

# ROOTS OF HATE

---

ANTI-SEMITISM IN EUROPE  
BEFORE THE HOLOCAUST

WILLIAM I. BRUSTEIN  
*University of Pittsburgh*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	page viii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
1 Introduction: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust	1
2 The Religious Root	49
3 The Racial Root	95
4 The Economic Root	177
5 The Political Root	265
6 Conclusion	337
Appendix: Coding Instrument – Anti-Semitic Questionnaire for European Press (1899–1939)	355
<i>Bibliography</i>	361
<i>Index</i>	377

## THE RELIGIOUS ROOT

Of the four roots of anti-Semitism, religious anti-Semitism has the longest history in Western Christian societies. Religious anti-Semitism encompasses hostility that stems from the Jewish people's refusal to abandon their religious beliefs and practices and, specifically within Christian societies, from the accusation of Jewish collective responsibility for the death of Jesus Christ. By the eighteenth century, the religious root would expand to include the French Enlightenment critique that Judaism was responsible for the antiprogressive and exclusionist characters of its followers.

Official Christian antipathy toward Judaism began to gather steam within one hundred years of the death of Christ. Christian bitterness may have stemmed largely from the new religion's competition with Judaism for a following. The competition between the two religions was unlike that between quite *dissimilar* religions – such as Buddhism and Christianity, or Hinduism and Christianity – for Jesus Christ had been a Jew, and Christianity saw itself replacing Judaism as the inheritor of God's covenant with Abraham. Because only the Jewish people can claim that the Christian Savior was one of its own, the relationship between Judaism and Christianity is special. The strong desire for Christian self-affirmation and Christian disconfirmation of Judaism, especially during the church's formative years, may help to explain its unique anti-Judaism. As both Rubenstein and Langmuir cogently remark, the greatest threat to the Christian belief system was the denial of Jesus by the Jews.<sup>1</sup> Given the historical familiarity of the Jews with

<sup>1</sup> Richard L. Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz: History, Theology, and Contemporary Judaism*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore and London, 1992), 35–36, 94; Gavin I. Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), 284.

Jesus of Nazareth, no other religion's rejection of Christian beliefs carried such weight in the eyes of the Christian Church. That Jesus' Jewish contemporaries refused to believe in him opened the door to Christian self-doubt about their own commitment to Jesus and the church. The competition, as perceived first by Christ's apostle Paul of Tarsus, envisioned the new Christian faith as the true successor faith to Judaism rather than as an entirely different religion.

In constructing the case for Christianity as the true successor faith to Judaism, early Christian fathers increasingly portrayed Judaism in a negative light.<sup>2</sup> The writings of Augustine of Hippo at the end of the fourth century captured the evolution of early Christian fathers' thinking that portrayed the Jews of the Old Testament as good Hebrews and bad Jews. By this interpretation, the followers of Christ descended from the good Hebrews. The Jews, demonstrating spiritual shortsightedness in rejecting Christ as the Messiah promised to Israel and as Lord, have become disqualified from receiving God's favor. In their stead, the Christians, constituting New Israel, assume the mantle of the legitimate successors of the now-disgraced Jews. Only when the Jews recognize the authenticity of Christ will they be able to enter the community of saints. In the meantime, according to Augustine of Hippo, Jews would exist to serve Christian purposes.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Christian Church would portray the Jewish faith in a light quite distinct from its characterizations of other faiths, for the Christian Church's holy books included the Jewish Old Testament, and Jesus, the Christian Savior, had been born Jewish. Judaism alone as a non-Christian and dissenting faith was to remain

<sup>2</sup> For examples of the errant ways of the Jews according to Paul, see Paul's writings in Galatians 5:2–7, Romans 1:16–18, Romans 10:1–5, and Romans 11:13–14. In one often-cited passage, Paul has Jesus chastising the Jews as the offspring of Satan (James Carroll, *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews*, Boston and New York, 2001, 92–93). Interestingly, Carroll (*Constantine's Sword*, 143) portrays John more as an unfortunate victim than as a principal culprit in the early Jewish-Christian struggle.

<sup>3</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 11–12, 31; Langmuir, *History*, 286–87, 293–94; Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* (New York and London, 1966), 45; Rosemary R. Ruether, "The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism." In Helen Fein, ed., *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, vol. 1 (Berlin and New York, 1987), 30.

legal and tolerated (within strict limits) as a pariah faith in Christian-dominated medieval Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Further reinforcing the split between the two religions during the first two hundred years after Christ's death were the military defeats suffered by the Jews at the hands of the Romans in two wars fought between 66 and 70 c.e. and between 131 and 135 c.e. For Christians, such as Justin Martyr (100–165 c.e.), these Jewish defeats represented God's displeasure with the Jews for their refusal to accept Christ as the Messiah and their responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus.<sup>5</sup>

Since the birth of the Christian faith, numerous accusations of malfeasance have been leveled against the Jews.<sup>6</sup> For centuries, Jews were held responsible for the crucifixion of Christ; chastised for not accepting Christ as the Messiah; accused of a series of acts and practices, including the ritual killing of Christian children in order to use their blood to make matzoth during the Jewish holiday of Passover; causing the Black Plague of the Middle Ages by poisoning the wells of Europe; desecrating the Host (stealing and destroying communion wafers after the Eucharist ceremony); serving as agents of the Antichrist; and, at various times, being usurers, sorcerers, and vampires.

Early Christian Church fathers were quite explicit in condemning the Jews, collectively, for the murder of Christ and were instrumental in the diabolization of Jews.<sup>7</sup> The Christian conception that holds Jews responsible for the death of Christ as the Son of God has embittered relations between the two religious faiths for nearly 2,000 years. The

<sup>4</sup> Ruether, "Theological," 34–35; David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York, 1998), 19. In the aftermath of the Roman emperor Constantine's acceptance of Christianity as the dominant religion of the empire during the first quarter of the fourth century, we find the case for the pariah status of Judaism emerging in the writings of Augustine. Augustine proposed that the Jews should be allowed to survive, but not thrive (Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 201–02, 217–18).

<sup>5</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 31–32; Kertzer, *Kidnapping*, 19; Langmuir, *History*, 286.

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, the dramatic increase in Christian popular hostility toward Jews, allegations of Jewish crimes, and legal restrictions on Jewish activities occurred largely after the beginning of the second millennium. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries mark a pronounced rise in Christian anti-Semitism in northern Europe.

<sup>7</sup> G. L. Jones, *Hard Sayings: Difficult New Testament Texts for Jewish-Christian Dialogue* (London, 1993); Lindemann, *Esau's*, 34–36; Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 90.

principal source of this “deicide” accusation is from Matthew 27:17–25. According to Matthew, the chief priests and elders of Judea persuaded Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea, to arrest Jesus for claiming he was king of the Jews, a crime against both Roman and Jewish law. Pilate, following a long-standing Jewish custom that allowed for pardoning a condemned prisoner at feast time, offered the crowd a choice to save Jesus or Barabbas. Barabbas had been found guilty of murder and sedition. By Matthew’s account, with the inspiration of the chief priests and elders, the crowd roared for the release of Barrabas and the crucifixion of Christ. Pilate, claiming to be innocent of the killing of Christ, is said to have reluctantly acceded to the wish of the Jewish assemblage. The Jewish multitude, on the contrary, is said to have accepted responsibility for Christ’s death: “His blood be on us, and on our children.” Thus begins the Christian conception of the collective responsibility of Jews for the death of Jesus – a conception that would gain momentum in the sermons and writings of the late fourth century Christian father John Chrysostom, bishop of Antioch. John held the Jews responsible for Christ’s murder and added that they continued to rejoice in the death of the Christian Savior. Not until the Second Vatican Council in the mid-1960s did the Roman Catholic Church finally absolve the Jewish people of the deicide charge by declaring that the Jews as a people were not responsible for the death of Jesus Christ.<sup>8</sup>

Christian anti-Semitism, rooted in the beliefs that Jews were collectively responsible for the death of Jesus and that Jews failed to accept Christ as the Messiah, held center stage within the Christian anti-Jewish mental world until the twelfth century. Beginning in the twelfth century, religious anti-Semitism would undergo a major transformation in terms of its intensity and its incorporation of new anti-Jewish themes. One catalyst for the dramatic rise in anti-Semitism – an anti-Semitism that brought with it renewed popular hostility, allegations of new Jewish crimes, and a host of new legal restrictions on Jewish practices – put forward by Langmuir, was the realization by ecclesiastical authorities (including the Pope) during the middle of the thirteenth century that

<sup>8</sup> Glock and Stock, *Christian*, 50–51; Harold E. Quinley and Charles Y. Glock, “Christian Sources of Anti-Semitism.” In Helen Fein, ed., *The Persisting Question: Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, vol. 1 (Berlin and New York, 1987), 197; Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*; Lindemann, *Esau’s*, 34–36; Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 213. From the New Testament, see Matthew, Chapter 27, and John, Chapter 19.

Jews were relying on the Talmud rather than the Bible for their fundamental divine revelation.<sup>9</sup> In this new phase of religious anti-Semitism, myths about Jews would expand to include accusations that they were purveyors of the Black Plague, ritual murders, desecrators of the Host wafer, agents of the Antichrist and the Devil, usurers, sorcerers, and vampires.<sup>10</sup> One of the most bizarre accusations against the Jews concerned their purported role in the Black Plague, which is believed to have wiped out more than a third of Europe's population. More specifically, during the fourteenth century, Jews (along with lepers) were held responsible for unleashing the Black Plague by poisoning the wells of Europe in order to stamp out Christianity. According to the contemporary myth, Jews allegedly carried out their misdeed by administering a concoction of spiders, frogs, lizards, excrement, menstrual blood, Christian hearts, and consecrated Hosts through secret tunnels that flowed into the wells of Christian Europe. The resulting anti-Jewish violence led to the destruction of hundreds of Jewish communities throughout Europe.<sup>11</sup>

It would be difficult to date the origins of the ritual murder or "blood libel" charge against the Jews, although Langmuir credits Thomas of Monmouth, an English monk, as the originator.<sup>12</sup> Thomas of Monmouth allegedly conspired with a Jewish convert to Christianity and the family of a murdered youth in the vicinity of Norwich in 1144 during Eastertide. According to Thomas of Monmouth and his co-conspirators, the Jews had crucified the boy as part of an annual Jewish ritual to convey their hatred for Jesus, whom they could no longer directly assault. By the late Middle Ages, the "blood libel" myth had gained widespread ascendancy.<sup>13</sup> The ritual murder charge came to represent the Christian

<sup>9</sup> Langmuir, *History*, 296–97.

<sup>10</sup> Langmuir, *History*, 304–05; Glock and Stark, *Christian*, 148–49; Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York, 1991), xix; David I. Kertzer, *The Popes against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, 2001), p. 130.

<sup>11</sup> Ruether, "Theological," 40–41; Golding, *Jewish Problem*, 67; Pauley, *Prejudice*, 13; Lindemann, *Accused*, 34. According to Carroll (*Constantine's Sword*, 277), from the time of the First Crusade in the last decade of the eleventh century to the initial outbreak of the Black Plague in 1348, Jews had been alleged to have poisoned wells in several cities of central Europe. Thus, Jewish responsibility for the Black Plague is seen as a logical consequence of the earlier allegations.

<sup>12</sup> Langmuir, *History*, 298.

<sup>13</sup> Levine (Hillel Levine, *Economic Origins of Antisemitism: Poland and Its Jews in the Early Modern Period*, New Haven and London, 1991, 138) observes that the

view that Jews were collectively and hereditarily responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. Additionally, religious sacrifice of a human victim to guarantee the community's prosperity and well-being was not totally unknown, and the "blood libel" allegation against the Jews may have represented the belief that Jews symbolically repeated the crime of murdering Christ by killing Christian children at Passover time, which coincided with Easter. Some religious anti-Semites during the medieval period took out of context the talmudic enjoinder that "the best among the Gentiles should be slain" in order to add credence to the "blood libel" charge. Jews supposedly killed their Christian victims in order to use their blood for their rituals, such as mixing the Christian blood into Passover matzoth.<sup>14</sup>

Sometime during the thirteenth century, the crime of "desecrating the Host" became affixed to the list of Jewish crimes against Christians. In many respects, this allegation closely paralleled the "blood libel" charge. Jews were accused of stealing communion wafers after the Eucharist ceremony, and it was further noted that, in their efforts to express their undying hatred for Christians, Jews spat on and urinated upon the communion wafers. Through this act, Jews supposedly were trying to torture and kill Christ, since the communion wafers symbolically stood for the mystically transformed body of Christ.<sup>15</sup>

Other harmful myths taking shape during the Middle Ages concerning Jews included the association of the Jews with the Devil and the Antichrist. Jewish persistence in refusing to accept Christ was attributed to the supernatural hold of their satanic master. Further, explicit in the fourth Gospel (John 8:42–45) is the identification of the Jew with the Devil. In another popular mythology, before the return of Christ, a final battle between the Antichrist and the forces of Christ would unfold. Because Christ was the son of God and born of a Jewish virgin, the

popularization of the "blood libel" accusation in medieval England probably benefited greatly from its sanctioning by Geoffrey Chaucer in his well-known *Canterbury Tales*. Following quickly on the Norwich ritual murder case, similar charges against Jews were made in Wuerzburg, Gloucester, Blois, and Saragossa (Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 272–73). In 1235, the "blood libel" charge was called on by Conrad of Marburg to accuse the Jews of Fulda in the murder of five boys. Conrad of Marburg alleged that the Jews killed the boys in order to obtain their blood for their rituals. The accused Jews were murdered (Langmuir, *History*, 299–300).

<sup>14</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 40; Pauley, *Prejudice*, 3; Weinberg, *Because*, 86; Lindemann, *Accused*, 34; Lindemann, *Esau's*, 34–36.

<sup>15</sup> Lindemann, *Accused*, 34; Lindemann, *Esau's*, 34–36; Langmuir, *History*, 300.



Antichrist would be begot from the union of the Devil and a Jewish whore.<sup>16</sup> At the age of thirty, this Antichrist would announce himself to the Jews as the Messiah and raise up an army to do battle against the forces of righteousness. Later, anti-Semites would conveniently employ a variant of the myth of the Antichrist in alleging a Jewish world conspiracy aimed at destroying Christian Europe.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the numerous allegations leveled against Jews in Christian medieval Europe, European Jews were subjected to a series of restrictions. By the fourth century, Christianity had become the state religion of the Roman Empire. In the following centuries, the Christian Church in Europe would progressively curtail the activities of the Jewish people. By the sixth century, Jews were forbidden from employing Christian servants and not allowed to show themselves in the streets during Passion Week. In the seventh century, the Synod of Clermont disfranchised Jews from holding public office. Between the seventh and thirteenth centuries, in the writings of many Church Fathers, in sermons of the clergy, and in the arts (e.g., passion plays and ballads), Jews were portrayed quite negatively. By the thirteenth century, Jews were no longer permitted to discuss religion with Christians, and the Jewish Talmud and other religious books were burned publicly in France. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Jews were officially expelled from several European states. The list of expulsions includes England in 1291, France in 1394, and Spain in 1492. In 1555, a papal decree (*Cum nimis absurdum*) presented by Pope Paul IV called for the confinement of the Jews to a particular street or quarter within a town or city. Although Jewish ghettos had a prior existence in Europe, they had never before received a Pope's public stamp of approval. Thereafter, Jewish ghettos sprang up throughout Europe. Segregation of the Jews was seen as a means to curb social contact with Christians and to punish Jews for rejecting Christ and for their stubborn resistance to baptism. Efforts to segregate Jews from Christians preceded the institutionalization of ghettos. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Church

<sup>16</sup> See Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 92–93, for the identification of Jews with Satan in the early Christian Gospels. Centuries later, Martin Luther asserted that the Jews must be “the devil's children” since they were no longer God's people (Jones, *Hard Sayings*, 9). Luther would also write in his pamphlet *Against the Jews and Their Lies* that aside from the Devil, Christ had no greater enemy than the true Jew who seeks to be a Jew (Weinberg, *Because*, 86).

<sup>17</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 38–39.

authorities passed regulations barring Jews from serving in government and the military and enacted laws enforcing the wearing of a conical hat and the “Jew badge” by Jews. The “Jew badge” was typically a yellow circle, symbolizing Judas Iscariot’s betrayal of Christ for gold. (Interestingly, the Gospels actually state that Judas betrayed Jesus for thirty pieces of silver.) The particular Jewish dress was universally enforced after the Council of Basel in 1434.<sup>18</sup>

By the end of the Middle Ages, in the minds of many Christians the imagery of the Jew incorporated three rather unsavory stereotypes. First, Jews were identified with Judas Iscariot, who allegedly betrayed Christ for thirty pieces of silver. In the Gospels, Judas supposedly conspired with the chief (Jewish) priests of the temple to have Jesus arrested for blasphemy. The Judas tale (with Judas portrayed with a vulgarly exaggerated Semitic appearance and as having an inordinate love of money) had become a centerpiece of the Passion drama performed during Christian Holy Week that retold the story of Christ’s crucifixion.<sup>19</sup> This image of Jews as untrustworthy and as traitors would raise its ugly head several times in more recent centuries, as evidenced by the trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus in France and by the Nazi “stab in the back” theory after World War I.<sup>20</sup> A second image of the Jew was personified by Shakespeare’s avaricious Venetian Jew, Shylock, in *The Merchant of Venice*. The despised moneylender Shylock, lacking compassion, ruthlessly indentured Christians economically. The association of Jews with the figure of Shylock would accompany the Jews into the modern era. Ahasuerus, the wicked or wandering Jew, represented a third image of the Jew. Ahasuerus, is supposedly, the Jew who, without compassion, sped Jesus along to his crucifixion. For his deed, Ahasuerus is condemned to rove aimlessly and eternally, country to country. He can neither live nor

<sup>18</sup> Wistrich, *Antisemitism*, 37; Pauley, *Prejudice*, 13–16; Ruether, “Theological,” 39; Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 51; Paul Lendvai, *L’antisémitisme sans juifs* (Paris, 1971), 43; Mosse, *Final Solution*, xii; Kertzer, *The Popes*, 28; Carroll, *Constantine’s Sword*, 376–77.

<sup>19</sup> It appears that in early Christian writings, particularly in the epistles crafted by the Apostle Paul during the first century after the death of Christ, there is no mention of the role of Judas in Jesus’ crucifixion. During the next few centuries, Judas as the betrayer and a symbol of Jewish treachery emerged in the writings of Christian theologians, such as the highly influential St. Augustine (Larry B. Stammer, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, April 29, 2000, reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*).

<sup>20</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 22, 50–51; Friedlaender, *Nazi Germany*, 197.

die.<sup>21</sup> In more modern times, Ahasuerus came to represent the rootless and disinherited international Jew, who is devoid of a homeland.<sup>22</sup>

With the emergence of the French Enlightenment (circa 1700s), religious anti-Semitism based on a mythology of Jews as, among other things, the “deicide people” and desecrators of the Host increasingly receded into the background. That is not to say that the Christian Church abandoned its position that Judaism had erred and that the Jewish people must pay for their rejection of Christ, or to deny that many Europeans of the Christian faith continued to harbor antipathy toward Jewish religious beliefs and practices. Until very recently, regular Christian events and practices – such as the well-known *Oberammergau* Passion Play in Germany that portrayed Jewish priests as devil-like evildoers wearing horned hats, the Good Friday liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church that contained prayers “for the perfidious Jews,” and unfavorable references to Jews in performances of the *Saint John Passion* and Bach’s *Easter Oratorio* – have kept alive Christian hostility toward Jews. Accusations of ritual murder and Jewish conspiratorial designs to destroy Christianity persisted throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. In fact, between 1887 and 1914, Europe witnessed an upsurge in ritual murder charges, with twenty-two separate ritual murder accusations reported in the Catholic Church press between 1887 and 1891 and at least twelve trials of Jews for ritual murder between 1890 and 1914. In 1930, a ritual murder charge against a Jew was initiated in the Rutho-Carpathian mountains of Czechoslovakia by a government prosecutor, and as late as 1946–47, participants in bloody anti-Jewish riots at Topolcany in Slovakia, Kunmadaras in Hungary, and Kielce in Poland cited the ritual murder allegation as a cause for their participation.<sup>23</sup> The Nazis would resurrect the myth of Ahasuerus, the

<sup>21</sup> As with several other anti-Jewish themes, the origins of the myth of Ahasuerus are hard to pinpoint. Pope Innocent III in 1208 linked Jewish eternal wandering to the Jewish crimes of deicide and blasphemy (Langmuir, *History*, 294–95).

<sup>22</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 22, 50–51; Friedlaender, *Nazi Germany*, 197; Mosse, *Final Solution*, 114–15; Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism*, 99.

<sup>23</sup> Kertzer, *The Popes*, 14, 156; Mosse, *Final Solution*, 114; Lendvai, *L’antisémitisme*, 42. According to Kertzer (*The Popes*, 234–36), the *Civiltà cattolica* – the Catholic Church’s Jesuit journal – championed the campaign of ritual murder charges against the Jews at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Kertzer points to two well-known articles by Father Paolo Silva, published at the time of the infamous Beilis ritual murder case in Kiev. In Father Silva’s articles, sent in advance to the papal secretary of state, it was alleged that for Jews, drinking blood is like drinking milk for others.

wandering Jew, but they were not alone. In the aftermath of World War I, anti-Semites throughout Europe evoked the wandering Jew as the carrier of revolutionary Bolshevism that aimed to overthrow Western Christian civilization.

Here, I trace the evolution of modern religious anti-Semitism in France, Germany, Great Britain, Romania, and Italy. What should be obvious to my reader is that I have made the explicit choice in this study to concentrate exclusively on anti-Semitic rather than philosemitic or pro-Semitic contributions. I would be negligent if I failed to point out that throughout the 2,000-year history of Jewish-Christian relations, Christians of all backgrounds have spoken out in defense of and acted on behalf of Jews. Examples abound and would include the call for harmonious relations between Christians and Jews of Abelard and Nicolaus of Cusa, two great Catholic theologians of the Middle Ages; Pope Clement VI's denunciation of anti-Jewish violence during the Black Plague; and the decidedly positive portrayal of Jews in the writings of George Eliot.<sup>24</sup>

#### FRANCE

Traditional religious anti-Semitism in France continued to flourish in many quarters during and after the *ancien régime*. The list of prominent French thinkers employing virulent anti-Semitism to blame the misfortunes of Christian France on Jews included theologians as well as novelists such as Pascal, Bossuet, de Bonald, Gougenot des Mousseaux, Léon Bloy, and Bernanos. Pascal and Bossuet justified Jewish dispersion and misery in terms of punishment for the Jewish role in the crucifixion of Christ and the Jews' continued rejection of Christ; both Pascal and Bossuet saw the fate of the Jews as theologically ordained. For French anti-Semites such as Edouard Drumont, the Jews were responsible for a host of French major misfortunes, including the French Revolution,<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Carroll, *Constantine's Sword*, 339, 350. Also, I am indebted to Michael Hechter and Ilya Prizel, who reminded me of a pro-Semitic literary current as evidenced in Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*.

<sup>25</sup> Several French writers linking the evils of the French Revolution to the Jews have focused on the role of Marat, the famous Jacobin. Taine, Drumont, Daudet, Céline, and Bernardini have alleged that Marat was Jewish and that his Jewishness contributed to his role in the "Terror." In his 1944 book, *Le Juif Marat*, Bernardini invokes the image of Ahasuerus in portraying Marat as the grand inquisitor of the "Terror" (Pierre Birnbaum, *La France aux Français: Histoire des haines nationalistes*, Paris, 1993, 54–57).

the defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, the Paris Commune, the establishment of the Jewish (Third) Republic, and the secularization of French schools. Borrowing from Drumont, his anti-Semitic heirs would refer to France's suffering in World War I and then again in the collapse of 1940 as the reproduction of the Jewish ritual murder on a national scale.<sup>26</sup>

Drumont's *La France juive: Essai d'histoire contemporaine* (1886) contributed more than any other French writing to the mobilization of French anti-Semitism at the time of the Dreyfus Affair. Drumont's central theme was that the Jews, members of a primitive and despised religion and an inferior race, had made themselves the masters of France. For Drumont, the Jewish drive to world domination grew out of Jewish religious teachings. *La France juive* employed references to every form of anti-Semitism, including the medieval myths of Jewish collective responsibility for the murder of Christ, Jewish betrayal of Christ, the identification of Jews with the Devil, and Jewish involvement in the ritual murder of Christians. Drumont was not shy regarding a remedy to France's Jewish Problem. Beyond the restoration of legalized ghettos, expropriation of excessive Jewish wealth, and expulsion,<sup>27</sup> Drumont called for the reinstatement of the yellow badge worn during the Middle Ages.<sup>28</sup>

The Catholic Church in France played an active role in the perpetuation of traditional religious anti-Semitism during the nineteenth century. Churchmen aimed their venom specifically at the Jewish Talmud, which they saw as a work of anti-catechism and the inspiration for alleged Jewish vices. Father Louis Chiarini's *Théorie du Judaïsme* of 1830 offers a prime example of the attributed pernicious nature of the Talmud. The mid-nineteenth-century French Catholic church sanctioned works such as Joseph Mery's *La Juive au Vatican* and Father

<sup>26</sup> Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York, 1968), 35–36; Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism*, 112, 178; Michel Winock, *Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and Fascism in France*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Stanford, 1998), 88, 90.

<sup>27</sup> Drumont's advocacy of Jewish expulsion from France found support in allied quarters. The Assumptionist newspaper *La Croix*, in the early 1890s, advocated both emigration of Jews and expulsion of Jews, as were occurring in Russia. In 1891, Laur, a deputy in the French National Assembly, proposed the expulsion of Jews from France. The proposal, along with a proposal to expel the Jewish Rothschilds from France, received votes from thirty deputies in the National Assembly (Wilson, *Ideology*, 676–77).

<sup>28</sup> Wilson, *Ideology*, 511, 541, 674–76; Katz, *Prejudice*, 295.

Charles Guenot's *La Vengeance d'un juif*. The works focused on the nefarious nature of Judaism, particularly Jewish cruelties and Jewish responsibility for the murder of Christ.<sup>29</sup> The principal vehicle for the transmission of the Catholic Church's anti-Semitism during the late nineteenth century was *La Croix*, the daily newspaper of the Assumptionist fathers. *La Croix* held considerable influence among the Catholic faithful in France. Its daily circulation reached 180,000 copies in 1893, making it the second most popular anti-Semitic daily in France, after Drumont's *La Libre parole*. In fact, its circulation was double that of the popular *Figaro* and *Le Rappel*. In 1894 alone, 104 provincial supplements of the newspaper were published, and more than two million copies of various *La Croix* publications were distributed. Also in 1894, with the Dreyfus Affair beginning to cast its sordid shadow on France, *La Croix* declared that Dreyfus's exhortation of "*Vive la France*" at his public degradation at the Paris *Ecole Militaire* harkened back to Judas Iscariot's kiss of Jesus. The newspaper was strongly supportive of Edouard Drumont and became the first newspaper to review Drumont's rabidly anti-Semitic *La France juive* in 1886. In April 1898, at the height of the Dreyfus Affair, *La Croix* circulated an anti-Semitic pamphlet entitled *Le Complot Juif* (The Jewish Conspiracy) containing the Jewish plan of world domination. In this pamphlet, the Jews are accused of planning a war against the Catholic Church in order to destroy Christianity. Jews are further portrayed as controllers of the press, the economy, and government, as well as corrupters of values and disseminators of revolution and socialism. What motivated Jews to pursue such pernicious acts? According to the pamphlet, the Jews were acting upon the promise to Abraham to reign over the earth. *La Croix* referred to the Jews as the "deicide people" in a published article in November 1890.<sup>30</sup> Though *La Croix* toned down its religious attacks on Jews after the Dreyfus Affair, at certain intervals the paper could be counted on to find Jewish misdeeds at the heart of detected Christian misfortunes, as in the early months of the Spanish Civil War, when *La Croix* claimed that Jews sent by Moscow were instructing the Spanish "Reds" on techniques to murder priests, monks, and nuns.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Pierre Pierrard, *Juifs et catholiques français: D'Edouard Drumont à Jacob Kaplan 1886–1994* (Paris, 1997), 21.

<sup>30</sup> Wilson, *Ideology*, 206–07, 542, 603–04; Byrnes, *Antisemitism*, 194–97; Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 51.

<sup>31</sup> Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York and London, 1994), 204.

Complementing the role played by such organized church publications as *La Croix* in keeping alive the medieval legends of Jewish infamy were the occasional Sunday sermons. Particularly instrumental in the French countryside, where few Jews resided, these sermons occasionally resurrected the images of Ahasuerus (*le Juif errant*), the ritual murderers, and the avaricious Jew and, especially around Easter, reminded the faithful of the unregenerate nature of the Jews, while invoking the age-old brandishment of *Oremus Pro perfidis Judaeis* (Let us pray for the perfidious Jews).<sup>32</sup>

Since the sermons and writings of the early Christian fathers, Jews had been depicted as destroyers of Christianity. French anti-Semites saw the hand of Jews in what they perceived as the dismantling of Christian social and family values during the Third Republic (1871–1940). In the minds of many French anti-Semites, Christian France was constantly under siege by Jews and Freemasons. That the law governing divorce in France had been proposed in 1884 by Alfred Naquet, a Jew, ignited an anti-Semitic eruption. Drumont remarked that divorce is “une idée absolument juive.” Further linking Jews to the breakup of the family and an attack on Christian social values in the eyes of many French anti-Semites was the publication in 1907 of a book entitled *Du Mariage* by the future French prime minister Léon Blum, in which Blum, a Jew, appears to advocate premarital sex.<sup>33</sup> Louis Massoutié, a rabid anti-Semite, further claimed the Blum advocated in his book that younger females should seek older (and more experienced) male lovers for premarital sexual experience in order to ensure a better marriage.<sup>34</sup> In the mid-1930s, Blum’s Popular Front would come under attack by Christian anti-Semites for its overtures toward modifying the laws regulating church influence within the schools in Alsace and Lorraine and for its alleged plans to replace the *Code Civil* with the Talmud.<sup>35</sup>

The French Catholic Church justly perceived its authority over educational matters as declining in the second half of the nineteenth century. The principal assault on the Catholic Church’s control of primary

<sup>32</sup> Michael Burns, “Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair 1886–1900.” In Strauss, ed., *Hostages of Modernization*, vol. 3/1, 527; Weber, *Hollow*, 204.

<sup>33</sup> Birnbaum, *La France*, 76–78; Lindemann, *Esau’s*, 214; Ralph Schor, *L’Antisémitisme en France Pendant les années trente* (Paris, 1992), 175–76; Winock, *Nationalism*, 90–91; Wilson, *Ideology*, 673.

<sup>34</sup> Louis Massoutié, *Judaïsme et Marxisme* (Paris, 1939), 129–34.

<sup>35</sup> Birnbaum, *La France*, 76–78; Schor, *L’Antisémitisme*, 177–79.

education occurred between 1879 and 1886 with the introduction of the Ferry Laws. This legislation sought to dislodge church control over public education and to introduce a secular-republican education. In the eyes of the church, behind the despised legislation calling for the separation of church and state was a Jew, Paul Grunebaum-Ballin, a member of the French Conseil d'Etat and spokesperson for the French church-state separation law. Also, Camille Sée, a Jew and a former member of the French Conseil d'Etat, had played an instrumental role in the establishment of high schools for French females that would exclude religious education and was thereby blamed for altering the French family and perverting young French women. During the 1890s, calls for the exclusion of Jews from teaching in French schools came from *La Croix* and the anti-Semitic Congress of Lyon.

Exposition of medieval tales of Jewish crimes did not rest solely with the presses of the conservative right and the Catholic Church. At times, the political left jumped into the fray and opportunistically exploited these Jewish myths. One such notable case comes from Georges Sorel, the well-known revolutionary-syndicalist, who between 1911 and 1913 published *L'indépendance*. Within the issues of *L'indépendance*, we find Sorel recounting the crimes of the Jews, including that of ritual murder.<sup>36</sup>

French literature played its role in the perpetuation of the medieval myths of the avaricious Jew, the Jews as the people of Satan, and the Christ killers. Among some of the more popular French writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries invoking these myths in their works were des Mousseaux, Proudhon, Toussanel, Ohnet, Bourget, Vogue, Goncourt, La Tour du Pin, Adam, Champsour, and Rosny (the elder). For instance, Gougenot des Mousseaux's influential book *Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens* highlighted the accusation that Jews are deicide people and consumers of Christian blood, and alleged that the Kabbala promotes the worship of Satan and that Kabbalist Jews aim to institute the reign of the anti-Christ in union with the Freemasons. Des Mousseaux claimed, moreover, that the Jewish Talmud wills its followers to cheat and kill Christians. After the publication of his book, des Mousseaux received from Pius IX the Cross of Commander of the Papal Order.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Sternhell, "Roots," 127.

<sup>37</sup> Wilson, *Ideology*, 256–57, 543–45; Winock, *Nationalism*, 89–90; Schor, *L'Antisémitisme*, 10; Kertzer, *The Popes*, 128.



## GERMANY

The German-speaking populations of Central Europe were hardly immune to the mythology of Christian anti-Semitism during and after the Protestant Reformation. Popular images of the Jews as deniers of Christ, pariahs and a demonic people, perpetrators of ritual murder, and agents of the Antichrist were firmly rooted among Germans as among other European Christians. The myth of Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew, had gained wide currency in sixteenth-century Germany. During the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther had turned against the Jews and preached a virulent anti-Semitism that highlighted Jewry's irredeemable corruption.<sup>38</sup> In 1710, the respected German scholar Johann Andreas Eisenmenger published a major scholarly study, *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Judaism unmasked), in which he gave credence to the ages-long anti-Jewish myths of the desecration of the Host and the ritual murder of Christians. Eisenmenger supported his charges by drawing upon actual passages from Jewish texts, including the Talmud and Jewish rabbinical literature.<sup>39</sup>

Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* served as a major source of religious anti-Semitism among Catholic writings in Germany during the nineteenth century. Both Rittter de Cholwa Pwlikowski's book *Hundert Bogen aus mehr als fünfhundert alten und neuen Büchern über die Juden neben den Christen* and August Rohling's pamphlet *Der Talmudjude* drew heavily upon Eisenmenger, as did the assaults by two mid-nineteenth-century notable German theologians, Sebastian Brunner and Bishop Konrad Martin. Both Brunner and Martin cautioned their faithful about the perils of the Talmudic Jews.<sup>40</sup> German Catholic Church antipathy toward Judaism had an additional source in the late nineteenth century. In particular, some in the German Catholic Church saw the hand of the Jews in Bismarck's anti-Catholic church policies of the *Kulturkampf*. Bismarck had empowered Heinrich von Friedberg (Jewish origin) to execute the decrees of the *Kulturkampf* and had appointed von Friedberg's brother, Emil, to the position of minister of justice in 1879. Both legislators in the Catholic Center Party and writers for Catholic Church newspapers, they cited the presence of prominent Jews in the National Liberal Party (one of the main political voices against the German Catholic Church) and

<sup>38</sup> Weiss, *Ideology*, 22–25; Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism*, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Katz, *Prejudice*, 19–20; Weiss, *Ideology*, 31–32.

<sup>40</sup> Helmut Berding, *Moderner Antisemitismus in Deutschland* (Frankfurt, 1988), 91; Langmuir, *History*, 326.

used anti-Semitism to mobilize support against Bismarck's anti-Catholic campaign. At times, popular Catholic anti-Semitism in Germany boiled over. Two notable cases surrounded popular religious accusations of Jewish ritual murder. Unsolved local murders led to the Jewish ritual murder allegations in the predominantly Catholic Rhineland town of Xanten in 1891 and in the largely Catholic West Prussian town of Konitz in 1900.<sup>41</sup>

German Protestant theologizing did not refrain from occasional assaults on Judaism. Luther had undoubtedly supplied the German Protestant Church with ample explosives. Conway states that attacks on Jewish materialism and intellectualism became commonplace in Protestant sermons during the Weimar era and that the Protestant press frequently caricatured the Jews as corrupt and degenerate and accused them of seeking to destroy traditional Christian morality within Germany.<sup>42</sup> Conway implies, moreover, that both German Protestant and German Catholic anti-Semitism during the Weimar era derived not solely from religious but also from racist sources.<sup>43</sup> The German Protestant Church demonstrated a stronger preference than the German Catholic Church for Hitler's Nazi Party.<sup>44</sup> Among the most ardent clerical supporters of the Nazi Party was Joachim Hossenfelder, founder of the fervently anti-Semitic German Christian Church in 1932. The German Christian Church referred to its followers as "the storm troopers of Jesus Christ."<sup>45</sup> The darkest chapter in the contemporary history of both German Churches vis-à-vis the issue of anti-Semitism is the relative silence on the part of Protestant and Catholic leadership towards the Nazi treatment of German Jews. The courageous resistance to Nazism exhibited by Protestant leaders such as Martin Niemoeller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the opposition to Nazism shown by the Catholic archbishop of

<sup>41</sup> Lindemann, *Esau's*, 122; David Blackbourn, "Roman Catholics, the Centre Party and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany." In Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls, eds., *Nationalist and Racist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914* (London and Basingstoke, 1981), 114; Langmuir, *History*, 326; Byrnes, *Antisemitism*, 81.

<sup>42</sup> J. S. Conway, "National Socialism and the Christian Churches during the Weimar Republic." In P. D. Stachura, ed., *The Nazi Machtergreifung* (London, 1983), 140–41.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Eric Johnson, *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans* (New York, 1999), 223–24.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

Muenster, Clemens August Graf von Galen, or the criticism expressed by Pope Pius XI in his well-known *Mit brennender Sorge* in March of 1937, while significant, constituted rare acts of defiance to Nazi anti-Semitism by leaders of both the Protestant and Catholic Churches.<sup>46</sup> Much has been written about the silence of the Protestant and Catholic leadership regarding the Holocaust. The present study will not delve into this specific issue, except to say that where the churches had taken a firm and public stand against Nazism, as exemplified clearly in the churches' victory in 1941 in halting the Nazi euthanasia program, the Nazi leadership appeared to pay heed and change course.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

Although the last barriers to Jewish emancipation fell in Great Britain in 1858 with Jewish eligibility to serve in Parliament, and in 1871 with the passage of the Promissory Oaths Act admitting Jews to high offices, noticeable traces of the religious anti-Semitic tradition were to be found in English literature and the press. The character of the miserly, avaricious, deceitful, cunning, or vengeful Jew figures in Shakespeare's Shylock, Scott's Rebecca, and Dicken's Fagin. On the eve of the twentieth century, lesser-known British novelists invoked medieval Jewish stereotypes that included Jews as the anti-Christ, devil figure, and usurer. Among these writers were T. Kingston Clarke, Marie Corelli (also very active in the anti-alien movement in the early 1900s), Frank Harris, James Blyth, Violet Guttenberg, and Guy Thorne.<sup>47</sup> Popular British newspapers could also be counted on to keep alive the negative Jewish stereotypes. For instance, the *Daily Mail*, Britain's most widely circulated daily newspaper in the first decades of the twentieth century, published a number of serialized novels, including Edgar Joyce's 1899 *House of Hate*, B. L. Farjean's 1900 *Pride of Race*, and Pierre Costello's 1907 *A Sinner in Israel*, in which Jews were portrayed as cunning, excessively proud, or avaricious.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 212–13, 222–23; Kershaw, *Popular Opinion*, 274–75.

<sup>47</sup> Bryan Cheyette, "Jewish Stereotyping and English Literature 1875–1920: Towards a Political Analysis." In Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn, eds., *Traditions of Intolerance: Historical Perspectives on Fascism and Race Discourse in Britain* (Manchester and New York, 1989), 26–27; John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siecle Europe* (New Haven and London, 1994), 34–35.

Vestiges of traditional religious anti-Semitism surfaced within some circles of the British press during the “Eastern Crisis” of 1875–78. The particular incident that launched the anti-Semitic tirade appears to have been the alleged Turkish massacre of Bulgarian Christians. During the Eastern Crisis, Disraeli, the British prime minister at the time, placed apparent British national interests ahead of the interests of European Christianity. Though a converted Christian, Disraeli’s Jewish background nevertheless gave some critics of his policies, including the former British prime minister Gladstone, the fodder to accuse Disraeli of invoking his supposedly ancient Jewish enmity toward Christianity and his alleged friendship for the non-Christian Turks in the formulation of his policies for Great Britain.<sup>48</sup>

Traditional religious anti-Semitic motifs mixed with racial anti-Semitic ones in the programs of early twentieth-century British anti-Semitic political movements. In one such case, John Henry Clarke, champion of homeopathics and notable member of the anti-Semitic movement the Britons, cautioned that international Jewish finance aimed at the overthrow of Christian civilization in England and that the disease of “Germanism” was carried by the ubiquitous parasite of the “wandering Jew.”<sup>49</sup>

#### ROMANIA

Religious anti-Semitism found a home in both the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. In Romania, the Orthodox Church stood supreme. As early as the seventh century, the Orthodox Church’s *concile* in Trullo promised severe punishment to Christians who accepted the treatment of Jewish physicians, and beginning in the fourteenth century, the decide accusation pervaded official documents issued by the Orthodox Church. A Wallachian code of 1652 threatened excommunication to Romanian Christians who failed to abide by strict segregation vis-à-vis the Jews, and the church admonished its faithful that sexual contact with Jews would call down the wrath of God.<sup>50</sup> Romania’s

<sup>48</sup> David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture 1840–1914* (New Haven and London, 1994), 97–103, 120.

<sup>49</sup> Gisela Lebzelter, “Anti-Semitism – a Focal Point for the British Radical Right.” In Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls, eds., *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914* (London and Basingstoke, 1981), 96–97.

<sup>50</sup> Andrei Pippidi, “The Mirror and Behind It: The Image of the Jew in the Romanian Society.” *Shevut*, vol. 16, 1993, 80.

relative economic and social backwardness likely contributed to the lingering of religious anti-Semitism in the country well into the twentieth century. While in Western Europe the influence of the Christian churches had waned significantly by 1879, in Romania, by contrast, the authority of the Romanian Orthodox Church held firm, especially outside of the principal urban areas. Writing in 1891, Moses Schwartzfeld, a respected Romanian Jewish intellectual, attributed a significant role to the anti-Semitic legacy of the Orthodox Church in shaping popular anti-Semitic views. Schwartzfeld pointed to the church-inspired folk literature, found in proverbs, songs, superstitions, and anecdotes, depicting Jews as a cursed people and a bloodthirsty and rapacious people commanded by Satan.<sup>51</sup>

Traditional religious anti-Semitism in Romania contributed significantly to Romanian persistence in refusing to grant civil rights to its Jewish inhabitants. While many non-Romanian ethnic groups, such as the Greek minority, resided in Romania during the nineteenth century, only Jews were barred from naturalization on the basis of their non-Christianity.<sup>52</sup> As early as 1866, efforts of Romanian Jews to gain emancipation ran aground. Article 7 of the 1866 Romanian Constitution, by specifying that only foreigners of Christian faith could become naturalized Romanian citizens, issued in an era of civil limitations for Romanian Jews.<sup>53</sup> In return for recognition of Romania's independence, the leading European powers at the Congress of Berlin between 1878 and 1879 pressured the Romanian government to recognize the rights of all its inhabitants regardless of ethnic origins or religion.<sup>54</sup> In 1879, the Romanian Assembly debated the question of Jewish civil rights and ultimately refused to acquiesce to the request of the Western nations participating in the Congress of Berlin to recognize the rights of Jewish inhabitants.<sup>55</sup> The revision of Article 7 (removing religion as a basis for Romanian citizenship) angered many inside and outside the Romanian

<sup>51</sup> Jean Ancel, "The Image of the Jew in the View of Romanian Anti-Semitic Movements: Continuity and Change." *Shevut*, vol. 16, 1993, 41.

<sup>52</sup> Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca and London, 1995), 192; Volovici, *Nationalist*, 4–5.

<sup>53</sup> Livezeanu, *Cultural*, 197; Keith Hitchins, *Rumania 1866–1947* (Oxford, 1994), 16–17; Carol Iancu, *L'émancipation des Juifs de Roumanie (1913–1919)* (Montpellier, 1992), 22.

<sup>54</sup> Almog, *Nationalism*, 42.

<sup>55</sup> Iancu, *Juifs*, 24.

parliament.<sup>56</sup> However, the revision of Article 7 was still used to block Romanian Jews from obtaining full civil and political rights. Only after considerable debate in March 1923, as a result of the post–World War I peace treaties from which Romania acquired Hungarian Transylvania, Austrian Bukovina, and Russian Bessarabia, did Romania accede to the Allies' demand to emancipate its Jews.<sup>57</sup>

Between 1879 and 1939, well-known and respected Romanian intellectuals played pivotal roles in the spread of anti-Semitism and frequently criticized Judaism on a religious basis, although racial hatred of Jews frequently peppered their writings as well. Among the most prominent Romanian intellectuals invoking anti-Semitic religious stereotypes of Jews were Vasile Conta, Vasile Alecsandri, Cezar Bolliac, Mihai Eminescu, Ioan Slavici, Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, V.A. Urechia, Alexandru D. Xenopol, Nicolae Iorga, Alexandru Cuza, N. Istrati, and Nicolae Paulescu.<sup>58</sup>

Vasile Conta, a deputy in the Romanian parliament and an eminent philosopher, in a speech to the Romanian parliament debating Jewish civil rights in September 1879, warned those in attendance that the Jews, the enemies of Christianity, had selected Romania to build their long-awaited Palestine, as foretold in the Jewish Talmud. Conta noted that the supreme aim of the Jews, formulated in the Bible and Talmud, was to enslave all other people to the Jewish people in order to secure the rule of the entire world by the "yids."<sup>59</sup> In 1922, Nicolae C. Paulescu, a scholar and well-known professor of physiology at the medical school of Bucharest, predicted a conflict between the forces of "Godly Christianity" and "Devilish Judaism" and feared that the Jews would try to exterminate the native Romanians as they had conquered the Russians.<sup>60</sup>

During the interwar period, religious anti-Semitism could still be used to mobilize the populace to take action against Jews. The highly popular Alexandru Cuza, a professor of political economy, a former president of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies, and the founder of the rabidly anti-Semitic League of National Christian Defense (LANC),

<sup>56</sup> Hitchins, *Rumania*, 16–17; Iancu, *Juifs*, 26.

<sup>57</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars* (Bloomington, 1983), 184; Butnaru, *Silent*, 34.

<sup>58</sup> Oldson, *Providential*; Vago, "Traditions," 110; Volovici, *Nationalist*, 14.

<sup>59</sup> Volovici, *Nationalist*, 14.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–29.

in his lectures and writings frequently assailed the Jews for a host of crimes, including being murderers and betrayers of Jesus Christ, Bolshevik pagans, and consumers of Christian blood. Between 1899 and 1928, Cuza published five anti-Semitic Christian works in which he claimed that the Jews were both programmed and commanded by their religion to dominate the world. For Cuza, the Jewish religion contained a secret code commanding Jews to undermine Christian societies, particularly Romania. Cuza mainly targeted the Old Testament and the Talmud, attacking the divinity and universality of the Jewish God and accusing the sacred texts of the Jewish religion of espousing hatred for other nations. Cuza lambasted the Talmud for what he claimed was its message of world domination concealed in the two supposed appendices to the Talmud, the Cahal and the Freemasonry. The Talmud came under additional assault by Cuza's LANC in 1927, with a published accusation that the Talmud instructed Jews to employ Christian blood for Jewish religious rites. Cuza's anti-Semitism embodies both religious and quasi-racial foundations. While traditional religious anti-Semitism held that Jewish absolution could come about through baptism and conversion, Cuza advocated that Jewish repulsiveness emanated from Jewish contaminated blood and from the Jewish commitment to their God's mission of destroying Romania and its culture. Thus, for Cuza, conversion to Christianity would not free the Jews from their demonic faith.<sup>61</sup>

Additionally, Romanian Orthodox Church figures contributed to popular anti-Semitism through sermons and actions. In 1926, N. Georgescu, director and seminary priest in the Bessarabian town of Edinita, led a demonstration of students through the town shouting, "Down with the kikes" and "Death to the kikes," as he urged peasants to burn Jewish houses.<sup>62</sup> In 1934, in a debate between Mircea Eliade, a popular intellectual in Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's anti-Semitic League of the Archangel Michael, and C. Racoveanu, a so-called Romanian expert on Christian Orthodox issues, Racoveanu, citing the Gospels (John 7:24), claimed that the Jews were damned forever for being and remaining Jewish. Eliade, also employing the Gospels (John 39:44), challenged the Orthodox Church's representative's interpretation, suggesting that the Jews were condemned forever not because they remained Jews or refused to accept Christ as the Messiah, but rather because they were the

<sup>61</sup> Ancel, "Image," 47–51.

<sup>62</sup> Livezeanu, *Cultural*, 125–27.

“children of the Devil.”<sup>63</sup> And finally, on the eve of World War II, the patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Miron Cristea, together with the Romanian minister president, met with Wilhelm Fabricius, the Nazi German ambassador to Bucharest, in an effort to request an end to the apparent German policy of support for Romania’s Iron Guard. In the discussions, the patriarch and minister president were reported to have praised the anti-Semitic actions of Nazi Germany and expressed their preference for a similar policy in Romania.<sup>64</sup>

#### ITALY

Traditional religious anti-Semitism in Italy has its beginnings nearly two thousand years ago in Rome. Josephus, the Roman historian, observed a population of roughly eight thousand Jews residing in Rome in 4 B.C.E. Religious anti-Semitism had ebbed and flowed in Italy from the time that Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century to King Victor Emmanuel II’s signing of a Royal Decree in 1870 extending civil rights to the Jews of Rome and the closing of the last ghetto in Rome. (The Law of March 29, 1848, granted Jews equal status in other Italian provinces between 1848 and 1860.) Relative religious toleration of Jews flourished during the Italian Renaissance and the Napoleonic era but was followed by protracted periods of religious repression, such as the sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation. In Italy, the Counter-Reformation produced the establishment of the first ghettos for Jews and church-inspired destruction of sacred Hebrew works, such as the church-authorized public burning of Hebrew books, including hundreds of copies of the Talmud, in Bologna in 1553. The Restoration, coming on the heels of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, which had freed Italian Jews from the ghettos and proclaimed equal rights for Jews, ushered in a period of reaction marked by restoration of medieval laws pertaining to Jews and the return of Jews to the ghettos.<sup>65</sup> As late as 1799, Jews were victims of pogroms in northern and central Italy. Rossi reports that in August 1799, pogroms against

<sup>63</sup> Ancel, “Image,” 56.

<sup>64</sup> Theodore Armon, “The Economic Background of Antisemitism in Romania between the Two World Wars: C. Z. Codreanu and the Jewish Trade, 1918–1940.” *SHVUT*, vols. 1–2, nos. 17–18, 1995, 329–30.

<sup>65</sup> Zuccotti, *Italians*, 12–15; Mario Rossi, “Emancipation of the Jews in Italy.” *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 15, April 1953, 129–34; Attilio Milano, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* (Turin, 1963), 351–54; Kertzer, *Kidnapping*, 15; Kertzer, *The Popes*, 66.



Jews erupted in the Marches, Tuscany, and Piedmont. In addition to the extensive property damage resulting from these pogroms, thirteen Jews were murdered in the Senigallia ghetto, and twelve Jews were burned alive in Siena.<sup>66</sup>

One of the more infamous examples of nineteenth-century Italian religious anti-Semitism was the Mortara Affair of 1858. Secret baptisms of Jews were common occurrences in Italy as late as the 1850s. The most publicized case of a coerced christening was that of Edgardo Mortara, eleven months old, the son of Momolo and Marianna Mortara of Bologna. When the baptism reached the attention of the Dominican Father Feletti, in June 1858, he decreed that the child be taken from his parents by papal police and placed in a Catholic foundling home. Pleas to return the child to his parents from the family of Edgardo Mortara, from Jewish groups throughout Europe, and from representatives of Austria-Hungary, England, France, and Prussia fell on deaf ears. Not even the intervention of Napoleon III and Franz Josef could persuade Pope Pius IX to alter the Holy See's decision to approve the abduction of the child and his conversion to Christianity.<sup>67</sup> *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the most influential of all Catholic journals and the unofficial organ of the papacy, had launched a defense of the Catholic Church's abduction of Edgardo Mortara and blamed Jewish control of the foreign press for mobilizing international opinion against the Holy See. *La Civiltà Cattolica* claimed further that Edgardo Mortara had been saved from his cruel Jewish parents and provided with the spiritual and physical protection of the church.<sup>68</sup>

Popularization of the myths of Jewish crimes against Christians survived into the nineteenth century in Italy. Kertzer observes that, with the nurturing of the Catholic press, parish priests, and sermons, the notion that Jews regularly captured Christians in order to drain their blood was widespread in Italy at the time of the Mortara Affair.<sup>69</sup> In fact, two years

<sup>66</sup> Rossi, "Emancipation," 114.

<sup>67</sup> Kertzer, *Kidnapping*, 33–34; Rossi, "Emancipation," 129–30. The only positive outcome of the international pressure on the Holy See to reverse its decision in the Mortara Affair was the agreement that at the age of maturity (twenty-one years) Edgardo would be allowed to visit his natural father and decide which religion to follow. That at age twenty-one Edgardo chose to be Catholic was not surprising, given that the church had educated him in Catholicism with the desire that he be ordained a priest. Edgardo went on to become an eminent prelate of the Roman curia (Finzi, *Anti-Semitism*, 26).

<sup>68</sup> Kertzer, *Kidnapping*, 56, 78, 115, 135.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 137–38.

before the outbreak of the Mortara Affair, a Jewish merchant in north-eastern Italy was arrested and charged with the crimes of kidnapping and draining blood from a twenty-three-year-old Christian servant for religious purposes.<sup>70</sup> The charge of ritual murder gathered steam during the Mortara Affair. *La Civiltà Cattolica* had since its origination in 1850 focused largely on Jewish misdeeds. During the Mortara Affair, the journal had invoked the “blood libel” allegation by asserting that there was irrefutable proof of Jews seizing Christian children for the purposes of extracting their blood. As late as 1893, this same journal published a series of articles purporting to reveal the existence of the long-standing Jewish practice of taking Christian blood for religious purposes. Joining the *La Civiltà Cattolica* in the accusation of Jewish ritual murder, *Il Cattolico*, the Genoan daily, published an article in January 1859 entitled “The Horrendous Murder of a Child.” The paper reported that while the liberal press was castigating the Pope for the Holy See’s role in the Mortara Affair, it ignored the commission of a horrible ritual murder of a Christian boy performed by a Jew in the Moldavian town of Folkchany. Ultimately, the boy’s (Christian) uncle was found guilty of the murder.<sup>71</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church served as the major purveyor of anti-Semitism in Italy before 1938.<sup>72</sup> Clerical anti-Semitism in Italy had roots in the traditional religious leitmotifs but also in the beliefs that Italy’s Jews had wholeheartedly embraced the successful movement for Italian unification (perceived by the church as antithetical to its interests) and that they advocated a Jewish national home in Palestine. Motivated largely by self-interest, the Italian Jewish community had welcomed and contributed greatly to the mid-nineteenth-century movement to unify Italy – a fact that did not go unnoticed by the Italian Catholic Church. Like the Catholic Church in France, which unfavorably identified Jews with the Third Republic, the Italian Catholic Church saw the subversive hand of the Jews – seeking to undermine traditional Christian values – behind the drive for Italian unification and the establishment of the detested liberal state. The idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine caused special anxiety within the Vatican, for

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 136–38.

<sup>72</sup> Mario Toscano, “L’uguaglianza senza diversità: Stato, società e questione ebraica nell’Italia liberale.” In Mario Toscano, ed., *Integrazione e Identità: e’ esperienza ebraica in Germania e Italia dall’Illuminismo al fascismo* (Milan, 1998), 213.

the official Roman Catholic position held that the Jews must accept the word of Christ and convert before they would be able to return to the land of Israel.<sup>73</sup>

The Catholic Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* spearheaded the clerical anti-Semitic campaign during the last half of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. Pope Pius IX had agreed to a proposal pushed by Father Antonio Bresciani (the author of the immensely popular novel *L'Ebreo di Verona*) and other leading Jesuits in 1850 to launch a journal to oppose the Italian secular press. The Pope handpicked the staff of *La Civiltà Cattolica* and placed Father Bresciani at the journal's helm. Throughout its history, *La Civiltà Cattolica* popularized myths of Jewish world conspiracy and alleged Jewish efforts to undermine Christian society, but at the same time, the journal condemned the use of violence against Jews.<sup>74</sup> Attacks on the Talmud were a regular feature in the editions of *La Civiltà Cattolica*. In its attempt to clearly extricate Christianity from its Jewish roots, *La Civiltà Cattolica* claimed that the modern Jewish religion is based not on the Bible but on the anti-Christian Talmud. In an article in 1886, *La Civiltà Cattolica* claimed that by their promulgation of brotherhood and peace, the Jews sought to exterminate Christianity and institute their messianic kingdom as prophesized for them in the Talmud.<sup>75</sup> *La Civiltà Cattolica* took an active part in the anti-Dreyfus campaign in Italy, claiming that the Dreyfus case was actually a conspiracy contrived by the Jewish plutocracy, with help from the Freemasons, Protestants, socialists, and anarchists, to undermine Catholic and French interests. The Jesuit journal added that Jewish leadership of the plot derived from the Jewish ambition to dominate the world. To counter the conspiracy, the journal proposed the passage of an international law granting Jews the status of foreigners or guests, rather than citizens.<sup>76</sup> The 1890s were difficult years for Italy in light of economic crises, labor unrest, and the country's

<sup>73</sup> Milano, *Storia*, 356–57; Maurizio Molinari, *Ebrei in Italia: un problema di identità (1870–1938)* (Florence, 1991), 91.

<sup>74</sup> Lynn M. Gunzberg, *Strangers at Home: Jews in the Italian Literary Imagination* (Berkeley, 1992), 65–67; Gadi Luzzatto, “Aspetti dell’antisemitismo nella ‘Civiltà cattolica’ dal 1881 al 1903.” *Bailamme*, vol. 1, no. 2, December 1987, 128–29.

<sup>75</sup> Luzzatto, “Aspetti,” 128–29; Kertzer, *Kidnapping*, 138; Molinari, *Ebrei*, 91–92.

<sup>76</sup> Besides *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the clerical press published G. Spadolini's *L'opposizione cattolica da Porta Pia al '98*, which during the Dreyfus Affair indulged in a profession of anti-Semitism (John A. Thayer, *Italy and the Great War: Politics and Culture, 1870–1915*, Madison and Milwaukee, 1964, 423).

colonial setback in Africa. In a series of famous articles in the 1890s, *La Civiltà Cattolica* laid blame for these problems on the Jews and called for the appropriation of Jewish wealth as a solution to the Jewish Problem. The view that Jews adhered to Freemasonry and played an instrumental role in the Risorgimento was widely shared within Catholic circles. That the mayor of Rome during the early 1900s was Ernesto Nathan, a prominent Jew and leader of the Italian Freemasons, did little to dissuade the church of the link between Jews and Freemasonry as well as the tie between Jews and other anti-clerical and radical movements. As elsewhere, religiously inspired anti-Semites in Italy accused the Jews of playing a consequential role in the secularization of elementary and secondary education. In Italy, the Catholic Church had controlled the curriculum in schools until the passage of the Credaro Laws in 1910 and 1911.<sup>77</sup> During the interwar period, the Catholic Church increasingly highlighted the purported link between Jews and revolutionary unrest. In the aftermath of World War I, Pope Benedetto XV and his secretary of state, Cardinal Gasparri, praised Monsignor Jouin, curator of Sant'Agostino in Paris and founder of the *Revue Internationale des Sociétés Secrètes*, for his Italian translation of the notorious anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, at the time of the Spanish Civil War, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, along with the Catholic University of Milan's journal, *Vita e Pensiero*, sought to warn its readers of the pernicious role played by Jewish Bolshevism in its efforts to destroy Christian Europe.<sup>79</sup> Relatedly, Father Agostino Gemelli, founder and rector of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan and later president of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, in a published review in *Vita e Pensiero* in which he commented on the suicide of Felice Momigliano, a prominent Italian Jewish intellectual, wrote, "would not the world be a better place if, together with positivism, socialism, free thought and Momigliano, all the

<sup>77</sup> Emilio Gentile, "The Struggle for Modernity: Echoes of the Dreyfus Affair in Italian Political Culture, 1898–1912." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 33, no. 4, 1998, 499; Andrew M. Canepa, "The Image of the Jew in the Folklore and Literature of the Postrisorgimento." *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 9, 1979, 260–61; Molinari, *Ebrei*, 92; Renzo De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo* (Turin, 1993), 32–35, 40.

<sup>78</sup> Jouin also authored the highly anti-Semitic *La judeo-maçonnerie et la révolution sociale* and *La judeo-maçonnerie et la domination du monde* (De Felice, *Storia*, 43).

<sup>79</sup> De Felice, *Storia*, 42–43; Canepa, "Image," 260–61; Gentile, "Struggle," 499; Zuccotti, *Italians*, 34; Michaelis, *Mussolini*, 6–9; Molinari, *Ebrei*, 91–92.

Jews who continue the work of those who crucified our Lord were to die as well? It would be a liberation."<sup>80</sup>

How successful the campaign carried out by groups within the Catholic Church was in terms of winning adherents among Italy's predominantly Roman Catholic population is virtually impossible to gauge. Michaelis claims that the Catholic press' anti-Semitic campaign served to further isolate the Catholic Church from the mainstream of Italian life, although Finzi asserts that the Catholic Church's centuries-old dissemination of negative Jewish stereotypes may have indirectly contributed to the apparent acceptance by the majority of Italians of the fascist regime's anti-Jewish legislation in 1938.<sup>81</sup> However, the Italian Catholic Church consistently rejected both violence against Jews and anti-Semitic arguments based on biological or anthropological foundations. As late as 1938, Pope Pius XI spoke out against racial anti-Semitism, noting its inconsistency with Christian teaching and Italian culture.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, the Catholic Church in Rome refused to abandon its long-standing belief in the religious and moral danger posed by Judaism to Christian society and continued to allow the injunction of *Oremus pro perfidis judeis* at the beginning of the ceremonies of Holy Week.<sup>83</sup> With the ascension of Eugenio Pacelli (Pope Pius XII) to the Holy See in 1939, the tradition of religious anti-Semitism would hardly be threatened.<sup>84</sup>

In stark contrast to the writings of famous scholars in England, France, Germany, and Romania, well-known scholarly figures in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Italy rarely took up the themes of Jews and Judaism.<sup>85</sup> However, religious anti-Semitism as a theme found favor in Italian popular literature. The widely circulated

<sup>80</sup> Finzi, *Anti-Semitism*, 98–99.

<sup>81</sup> Meir Michaelis, "Fascist Policy toward Italian Jews: Tolerance and Persecution." In I. Herzer, ed., *The Italian Refuge: Rescue of Jews during the Holocaust* (Washington, DC, 1989), 34; Finzi, *Anti-Semitism*, 106.

<sup>82</sup> De Felice, *Storia*; Adriana Goldstaub, "Rassegna Bibliografica Dell'Editoria Antisemita nel 1938." *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, vol. 54, 1988, 409–433; Kertzer, *The Popes*.

<sup>83</sup> Finzi, *Anti-Semitism*, 106.

<sup>84</sup> Gene Bernadini, "The Origins and Development of Racial Anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy." *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 4, September 1977, 435–36; Kertzer, *The Popes*.

<sup>85</sup> One notable exception to this in Italy is Francesco Coppola. Coppola authored a number of articles dedicated to Maurras, a well-known leader of the French Action Française movement, espousing religious anti-Semitic ideas (Thayer, *Italy*, 213).

and highly popular 1850 novel *L'ebreo di Verona* (The Jew of Verona), by Antonio Bresciani, helped to shape fictional religious anti-Semitic writings for decades in Italy. At least seventeen editions of Bresciani's novel appeared, in addition to English, French, German, and Portuguese translations. Bresciani, who played an instrumental role in the launching of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, incorporated a number of religious anti-Semitic themes in his novel. The context for the novel is the revolutionary upheavals in Italy and Europe during the period 1848–49. The novel portrays European Jews motivated by anti-Christian sentiments (the anger of Judas) as a driving force behind revolutionary upheaval and liberalism. In particular, the novel's chief protagonist, a Jew named Aser, is depicted as a revolutionary Mazzinian and a descendant of a Jewish banking family who wanders (notions of Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew) Europe promoting subversive and revolutionary causes, while taking advantage of his family's international contacts. In the end, Aser undergoes an internal struggle and is successfully transformed. He converts to Christianity and forsakes subversive and revolutionary causes.<sup>86</sup>

Other well-known Italian novelists employed unfavorable religious anti-Semitic motifs in their works. Carlo Varese's *Sibilla Odaleta* invoked the ritual murder allegation and pointed to a Jewish undermining of society from within. Giuseppe Alessandro Giustina's *Il Ghetto* (1881), though certainly not overtly anti-Semitic, represents Jews as generally superstitious, treacherous, and venal. The widely read Carolina Invernizio's<sup>87</sup> *L'orfana del ghetto* (1887) depicts Jews as morally and spiritually inferior. The ritual murder theme is also present in Invernizio's novel. Her Jewish characters seek vengeance, thirst for hatred, and act with tremendous tenacity, vindictiveness, and malice. Invernizio presents the God of Israel as a merchant God with whom one can bargain. One of the characters in *L'orfana del ghetto* alleges that the Jews are masters of the world, controlling commerce and industry. For Invernizio, the Jewish religion perverts the Jews, and only conversion to Christianity can save them.<sup>88</sup>

Religious anti-Semitic themes continued in the writings of twentieth-century Italian novelists. Papini's *Gog* emphasized the role Jews have

<sup>86</sup> Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 67–68, 75–76, 89, 228.

<sup>87</sup> Carolina Invernizio was one of Italy's leading novelists during the last years of the nineteenth century. Her *L'orfana del ghetto* went through seven editions and was reprinted in 1975 (Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 198–206; Canepa, "Image," 269).

<sup>88</sup> Canepa, "Image," 265–69; Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 168–84, 198–206.

played as purveyors of anti-Christian revolutionary doctrines (e.g., Einstein, Freud, and Marx) and as worshippers of the idol of money. Papini goes further to reiterate Jewish responsibility for the murder of Christ and the undermining of Christian philosophy. Papini saw conversion to Christianity as a solution to the Jewish Problem but held out little hope of its success, because Jews lacked sufficient modesty and refused to renounce their love of money and power.<sup>89</sup>

### RELIGIOUS ROOT: THE ENLIGHTENMENT CRITIQUE

With the advent of the Enlightenment, religious anti-Semitism took on a new leitmotif emanating, interestingly, from the attacks leveled on the Jewish religion by such eminent secularists as Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, von Dohm, and d'Holbach. As secularists, these philosophers in opposing Judaism did not resort to the ancient religious charges of Jews as Christ killers or Christ rejectors. Rather, in their critique of the roots of Christianity, they condemned Judaism for remaining a fossilized religion, persisting in a self-image of its special "election," and upholding antiprogressive beliefs. In this way, the Enlightenment may have contributed to modernizing and secularizing anti-Semitism.<sup>90</sup> During the nineteenth century, many secularists felt betrayed by Jews, who, in their eyes, failed to abandon their distinctive beliefs and practices after having been emancipated and granted civil rights. Whereas traditional religious anti-Semitism appealed largely to a less-educated public, the secularist critique attracted a more highly educated following.

One could interpret the products of Enlightenment thinking in both positive and negative terms for European Jewry. On the positive side, the Enlightenment stood for the rationality of human nature, natural rights, the principles of the social utility of knowledge, and, quite importantly, the opening up of careers to talent. In rejecting the Christian doctrine of original sin that saw human nature as essentially sinful, which had dominated Western civilization for centuries, the Enlightenment posited instead that human nature was essentially rational and that human

<sup>89</sup> Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 253–56.

<sup>90</sup> Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*; Efron, *Defenders*; Weiss, *Ideology*; Pulzer, *Jews*; Weinberg, *Because*; Katz, *Prejudice*; Pauley, *Prejudice*; Wistrich, *Antisemitism*; Steiman, *Paths*; George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews: The Right, The Left, and the Search for a "Third Force" in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York, 1970); Ruether, "Theological"; Winock, *Nationalism*.

beings had the capacity to choose between good and evil. The adoption and institution of many of these principles considerably served the interests of Jewish emancipation and Jewish social mobility in the nineteenth century.<sup>91</sup> While the Enlightenment advocated Jewish emancipation, it envisioned equally the disappearance of Jewry. Many of the most prominent thinkers of the European Enlightenment firmly believed that Jewish distinctiveness would disappear once the barriers to Jewish emancipation were eliminated. As the German thinker Christian Wilhelm von Dohm stated in his 1781 treatise, *Ueber die Buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the civil improvement of the Jews), the supposed moral corruption of the Jews was attributable to the oppressed conditions under which they for centuries had lived. Alter the conditions under which Jews live, and Jews will shed their negative habits and turn into good citizens, von Dohm asserted.<sup>92</sup> In particular, breaking down the walls of the ghettos and dismantling the hold of Talmudic Judaism that had governed life in the Jewish communities would pave the way to terminating the depraved moral, spiritual, and intellectual conditions of European Jewry. Enlightenment thinkers ascribed to the relativist insight that environment and historical experience essentially conditioned human beliefs and behavior and that nothing in the human mind or culture was innate. Both Montesquieu and d'Holbach held that Jewish negative characteristics were attributable to environment and that changing their environment would change their character. Von Dohm thought that if Jews could be shepherded away from their traditional commercial endeavors and directed toward activities such as farming and the crafts, they could become moral men.<sup>93</sup>

For the philosophers of the Enlightenment, climate or environment encompassed as well a people's cultural setting, and thus they frequently cited the importance of education in altering behavior and beliefs. In the particular case of the Jews, many saw what they perceived as the intolerant and unyielding character of the Jewish religion as a chief obstacle preventing the full assimilation of Jews. Diderot, the great French Enlightenment thinker, remarked that the establishment of the separate Jewish nation was to be found in the religion of the Jews. Katz observes that, in the view of the deistic literature of the Enlightenment, Mosaic

<sup>91</sup> Steiman, *Paths*, 94, 97.

<sup>92</sup> Steiman, *Paths*, 98; Mosse, *Germans*, 39.

<sup>93</sup> Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, 276; Steiman, *Paths*, 102; Mosse, *Germans*, 41; Ruether, "Theological," 42.



law has set the Jewish people apart from others through its adherence to isolationist and exclusionist practices. Jewish dietary practices made it difficult for Jews to eat with others, and Jewish law forbade Jews and Christians to intermarry. Jewish writings further reinforced the separation of Jews and non-Jews through their insistence that the Jews were specifically selected as God's chosen people and thus, in the eyes of many non-Jews, afforded the Jews a spiritual status superior to the rest of humanity. Common among adherents to this thinking was the idea that Jewish social isolation and special status served as the source of the alleged Jewish double standard of morality: Jews would behave ethically in their dealings with fellow Jews but were held to no such obligations in their dealings with Gentiles.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, as Rubenstein notes, the Jewish religious claims of being God's chosen people and the special object of God's concern in history did little to mitigate Christian antipathy toward Jews.<sup>95</sup>

For many of the Enlightenment thinkers, attacks on the Mosaic foundation of Judaism had an additional purpose. In their struggle against traditional beliefs (e.g., Christian beliefs), Enlightenment thinkers such as Diderot felt the need to undermine the wellspring of Christianity (as well as Islam), which led them in the direction of assailing the Talmud and the Old Testament of the Jews. While the giants of the Enlightenment were scornful of Christian scholasticism, they found Jewish scholasticism, notably the Talmud, obtuse and highly preposterous. A scholarly testament to the struggle against this form of traditionalism was Denis Diderot's *Encyclopedia*. Between 1751 and 1772, Diderot published seventeen large volumes of this momentous work. In the volumes of the *Encyclopedia*, Judaism received harsh treatment for its promotion of the antisocial behavior of Jews and for its contribution to Christianity. According to Diderot, within Judaism one finds a confused mix of revelation and reason, nurturing fanaticism, and blind allegiance to authority. Two contributions of Judaism were ignorance and ancient superstition. The notable French philosopher d'Holbach referred to the Talmud and other significant rabbinical writings as cabalistic interpretations, old wives' tales, and fables. For Diderot, Mirabaud, and other Enlightenment writers, Jews could become citizens only if they abandoned their religious faith. The disappearance of the Jew as a Jew was seen as necessary to the complete emancipation and assimilation of

<sup>94</sup> Katz, *Prejudice*, 56.

<sup>95</sup> Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 13.

European Jewry.<sup>96</sup> It is not surprising that Jewish reluctance to accept the offers of emancipation and cultural assimilation may have partly resided in the perception that the assimilation espoused by Enlightenment thinkers would lead in reality to conversion to Christianity, the presiding religious faith of Europe.<sup>97</sup>

In considering the writings of the major figures of the Enlightenment regarding the Jews, there is some debate between the majority interpretation, which views the alleged negative characteristics of Jews as unfixed and thereby subject to emendations in time and circumstances, and the minority or absolutist interpretation, which sees the supposedly negative traits of Jews as a permanent part of their nature and thereby resistant to change.<sup>98</sup> Unlike many of his fellow Enlightenment philosophers, Voltaire failed to accept the argument that people were products of their historical experience and social conditioning when it came to discussing the Jews. The essential character of Jewish people had already taken shape and had thus become innate, according to Voltaire.<sup>99</sup> For Voltaire, the prospect of changing the Jew's alien nature was unpromising. Voltaire ascribed the alleged Jewish negative characteristics (e.g., usury, cheating, superstition) to innate Jewish traits. By virtue of its alien nature, the Jewish character was both bad and innate in the mind of Voltaire.<sup>100</sup> For some scholars, Voltaire's antipathy toward Judaism went beyond attacking Judaism as a source of Christianity. Voltaire did not limit his venomous barbs to the Jews of antiquity but also leveled attacks on the contemporary Jews of Europe. To this end, Voltaire diverged from other Enlightenment critics of the Jews by suggesting that he would not be surprised if some day the Jews became deadly to the

<sup>96</sup> Hertzberg (*French Enlightenment*, 312) asserts that Diderot envisioned that the job of freeing the Jews of their ignorance and ancient superstition would be much more difficult than freeing the Christians (and maybe impossible). In Diderot's view, the Jew's religion and character were one. Hertzberg believes, moreover, that this point of view was shared by Voltaire and d'Holbach as well.

<sup>97</sup> Steiman, *Paths*, 93–94; Ruether, "Theological," 42–43; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, 309–12; Katz, *Prejudice*, 29–31; Pulzer, *Jews*, 3; Winock, *Nationalism*, 134; Lindeman, *Esau's*, 42.

<sup>98</sup> Katz, *Prejudice*, 56.

<sup>99</sup> It should be noted that Voltaire did not interpret Jewish nature as racist in any biological sense, but rather as an outcome of the essential qualities of Jewish civilization (Steiman, *Paths*, 102).

<sup>100</sup> Weiss, *Ideology*, 43; Steiman, *Paths*, 102; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, 286; Weinberg, *Because*, 67–68.

human race.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, convinced that their religious justification for continued existence had been discredited, Voltaire had little doubt that Jews would disappear when their specialized economic functions as merchants, brokers, and traders were no longer required by other nations. In this way, Voltaire anticipated the Marxian view that, as a socio-economic group defined by its economic function, the Jews would eventually disappear, as other nations came to possess their own commercial agents.<sup>102</sup>

Voltaire throughout his writings portrays the Jews of antiquity as a people religiously, socially, ethically, culturally, and politically deficient. What Voltaire had to say about the Jews carried considerable weight, given his stature as indisputably the greatest of all Enlightenment rationalistic authors and philosophers. Voltaire's anti-Semitic writings – supplying the essential ingredients of the rhetoric of secular anti-Semitism – would arm nineteenth- and twentieth-century enemies of the Jews with an arsenal of arguments qualitatively different from the traditional religious accusations dominating Western civilization before the Enlightenment.<sup>103</sup> Yet even more pernicious for Jews was the legacy established by Voltaire (and those Enlightenment thinkers upholding the absolutist interpretation), which, by depicting the so-called negative Jewish character as rooted in an alien nature, laid a cultural foundation upon which racial anti-Semitism of the mid to late nineteenth century sprung to life.<sup>104</sup>

Jews were becoming full-fledged citizens in much of Europe as the nineteenth century unfolded. However, full emancipation did not automatically produce full assimilation. The hopes of those eighteenth-century secularists, assured that Jews would abandon their distinctive behavior once they were granted citizenship, dimmed. While many European Jews converted to Christianity, and others abandoned traditional Jewish practices, the majority continued to uphold Jewish beliefs and practices, convinced that adopting full citizenship need not require forsaking one's religion. However, in the minds of many nineteenth-century cynics, the Jews had failed to honor their part of the bargain: in exchange for legal emancipation, a total assimilation into the

<sup>101</sup> Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, 300; Weinberg, *Because*, 67–68. See especially Voltaire's 1771 *Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron*.

<sup>102</sup> Steiman, *Paths*, 106; Katz, *Prejudice*, 47.

<sup>103</sup> Katz, *Prejudice*, 41–43; Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, 10–11, 285–86.

<sup>104</sup> Steinman, *Paths*, 102.

dominant culture. While Jews were outwardly professing to be good Frenchmen or good Germans, their critics felt that the Jews remained imprisoned within their exclusive and antisocial ghetto mentality. For how else could one explain the Jews' steadfast attachment to their special religious beliefs and practices? Thus, the secularist critique continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Among a large number of nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholars, an understanding of the particular paradox of Jewish assimilation lay in the persistence of a singular Jewish culture.

#### FRANCE

Having, to a large extent, originated in France among the eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers, the secularist critique of Judaism influenced subsequent generations of French writers. Within the French intellectual community, the secularist critique flourished prominently in the camp of the political left until the Dreyfus Affair. We too often think that anti-Semitism emanates from the political right. A myopic view of anti-Semitic political rhetoric – one that would begin with the advent of the twentieth century – would obviously produce such a conclusion. A longer view of the history of anti-Semitism would certainly lead us to question placing anti-Semitism squarely at home on the political right. In fact, from the time of the French Revolution (1789) to the unfolding of the Dreyfus Affair (1890s), anti-Semitism seemed equally at home on the political left.<sup>105</sup> The Voltairian anti-Semitic secularist legacy had found a voice among leftists as early as the French Revolution. During the French Revolution, the issue of Jewish citizenship reached the National Assembly. The delegates, after considerable heated debate, ultimately granted French Jews the right of citizenship. Count Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre, a deputy in 1789 to the National Assembly, took the side of equal rights for Jews. Clermont-Tonnerre proposed that the Jews should be granted everything as individuals but nothing as a nation. In other words, in exchange for citizenship, Jews should abandon all claims to national, communal, and judicial separateness.<sup>106</sup> Opposing Clermont-Tonnerre's declaration of equal rights for Jews, leftist deputies from eastern France (notably Alsace, with its relatively large Ashkenazic Jewish population) spoke energetically against

<sup>105</sup> Wilson, *Ideology*, 333–34.

<sup>106</sup> Efron, *Defenders*, 18.

Jewish emancipation. These deputies, who were joined by deputies from other regions of France, invoked a Voltairian indictment of Jews, citing the irretrievably alien character of Jews as well as the parasitic nature and inutility of Jewish trades. For these leftist opponents of Jewish civil rights, the Jews were followers not just of another religion but of a quite particularistic religion that would never allow them to become fully integrated members of a single French nation. As France at this time was besieged by both internal and external enemies, these leftist opponents questioned the ability of Jews to defend the French nation, which to them amounted to the true test of citizenship. They opined that Jews would have difficulty serving as soldiers because they would not eat food or drink wine produced by Gentiles, would not work or fight on their Sabbath, and would not wear the same clothes as non-Jewish soldiers.<sup>107</sup>

The Enlightenment critique of Judaism continued to pervade the political left during the nineteenth century.<sup>108</sup> It became part of the anti-Jewish writings of French socialists such as Fourier, Proudhon, Leroux, Blanqui, Valles, Regnard, Tridon, Chirac, and Toussenel. If we could point to one single work that stood out within the pantheon of nineteenth-century French socialist writings that reflected the socialist anti-Jewish feeling, it is Alphonse de Toussenel's *Les Juifs rois de l'époque: histoire de la féodalité financière* (The Jews, kings of the epoch) in 1845. For Toussenel, behind the despoilation and ravaging of the pristine French countryside, the establishment of ugly industrial cities, and the ruination of the traditional artisanal trades were the foreigners, especially Jews. The alien nature produced by centuries of historical-cultural conditions made Jews contemptuous of the honest, hardworking French peasant and artisan, and unsympathetic to the natural beauty of France.<sup>109</sup> While Toussenel was cursing the Jews for the destruction of rural France, other French leftists pursued the Enlightenment anti-Jewish

<sup>107</sup> Hertzberg, *French Enlightenment*, 9–10, 366–67; Winock, *Nationalism*, 133–34; Lindemann, *Esau's*, 46–47.

<sup>108</sup> Even prominent French Jews who ascribed to neither the French left nor the French right could at times criticize their fellow Jews for adherence to an antiprogressive and antisocial religious tradition. Solomon Reinach, a well-respected French Jew of the late nineteenth century, chastised his religious brethren for upholding a backward and ritualistic religious tradition that isolated them from others in society at a time when the progress of science was bringing humans closer together (Lindemann, *Accused*, 62).

<sup>109</sup> Wilson, *Ideology*, 333–34; Lindemann, *Accused*, 81–82; Lindemann, *Esau's*, 221–22.

thrust that Judaism had to be undermined for its role in having given birth to Christianity. Here, we find the militant, atheist, and anticlerical “Hebertists” of the late Second Empire (1860s) – student followers of Blanqui who railed against God and Jews.<sup>110</sup>

The Dreyfus Affair signaled a shift within the left vis-à-vis public condemnations of Jews and Judaism. In light of the virulent anti-Semitism emanating from the far right at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, the importance assigned to Emile Zola’s famous letter and trial, and the active role of Juarès, the prominent French socialist, in the campaign for a new trial for Dreyfus, the left changed course. By 1911, it had become common at annual French socialist conferences for leaders to denounce anti-Semitism and anti-Semites.<sup>111</sup> Leftist anti-Semitism after the Dreyfus Affair would attenuate significantly, although left-wing anti-Semitism in France never completely died out. A number of prominent French leftists after the 1890s, such as Paul Faure, Georges Sorel, and Maurice Thorez, would occasionally resort to anti-Semitic utterances. Among these leftists, Sorel probably stands out. The famous revolutionary-syndicalist played an instrumental role in the establishment in 1911 of the national-socialist review *L’indépendance*, which published some of his anti-Semitic pieces, such as one equating France’s struggle against the Jews with the struggle in the United States against the “Yellow Peril.”<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Winock, *Nationalism*, 134; Wistrich, *Antisemitism*, 47–48.

<sup>111</sup> Winock, *Nationalism*, 144; Robert Soucy, *French Fascism: The First Wave, 1924–1933* (New Haven and London, 1986), 15; Eugen Weber, *Action Française: Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth-Century France* (Stanford, 1962), 72.

<sup>112</sup> Birnbaum, *La France*, 53; Weber, *Action Française*, 74. Also, Sternhell (“Roots,” 121–25) agrees that the French left, for the most part, distanced itself from overt anti-Semitic utterances after 1898. He does, however, point out that leftist anti-Semitism remained within the nonconformist wing of socialism between 1898 and 1914. The nonconformists, including Herve, Sorel, and Berth, felt that mainstream socialists such as Millerand, Briand, and Viviani had betrayed the revolutionary goals of the proletarian movement and made peace with liberal and bourgeois democracy. For other examples of persisting leftist anti-Semitism, see the following: In 1898, *Humanité nouvelle*, the French socialist journal, published a translated version of Karl Marx’s famous anti-Semitic *Zur Judenfrage*, and additionally in a series of clearly anti-Semitic articles praised the anti-Jewish demonstrators in France as heirs to the revolutionary tradition of 1789. In 1920, the official organ of the Communist Party, *Humanité*, and the Radical Party’s *Oeuvre* joined an anti-Semitic chorus castigating Eastern European Jewish refugees in Paris for turning the city into a “nest of microbes.” And shockingly, during Blum’s Popular Front, a number of delegates from the SFIO, which Blum had led for so many years, accused Blum and his fellow Jewish

Leftist anti-Semitism in France, as elsewhere, emanated not only from the Enlightenment secularist critique but also from racial and economic roots. We shall have an opportunity to revisit leftist anti-Semitism later.

But it would be unfair to conclude that the secularist critique in France resided solely within the French left. The theme of Jewish intolerance caught the attention of the eminent nineteenth-century French scholar Ernst Renan. In Renan's highly influential work of 1863, *Life of Jesus*, Jesus is portrayed as a critic of the dogmatism and intolerance of the Old Testament. Renan's *Life of Jesus* is reported to have been the second most widely read book in France at the time, after the Bible. The book sold 100,000 copies in its first few months and was quickly translated into ten different languages. Renan praises Christianity as universal and the eternal religion of humanity and castigates Judaism for its tribalistic, narrow, intolerant, and antisocial tendencies. Five years after the publication of Renan's *Life of Jesus*, Louis Jacolliot would pick up the themes of Jewish intolerance and rigidity in his *Bible dans l'Inde*, which went through eight editions. Jacolliot denigrated the Jewish Old Testament as a collection of superstitions and characterized Moses as a fanatical slave.<sup>113</sup>

#### GERMANY

Within the German speaking zones of Europe, the secularist interpretation of Jewish particularism found favor among many intellectuals. Despite the views of Weiss and Davidowicz, who have argued that the secular liberalism emanating from the Enlightenment had limited influence on the evolution of religious anti-Semitism in Germany compared to England, France, and Scotland, it appears that the Enlightenment commentary on Jewish particularism had its adherents.<sup>114</sup> Some German thinkers, such as Lessing and von Humboldt, embraced the contractual view of the Enlightenment, believing that Jews, if granted equality,

Popular Front members (Jules Moch and Salomon Grumbach) of pushing France into an antifascist war. The implication was clear that it was their "Jewishness" that led them to behave as they did (Byrnes, *Antisemitism*, 117–25; Weber, *Hollow*, 103; Birnbaum, *Anti-Semitism*, 209–15).

<sup>113</sup> Mosse, *Final Solution*, 129–30; Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, trans. Edmund Howard (New York, 1971), 208–09; Lindemann, *Esau's*, 87.

<sup>114</sup> Weiss, *Ideology*; Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews, 1933–1945* (New York, 1975).

would abandon their particularistic behavior and attitudes.<sup>115</sup> Other German writers took a more pessimistic view of Jewish assimilation. For them, a systematic understanding of Jewish religious texts provided the keys to Jewish particularism. Karl August von Hase's 1829 *Life of Jesus* and David Friedrich Strauss's 1835 *Life of Jesus* provide notable examples of scholarship identifying the causes of Jewish intolerance and narrow particularism in the unbending application of law in biblical Judaism. In these works, Jesus is portrayed as a critic of the dogmatism and intolerance of the Old Testament. While von Hase and Strauss drew from the Old Testament to support their arguments, August Rohling's 1871 *Talmud-Jude* enlists the Jewish Talmud in his efforts to explain Jewish particularism. Rohling held academic positions as a professor of Catholic theology and, subsequently, as professor of Semitic languages at the German University of Prague. In Rohling's work, the Talmud instructs Jews to treat Christians as servants and permits Jews to violate Christian women and charge Christians exorbitant rates of interest on loans. Furthermore, Rohling remarked that the Talmud laid out a program of Jewish world domination. Not surprisingly, Rohling volunteered his services as an expert witness for the prosecution in the infamous Hungarian ritual murder trial at Tisza-Eszlar in 1883. Rohling testified that Jews were commanded by their religious texts to perform such practices as ritual murder.<sup>116</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, several prominent German intellectuals would question the commitment of German Jews to forsake their historical particularism and to integrate themselves into the German national community. Among this group of German intellectuals, Heinrich von Treitschke, the celebrated German historian, stands out. Treitschke, in a series of articles between 1879 and 1880 in the prestigious *Preussische Jahrbücher*, questioned the Jews' willingness to abandon their parochial allegiances and their desire to assimilate fully into German society. Treitschke, along with Richard Wagner and Paul de Lagarde, urged German Jews to accelerate the pace of their assimilation into German society.<sup>117</sup> Even German liberals, such as Theodor Mommsen, Rudolf Virchow, and Johann Gustav Droysen, who by no means shared the overall politically conservative viewpoints of

<sup>115</sup> Levy, *Downfall*, 9.

<sup>116</sup> Mosse, *Final Solution*, 129–40; Lindemann, *Esau's* 87.

<sup>117</sup> Donald L. Niewyk, "Solving the 'Jewish Problem' – Continuity and Change in German Antisemitism 1871–1945." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, vol. 35, 1990, 338; Byrnes, *Antisemitism*, 81; Lindemann, *Esau's*, 131–36.



Wagner, de Lagarde, and von Trietschke, pointed to the persistence of Jewish particularism as a barrier to full assimilation. The German liberal stand found voice in an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, the National Liberal Party's newspaper. The newspaper called on German Jews to prove themselves worthy of full membership in the German nation by abandoning their allegiance to the Progressive party, Zionism, and the Parisian-based *Alliance Israelite Universelle*.<sup>118</sup> Beyond alleged Jewish support for these particular organizations, German liberals urged Jews to abandon ritual practices that distinguished Jews from other Germans. Included here were the Jewish sabbath, circumcision, special dietary laws, and the kosher slaughter of animals.<sup>119</sup>

Much like their counterparts in France, German nineteenth-century socialists embraced the Enlightenment attacks on the Jewish Old Testament and the Jewish origins of Christianity. Bruno Bauer and other "Young Hegelians," heavily influenced by the Voltairian rebuke of Jewish particularism, condemned Judaism as both a fossilized and an antiprogressive belief system. They argued that Jews must be denied emancipation unless they abandon their exclusionist and particularist essence. For the "Young Hegelians," Jewish irrational and persistent attachment to absurd rituals and taboos indicated that the Jews refused to accept equal membership in the human family. Karl Marx fully embraced the Voltairian critique of his fellow "Young Hegelians" and denigrated Judaism for its antisocial essence. Marx's chief statement on the Jewish religion appeared in his 1844 essay *Zur Judenfrage* (On the Jewish Question). Though his essay dealt largely with the economic role of Jews as moneymakers, he chastised Judaism as a reactionary religion that promoted such antisocial behaviors as parasitism and clannishness. In particular, Marx suggested that the secular basis of Judaism was practical need and self-interest. Nevertheless, Marx was a firm advocate of Jewish emancipation in that it fit into his dialectical materialist model of social change. For Marx, Jewish emancipation was consistent with the principles of bourgeois society, but Judaism and Jewish particularism would inevitably disappear in the new socialist order. Marx bequeathed an ambivalent position on Judaism to his socialist followers – a position that greatly shaped leftist anti-Semitism for generations.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Niewyk, "Solving," 339.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *Socialism and the Jews: The Dilemmas of Assimilation in Germany and Austria-Hungary* (Rutherford, NJ, 1982), 19–30; Lindemann,

Ferdinand Lassalle, the founder and president of the General Association of German Workers and, like Marx, descended from a Jewish lineage, stood out as a harsh critic of Jews. Karl Kautsky, editor of the Social Democratic Party's journal *Neue Zeit*, which was generally sympathetic to Jewish rights, cited Jewish self-segregation, failure to assimilate, and stubborn attachment to a distinctive religion, customs, and language as motivating factors in the mob attacks on Russian Jews in the horrific Kishinev pogrom of 1903.<sup>121</sup> Unrivaled among German socialists for vituperative anti-Semitism was Eugen Duehring. Duehring's widely read 1880 *Die Judenfrage als Rassen-Sitten-und Kulturfrage* (The Jewish Question as a question of race, manners, and culture) gave an ideological foundation to the racial struggle against Jews and Judaism. We will have the occasion to examine Duehring's contributions to racial anti-Semitism later; here we focus on Duehring's secularist attack on Judaism and his place in the pantheon of leading German anti-Semitic socialists. Duehring, a lecturer in philosophy and economics at the University of Berlin, asserted that the renewal of German culture required a firm disavowal of the Old and New Testaments and a total emancipation from the Judeo-Christian yoke. Moreover, he presented a model of German socialism in which he advocated a national self-sufficiency that was the antithesis of the Jewish socialism of Marx and Lassalle.<sup>122</sup> Duehring's anti-Semitic writings (and most definitely his attack on Marx) spawned Engel's direct rebuke of Duehring in his *Anti-Duehring* and may have contributed greatly to the German Social Democratic movement's shift away from anti-Semitism.<sup>123</sup>

#### GREAT BRITAIN

The dichotomization of the backward/particularistic Judaism and the modern/universalist Christianity found a favorable reception in Great Britain. Baden Powell, philosopher, theologian, and professor of geometry at Oxford University, published his *Christianity without Judaism* in 1857. In order to uphold the integrity of Christianity, Powell sought to

*Esau's*, 161; Massing, *Rehearsal*, 159; Byrnes, *Antisemitism*, 115–17; Niall Ferguson, *The World's Banker: The History of the House of Rothschild* (London, 1998), 464.

<sup>121</sup> Jack Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (New York and Oxford, 1987), 39–40.

<sup>122</sup> Mosse, *Final Solution* 165; Wistrich, *Socialism*, 48–54; Berding, *Moderner*, 146f.

<sup>123</sup> Wistrich, *Socialism*, 48–50.

undermine the Mosaic foundations of the Hebrew Old Testament. In Powell's account, the Old Testament writings, based largely on outdated theistic thinking, presented a particularistic and nonobjective account of the physical world. Furthermore, the roots of Jewish intolerance and anachronistic and antisocial behavior (e.g., circumcision and prohibitions on intermarriage) were to be found in the Old Testament. Mathew Arnold, the most celebrated Victorian Hellenist, presented in his 1869 *Culture and Anarchy* a systematic comparison of Hebraism and Hellenism in which he stressed the former's pursuit of conduct and obedience and its subjugation of freedom of spirit and intellect. The well-known British historian Goldwin Smith echoed the depiction of the superiority of the Christianity over Judaism as a declaration of humanity and universalism in an essay published in the *Contemporary Review* in February 1878. In Goldwin Smith's semiscientific essay, he asserted that Judaism constituted the highest level reached by a tribal religion.

Employing interpretations of Hebrew texts to support arguments about the distinctiveness of Jewish behavior found adherents outside of mainstream British academia. As the last half of the nineteenth century unfolded, British Evangelical theology increasingly emphasized the arrested development of Judaism and portrayed the Judaism of the Old Testament as a religion of prohibition, punishment, and particularism. Thus, not surprisingly, in 1887, the *Saint James Gazette*, commenting on the lack of assimilation of recent Jewish immigrants in Great Britain, concluded that Jews could never become fully assimilated in England, for they refused to abandon their Hebrew ways.<sup>124</sup>

Like the left in France and Germany, the British left played a central role in the popular dissemination of anti-Semitism in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain.<sup>125</sup> Rubinstein points to three principal sources of British leftist anti-Semitism. The three sources of opposition to Jews are Jewish claims for a corporate national identity (Jewish homeland), Jewish involvement in capitalism and British imperialism, and the Jewish attachment to an antiprogressive and primitive religion.<sup>126</sup> The lion's share of British leftist anti-Semitism was of the economic variety. The socialist left in Great Britain, from the time of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, had targeted the "capitalist Jew" and

<sup>124</sup> Feldman, *Englishmen*, 83–91, 294.

<sup>125</sup> Holmes, *British*, 24; W. D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English-Speaking World: Great Britain* (New York, 1996), 112–13.

<sup>126</sup> Rubinstein, *History*, 219–20.

the “Jewish gold international.” We will examine much of the socialist left’s economic anti-Semitism later, in the discussion of the economic root of anti-Semitism. Nonetheless, hints of a secular critique of Judaism and Jews resided with the British left. Beatrice Potter Webb, the highly popular late Victorian and Edwardian novelist and social observer, linked the extreme instrumentality of Jewish social behavior and Jewish worldliness to a Jewish intellect conditioned by centuries of Talmudic study. And during the interwar period, the prominent Fabian intellectual H.G. Wells blamed anti-Semitism substantially on the particular Jewish attachment to the concept of the Jews as “chosen people.”<sup>127</sup>

#### ROMANIA

As elsewhere in nineteenth-century Europe, well-known and respected Romanian intellectuals played pivotal roles in the spread of anti-Semitism and frequently criticized Judaism from a secularist basis. Constantin Stere (1865–1936) picked up on Voltaire’s criticism of Judaism as antiprogressive. For Stere, Judaism’s archaic nature inevitably led to conflict with modern cultures. Judaism turned Jews into an autonomous social and political group opposed to all innovation and marked by a ferocious and fanatical exclusiveness. Stere noted further that Jews would have to renounce their culture and abandon “the stranglehold of the Talmud” in order to integrate successfully into a universal culture. Yet Stere believed that Jews would resist assimilation because it would lead to the disappearance of the Jews as a distinctive cultural type.<sup>128</sup> Nicolae C. Paulescu claimed in 1922 that Jews, instinctively acquisitive, sought to rule over others and planned to obtain world power. According to Paulescu, the Talmud instructed the Jews toward these objectives. For Paulescu, the doctrine of the Talmud and the institution of the Cahal revealed the means by which the Jews would secure world domination and exterminate other peoples.<sup>129</sup> Besides intellectuals, the perception of Jewish separateness influenced the thinking of prominent Romanian statesmen. Mihail Kogălniceanu, a late nineteenth-century Romanian foreign minister, fretted publicly about the unassimilated character of the hordes of Jews emigrating to Romania from Russia. Kogălniceanu,

<sup>127</sup> Feldman, *Englishmen*, 83–91, 294; Rubinstein, *History*, 220–22.

<sup>128</sup> Volovici, *Nationalist*, 35–36.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

relatively moderate in terms of his anti-Semitic views, called upon Romania's Jews to embrace assimilation.<sup>130</sup>

Whereas the literature on British, French, and German anti-Semitism displays ample evidence of a leftist anti-Semitism in those societies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I could find no evidence of a leftist-inspired anti-Semitism in Romania before the Holocaust. If indeed the Romanian left shunned anti-Semitic declarations before the Holocaust, this may largely be attributed to the late development and weakness of the Romanian left and to its unmistakably foreign and Jewish makeup. As we will see in the discussion of the political root of anti-Semitism, Jews and non-Romanians dominated the Marxist left in Romania virtually from its origins in the last decade of the nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War II.

#### ITALY

Widespread acceptance and use of the Enlightenment critique emphasizing the ritualistic and antiprogressive character of Judaism never materialized in Italy to the extent that it did north of the Alps. Italian Jews for the most part wrote and spoke in the various Italian dialects, and Italian Jewish orthodoxy was markedly less rigid than in most other European countries. Hughes ascribes the failure of the Jewish Reform movement to catch on in Italy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the assimilationist and yielding attitudes of Italian Jews.<sup>131</sup> One possible measure of the assimilationist attitudes of Italian Jewry is the high rate of mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews. Steinberg observes that a 1938 census report documents that 43.7 per cent of Italian marriages involving Jews were marriages in which one partner was not Jewish. According to Steinberg, the rate of intermarriage involving Jews was markedly higher in Italy than it was elsewhere in Europe.<sup>132</sup> But it would be wrong to assume that the Enlightenment opprobrium of Judaism had no adherents in Italy. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Italian adherents of the "illuminiisti" movement, such as G. B. G. d'Arco, Pietro Regis, Giovanni Antonio Ranza,

<sup>130</sup> Oldson, *Providential*, 101–09.

<sup>131</sup> H. Stuart Hughes, *Prisoners of Hope: The Silver Age of the Italian Jews 1924–1974* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 9–11.

<sup>132</sup> Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust 1941–1943* (London and New York, 1990), 222–23.

and Giuseppe Compagnoni, while favoring the Enlightenment's call for the emancipation of Jews, noted the obstacles to integration presented by Jewish intolerance and antisocial behavior, which they attributed to the dogma and rituals of the Jewish religion. Decades later, in the poems (*Sonetti Romaneschi*) of the mid-nineteenth-century Roman poet G. G. Belli, we find Voltairian anti-Semitic notions of Jewish elitism, clannishness, and exclusionism.<sup>133</sup> During the Risorgimento, an anti-clerical anti-Semitism found favor in the works of a group of Italian writers, including della Gattina, Ellero, Ferrari, and Guerrazzi. And in the post-Risorgimento period, Giosuè Carducci claimed in his *In una chiesa gotica* (1876) that the Judeo-Christian tradition, rooted in the Jewish ethos, had destroyed the joy, beauty, and freedom embodied in the Aryan Greco-Latin nature. Carducci's attack on the Jewish foundation of Western Christian culture was part of a larger campaign against organized religion and in support of paganism.<sup>134</sup>

In comparison to the political left's embrace of anti-Semitic rhetoric in France, Germany, and Great Britain, the Italian left rarely took up the anti-Semitic banner. Antonio Gramsci, Italy's greatest Marxist intellectual, echoing sentiments expressed earlier by the renowned Italian political philosopher Benedetto Croce, attributed the absence of Italian anti-Semitism to the highly successful assimilation of Jews in Italy. Italian national unification had made Italian Jews part of the nation in the same way that it had made Italians out of the inhabitants of Piedmont and Naples, according to Gramsci.<sup>135</sup> Scattered leftist anti-Semitic rumblings seem to have surfaced during the Dreyfus Affair. To that end, Gentile reminds us that before the publication of Zola's famous letter defending Dreyfus, the Italian socialist movement, through its newspaper, *Avanti!*, claimed that the Dreyfus Affair was a plot hatched by rich French Jews.<sup>136</sup>

Figure 2.1 presents the results of an examination of religious anti-Semitic acts in the *American Jewish Year Book* and religious anti-Semitic attitudes in the five principal European daily newspapers between 1899

<sup>133</sup> Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 28–30, 112.

<sup>134</sup> Canepa, "Image," 264; Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 168–84. Also, Canepa ("Image," 269–70) implies elsewhere that in the years between Italian unity and World War I, anti-Semitism, deriving from a notion of Judaism's inferior religious status and from alleged negative Jewish traits such as venality and coarseness, was more widespread in Italy than is generally assumed.

<sup>135</sup> Gunzberg, *Strangers*, 55.

<sup>136</sup> Gentile, "Struggle," 499–500.

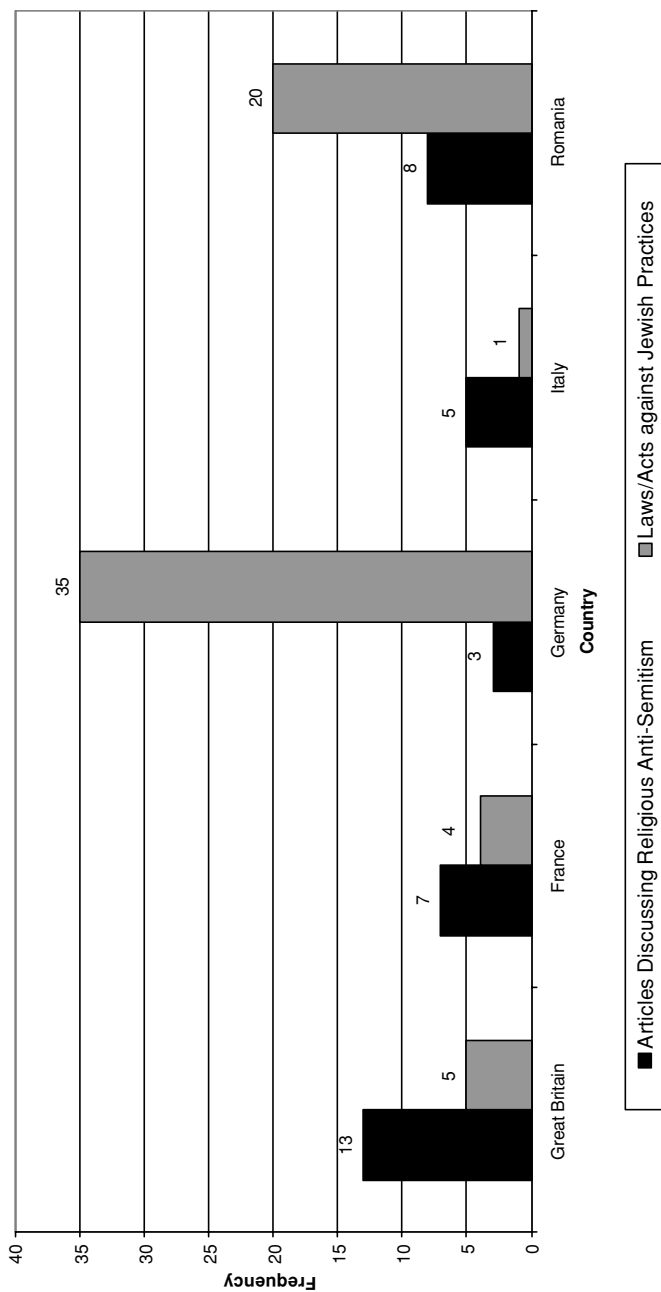


Figure 2.1. Newspaper articles discussing religious anti-Semitism and laws/acts against Jewish practices by country, 1899–1939. Note: Articles are taken from the fifteenth day of the month for every month between 1899 and 1939. Articles were taken from the *Daily Mail* in Great Britain (N = 299), *Le Petit Parisien* in France (N = 199), *Berliner Morgenpost* in Germany (N = 269), *Corriere della Sera* in Italy (N = 101), and *Universul* in Romania (N = 136). Laws and acts against Jewish practices were obtained from the volumes of the *American Jewish Year Book* (see category 5 in Table 1.1).

and 1939. Not surprisingly, the overall number of newspaper articles coded as religious anti-Semitic is relatively low. Traditional religious anti-Semitism had lost much of its appeal by the twentieth century, especially in Western Europe. Regarding religious anti-Semitic acts, we find higher numbers in Germany and Romania and the lowest count in Italy. In the case of Germany, fourteen of the religious anti-Semitic acts reported occurred between 1933 and 1939.<sup>137</sup>

Of the four principal roots of Jewish hatred, the religious root has been with us the longest. The traditional form of religious anti-Semitism – based on the role Jews played in the crucifixion of Christ, the failure of Jews to accept Jesus as the Savior, and the popular negative Jewish stereotypes – gained momentum during the European medieval period. With the onset of the European Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century and the gradual waning of the authority of traditional religious beliefs, a new form of anti-Semitism, based on a supposedly more systematic and scientific study of religion, appeared. The Enlightenment critique of Judaism tended to attract a better-educated following than traditional religious anti-Semitism. The secular prejudice focused on Jewish particularism deriving, in the view of the proponents, from the distinctive Jewish culture. Adherents of the secular critique differed on the question of whether Jews could break free from their cultural inheritance and successfully assimilate into Gentile society. Whether one drew upon the traditional religious prejudice against Jews or used the secular argument, the common assumption held that once Jews converted to Christianity or abandoned the Jewish faith, the “Jewish Problem” would disappear. However, as the nineteenth century unfolded, a new form of anti-Semitism emerged that would not see conversion or rejection of the faith as a sufficient solution to the “Jewish Problem.” For among the followers of this new form of anti-Semitism, Jews constituted a separate and pernicious race, and only through enforced social isolation or physical removal could the problem of the place of Jews in society find a resolution. We now turn to the second principal form of anti-Semitism, the racial root.

<sup>137</sup> Approximately two-thirds of the newspaper articles coded as religious anti-Semitic focused on criticisms of Jewish practices or beliefs. The remaining one-third of the articles dealt with claims that Judaism threatened Christianity. We found no articles associating Jews with anti-progressive beliefs. Furthermore, we found no significant differences in reportage on religious anti-Semitism between the principal and secondary newspapers within each of the five countries.