina
- Tager, Aleksandr (1888–1939), 570
- Taine, Hippolyte (1828–1893), 449
- Talmud**, **459–460, 698–700**
- and the Boniface Society, 78, 701
  - and the Dominicans, 185
  - and Drumont, Édouard, 215, 282, 700
  - and enlightened opinion, 177, 284, 599
  - and evolutionary psychology, 194
  - and the maltreating of gentiles, 382, 481, 609, 699–700, 738
  - in New Age teachings, 646
  - and Peter the Venerable, attack on, 541
  - ritual murder, cited as justification for, 161, 283, 564, 700
  - and Roman law, 393
  - and white slavery, 768
- See also* *Entdecktes Judenthum*; Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri; Islamic Diaspora; Liutostanskii, Ippolit
- Talmud Jew, The** (1871), 609, **700–701**
- in Arabic translation, 31–32
- Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* as source of, 210, 609
- on trial, 73–74, 609, 700
  - as used by Fritsch, Theodor, 290
- See also* Bloch, Joseph Samuel; Rohling, August; Pranaitis, Justinas
- Talmud Trials**, **701–702**
- and burning of Jewish books, 217, 347, 462, 542, 543, 592
- See also* Inquisition
- Tam, Rabbi Jacob (ca. 1475–1542), 459
- Tam, Rabbi Rabbenu (ca. 1100–1171), 154
- Tannenberg League, 434–435
- Tarde, Gabriel (1843–1904), 191
- Taylor, Myron C. (1874–1959), 212
- Tchernichowsky, Saul (1875–1943), 631
- Tel Aviv, 335, 365
- Thackeray, William Makepiece (1811–1863), 207, 576
- That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (1523), 593
- The Britons, 85
- Theater, Nazi Purge of Jewish Influence in**, **702–703**
- Theodosian Code**, 121, 285, 611, **703–704**
- Theodosius I, Emperor (ca. 346–395), 3, 124
- Theodosius II, Emperor (408–450), 703–704
- Theosophical Society, 53, 72, 645, 683, 704
- Theosophy**, 412, 540, **704–705**, 744
- and Blavatsky, Helena, 72–73, 645, 683
  - in New Age, 72–73, 501–502, 645
  - and Steiner, Rudolf, 683–684
- Theresienstadt, 68, 75
- Thiel, Ernst, 237
- Thiers, Adolphe (1797–1877), 160
- Thirty Years' War, 55, 141, 657
- Thomas of Monmouth, 771
- "Three Hundred," The**, **705–706**
- and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 588, 705
  - and Rathenau, Walther, 588
- Thule Society**, **706–707**
- and Sebottendorf, Rudolf von, 73, 270, 706
- Tibull (ca. 50–ca. 19 BCE), 613
- Tiedemann, Heinrich von (1843–1922), 260–261
- Timm, Angelika, 260
- Tiso, Jozef** (1887–1947), **707**
- Tiszaeszlár Ritual Murder**, **707–708**
- Tito, Josip (1892–1980), 105, 659
- Titus, Emperor (39–81 CE), 34, 613, 616
- Tivoli Program** (1892), **708–709**
- and Conservative Party
  - antisemitism, 111, 120, 417
  - and Stoecker, Adolf, 120, 685, 708
- Tlas, Mustafa (1932–), 32
- Toben, Frederick (1944–), 349
- Tocqueville, Alexis de (1805–1859), 277
- Tokayer, Marvin (1936–), 250
- Toland, John** (1670–1722), 202, 544, **709–710**
- See also* Philosemitism

- Toledo, 224, 463, 577–578, 674, 743
- Toller, Ernst (1893–1939), 760
- Tolstoy, Leo (1828–1910), 168
- Tomaso, Father (d. 1840), 160
- Torquemada, Tomás de**  
(1420–1498), **710**  
*See also Auto-da-Fé*; Dominican Order; Inquisition
- Tory Party, 86, 136
- Toussenel, Alphonse** (1803–1885), 681, **710–711**  
and Drumont, Édouard, influence on, 55, 191, 238, 710  
and Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri, 282  
on Jews and sins of capitalism, 710–711  
and Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, comparison with, 571
- Touvier, Paul (1915–1996), 142–147
- Townsend, Francis E. (1867–1960), 140, 663
- Trajan, Emperor (53–117 CE), 175–176, 610
- Transnistria, 29, 619
- Transylvania, 29, 188, 278, 329, 410, 618
- Trebitsch, Arthur (1880–1927), 50
- Treblinka, 90, 555
- Treitschke, Heinrich**  
(1834–1896), 22, 25, 290, 381, **711–712**  
adoption of the term antisemitism, 25  
influence on Class, Heinrich, 130, 775  
as inspiration for German Students, Association of, 267 and “Jewish” press, 375–376, 774  
and making antisemitism socially acceptable, 106, 192, 774  
and *Ostjuden*, 523, 774  
*See also* Hahn, Diedrich; *Word about Our Jews, A*
- Trianon, Treaty of, 328–329
- Tribuna Israelita (Mexico), 457
- Trollope, Anthony** (1815–1882), **712–713**  
*See also* English Literature from Chaucer to Wells
- Trotsky, Leon (1879–1940), 389–390, 633, 724, 580  
*See also* Judeo-Bolshevism
- True Union of the Russian People, 71
- Tscherikower, Elias (1881–1943), 570
- Tucholsky, Kurt (1890–1935), 79
- Tuka, Vojtech (1880–1946), 309–310, 707
- Tuškan, Grga (1845–1923), 148
- Tuskegee Institute, 5
- Tuwim, Julian (1894–1953), 555
- Twain, Mark** (1835–1910), **713–715**
- Tweed Ring, 649
- Twilight of Israel, The** (1932), **715–716**
- Udine, 216
- Ukraine, 542, 607, 632  
and Chmielnicki massacres, 116–117, 592  
and the Demidenko hoax, 47  
and the Holocaust in, 29, 127, 199, 330, 619, 724–725  
and the Pale of Settlement, 527–528  
and pogroms of 1881–1882, 668  
during the Russian Civil War, 542, 636  
*See also* Beilis Case; Petliura, Symon; Russian Civil War; USSR
- Ukraine, Post-Soviet**, **717–718**  
and Duke, David, 194
- Ulbricht, Walter (1893–1973), 259
- Ulk*, 401
- Ullmann, Victor (1898–1944), 476
- Ultramontanism**, **718–719**  
and the Boniface Society, 77  
Gougenot des Mousseaux, Henri, as exponent of, 282–283  
during the *Kulturkampf*, 406–407
- Rohling, August, as exponent of, 609, 700
- in the writing of Veuillot, Louis, 738  
*See also* Mortara Affair; Pius IX, Pope; Vatican Council, First;
- Umar II (d. 720), 357, 779
- UN Resolution 3329 (1975), 26, 260
- Union League club, 649–650
- Union of the Archangel Michael (Russia). *See* Black Hundreds
- Union of the Russian People, 71, 405, 581
- United Nations, 26, 53, 152, 289, 351, 465, 563, 752
- United States**, **720–723**  
and African-American antisemitism, 4–6, 646–647  
eugenics movement in, 38, 212, 472  
and governmental response to the Holocaust, 212–213, 363, 432–433  
Holocaust denial in, 107, 193, 348–349, 420, 608, 663, 790  
and influx of Eastern European Jews, 514–515  
and populist antisemitism, 511–513, 558–559, 757  
*Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in, 38, 141, 162–164, 233–234, 390, 465, 663, 721, 772  
*See also* individual exponents of antisemitism in, Carto Willis; Coughlin, Charles E.; Ford, Henry; Lindbergh, Charles; Pelley, William Dudley; Rockwell, George Lincoln; Smith, Gerald L. K., Winrod, Gerald B.  
*See also* organized antisemitism in, American Nazi Party; German-American Bund; Ku Klux Klan (1915–1941); Militia Movement; Nation of Islam; Populist Movement; White Power Movement  
*See also* institutional expressions of antisemitism in, Armed Forces of the United States; General Orders No. 11; Immigration and Naturalization Laws (U.S.); *Numerus Clausus* (U.S.); Restricted Public Accommodations, United States; Restrictive Covenants
- Universum-Film A.G. (Ufa), 228
- Uno, Masami (1941–), 365
- Urban II, Pope (ca. 1042–1099), 152
- Uriel Acosta* (1846), 782
- Uris, Leon (1924–), 209
- USSR** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), **723–726**

- See also* Anti-Zionism in the USSR; Doctors' Plot; Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee; Judeo-Bolshevism; Pale of Settlement; Petliura, Symon; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Purges, Soviet; Russian Civil War; Russian Orthodox Church; Stalin, Joseph; Stalinization of Eastern Europe
- Ustasha, 726**  
*See also* Croatia, Holocaust in; Pavelić, Ante
- Usury, 205, 345, 462, 727–729**  
*See also* Banker, Jewish; Capital: Useful versus Harmful; Coin Clipping; Court Jews; Crusades; Iconography, Christian; Shylock
- Vacher de Lapouge, Georges (1854–1936), 664
- Valentinianus, Emperor (321–375), 704
- Vallat, Xavier** (1891–1972), 162, 731–732
- Valois, Georges (1878–1945), 2
- Vargas, Getúlio (1882–1954), 82–83
- Varnhagen von Ense, August (1785–1858), 732
- Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel Levin** (1771–1833), 732–733  
*See also* Self-Hatred, Jewish
- Varro, Marcus Terentius (116–27 BCE), 612
- Varuna (1907), 297
- Vasiliev, Dmitry (1945–), 632
- Vatican Council, First** (1869–1870), 733–734  
*See also* Freemasonry; Mortara Affair; Papacy, Modern; Pius IX; Ultramontanism
- Vatican Council, Second** (1962–1965), 734–735  
*See also* Deicide; Freemasonry; Gospels; Papacy, Modern; Paul; Supersessionism; Ultramontanism; Wandering Jew
- Vaugeois, Henri (1864–1916), 1
- Vel d'hiv' Roundup (Paris), 146, 162
- Velebit Uprising, 540, 726
- Venice, 198, 202, 216, 348, 651, 779
- and the ghetto, 216, 272–275
- Vereeniging, Treaty of (1902), 77
- Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus. *See* League against Antisemitism (Abwehr-Verein)
- Verjudung** (Judaization, or Jewification), 121, 524, 623, 695, 703, 735–736, 744, 774
- See individual theorists* of Bauer, Bruno; Dinter, Arthur; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Dühring, Eugen; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Glagau, Otto; Heine, Heinrich; Hitler, Adolf; Lagarde, Paul de; Marr, Wilhelm; Marx, Karl; Rosenberg, Alfred; Treitschke, Heinrich von; Wagener, Hermann; Wagner, Richard
- See also* Christian State; Emancipation; Jewish Question; Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Problem, *The*; Judaism as an Alien Phenomenon; Judaism in Music; Mirror to the Jews, *A*; Nazi Cultural Antisemitism; Nuremberg Laws; Pan-German League; Racial Laws (Italy); *Völkisch* Movement and Ideology; *Word about Our Jews, A*
- Verona Paper, 518
- Versailles Treaty**, 182, 245, 417, 589, 736–737, 769
- and Nazi propaganda, 307, 494, 737
- Verschuer, Othmar von (1896–1969), 496
- Vespasian, Emperor (9–79 CE), 34, 615
- Veuillot, Louis** (1813–1883), 738
- Vichy, 738–741**
- collaboration with the Germans, 109–110, 142–147, 223–224, 591
- and the General Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives), 162, 731, 739
- and Maurras, Charles, 1, 2, 58, 449, 731
- in North Africa, 10, 536
- and popular memory of, 82, 145–146, 162
- and popular support, question of, 738, 739, 740
- and the *Statut des Juifs* (Jewish Statute), 239, 731, 739
- See also* Céline, Louis-Ferdinand; Crimes against Humanity, Trials (France); Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis; Fascist Intellectuals (France); Rebaret, Lucien; Vallat, Xavier; Victoria, Queen (1819–1901), 181, 625
- Victory of Jewry over Germandom, The** (1879), 741–742
- and origins of the term antisemite, 24–25
- See also* Marr, Wilhelm
- Vienna, 11, 40–41, 48–50, 195, 300–301
- and *City without Jews*, 68–69
- See also* Aryan Theater; Christian Social Party (Austria); Freud, Sigmund; Hitler, Adolf; Kralik, Richard von; Kraus, Karl; Lueger, Karl; Schnitzler, Arthur
- Vietinghoff-Scheel, Leopold von (1868–1946), 528
- Vilnius (Vilna), 427–429
- Vinaver, Maxim (1862–1926), 630
- Vincent, Howard, 86
- Virchow, Rudolf (1821–1902), 66, 586
- Visigothic Spain, 742–743**
- Vivaldi, Antonio 1678–1741), 563
- Völkisch Movement and Ideology, 743–745**
- See individual proponents* Arndt, Ernst Moritz; Bartels, Adolf; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Class, Heinrich; Fichte, J. G.; Fritsch, Theodor; Hentschel, Willibald; Lagarde, Paul de; Lange, Friedrich; Lanz von Liebenfels, Jörg; List, Guido von; Ludendorff, Erich; Ludendorff, Mathilde; Reventlow, Ernst zu; Roth, Alfred; Schemann, Ludwig; Stauff, Philipp; Wagner, Richard

- See organizational manifestations of Antisemitic Political Parties (Germany, 1879–1914); German National White Collar Employees Association; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Imperial Hammer League; Jewish Question; Nazi Party Program; Pan-German League; Settlement *Heimland**
- Völkischer Beobachter*, 21, 157, 474, 575, 621, 706
- Vogelsang, Karl von** (1818–1890), 745–746  
influence on Austrian Christian socialism, 49, 436  
*See also* Christian Social Party (Austria); Lueger, Karl
- Voldemaras, Augustinas (1883–1942), 427
- Voltaire, François-Marie-Arouet de** (1694–1778), 456, 746–748  
and Diderot, Denis, 13, 177  
as inspiration for Marr, Wilhelm, 445, 466
- Volynsky, Akim (1863–1926), 630
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, 5, 72
- Vygodski, Jakov, 427
- Vytautas the Great, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1350–1430), 426
- Wachhorst de Wente, Friedrich (1863–1939), 264
- Waffen-SS, 45, 199, 271, 337, 770  
*See also* Einsatzgruppen
- Wagener, Hermann** (1815–1889), 749–750  
and Bauer, Bruno, 61  
and *Jews and the German State, The*, putative role in, 382
- Wagner, Adolph (1835–1917), 287, 670
- Wagner, Cosima** (1837–1930), 504, 644, 750  
as promoter of Gobineau's racial theories, 62
- Wagner, Gerhard (1888–1939), 516
- Wagner, Richard** (1813–1883), 168, 232, 301, 444, 640, 750–752  
and Antisemites' Petition, 20, 62  
Freytag, Gustav, and criticism of, 165, 248
- Jews as a threat to German culture, views on, 386–387, 489, 692, 735  
and Nazi cultural ideals, 62, 476, 489–491  
and Nietzsche, break with, 504 and Schopenhauer's influence on, 644  
and Young Germany, 782
- See also* Bayreuth Circle; Chamberlain, Houston Stewart; Gobineau, Joseph Arthur de; Hitler, Adolf; *Judaism in Music*; Lagarde, Paul de; Marr, Wilhelm; Musicology and National Socialism; Nietzsche, Friedrich; Schemann, Ludwig; Self-Hatred, Jewish; *Verjudung*; Wagner, Cosima Wagner, Winifred (1887–1980), 752
- Wahhabism, 359
- Wahrmund, Adolf (1827–1913), 63, 290
- Wailing Wall riots (1929), 336
- Walburg, Otto, 703
- Waldheim Affair**, 752–753
- Waldheim, Kurt (1918–), 376, 752
- Waldorf Schools, 684
- Wallace, Alfred Russell (1823–1913), 705
- Wallenberg, Raoul (1912–1947?), 332–333
- Walser, Martin (1927–), 88
- Walsin-Esterhazy, Marie Charles Ferdinand (1847–1923), 190, 788
- Walter, Bruno (1876–1962), 489
- Wandering Jew**, 69, 244, 617, 753–755  
and Doré, Gustav, 186–187, 207  
in the novel of Sue, Eugéne, 755
- See also* Antichrist; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Early); Gospels; Iconography, Christian
- Wandervogel. *See* Youth Movement
- Wannsee Conference** (1942), 195, 755–757
- War Refugee Board, 524,
- Warburg, Max (1867–1946), 55, 737
- Warhaftig, Zorach (1906–2002), 251
- Warsaw, 79–80, 202, 275, 553, 557, 768
- See also* Poland since 1989
- Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, 555
- Warsaw Pact, 556, 578, 680
- Washington, Booker T. (1856–1915), 5
- Watson, Tom** (1856–1922), 757  
*See also* Frank, Leo; Populist Movement
- Waugh, Evelyn (1903–1966), 115
- Webb, Beatrice** (1858–1943), 757–759
- Weber, Mark (1951–), 193, 349, 790
- Weber, Max (1864–1920), 65, 670
- Webern, Anton (1883–1945), 478
- Webster, Nesta** (1876–1960), 759  
as contributor to *Cause of World Unrest, The*, 109
- and Judeo-Bolshevism, 390
- See also* Barruel, Augustin; Freemasonry; Judeo-Bolshevism; Militia Movement; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Women and British Fascism
- Wehrmacht, 135–136, 200, 428, 756
- Weimar**, 759–762  
and cultural decadence, Jewish, 452–453, 480–481, 489
- Jewish self-defense in, 111–113, 170–172
- Jews in economic life of, 258–259
- radicalization of antisemitism in, 156–157, 266–267, 485–489
- See also* Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith; Desecration of Cemeteries and Synagogues in Germany; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; German National People's Party; Goebbels, Joseph; Hitler, Adolf; League against Antisemitism; National Socialist German Workers' Party; Nazi Party Program; *Ostjuden*; Rathenau, Walther; Scheunenviertel Pogrom; Thule Society
- Weininger, Otto** (1880–1903), 762–763  
*See also* Self-Hatred, Jewish

- Weishaupt, Adam (1748–1811), 456
- Weiss, Bernhard (1880–1951), 19, 278
- Weitling, Wilhelm (1808–1871), 445
- Weizmann, Chaim (1874–1952), 570, 758
- Well Poisoning, 763–764**  
*See also Jew of Malta, The*
- Wells, H. G. (1866–1946), 764–765**
- Weltsch, Robert (1891–1982), 779
- Werfel, Franz (1890–1945), 441
- Wertheim, A. C. (1832–1897), 498
- Wesker, Arnold (1932–), 654
- Wessel, Horst (1907–1930), 278
- West Bank, 503
- West, Nathanael (1903–1940), 208
- Wharton, Edith (1862–1937), 765–766**
- Wheatley, Francis (1747–1801), 314
- Whig Party, 371, 709
- White Power Movement, 766–768**  
and Nazi Rock, 496–497  
and Rockwell, George Lincoln, 17–18, 606–609  
in Sweden, 693–694  
*See also American Nazi Party; Christian Identity Movement; Duke, David; Holocaust Denial, Negationism and Revisionism; Internet; Ku Klux Klan (1919–1945); Militia Movement; White Russia. See Belarus*
- White Slavery, 768–769**
- White Supremacists, 193, 214, 316, 349, 445, 698, 790
- White Terror (Hungary), 769–770**
- Wienbarg, Ludolf (1802–1872), 781–782
- Wiesel, Eli (1928–), 271
- Wiesenthal, Simon (1908–), 366, 483
- Wiesenthal-Kreisky Controversy, 770–771**
- Wigstead, Henry (1745–1800), 627
- Wilder, Billy (1906–2002), 228
- Wilhelm I, Kaiser (1797–1888), 684
- Wilhem II, Kaiser (1859–1941), 113–114, 120, 295, 370, 600, 744
- William of Norwich (d. 1144), 771–772**  
*See also Ritual Murder (Medieval)*
- William the Conqueror, King of England (ca. 1027–1087), 459
- Wills, Garry (1934–), 115
- Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924), 343, 404, 432, 589
- Winchell, Walter (1897–1972), 663
- Windthorst, Ludwig (1812–1891), 111, 403, 407
- Winrod, Gerald B. (1900–1957), 117, 721, 772–773**
- Wirth, Joseph (1879–1956), 589
- Wise, Stephen (1874–1949), 251
- Witte, Sergei (1849–1915), 568, 635
- Wittenberg, 388, 437, 453, 519
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1889–1951), 649
- Wolf, Johannes, 477
- Wolf, Karl Hermann (1862–1941), 529
- Wolffsohn, Michael (1947–), 260
- Wolfkehl, Karl (1869–1948), 257
- Wolkoff, Anna (b. 1902), 774
- Wolzogen, Hans Paul von (1848–1938), 62–63
- Women and British Fascism, 773–774**
- Woodward, C. Vann (1908–1999), 599, 757
- Woodward, George (1760–1809), 101
- Word about Our Jews, A (1880), 775**  
*See also Treitschke, Heinrich von*
- World Core Curriculum, 53, 502
- World Council of Churches, 690
- World Jewish Congress (WJC), 260, 483, 549–550, 596, 679, 753
- World Servers, 53, 502
- World War I,  
*See Cause of World Unrest, The; Dearborn Independent and The International Jew; Dmowski, Roman; German Racial League for Defense and Defiance; Jew Census (1916); Mein Kampf; Ostjuden; Versailles Treaty*
- World War II,  
*See Commissar Order; Crimes against Humanity (French Trials); Eichmann, Adolf; Einsatzgruppen; Fugu Plan; Himmler, Heinrich; Historians' Controversy; Hitler, Adolf; Holocaust; Hungary, Holocaust in; Jedwabne; Lithuania, Holocaust in; October Roundup (Rome, 1943); Order Police; Romania, Holocaust in; Slovakia, Holocaust in; Ustasha; Vichy; Wannsee Conference*
- Wouk, Herman (1915–), 208–209
- Wrisberg, Colonel Ernst von (1863–1927), 371
- Würzburg, 96, 154, 218, 454, 602 and Hep-Hep riots, 297–298
- Wulle, Reinhold (1882–1950), 265, 745
- Xanten Ritual Murder (1891–1892), 529**  
*See also Ritual Murder (Modern)*
- Xoce, Koçi (d. 1949), 679
- Ya'kub al-Mansur, Abu Jusuf (d. 1199), 12
- Yad Vashem, 225
- Yamani, Ahmed (1930–), 33
- Yamin, Antun, 31
- Yasin, Ahmad (1938–), 289
- Yassine, Abdessalam (1929–2004), 360
- Yasue, Norihiro (1888–1950), 251, 364
- Yeats, William Butler (1865–1939), 705
- Yehiel b. Joseph (d. 1286), 698, 701
- Yellow Badge, 779**
- Yellow Star, 779–781**  
in Croatia, 149  
in France, 740  
in Hungary, 330–332  
in Poland, General Gouvernement of, 799  
in Romania, 619
- Yemen, 203, 357–358, 468–469
- Yitzhaki, Solomon (1040–1105), 459
- YIVO (Institute for Jewish Research), 555, 570

- Yolanda, Queen of Aragon (d. 1443), 225
- Yom Kippur War (1973), 365
- Young England, 136
- Young Germany, 781–783**
- Young Hegelians, 783–784**
- See also* Bauer, Bruno; Feuerbach, Ludwig; Marx, Karl
- Young Italy, 781
- Young Plan, 262, 305, 326
- Young, Andrew (1932–), 5
- Youth Movement, 784–785**
- Yrigoyen, Hipolito (1852–1933), 89
- Yudovin, Solomon (1892–1954), 631
- Yurovsky, Yakov (1878–1938), 389, 638
- Yushkevich, Semyon (1868–1907), 631
- Zagreb, 147–150, 539–540, 726
- Zangwill, Israel (1864–1926), 475
- Zankov, Alexandr (1879–1959), 90
- Zbor, 431–432
- Zemstvo, 581
- Zeno of Verona (d. 380), 169
- Zhdanov, A. (1896–1948), 182–183
- Zhirinovsky, Vladimir (1946–), 633
- Ziegler, Adolf (1892–1959), 166
- Ziegler, Hans Severus (b. 1893), 476, 702
- Zinoviev, Grigori (1883–1936), 724
- Zion, Daniel, 90
- Zionism, 240, 418, 443, 545, 668, 787–788**
- See also* Anti-Zionism; Caricature, Anti-Jewish (Modern); Herzl, Theodor; Nordau, Max
- ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government), 465, 767
- Zola, Emile** (1840–1902), 168, 190, 232, 423, **788–789**
- falsely identified as Jewish, 40, 148
- film treatment of, 315–316  
and *J'accuse!*, 190, 788–789
- Zoroastrians, 30, 352, 357
- Zündel, Ernst** (1939–), 173, 349, **790–791**
- and the Auschwitz Lie, 45
- Canadian trials of, 225, 420, 790
- See also* Holocaust Denial, Negationism and Revisionism; Internet; *Leuchter Report*; Neo-Nazism, German
- Zuviria, Gustavo Martinez (1882–1962), 36
- Zwingli, Ulrich (1484–1531), 592
- Zyklon B, 420, 496