

Not corrected!

Policy of the Catholic Church toward the Jews

The attitude of the Catholic Church toward the Jews has two main aspects. One involves Church doctrine; the other involves the various, sometimes contradictory motives which guide the Church in different periods and different regions.

Church attitude is founded on the concept of anti-Judaism. This is quite different from antisemitism. Anti-Judaism is not an accidental factor in Church doctrine. Once the divine mission of Jesus was accepted, a sharp line separated the Church from all who refused to acknowledge Jesus as the Son of God and the Redeemer. The guilt of the Jews seemed enormous. They were Jesus' own people, yet, according to the Church, they rejected his teachings, persecuted him and caused him to be put to death.

The attitude of the Jews toward Christ automatically leads to their rejection by the Church. But this rejection is valid only as long as the Jews repudiate the true faith. Saint Paul said that the fate of the world will not be fulfilled until the Jews have been received into the flock. This will take place on Judgement Day. Catholic rejection of the Jews is thus conditional; it ends with

their conversion to Christianity.

From the viewpoint of religious doctrine, the Catholic frame of reference is always the same. The Jews are repudiated by Christ, but they are indispensable to the development of Christianity. They are the only living witnesses of the Passion, and their ultimate conversion is necessary for Christianity's final triumph and the redemption of the world. The basic attitude of the Church toward the Jews throughout the centuries has been formulated by the church's protagonists in the words: "Cautious and Humane".

Caution means the Jew is an intruder in the Christian world. Only those who are firm in the faith may communicate with those who have never been baptised. For the simple, the weak in faith, every contact with Jews may bring dangerous consequences. Nevertheless, by persuasion or force, the message of the Gospels must be brought to the Jews. The mission of converting them must go on. Progress is slow. The Jews, alas! are stubborn. The complaint of the Church is the same from Saint Augustine in the fourth century to the Bishop of Cremona in the twentieth: the Jews retain their own community, their own racial characteristics. They refuse to become part of the Christian world.

The attitude of the Church is fixed between these two poles. It is furious against the Jews; they alone reject the Christian faith in salvation; the faithful must be pro-

tected from infection by the Jews. But the Church does not abandon hope in their ultimate conversion. Meantime it holds to a "minimum program". The Jews must be preserved as witnesses of the truth of Christian doctrine; they must not be exterminated.

All this is caution. But the Church also wants to be "humane". The history of the Passion gives the Jews a special place in history. Pope Innocent III compared the Jews to Cain; they are outcasts against whom the voice of blood cries out; they must always be dispersed as wanderers on the face of the earth, but they must not be killed.

* * *

In the Middle Ages the authority of the Church was undisputed. Nevertheless it could choose between tolerating and persecuting the Jew only where it exercised intellectual and political authority at the same time. But even where papal authority was direct, violent reactions toward the Jews were not excluded. Under Popes like Innocent III and Paul IV, the policy of the zealots followed the usual double line. The Jews had to be converted; they also had to be kept in perpetual servitude under Christian rule. This required their strict segregation in ghettos.

The medieval Church tried to define a permanent attitude toward the Jews as the only people in Christendom which refused from the very beginning to accept the common faith. Exception

procedures against the Jews may have had social and economic reasons, but the justification was always theological.

In the eighteenth century, however, theology lost a great deal of its power. The Enlightenment reversed the Church's position; its concept of religious toleration contradicted the claims of the Church as the sole avenue to salvation for the whole of mankind. The Jewish problem became social and political, and the attitude of the Church now had to be determined according to the specific requirements of changing conditions in the realm temporal. The Church lost its spiritual monopoly; it had to enter the realm of intellectual competition, and by the 19th century it could no longer avoid doing so. In 1917 the Church legally accepted the implications of the modern world. The Canon law was reformed to abolish earlier anti-Jewish legislation. Today the Church is no longer the custodian of a universal religion, and has lost its direct authority over the Jews. As a result, the Church has seemingly withdrawn from the direct formulation of programs concerning the Jews. Arguments on the Jewish question have become integrated with social, economic and racial issues.

Throughout most of the 19th century, the Church was on the defensive. It has to fight liberalism, especially Freemasonry. In this fight the Church saw the Jew as a leading representative of these hostile currents. It pictured him not as the poor, oppressed Jewish masses of Poland and Austria,

but as the banker, merchant, politician and journalist of the West. The Jew is no longer merely the enemy of the true faith who is doomed; he has become the powerful representative of the new economic and intellectual forces with which the Church is locked in battle for social and intellectual reasons.

The conservative Church is allied the powers of yesterday: the army and the landlords; the fight against the Jews has become part of the fight against modernism. What is anathema to Catholic anti-Judaism today is that the Messiah descended on earth in 1790 disguised as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Thus the intellectual climate of the Church's struggle against the encroachment of modern forms of unbelief casts its shadow on the attitude of the Church as a whole toward the Jew. Whether this tension must lead to actual explosion; whether, how and to what extent it unites with other anti-Jewish currents, depends on the strategic situation of the Church in various countries.

* * *

The formal unification of the Church under the direction of the Pope does not guarantee the unity of political and social outlook of the various territorial and functional organizations which derive their authority directly or indirectly from the pope. Official formulae for relations with the Jew - caution and humanity, charity and prudence - are so general that they leave a great deal of room for individual interpretation.

It has happened scores of times that the Holy See and important parts of the Catholic population in the various countries have worked at cross purposes. One of the most famous cases is the position of the clergy in the Anglo-Irish conflict during the second half of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th centuries. The Curia Romana wanted to maintain an important Catholic foothold in English politics; it therefore was directly interested in keeping Ireland within the framework of Great Britain. The Holy See vigorously opposed Parnell and his Land League. But it was powerless to prevent Ireland's Catholic population from donating funds to Parnell while refusing to give more than a bare minimum for Peter's pence. Nor could papal policy prevent Catholic country priests from joining Parnell's Land League en masse. In the end (1921) the Church gave way; in spite of all its anathemas against Sinn Fein it sanctioned the new freedom which the Irish people had won with the active support of the lower clergy.

Here devout Catholics who, in matters of religious belief, were more papist than the pope, acted against the mandates of the Church authorities in the political field. It will be important to remember this in analyzing the ecclesiastical situation in the United States with its preponderance of Irish elements in the ranks of the lower clergy.

- - -

The specific Catholic-Jewish problem focusing in France around the Dreyfus affair was part of the larger problem with which the

Church was confronted. That problem was how to preserve or regain its social status in the modern world. In the last years of Pius IX, the majority of French Church dignitaries were united in the fight for overthrowing the republic and restoring the monarchy. When the Church lost this fight it tried to come to terms with the new power, the French middle class politicians. The Church's policy of ralliement or reconciliation, announced in 1891, meant unconditional recognition of the republican state. But the leaders of the French army, the clergy and most Catholic politicians did not accept this policy; they remained hostile to the republic.

It was in this battle for or against a reformulation of Catholic attitude toward the republic that anti-Jewish policy assumed major significance. If the republic could be discredited as something fundamentally corrupt and Jewish, it might fall. This would preserve Catholic monopoly in the army, its grip on the educational system and the unchecked activities of the religious orders. If this campaign succeeded, the Vatican would not have to make any concessions to the French republic.

The Church now dedicated itself to preserving the integrity of the army by attacking the conspiracy of World Jewry to help a criminal officer named Dreyfus escape justice. Once the clash came, the Vatican supported this fight. The risks were great, the stakes high; but the chances of success were substantial.

The most successful monarchist-Catholic writer in the Dreyfus affair was.....Drumont. His campaign against the Jews followed

a double line. On the one hand, he employed ideas taken from the conservatives and revolutionaries of the first half of the 19th century. He described the Jew both as an exploiter of the Christian businessman and worker, and as a revolutionary agent of destruction. On the other hand, he linked his arguments with a race theory. This had nothing in common with present-day racial creeds, yet it opened the way for singling out any coherent foreign group of sufficient distinction. Drumont's antisemitic material, published in book form and in a daily newspaper, lent perspective to the fight of the parish priests and other Catholic groups against the republic.

As early as 1890 the Jesuits also made free use of this material. The Italian Jesuit paper Civiltà Cattolica blamed the Jews in vague general terms for the growth of Freemasonry, secularism and individualism. The Jesuits strengthened anti-republican policy in the Catholic camp and lent some official authority to Drumont's articles.

Yet there was a marked difference between the Jesuits and Drumont. The latter urged that all Jewish property unjustly acquired should be distributed among those who would participate in the great approaching battle. But the Jesuits disagreed with this program of expropriation. Their official organ emphasized that not all Jews are swindlers, usurers and corrupters of public morals. Instead, it urged the traditional papal program: strict separation of Jews and Gentiles. However, in order to achieve this papal program, the heritage of

the French Revolution would have to be abolished, above all civil liberties and the equality of all citizens. The Jews would have to be restored to the status of foreigners living under restricted conditions and prohibited from acquiring real estate.

This program steadily conformed to the theological and political practice of the Catholic Church throughout the centuries. Reiterated at the right moment, the policy of segregation went a long way toward satisfying the needs of antisemitic propaganda during the Dreyfus affair. It contributed to making antisemitism a "major political concept."

When Pope Leo XIII and the French Church dignitaries were asked to come out for Dreyfus, they remained ostentatiously silent. The campaign against a revision of the Dreyfus trial was the battle of former ruling classes in French society seeking to recover their share of social and political power. The leaders of this fight employed the symbols, institutions and, to some extent, the authority of the Church to further their cause. And now the traditional anti-Judaism of the Church was reformulated and employed to reinforce one of the first mass movements on behalf of the old ruling classes. The forces opposed to reversing the conviction of Dreyfus were aided by the policy of the French Catholic hierarchy and by international Catholics. In the long run, this campaign frustrated Leo XIII's policy of reconciliation with the French republic, but this only shows how much Church policy depends on specific national forces.

* * *

Yet, where Catholics are a minority, the Church often seeks a common front of all believers against the enemies of all positive religion.

In Germany the Catholics constituted more than one-third of the population. The Jews were numerically a very insignificant minority, but their impact on social development was far greater than their numbers indicate. The Catholics, on the other hand, resented their own minority position; they suffered from an inferiority complex inherited from the Kulturkampf. From the beginning these factors made for a better climate in Catholic-Jewish relations. In Germany, as in other countries, Catholic authorities and the Catholic press stigmatized Jewish newspapers and other cultural manifestations of the "Jewish spirit", "liberalism", etc. as well as the excesses of finance capitalism; but the comments were more restrained. The Catholics condemned antisemitism more frankly and unconditionally than elsewhere, and there was no trace of Catholic anti-Jewish pamphleteering.

But this general prevalence of a better climate did not exclude anti-Jewish reaction if they seemed politically profitable as after the depression of the 70's. For the rural artisan and retailer, for part of the peasantry and for smallbusiness in the cities, the depression meant failure to keep up interest payments to, or to obtain new credits from the small Jewish bankers. Small business also suffered from the increasing competition of Jewish consumer-goods manufacturers and retailers.

The antisemitic campaign was led by the Protestant Court chaplain Stöcker and his "Christian-Social" movement. This drew most of its followers from the independent middle class. In 1880, Liberals in the Prussian Diet asked the government how it intended to halt the agitation against Jewish citizens. A heated debate took place within the parliamentary group of the (Catholic) Center Party as to what attitude to take in the Diet. Ludwig Windthorst, the Party's leader, saw in the government's toleration of anti-Jewish propaganda and disturbances mainly an attempt to oppress a religious minority; in the name of toleration he wanted the Center Party to support the Parliamentary Interpellation. But he was defeated. The majority of the Center Party saw the whole issue from a technical viewpoint. There is a great rise of anti-Jewish feeling among the German people, they said; if the Center Party will defend the Jews, many Catholic voters may switch to political groups with a stronger antisemitic appeal; therefore the Center Party must take a stand against the Jews.

* * *

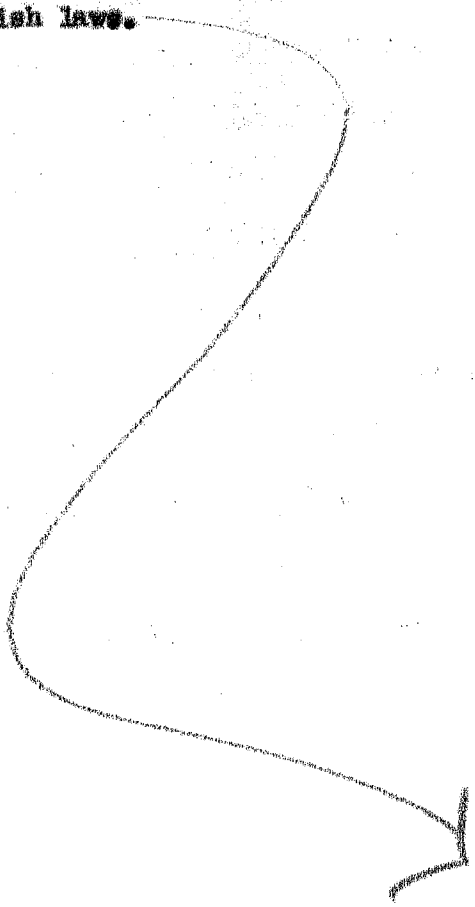
This experience in Germany shows that when competitive political conditions prevail, Catholic politics tend to follow or anticipate election trends as the best means of protecting specific Catholic interests. The practice is both to support the powers that be for the sake of authority and the Church, and to justify day to day political decisions by fusing them with Catholic doctrine.

In Italy and Germany, the task of the Catholic parties was to reconcile social antagonisms and to safeguard specific Catholic interests; but with the advent of Mussolini and Hitler to power, Rome was ready to sacrifice the Catholic parties. Before the full meaning of racial policy became evident, Pope Pius XI (1929-1939) was willing to leave Catholic interests to the mercy of the new authoritarian governments. The anti-Jewish program of the Nazi government was no obstacle to Catholic cooperation which found its climax in the Concordat of June 1933. This was a complete reversal of Church policy; as late as March 1933, Church discipline was exerted against Catholics who joined the Nazi party. True, the Church stuck to its guns whenever its immediate interests were affected. This was so, for example, in regard to Jews who had been converted to Catholicism or to the teaching of the Old Testament in the schools. But the Church never made a vital issue of such matters. Only when it became clear that the "racial community" was incompatible with the basic tenets of Christian belief did the Church make any efforts to emphasize the differences between racial totalitarianism and Catholicism.

After 1939, antisemitic policies spread rapidly throughout Europe. Governments seeking Nazi favors showed their reliability by adopting antisemitism. The Church now found it imperative to clear up the confusion between its traditional anti-Judaism and the program of racial extermination in the nazified parts of Europe. Yet the Church

itself was hard pressed by the racists; it was even accused of protecting the Jews. The Church thus faced a double task: it had to disassociate itself from racism and it had to refute the charge that it was a tool of "international Jewry".

In January 1939, the Bishop of Cremona delivered a sermon designed to clarify the position of the Church toward the Jewish problem. This sermon was reprinted and approved in the official organ of the Vatican, Osservatore Romano. It was an authoritative statement issued at a time when the Catholic Church faced two crucial issues: it had to engage in a life and death struggle with German racism, and it was desperately trying to prevent the Italian fascist regime from following the same fatal course. The Italian government had just begun to enforce the first of its anti-Jewish laws.



In traditional fashion, the Bishop of Cremona reminded his audience of the terrible fate which Christ had suffered at the hands of the Jews. Then he explained the destiny of the Jewish people. God, he said, has allowed the Jews to acquire strong domination in the economic and political fields; Under the protection of the rich nations they are trying to rebuild the kingdom of Zion, but once more a great storm has been unleashed against them. The fate of the Jews lies in the context of history where specific events are decided by God; but it is the Church's ministry to fulfill these tasks regarding the Jews which are specifically in its province. The bishop therefore urged the traditional program: the need of protecting Christians from Jewish influence and the Church's mission among the Jews. He set definite limits to the otherwise permissible policy of defending the integrity and prosperity of a race, and of legally persecuting an "excessive and injurious" influence of the Jews. The bishop protested against the charge that the Church defends the "Jews with their Judaism", but reiterated the need for showing a proper regard for the rules of human brotherhood and Christian charity.

The Church's duty to exercise charity is the necessary equivalent for leaving secular power to government authorities. Actually the sermon emphasized

the legitimacy of anti-Jewish legislation by comparing the Church's compassion for the Jews with its compassion for rightfully sentenced prisoners, but it left all responsibility for such policies to the secular authorities. Charity belongs to the Church, law and security to the state. But when the state infringes upon Church doctrine, the Church can no longer renounce political activity or subject itself to state authority.

The doctrine of race is such an issue; it tends to nullify the Church's freedom to enlist members of all races, including the Jews. Defending the Church against the charge that it shields the Jews, the Bishop of Cremona listed all the barriers which the Church has erected to prevent aspirants from too easy access into its fold. Nevertheless he insisted on its universal mission and its right to receive Jews into its community. In conclusion, the bishop, following the line of the 1937 encyclical Mit brennender Sorge, lashed out against the principles of racial materialism.

Other utterances published since 1934 show that the Church realistically discounts the menace of the Jews both as members of the financial oligarchy and as revolutionaries. The Church has become wary lest its

traditional anti-Judaism play into the hands of racial policy; it sees racial theory using the outward similarities of the Church's anti-Judaism and racial antisemitism to undermine the supra-national mission of the Church.

It is important to note that the attitude of the Church has undergone a change in recent decades. In the 1890's the situation was this; in many countries where the Church was dominant, banking capital conflicted with sections of the middle class; there were many Jews in the banking profession and the most ardent followers of the Church were in the middle class. The Church tried to meet the situation by fusing this set of economic conflicts with the prevailing intellectual conflict. In the realm of thought, the battle was between liberal education and individualist and naturalist philosophy on the one hand, and the conservatism of revealed religion on the other. Often the picture changed. Prominent Jewish participation in banking vanished with an outwork phase of capitalist development. The economic position of the Jews became precarious. At the same time, the position of the Church was also altered. It weathered the flood of irreligious sentiment which threatened it at the turn of the century; Today it is forced to struggle with totalitarianism which seeks to replace it. In this fight, the Church gains new insights into the blessings of individualism; it is even beginning to appreciate to some extent the role which 19th century Jewry (now also largely a thing of the past) played in this development.

The examples of Ireland, France and Germany show that when the Catholic Church must make decisions on specific problems it is moved not only by its traditional doctrines, but even to a greater extent by the special political and social situation in the given country. This must be kept in mind in any approach to Catholic-Jewish relations in the United States.

During most of the 19th century Catholicism in the United States was a weak minority. This was the case even in centers like Boston and Brooklyn, today Catholic strongholds. This minority was exposed to all sorts of abuses; it often had the greatest difficulties in keeping its organization intact. It had to protect its religious services and buildings against mobs steeped in traditional intolerance against priests.

About the middle of the century the position of the American Catholic Church changed. Mass immigration from Ireland brought a large contingent of the faithful and a corps of devoted functionaries. Later, at the opening of the 20th century, came the influx of Italian, Polish and Sloveks Catholics. But these "latecomers" failed to imprint their national character upon Church organization to the same extent as the Irish.

Jewish mass immigration to the United States came in the latter half of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th centuries. During that time the Catholic Church often shared with the Jews the fate of being target of violent attacks, - first by the Know Nothings, - then by the Ku Klux Klan: in 1927 the National Conference of Jews and Christians was organized as a common front against such attacks. At the same time a similar organization was organized as a common front against such attacks. At

18

the same time the first germs of conflict became discernible. For the Catholic-Jewish clash today, the relations between the Irish and the Jews seems to supply at least one basic element.

The Irish had little chance to become acquainted with the Jews in Ireland. The Jewish communities there were small. The number of Jews in Ireland today is only five or six thousand. The first wave of Irish immigration to the United States arrived at about the same time as the Jewish immigration from Germany but there was no competitive situation. The Jewish immigrants rapidly became part of the new bourgeoisie which did not meet the Irish immigrants on a competitive level.

The situation changed when Jewish proletarian and lower middle class groups flooded the eastern seaboard. This began in the 1880's and continued to World War I. The Jewish influx began to nibble at the political monopoly which the Irish had obtained on the lower level of city politics. In the '80s and '90s the Jews became active in trade unions. This prepared for the inevitable transition from purely economic to broader social and political action. After 1905 the political education of the Jewish urban masses was rapidly furthered by the influx of a large mass of Jewish small tradesmen and workers from Russia. These had taken part in political activities at home or had fled because they were barred from such activity.

Hitherto the Irish ward politician or local office-holder had handled the political problems of the city electorate with rather primitive business methods. Now he met a double Jewish competition. On his own level he had to compete with the Jewish ward politician; on a new

and unfamiliar level he faced the competition of the Jewish lawyer or trade union politician. The new competitor's intellectual outlook was to a higher degree focused on tasks previously handled by members of old American families in the higher regions of politics.

The Irish had for the most part remained in the building trades or had entered the factories. They now became conscious of the existence of the small Jewish businessman, the pawnbroker, retail store owner or secondhand car dealer. The economic position of these small businessmen was not more secure than that of the Irish laborer; but what counts in day to day relations is not so much the comparison of relative economic positions as the structure of the dependency relationship. The "power" of the Jewish grocer to grant or refuse credit for a pickled herring may seem utterly insignificant; but a series of such decisions may ultimately contribute to shaping feelings which deliberate antisemitic propaganda can successfully exploit. The lower level of Irish-Jewish antagonisms is often the relationship between the retailer and the ultimate consumer.

Another factor is perhaps worth considering. Irish politicians tend to associate the Jews with English politics. This combination of the anti-British and anti-Jewish bias was especially noticeable in two periods: during and after World War I, and immediately preceding America's entrance into World War II. Some day the Irish may perhaps realize that British and Jewish policies are not identical or even harmonious. Meantime the background of Irish-Jewish relations must be kept in mind in order to appraise the success of Father Coughlin's propaganda and to understand the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy to his activities.

20

The American Catholic Church has twenty million members - Irish, Italians, Poles, French Canadians, Mexican, Porto Ricans and others. Most of these are industrial workers in the big cities of the East and Middle West. The Church provides them with ministers who speak their own language; this helps them greatly to preserve their national coherence. Their political allegiance often reflects the sufferings and hopes of the old country; this is not unwelcome to the Catholic hierarchy whose European actions are thereby strengthened. At the same time this attitude brings such Catholic groups into conflict with the main currents of American politics.

It is primarily to these people that Father Coughlin owes his meteoric rise. He knows precisely how to arouse their feelings and to play upon their susceptibilities. But the first step in his success was due to his immediate superior, the late Bishop Gallagher, himself a fighting priest. The bishop admired Coughlin's zeal and backed him without reserve. For a time Coughlin's career was in the balance; it was still a local matter; he was shielded by his bishop and the national hierarchy did not interfere. By the time he became a national figure, it was too late; from the viewpoint of the Church it was dubious and even harmful to suppress him.

Note, too, that Coughlin's statements about the

Jews did not contradict traditional Church doctrine. He carefully distinguished between "good" and "bad" Jews; he invited the Jews to cooperate with the Christians; he denounced all forms of intolerance. Indeed, he might have gone much further in attacking the Jews and still remained within Catholic doctrine.

Coughlin's Christian Front was a boycott front against everything Jewish. But even here he took over an old technique successfully used in Austria and Poland. The attempt to form a popular Catholic antisemitic movement guided by members of the lower clergy with a mass following was new in America, but it was certainly not new in the history of the Catholic Church.

Besides, why should the Church authorities take steps against a man who, although a political controversialist, was the one Catholic priest who was listened to by several million Catholics and many non-Catholics. This is an additional factor which illuminates the attitude of the majority of the hierarchy toward Coughlin, even when their attitude was at times uneasy.

Catholics have always suffered from an inferiority complex in America, where social and financial success is so profoundly worshipped and is the supreme measure of personal value. Catholics are on the average poorer than members of the most important established denominations; their part in the intellectual and political life of America was until recently much smaller. Now, for the first time there arose a Catholic figure of national importance who gave Catholicism a place in the intellectual and political life of the nation. The hierarchy judged the case of Father Coughlin from this competitive viewpoint rather than from a strictly political one, which would emphasize the rise of a demagogue integrating the

B

last one third of the nation into a native American fascism.

Coughlin's cause was favored when, beginning with the Spanish Civil War, the majority of the hierarchy was inclined to see domestic and foreign issues under a unified aspect. This line of thinking has continued; it has borne fruit through the isolationist campaign which preceded the present war and was noticeable recently in the hierarchy's eagerness to espouse the cause of the Polish nationalists against Soviet Russia .

The Catholic Church has learned from its Spanish policy during the past century that it is a costly mistake to rely exclusively for its political support on a thin layer of the aristocracy; this exposes it to the vengeance of all popular elements. As a result the Catholic Church feels compelled to keep in touch with all rising mass movements without committing itself prematurely to any. In this country it condones those Catholic priests who are active in fascist mass movements while permitting others to be active in trade unions and other democratic organizations.

From all this it is evident that Jewish-Catholic relations in the U.S.A. cannot be considered in an isolated way. Church utterances and the attitude of its individual dignitaries reflect the prevailing atmosphere and the life of the various social and ethnic groups in this country. What is new in Father Coughlin's propaganda is that for the first time in American Catholic

Otto Kirchheimer

1. Catholic Doctrine and the Jews

The Catholic Church is, basically, a religious institution. First among its tasks are the preservation of the purity of its doctrine and its propagation throughout the world. These are eternal tasks, not to be completed until Judgment Day. Yet, as an institution, the Church has to fight its battles in the specific realities of history. In this fight Church doctrine gives the general directive. It describes the ultimate goals toward which the actions of the faithful should evolve. But every individual decision is of necessity entangled in the implications of those specific problems which the Church has had to face in the nearly two thousand years of its existence.

In trying to clarify the attitude of the Church towards the Jews, we are confronted with two aspects of the problem. We must understand first the essential points of Church doctrine, then the different, sometimes even contradictory, motivations which have guided Catholic attitudes towards the Jews at different periods and in different regions.

The church itself bases its attitude on what may be called the concept of anti-Judaism. This is something quite different from anti semitism. ¹

1. F. Vernes, "Juifs et Chrétiens", in Dictionnaire Apologetique de la Foi Catholique, Vol. II, Paris 1934, pp. 1651-1763.

2

Anti-Judaism is not an accidental element in the doctrine of the Church. Once the divine mission of Jesus Christ was accepted, a sharp demarcation line had to be drawn separating the Church from all those who refused to see Jesus as the Son of God and the Redeemer. The guilt of the Jewish people appeared to be enormous. They, Jesus' own people, not only repudiated his teachings, but persecuted him and - according to the official Church version - caused him to be put to death. The attitude of the Jews toward Christ automatically leads to their rejection by the Church; but this rejection is only a temporary one; it is applied to ^{only} the Jews, as long as they repudiate the true faith. In the epistle to the Romans, St. Paul asks: "I say then, have they stumbled that they should fall?" "God forbid," he hastens to reply, "for I am also an Israelite of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin".¹ According to God's plan, the Jews had to prove obdurate, because, as St. Paul explained, "this blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in."² Through Israel's stubbornness the heathen world has found the opportunity to reconcile itself to God and Christ. Yet Paul repeats again and again that while Providence has selected the Gentiles, the fate of the world will not be fulfilled until the Jews have been received into the flock. "And so all Israel shall be saved; as it is written, there shall come to me out of Zion the deliverer and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob".³

1. Rom. 11,1

2. Rom. 11,25

3. Rom. 11,26

When the Last Judgment approaches, Israel will return to the flock. Theologians differ on the interpretation of St. Paul's statement. "For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead." The interpretation has long been a matter of controversy. Will the Jews return automatically on Judgment Day? Or will the approach of the Last Judgment be retarded and everything kept in suspense until the blindness of the Jews has ended? The idea of making the final fulfillment of religious expectation depend on the conversion of all mankind is not alien to Judaism itself. Thus, for instance, in the prayer Shemoneh Esreh it is asked that they should all become one band to do the will of God with their whole heart.

Catholic rejection of the Jew is not unconditional; the Church's anti-Judaism is far from absolute; it ends with conversion. Hence the conversion of the Jew is on a different plane from the conversion of the heathen because though it was sometimes denied during the discussions of the Middle Ages, the position of the Jew toward the Church differs from that of the heathen or the heretic. There is a specific reason for the Gentile to hate the Jew who is the enemy of God and

do not mind source for this?

-
1. Rom. 11, 15
 2. Rom. 11 has been much discussed. Some of the interpretations have become famous. For a recent Catholic interpretation which takes the text in its literal sense, see Eric Peterson, Le Mystere des Juifs et des Gentils dans l'Eglise, Paris 1933.
 3. Cf. Joseph Klausner, From Jesus to Paul, New York 1943, pp. 469, 504.

4

has disobeyed the Gospel. Still there is something special about this. St. Paul said; "For the sake of the Gentiles, but at the same time God loves the Jew for the sake of the Patriarch".

There is a deep ambivalence in the Christian attitude to Jewish life, an ambivalence which cannot terminate before the ultimate conversion of the Jews. If, as Pascal says, Jesus Christ is in agony until the end of the days, this agony will last until the whole of Israel has been converted. But even when this extreme interpretation of the impact of Jewish conversion is rejected, the conversion still indicates a significant triumph of the Church, a confirmation of the very core of its doctrine.

"Cautious and Humane"

All this explains why the Christian apologetics from the very early days until our own time have never ceased discussing the Jews. In God's infinite wisdom, so it has been pointed out time and again, the Jews continue to exist in the midst of the nations, dispersed captives while other ancient peoples have vanished long ago. They exist, as the great 17th century preacher, Bossuet, calls it, "with the character of their reprobation, having visibly lost by their infidelity the promises made to their fathers; they exist banned from the promised land, without calling any piece of land their own, slaves where ever they go, without liberty, without the character of a nation."²

1. Rom. 11, 28

2. Bossuet, Discours sur l'histoire universelle, I, 20.

Suggestions as to what attitude Catholics should take toward the Jews show a high degree of uniformity. This is not surprising. The apologists' source of inspiration, or as we would say today, their frame of reference, is always the same: the Jews are a people repudiated by Christ but they are indispensable in the development of Christian history because they are historical witnesses whose ultimate conversion will mean Christianity's final triumph. In the middle of the ninth century, St. Agobard's pamphlet, De Inutilitate Judaeorum, retraced the attitude to be taken in the formula "cautious but humane".¹ He might have added that this formula at that time already expressed the official line chosen by the Church toward the Jews.

Caution means that the Jew must be considered an intruder in a world which is Christian. One must, as Thomas Aquinas puts it, ~~to~~ be firmly established in the faith before he is allowed to communicate with those who have never received baptism. For those who are simple in mind and of insufficient faith, every contact with Jews may bring dangerous consequences.²

However, voluntarily or by force, the evangelical message has to be communicated to the Jews. Through religious disputes between the learned men of the Church and the Rabbis, through compulsory attendance of the Jewish community at sermons specially held for that purpose,

1. Quoted in F. Vernet, op. cit., p. 1763.

2. Summa Theologica, 2, II, quaestio 10, 9.

through special public, semi-public and, later, private institutions, the work of conversion goes on. Its progress, alas! is slow. Time and again the Church complains about the stubbornness of the Jews. From St. Augustine to the homily which the Bishop of Cremona devoted to the Jews during Epiphany 1939 the complaint remains the same.¹ Inflexibly the Jews retain their racial characteristics in their own community organization. They refuse to become part of the Christian world. Thus the attitude of the Church is fixed between these two poles. It is furious against the Jews because they are the only ones to reject the authenticity of the Christian certitude of salvation. The Church believes it is necessary to protect its flock from infection by the Jews, but it does not abandon hope of their ultimate conversion. In the meantime, there is always something like a "minimum program": the Jews are to be preserved as witnesses of the truth of Christian doctrine. This militates against their extermination.

Yet, while being "cautious", the Church, following St. Agobard's formula, wants to be "human". Even in the eyes of the severest pope, Innocent III, the history of the Passion has assigned the Jewish people a special place in history: "As Cain was a wanderer and an outcast, not to be killed by anyone but marked with the sign of fear on his forehead, so the Jews against whom the voice of blood cries out, although they are not to be killed, must always be dispersed as wanderers upon the face of the earth."² Or, as the converted poetess Raissa

1. Observatore Romano, Jan. 15, 1939.

2. Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol. CCV, p1291

7

Maritain puts it in a more conciliatory way: the Christians and the Jews are going side by side on the road to Golgotha, each carrying a cross of their own.

The doctrine thus leaves great latitude for Christian practices. How has it been applied ?

2. Medieval Church Policy

Even when the dominances of the Church was uncontested, it could freely choose between toleration and persecution of the Jews only where it could exercise intellectual and political authority at the same time. In Rome and Avignon, both territories under the immediate jurisdiction of the Church, a policy of toleration with a minimum of violence prevailed more steadily than in other territories. Here, the Church, the monarchy, the nobility, and the people, the latter often under the leadership of a lower clergy not particularly responsive to the wishes of the hierarchy, behaved, to quote a Catholic apologist, "each according to its temperament and its particular characteristics"¹. But even in the territories under direct papal authority, violent reactions were not altogether excluded. It is questionable whether, as a Roman historian ventured to say,² the changes in the papal policy in regard to the Jews can be paralleled with alternating periods of Church triumphs and dangers. The answer to this depends upon whether the periods of greatness and those of defeat are to be defined according to the

1. Vernet, op. cit., p. 1763.

2. Emmanuel Rodochowitch, Le Saint Siege et les Juifs, Paris 1891.

Church's political and diplomatic successes rather than to those in the spiritual realm. At any rate, it is incontestable that the policy of the sealots, as it prevailed, for example, under Innocent III, or the Caraffa Pope, Paul IV, while keeping solidly to the aim of the conversion of the Jews, was in harmony with the idea of the perpetual servitude of the Jews under Christian rule which required their strict segregation. This anti-Jewish policy was more in harmony with the guiding principles of the Church than the policy of those popes whose more mundane outlook allowed them to put their trust in Jewish doctors and financiers and made them generally more inclined toward laxity rather than severity.

The dominance of the theological argument persisted until late in the seventeenth century. Up to that time, the situation was this; after each wave of persecution, often instigated by the lower clergy, but sometimes favored by hierarchical groups in their struggle for power with other social groups, the doctrine of suspicious toleration without extreme acts of violence reasserted itself.

3. The Jews as Protagonists of Modernism

The theological argument lost a great deal of its power during the eighteenth century. The problem of the medieval Church had been to define a permanent attitude toward the one people which, though living within the realm of the Church's domination, refused from the very beginning to adhere to the common belief. Whatever the social and economic reasons for exceptional procedures, their justification always

run primarily along theologic lines. The eighteenth-century Enlightenment reversed the position of the Church. The idea of religious toleration which now became prevalent contradicted the very nature of the Church as the exclusive avenue to salvation for the whole of mankind.

The problem of the Jews gradually became a social and political one. The attitude of the Church now had to be determined according to specific requirements of changing conditions. After having lost its spiritual monopoly as the exclusive religious institution, the Church had to enter the arena of intellectual competition. This became definitely unavoidable during the nineteenth century.

Legally the Church accepted the implications of the changed situation when the Codex Juris Canonici was reformulated in 1917, and earlier anti-Jewish legislation abrogated. The semi-official commentator Wernz remarks with justification: "It was according to other criteria that the question of the civil and political toleration of the Jews in medieval times, when the one Catholic religion was exclusively dominant and the freedom of religious belief, which has now been proclaimed, did not exist."¹ The Church has lost direct authority over the Jews and is no longer the official custodian of a universally acknowledged religion.

In consequence, the Church seemingly withdraws from the direct formulation of programs concerned with the Jews. For better or worse,

1. Wernz, Decretalen, Vol. V, Chapt. 10, p. 1234.

arguments on the Jewish question become totally enmeshed with social, economic and racial issues. Placed on the defensive throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Church, to be able to survive, had to take up arms against liberalism and, in particular, against Freemasonry. In this fight, especially under the Mastai pope, Pius IX (1846-1878), and again under the Sarto pope, Pius X (from 1903 to World War I), the Church claims to have encountered the Jew in the role of a leading representative of these hostile currents. The Church's picture of the Jew is not drawn from the poverty-stricken, oppressed and orthodox Jewish masses of the East, with which it comes into contact in Poland and in the Old Austrian Monarchy. Its pattern is rather the banker and the merchant, the politician and the journalist of the West. The Jew no longer appears merely as the enemy of the true faith who is doomed and whose position is hopeless. He now has become the powerful and menacing representative of the new economic and intellectual forces with which the Church is locked in battle for social and intellectual reasons.

The conservative Church is the close ally of the powers of yesterday, the army and the landlords. But curiously enough, its campaign against the Jew caricatured in the distorted picture of the Jewish banker as the center of the demonic power of Money joins the propaganda of the new Left, Proudhon and Fourier, when they denounce Jewish finance, and even of young Marx in the 1840's when he believes that it is the fate of the Jews in modern society to live on speculation and finance. After an internecine fight, the Church agreed on the doctrine of the in-

fallibility of the pope when announcing decisions ex cathedra; now it is up in arms against the products of modern journalism, the liberal-minded Jewish business paper of the Vienna, Berlin and Frankfurt type. The Jewish liberals, to be sure, fight back. They are on Bismarck's side in the Kulturkampf of the 1870's. The clash reaches a climax in 1910, when Sigmar Nathan, the Jewish mayor of Rome, in an official speech declares that the doctrine of papal ⁱⁿfallibility is responsible for the low educational level of the Catholic population. The same pope, Pius X, chides this "incredible attitude" of what he calls an "indecent sect".¹ The fight against the Jews has become part of the fight against modernism, and the Jewish issue forms a convenient propaganda method which, working with the oldest concept of the Catholic doctrine, is quite successful in winning popular sympathy.

Yet this criticism, which no longer emphasizes theological distinctions but attacks Jewry as the vanguard of modern unbelief, is much more than a political expedient. There are far-reaching spiritual implications in the belief that the Jews are the guiding ^{factor in} Freemasonry and have been responsible for all the iniquities of the French Revolution.² Those Catholic authors who, like Feguy, Bloy, and lately Paul Claudel,³ have

-
1. Nathan's speech is reported in Kralik, Allgemeine Weltgeschichte der neuesten Zeit, Vol. V, p. 536; the allocution of the Pope, see in Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. III, p. 586.
 2. On this aspect of the question and the relevant Catholic literature, see Bernard Laxere, L'Antisemitisme, Paris 1891, pp. 235 to 239.
 3. See, for instance, Paul Claudel's letter to B. Reys, reprinted in Les Juifs, Paris 1937, p. vi.

tried to understand in a sympathetic way the problems confronting Judaism, invariably come back to this charge. To them it matters most that the concept of the ultimate salvation of Israel presupposes the existence of a believing Israel, not an Israel which has lost the very knowledge of the notion of God. What is anathema to them is the idea that the Messiah descended on earth on February 25, 1790, in the form of the Declaration of the Rights of Man.¹ Thus, the intellectual climate of the Church's defensive fight against the encroachment of modern forms of unbelief casts its shadows on the attitude of the Church as a whole towards the Jew. Whether this tension must lead to actual explosions; whether, how and to what extent it unites with other anti-Jewish currents, depends on the strategic situation of the Church in various countries.

4. A Case History

The formal unification of the Church under the direction of the Pope does not guarantee the unification of the political and social outlook of the numerous territorial and functional organizations which draw their authority directly or indirectly from the Pope. Authoritative papal decisions are always respectfully accepted, and more often than not formal obedience is declared. Cases of open defiance of the Pontiff's authority are extremely rare - though papal decisions are given most widely varying interpretations. What is true of an individual

1. Thus S. Cohen in Archives Israelites, 1947, p. 501, as related by Vernst, op. cit.

decision in a concrete case, is still more true of general policies. The very generality of the official formula for relations with Jews - humanity and caution, charity and prudence - leaves a vast way for individual interpretation.

The history of the Catholic Church is full of such instances. It has happened scores of times that the Holy See and important parts of the Catholic population in the individual countries worked at cross purposes. One of the most famous cases is the position of the clergy in the Irish-English conflict during the second half of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth. Here the Curia Romana was directly interested in keeping Ireland within the framework of Great Britain so as to preserve an important Catholic foothold in English politics. The Holy See strenuously opposed Parnell's propaganda and especially his Land League. But it was powerless to prevent Ireland's Catholic population from donating funds to Parnell while refusing to give more than a bare minimum for Peter's pence. Papal policy was powerless to prevent Catholic country priests from joining en masse Parnell's Land League. ¹ Only at the very end, in 1921, the Church, in spite of all its earlier anathemas against the illegal activities of Sinn Fein, gave way, and sanctioned the new freedom which the people had won with the active support of the lower clergy. These historical experiences of the Irish people and their native clergy should be kept in mind. Here, devout Catholics,

1. According to Bellesheim, Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland, Vol. III, 1891, p. 668, two-thirds of the priests belonged to the Land League.

while more papist in matters of religious belief than the pope himself, acted against the outspoken mandates of the Church authorities in the political field. It will be important to remember this when analyzing the ecclesiastical picture of the United States with its preponderance of the Irish element in the ranks of the lower clergy.

5. The Dreyfus Affair and Church Policy

1870

During the nineteenth century the Catholic Church in most countries had to undergo a process of accommodation to the new society which had emerged from the French Revolution. The Church victoriously resisted the encroachment on its authority by liberal theology. All attempts to soften or remodel its monarchical structure, were shattered to pieces by the Concilium Vaticanum in 1871. But this victory did nothing to solve the practical problem of finding a social and political basis sufficiently broad to support the work of the Church. Church doctrine called for the acceptance of and cooperation with all lawful authority, republican or monarchical, autocratic or democratic. Yet, the ease with which the Church shifts its position once a new authority has finally entrenched itself is deceptive.

Like any other social organization, the Church depends on the willingness and ability of the fold to follow a newly-proclaimed policy. All through the Middle Ages and through modern times down to the nineteenth century, the Church was an official institution subsidized by the government in predominantly Catholic countries

like Spain, Italy, Austria, and France. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Church hierarchy became closely tied up with the main pillars of traditional society, the army, the landed aristocracy, the court nobility, and the higher bureaucracy. The new secular state, as it arose from the French Revolution, was predominantly governed by the urban bourgeoisie, but rested on a certain amount of legally channelled popular consent. The Church has various ways of maintaining its position within the new forms of social organization. It could try to be a crystallizing agent for all those forces which had something to gain from the restoration of the old order; it could try to accommodate itself to the rule of the new powers; it could try to become a democratic Church and attempt to regain its power by competing with the more advanced groups for the support of the broad popular masses which had been left out of the new political arrangements.

The issues seem to have been more clear-cut in France than in any other country. The specific Catholic-Jewish problem focusing in France around the Dreyfus affair becomes much more intelligible when viewed as part of that larger problem with which the Church was confronted. That problem was: how to preserve or recuperate her social status in the modern world. ^{recoup?} In the last years of Pius IX, the majority of French Church dignitaries were united in the fight for the restoration of the monarchy. When this fight seemed permanently lost, the new Pope, Leo XIII, spent a good part of his pontificate

in coming to terms with the new powers in the making - the politicians of the French middle class.

To reach an understanding with the French government was all the more necessary as the Pope did not want to give way to Italy on the question of the territorial sovereignty over Rome, and had to face a state of permanent warfare with Italy. In October 1891 the Cardinal of Algiers, ~~Lavigerie~~, spokesman for the Pope, publicly announced the new policy of ralliement. This meant unconditional recognition of the republican state and imposed upon all Catholics the duty of taking an active part in the chores of its government. However, the reception of this policy by the chief dignitaries of the army, the clergy, and the majority of Catholic politicians, was discouraging. They persevered in their negative attitude even after the pope, in the encyclical Inter multiplicem sollicitudinem, made the ralliement policy the official plank of the church.

It was in this battle for or against a reformulation of Catholic policy toward the government that anti-Jewish policy took on major significance. If the Republic could be discredited as something fundamentally corrupt and Jewish, it might founder. This might preserve the Catholic monopoly in the army, the Church's grip on the educational system, and the unchecked activities of the religious orders. If there

-
1. See the very reserved judgment of the historian of French Catholicism of this period, R.F. Lecanuet: "Si un grand nombre d'evêques se montrèrent faibles et timides, ce fut vis-à-vis des anciens partis dont ils redoutaient les représailles; ils subirent plus qu'il ne convenait les influences ambieuses et n'osèrent pas soutenir, comme il eût été nécessaire, la politique provocante de Leo XIII. Ils le sacrifièrent plus d'une fois..." (La Vie de L'Église sous Leo XIII, Paris 1930, p. 4.)

were a chance of success in this direction, the concessions for which Leo XIII was prepared to make, would become unnecessary. The stake was high, but the prospects were not bad. The battle ground was well chosen. The Church dedicated itself to preserve the integrity of the army by attacking the machinations of World Jewry to help a criminal officer named Dreyfus escape justice. Leo XIII had not intended to engage in such a fight; it was contrary to the strategy of the raisonnement policy. But once the clash came, the Curia Romana realized that there were not only evident risks but also substantial prospects of success.

Catholicism and the Dreyfus Case

Drumont was the most successful of the monarchical Catholic writers. The reasoning, the foundation of his campaign against the Jews, followed a double line. On the one hand, he took over some ideas, and revolutionaries of the first half of the century. He painted the Jew both as an exploiter of the Christian businessman and worker and as a revolutionary against agent of destruction, ¹ On the other hand, he linked his arguments with a race theory. This had nothing of the obnoxious racial creeds of present-day racialism, yet it opened the way for singling out any coherent foreign group of sufficient distinction. ² In Drumont's book and in his daily newspaper, La Libre Parole, the

1. The literary sources of Drumont have been studied by Lazare, L'Antisemitisme, Paris, 1891, pp. 237-38.

2. "...Une race, c'est-à-dire une réunion d'individus pensants de même, un ensemble représentant un certain nombre de sentiments, de croyances, d'aspirations, d'aptitudes, de traditions..." (La France Juive, 1885, Vol. II, p. 572.).

parish priests and the more recent congregations such as the Assumptionists found a wealth of material. They used it to good purpose in their daily skirmishes with government authorities whose ranks at that time did not include many practicing Catholics. Drumont's material gave their fight a certain perspective. It provided for easily understandable explanations of the mysterious ways in which finance capital operated under the often still very primitive conditions of French economy.

The Jesuits, too, as early as 1890 made free use of Drumont's material in a series of articles in the Italian organ of the society, the Civiltà Cattolica.¹ In these articles the responsibility for the expansion of Freemasonry, of secularism and of unfettered individualism was laid in somewhat vague and general terms, which the Jesuits were to regret later, at the doorstep of the Jews. The Freemasons, we read there, "want to extinguish the monarchy in order to substitute the fragile government of the people for the solidity of the throne, for which purpose they use the middlemen's services of a race that has no fatherland, no publicly recognized religion, no government of its own, and is scattered over all regions and over all nations of the world."² These articles were intended as a move in the internal discussion of the policy toward republican and secular governments; they were meant to forestall the policy of ralliement; they, therefore, remained ineffective.

1. "Della questione Giudaica in Europa", in Civiltà Cattolica (1890), Vol. 41, pp. 385, 461.

2. Ibid., p. 406.

The public announcement of religement followed shortly. But the Jesuit articles undoubtedly strengthened the opponents of this policy in the Catholic camp and they gave Drumont's material some official authority - a fact which was to become more important a few years later.

Yet even these articles, sweeping as they were in their condemnation of the evils of finance capitalism personified in the Jews, drew a sharp line between the traditional policy they recommended and the far-reaching demands of Drumont's followers. Drumont had magnanimously promised that all Jewish possessions unjustly acquired should be distributed among those who would take part in the great battle he saw approaching. He was comparing his fight to a medieval crusade with its procedure of dividing up the property of subjected people (who sometimes happened to be the Jews) among the most courageous¹ of the victors. In the last article of the series, entitled "The Remedies", Civiltà Cattolica expressly took exception to this program, emphasizing that not all Jews are swindlers, usurers and corruptors of public morals. Instead, it recommended the traditional papal program of a strict separation of Jews and Gentiles. Of course, to achieve this program, civil liberties and equality of all citizens, that is to say, the heritage of the French Revolution, would have to be abolished, and the Jews would have to be restored to the status of foreigners living under restrictions and barred, in particular,

1. La France Juive, I, p. 183.

from the acquisition of real estate.

This program readily conformed to the theological and political practice of the Catholic Church throughout the centuries. After all, it is the same program, though considerably mitigated which reappears, for example, in Jacques Maritain's Utopian intellectual pluralism. Maritain leaves intact the principle of civil equality but talks of a "proper ethico-political status for the different spiritual families".¹ This is the Church's fundamental approach to the Jewish problem. It is a matter of tactics, and not of principle, to choose the form in which to proffer this program under a specific set of circumstances. It is particularly a matter of tactics in countries where the Catholic population itself is a minority, to determine whether at times this program should be shelved in favor of the ardent vindication of a program based on the principles of equal rights and non-discrimination which necessarily would protect Catholics as well as Jews.

The program of segregation, reemphasized at the right moment, went a long way toward satisfying the desires of antisemitic propaganda during the Dreyfus affair and contributed its share towards making out of antisemitism a "major political concept", as George Bernanos² has called it. Considering the issues at stake, a withdrawal was

1. "The Mystery of Israel", in Renascence ^{The} Times, New York, 1941.

2. La Grande Peur des Bien-Penseurs, Paris 1931, p. 151.

difficult for the Catholics - although some saw early enough the dangerous implications of the alliance between clergy, army, aristocracy, dissatisfied independent middle-class, and a mob led by an intellectual like Drumont, who knew perfectly well that the old aristocracy was hollow and totally inapt for leadership. The pope's only choice was either to alienate the majority of French Catholics, or to reduce his slight prospects of coming to terms with the French Cabinet. Leo XIII chose the second alternative and refrained from colliding with the considerable majority of French Catholics, especially the army officers, the politicians, the lower clergy and the orders, as well as a great part of the population at large. The Holy See did not disapprove the attempt of its French followers to use the Dreyfus affair to recuperate lost political terrain. In 1898, Civiltà Cattolica, while siding unmistakably with the Catholic majority in its stand against the revision of the Dreyfus sentence, took pains to reiterate the program of 1890 with all its theological and political implications. Leo XIII, as well as the French Church dignitaries who had been asked to come out for Dreyfus, remained

1. See Drumont's statements in La France Juive, II, p. 78. That the representatives of the Church during the Dreyfus affair were well aware of the difference between the Church's traditional anti-Judaism and a much more far-reaching racial antisemitism may be seen from Depleige's Saint Thomas et la Question Juive (Bruxelles, 1897) which appearing at the height of the Dreyfus conflict, draws attention to the dangerous implications of the racial argument (pp. 24-25). We think it interesting to give the characteristic conclusions of the little book: "Que sortira-t-il du mouvement qui se prepare? Nul ne le sait; les antisemites eux-meme l'ignorent. Ne feraient-ils toujours pas bien de mediter la solution thomiste? Nous le pensons. Et nous croyons aussi qu'il faut souhaiter aux juifs de ne pas voir triompher des solutions plus severes." (51)

2. "El Caso di Alfredo Dreyfus" in Civiltà Cattolica, Vol. 49 (1898), pp. 273-87.

ostentatiously silent. In 1899, when it was clear that the battle was lost, Leo XIII made efforts to forestall the onslaught of the victors. Trying to reshuffle the cards, he went so far as to say: "Fortunately the victims whom God considers just enough to associate¹ their cause with that of his own Crucified Son". It was too late. The adherents of a more pragmatic concept of justice had won the day.²

The campaign against the revision of the Dreyfus trial was the battle of the formerly ruling elements of French society for the recovery of their share of political and social power. The strategists of this battle put at the service of their cause the Church's symbols and institutions, and, to some extent, also the authority of the Church. This was the occasion to reformulate anew the traditional anti-Judaism of the Catholic Church, which could be utilized, and actually was made use of, for the reinforcement of one of the first mass-movements at the service of the old ruling classes. The policy of the French Catholic hierarchy during the 1890's lent considerable support to the anti-revisionist forces which also succeeded in mobilizing the aid of international Catholicism. It is true, of course, that this policy could not help bringing about the final frustration

-
1. R.P. Lecanuet, Les Signes Avant-coureurs de la Separation, 1930, p. 198, quoting Ligieux of March 15, 1899.
 2. Civiltà Cattolica in an article "L'Anti-Clericalisme e Dreyfus", vol. 50 (1899), pp. 129-141, followed suit. This article, published one month after presidential clemency had been granted, implored the French ultras to accept the new situation because everything else would be "folly by which only the enemies of papacy and Church could profit."

of Leo XIII's strategy of ralliement. But this only shows how much
 the policy of the Church depends on specific national factors.¹

5. Political Catholicism in Germany

The policy of the Church follows in countries where Catholics are a minority group must be essentially different from that adopted in countries with a Catholic majority. Where Catholicism is predominant, the mere fact of not being a Catholic may cause disapproval. Where Catholics are a minority, it is not unlikely that Catholicism will strive to constitute a common front of all believers against the enemies of all positive religion. Where Catholics are a minority, they tend to show more understanding for the cause of all minorities. On the other hand, in a minority situation the internal organization of the Church will be run on stricter lines, and the lead given by the ecclesiastical authorities will be more willingly followed by the adherents while the very fact of Catholicism's uncontested religious supremacy in Catholic countries often makes for particularism and internal disagreements.

-
1. That anti-Judaism may go hand in hand with a moderate social reform program within the framework of a traditional society is proven by the case of Bishop Prohaszka, the most influential Catholic clergyman in the history of modern Hungary. Fervent Hungarian nationalism, and a strongly developed urge to sanctify human existence, made him one of the most effective critics of what he called "Jewish capitalism", meaning the development of the traits of finance capitalism in a still predominantly agrarian country through the medium of the Jews. But the practical limitations of such a policy are manifest. As the Church is unable and unwilling to live up to a program of national renovation in the face of the strong resistance of the ruling class, it refrains from attacking the economic alliance between landed aristocracy and Jewish commercial groups. Thus the Church's anti-Judaism serves only the interests of the landed aristocracy by providing for not too dangerous popular slogans and by keeping the Jewish bourgeoisie in perpetual political subjection. As regards Prohaszka, see A. Schuetz, "Bischof Prohaszka" in Neckland, Vol. 25 (1939), p. 322ff.

Numerically, the Jews in Germany were a very insignificant minority as compared with the Catholics who comprised more than one-third of the population. But the impact of the Jews on social development was greater than appears from population statistics; furthermore, the persecution complex of the Catholics, a heritage of the Kulturkampf, made them particularly resentful of their minority position. From the very outset, these factors militated in favor of a better climate in Catholic-Jewish relations. True, in Germany as in other countries, Catholic authorities and the Catholic press stigmatized Jewish newspapers and other cultural manifestations of the "Jewish spirit", "liberalism", etc. as well as the excesses of finance capitalism; but the comments were more restrained and the condemnation of antisemitism was much more frank and more unconditional than elsewhere. There was no trace of Catholic anti-Jewish pamphleteering or other literary enterprises of that kind.

Since Catholic-Jewish relations in Germany were singularly free from actual disturbances, it is illuminating to follow up the attitude which political representatives of German Catholicism took when antisemitism became an issue of some importance in German politics. During the severe economic depression which throttled Germany throughout the 1870's antisemitic agitation increased heavily. For the rural artisan and the retailer, for part of the peasantry, and for small business

1. A. Nieder, "Antisemitismus", in Staatslexikon, I, (1926), p. 229; F. Mannheimer, "Krise des Judentums", in Hochland, vol. 28, (1931) p. 549.

in the cities, the depression took the form of failure to keep up interest payments to, or to obtain new credits from the small Jewish bankers. Small business also suffered from the increasing competition of Jewish consumer-goods manufacturers and retail-outlets. The anti-semitic campaign found its most able representative in the Protestant Court Chaplain Stöcker and his "Christian-Social" movement which drew most of its adherents from the independent middle-class.

In 1880, Liberals in the Prussian Diet questioned the government about the steps it intended to take to end the agitation against the Jewish citizens. The issue at stake was of considerable importance, and a heated discussion took place within the parliamentary group of the (Catholic) Center Party as to the attitude to be taken in parliament. Ludwig Windthorst, the party's acknowledged leader, saw in the government's toleration of anti-Jewish propaganda and disturbances mainly an attempt to oppress a religious minority, he urged the Center Party to lend full support to the interpellation. In spite of Windthorst's threat to withdraw from leadership, the Center group rebelled against his attitude which certainly emanated from his habit of seeing and fighting every battle in terms of the Kulturkampf. They brought forward those very arguments which still prevail in the everyday decisions of political Catholicism in our time. The majority viewed the whole issue from its strictly technical aspects. Among the German people, they reasoned, there was a considerable rise of ill-feeling against the Jews; now, if the position of defenders of the Jews were taken in public by the Center group, many Catholic voters might switch to

political groups with a stronger antisemitic appeal. Therefore, they concluded, a stand had to be taken against the Jews.¹

Official spokesmen of the Center Party attacked the Jews in no uncertain terms in public session. Of course, Windhorst dissented. Speaking only for himself, he treated the whole question from the viewpoint of the toleration and protection of minorities. But the official Catholic spokesman told the Jews that factual enjoyment of political liberties was by no means the end of the problem. One could still ask, he said, whether the hopes which had been set on the emancipation had materialized. He urgently recommended that the Jewish citizenry engage in some self-examination.²

Though the political climate has changed considerably during the six decades that elapsed since the halcyon days of the 1880's, there can be no mistake about the identical substance of the charges made then and now against the Jews.

7. Catholic Policy and Totalitarianism

When competitive political conditions prevail, Catholic politics, as may be seen from the German example, show a tendency to follow or, to anticipate election trends as the best means to protect specific Catholic interests. The tendency to anticipate political trends and to justify day-to-day political decisions by fusing them with Catholic doctrine

-
1. Becken, Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der Deutschen Zentrumspartei, Vol. III, Cologne, 1927, p. 417.
 2. Haus der Abgeordneten, Preussischer Landtag, November 20, 1880, pp. 232, 248, 256.

is no less noticeable than the endeavor to uphold and support the powers that be for the sake of authority's and the Church. In Italy, after the advent of Fascism, and in Germany after Hitler's rise to power, the head of the Roman Church was willing to sacrifice the Catholic parties, whose main task, besides working in favor of a reconciliation of social antagonisms, was to take care of specific Catholic interests. As long as the full measure of the racial policy was not yet in evidence, Pius XI, the Ratti pope (1929-1939), was quite willing to leave it to the new authoritarian governments to see to it that the religious interests of the Catholic people should not suffer. The anti-Jewish policy of the German government did not present any obstacle to the policy of cooperation which flowered quickly in the Concordat of 1933. This was a complete reversal of policy on the part of the Church; as late as March 1933 Church discipline still had been put to use against Catholics joining National Socialist organizations.¹ Certainly, whenever immediate interests of the Church were affected, as for example, in regard to the status of Jews who had been converted to Catholicism, or with respect to the teaching of the Old Testament within the school curriculum, the Church stuck to her guns, without however making vital issues out of such points. Not before it had become apparent that the policy of the "racial community" was incompatible with the main tenets of Christian belief did Church authorities make any efforts to emphasize

1. For a justification of the collaboration between the Church and the Hitler government, see J. Lortz, Katholischer Euzung am Nationalsozialismus (with ecclesiastical imprimatur), Munich, 1934.

that which separates racial totalitarianism from Catholicism.

After 1939 antisemitic policies rapidly spread all over Europe. Governments looking for Nazi favors adopted antisemitism to prove their reliability. It became imperative for the self-preservation of the Church that confusion be avoided between its traditional anti-Judaism and the program of racial extermination under way in the nazified parts of Europe. Yet, the Church itself was hard pressed by the racists, and one of the accusations laid against Catholicism was that it acted as the protector of the Jews. While dissociating itself from racism, the Church at the same time had to refute the charge of being a tool of "International Jewry". It is very instructive to see how this double-edged task was performed.

In January 1939, the Bishop of Cremona delivered a sermon which was destined to clarify the position of the Church toward the Jewish problem. This sermon was immediately reprinted by the official paper of the Vatican, Osservatore Romano, which said that "Its text splendidly proves the identity of thought, of teaching and apostolate, which bind the ministers with one another and all of them with the Supreme Pontiff."¹ This authoritative interpretation was issued at a time when the Roman Church already knew that it had to engage in a life-and-death struggle with the German system of racism, but was still desperately trying to prevent the Italian fascist regime from following the same fatal course.

1. "A Homily of the Bishop of Cremona. The Church and the Jews", Osservatore Romano, January 15, 16, and 17, 1939.

The Italian government had just begun to enforce the first load of anti-Jewish legislation. The Bishop of Cremona, after reminding his audience in the good traditional fashion of the horrible fate which Jesus Christ suffered at the hands of the Jewish people, then explained, as a seemingly detached Christian student of history, the destiny of the Jewish people. God has permitted the Jews, the bishop said, to acquire strong domination in the economic and, here and there, also in the political field. But while they try, under the protection of the rich nations, to reconstruct the kingdom of ²Xion, again a new storm is unloosened against them. Of course, the fate of the Jews has to be put into the context of history within which individual happenings are presided over and decided by God. But it is the Church's ministry to fulfill these tasks toward the Jews which fall specifically within her province. The bishop, therefore, recalled the traditional tenets: the necessity to protect Christians from Jewish influence, and the Church's mission towards the Jews. While "any political defense of the integrity and prosperity of a race and any legal re reccution against an excessive and injurious influence of the [Jewish] nation" are perfectly admissible, certain definite limits are set to such policy. And the sermon, though it protests against the charge that the Church defends the "Jews with their Judaism", reiterates the necessity of showing the proper regard for the supreme rules of human brotherhood and of Christian charity. The Church's duty to exercise charity is considered the necessary equivalent for leaving worldly power within the undisputed province of government authorities. In comparing the Church's compassion for the Jews

meaning
 note the
 limitation
 (above) sep m
 political
 authority
 by the Church

with the one shown by the Church authorities to rightfully sentenced prisoners, the sermon underscores the legitimacy of anti-Jewish legislation but leaves the responsibility of such policies entirely with the secular authorities. Charity is the Church's domain, but law and security belong to the state. Whenever the state infringes the doctrines of the Church, the renunciation of the Church's political activity, and its subjection to every constituted authority, can no longer be maintained.

The race doctrine, which would tend to nullify the Church's freedom to enlist members of all races, including Jews, is just such an issue. Certainly, the Church will exercise all due precaution lest baptism be granted to persons who seek entrance to the community of the Church merely to escape prosecution or to ^{obtain} economic advantages. In defense of the Church against the charge that it shields the Jews, the bishop enumerates ^{all} individual barriers which the Church has erected to prevent aspirants from too easy access to its ranks. Still, the Church insists on its universal mission, including the right to receive the Jews into its community. "Had the Church refused access to the converted Pharisee, Saul of Tarsus, she would not have had the apostle Paul". And the bishop, following the line of the 1937 encyclical Mit brennender Sorge, Malachuk against the principle of racial materialism.

The sermon of the Bishop of Cremona was designed to clear the Church from the reproach of a too friendly attitude toward the Jews. But there are other, more theoretical utterances, published since 1934

1

in Civiltà Cattolica which must be considered. From these utterances one gains the impression that the Church discounts rather realistically the menace of the Jews both as members of the financial oligarchy and as revolutionaries. The representatives of the Church have become wary lest their traditional anti-Judaism play into the hands of a racial theory which uses the outward similarities of the Church's anti-Judaism and of racial antisemitism in its Nazi form to undermine the supra-natural mission of the Church. It is not surprising, then, that Father Renu, the editor in chief of Civiltà Cattolica, in the last article he wrote before his death in 1939, deemed it necessary to enter into polemics with Il Regime Fascista which justified the new antisemitic legislation by showing it to be much milder and less far-reaching than the measures proposed by Civiltà Cattolica in 1890.

As so happens often in polemics, both parties seem to be right. The Jesuit Father is surely right when he emphasizes that basically the Catholic Church rejects extreme measures of expulsion in favor of segregation and alien status. But the fascist apologist is right, too, when he comments on the changes which the attitude of the Church has undergone in 50 years. Outwardly, the propositions may be completely identical, but the change of the political climate was not without its effect on the attitude of the Church. In the 1890's banking capital in many countries in which the Church held a dominant position was engaged in battle with parts of the middle classes in whose ranks the Church found its

1. See the survey of articles from Civiltà Cattolica given in the Appendix.

most ardent supporters while there were many Jews in the banking profession. At that time it seemed quite adequate to fuse this set of economic conflicts with the intellectual contest between the liberal system of education and individualist and naturalist philosophies on the one hand, and the conservation of revealed religion on the other. Yet even then, as evidenced by the personality and work of Leo XIII, the fronts could be drawn quite differently. During the time that elapsed, prominent Jewish participation in banking which belonged to an outlived phase of capitalist development, had been shattered. The economic position of the Jews has become a very precarious one. The Church, ^{has} weathered the flood of irreligiosity under which it seemed to sink at the turn of the century, but has now to struggle with totalitarianism which wants to take its place. In the course of this fight the Church gains new insights even into some blessings of individualism, and with it into the role which nineteenth-century Jewry, now also largely a thing of the past, has played in this development.

Appendix I

The Catholic Attitude towards the Jews
as viewed through the Medium of Civiltà
Cattolica

The following is a short survey of the articles (referring in one way or another to the Jewish question) which have appeared since 1934 in Civiltà Cattolica, the Roman Jesuit organ. The digests below offer some insight into the evolution of authoritative Catholic thought and delineate the changes through which this evolution has gone. These phases are to some extent distinct from the various shifts in the political practice of the Catholic Church which have been necessitated by the political developments in the various countries.

(1) E. Rosa, S.I. (editor in chief of Civiltà Cattolica)
"La Questione Giudaica e l'Antisemitismo Nazionalsocialista",
vol. 85, 4 (1934), pp. 226-36; 276-85.

NationalSocialism reflects the passage from one extreme to another. Jewish preponderance under liberalism has been replaced by a form of persecution of the Jews which violates basic requirements of equity and Christian charity; this attitude is the less tolerable as it is coupled with a campaign of slander and calumny directed against the Roman Church. The articles examine critically the accusations against the Catholic Church as contained in "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion", and especially the attacks against the Church in individual contributions to Theodor Fritsch's Handbuch der Judenfrage. Rosa shows how an attempt is made to

discredit the Catholic Church by representing it as closely related and tied up with the Jews and the latter's strife for world domination. Under the pretext of fighting the Jews, Rosa says, the abolishment of all religious instruction is aspired to.

(2) "La Questione Giudaica e il Sionismo", Vol. 88 (1937), II, pp. 418-31.

The article reviews extensively H. de Fries de Heekelingen, Israel, Son Passé et son Avenir, 1937. The article then raises the following questions:

1. Would Zionism induce the Jews to abandon their messianic quest for domination in its double form of preponderant participation in capitalist as well as revolutionary activities ?
2. How would the Holy Land fare under Jewish domination ?
3. Does not Zionism tend to reinforce nationalist and anti-religious as well as communist currents among the Jews ?

The article concludes that neither Zionism nor any territorial settlement imply a lasting solution of the Jewish problem.

(3) "La Questione Giudaica e le Conversioni", 88 (1937) II, pp. 497-510.

Even if integral Zionism had a chance to be put into operation, it would take a long time for the majority of the 17 million Jews to join their brothers in Palestine. What about the rest of the Jews ? They will continue to live as before; violence against them would do no good and only provoke measures of defense. Political remedies affect only the surface and of the problem. Conversion, consequently, is the only

real solution. The article describes the conditions governing the progress of conversion. It shows how the breaking-up of Jewish religious tradition, after the abrogation of anti-Jewish restrictions has led to the spread of unbelief amongst the Jews. On the other hand, the fact that the Jews now freely live in a Christian cultural environment facilitates the policy of conversion. Yet conversion means that the converts have to abandon the Jewish nationality. This creates difficulties which the article describes and stresses with sympathy and understanding. As things are, massconversion is improbable. The Jewish problem will remain unsolved. Only partial solutions are possible before universal conversion of the Jews may take place: "Sincere willingness to achieve friendly understanding and civilized treatment must rule the conduct towards the dissidents." Some figures are added to indicate the number of conversions during the last decades, Vienna 1910-1924: 5,518; Hungary 1896-1933: 26,590 (16,840 Catholic, 9750 Protestant); Rome 1835-1936: 1,132.

(4) "La Question Juive et l'Apostolat Catholique"
Vol. 88 (1937), III, pp. 27-39.

After the preceding articles have shown the elements of the Zionist solution which are unsatisfactory from the Catholic view-point, the article develops the "true solution". Jews have achieved preponderance in modern life, yet they are leaders in irreligiosity. In the United States 80 per cent, in Germany 65 per cent of all synagogues are reformed ones. Socialism and Communism count among the Jews their most ardent followers.

To effect a change in the heart of the Jews, it is necessary first that "Catholics remove from their hearts, their language, and their conduct, every form of antisemitism". The Catholic should not make common cause with the standard-bearers and promoters of antisemitism. It should avoid everything that offends the Jews. The article sets forth four conditions which should determine the collaboration of Catholic and non-Catholic organizations in civic activities:

- (a) Permission of superiors;
- (b) That actions taken in common do not imply anything inimical to the Church;
- (c) That they do not cause public offense;
- (d) That they leave intact Catholic morals and Catholic obedience.

The article concludes the survey of prerequisites of collaboration invoking what it calls the American formula: "Cooperation without compromise". After reviewing different "political" solutions of the Jewish problem, the article says that no permanent political solution is possible, for solutions founded on the worldly interests of various nations would amount to either violent antisemitism or a disturbing predominance of the Jews. There remains only a Christian solution built on the cardinal virtues, "charity and prudence". Charity opens the way to pacific co-existence between Jews and Christians and secures a great number of conversions. Prudence makes it necessary to remove all dangers threatening the Christians and to build a bulwark against too disturbing Jewish preponderances whether they be materialistic and financial or revolutionary, so that it should not be necessary to

resort to antisemitism. "Every form of antisemitism is prohibited by the Church..." "Though political decision cannot lead to a definite solution of the Jewish problem, it can open the way for a temporary one. This solution will be the more durable and magnanimous, the more it will approximate standards of Christian charity and prudence."

(5) "Internationale questions del Sionismo", Vol. 89 (1938), II, pp. 76-82. *D*

This article contains in the main a short report on conditions in Palestine, dealing rather pessimistically with the outlook for Zionism. It is prefaced by a very concise and forceful two-page statement of the Catholic case against Judaism (See the translation in appendix II).

"Judaism is an equivocal nation as well as an equivocal religion."

The Jews are an equivocal nation because they have established themselves within the individual nations while the financial power they seek is directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously linked with the world-domination aspired to. The religion of the Jews is equivocal and corrupt; its only justification was to prepare the advent of Jesus Christ. Jewish messianism, based on the idea of world-domination by the Jewish nation, is an atheistic notion and leads to a corruption of religion. As Jewish messianism has ceased to function automatically with the advent of the Christ, there is no other definite solution to the Jewish problem than the conversion of all of Israel. According to the prophecy of Saint Paul, this universal conversion will not take place before the end of the days.

"But inasmuch as the Jewish question remains unsolved, even those most favorably inclined toward the Jews have to concede that the

D A verbal translation is found of this passage in French in Appendix II.

6

corrupted messianism, that is to say, the ruinous desire for a world-wide financial and temporal domination, makes Judaism the focus of disorder and a permanent danger to the world." As a provisional solution there exists no other than the traditional one adopted by the Papacy; charity and prudence, that is to say, a form of segregation appropriate to our age, a kind of hospitality and toleration as it is in use towards foreigners. One should not object that such treatment is unjust towards citizens belonging to another religious denomination, because it is an undisputable fact that Judaism is not only a religion, but also indissolubly linked to the concept of a nation which in turn rests on the idea of temporal and materialist messianism.

(6) E. Rosa, S.I. (editor in chief of Civiltà Cattolica)
"La Questione Giudaica e la Civiltà Cattolica - Vol. 90
(1939), pp. 3-16.

The Regime Fascista of August 1939 and following it, many other Italian publications defended the anti-Jewish measures of the Italian government by referring to proposals which had been made by Civiltà Cattolica in 1890. According to Regime Fascista, these proposals were much harsher towards the Jews than the measures put into operation by the fascist government. In entering into the polemics, E. Rosa takes care to emphasize a proposition which he afterwards repeats, namely, that the recent persecution of the Jews, initiated first by the Russian, then by the German government, lacks any religious motivation, the campaigns being directed against every form of positive

religion. He then defends the remedies proposed by Civiltà Cattolica in 1890, purporting to show that they were well within the framework of traditional Catholic thought and practice, and that they carefully avoided indiscriminate condemnation of everything Jewish. Clothing part of his polemic into a review of, recent Italian book by Mazzetti, Le Questioni Ebraiche Modena 1938 (this book is not accessible in Washington and New York) Rasmussen is in a position to mitigate, without losing face, many of the extreme statements of the 1890 article. The principles of 1789 do not appear any more as an unmitigated evil. The question now is how they have been applied during the 19th century. Judaism and Freemasonry are no longer the predominant elements which they were in the French Revolution; they are demoted to the role of a simple causal link in the variety of causes which have brought about this "extraordinary social cataclysm". The story of the Jewish origin of Freemasonry, and of Jewish preponderance within it has already been rejected by Rasmussen in 1934 as a "legend not supported by serious historians" (Civiltà Cattolica, 85, IV, p. 277). Certainly, Masonry and Judaism were evil ferments whose infiltration from the very beginning pushed liberalism towards its apostasy of the Nation to the disadvantage of God and His Church. But even here the problem of guilt is complex, and the complicity and inertia of too many Christians have also played their part. "The Christians are not justified when they try to exonerate themselves and put the blame on the Jews in order to be able to do their evil."

8

(7) "Deportazioni Antiche e Recenti", Vol. 91
(1940), pp. 388-92.

The article relates with much sympathy the story of the Jewish diaspora in the 5th century B.C., the destruction of the physical and spiritual patrimony of the Jewish people, and the conditions of their existence in exile. It shows then how, with the advent of Cyrus, the remnants of the Jews were able to return to their country. The story is meant to indicate "how a nation built on crude force will be destroyed by force, but how a nation built on a spiritual principle shows a cohesion of granite and will survive the hardest blows in its infallible process of resurrection."

In our times, too, vast migrations take place "either on account of imperative necessities to preserve the life of the people concerned, or by a process of natural and organic expansion, or by virtue of the reason of state founded on a disputable racial theory". Improved technological and industrial organization, as it prevails in our times, precludes the necessity of migration of whole tribes and people in their quest for new sources of food. On the other hand, we witness in our time gigantic movements of expansion to newly discovered and opened up countries under conditions which guarantee the continuity of the ties which bind the new settlers to their motherland. The article rejects the third form, expulsion of ethnical minorities against their will, especially under the now prevailing war-conditions. As all cultivable land in Europe is settled, such expulsion condemns the minority people

to utter destruction and unheard-of sufferance. Certainly, an ethnical community has the right to form a state, and a state which can be identified with one single nation will, as a rule, show greater cohesion. But the right of one ethnical part of an existing state to break up that state may not by any means be based upon this reasoning.

- - - - -

It is interesting to note that while Civiltis Cattolica takes great care to approve of the second type of migration, the movements of expansion to newly opened countries, thus sanctioning Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure, it castigates very openly the third type, i.e., the banishment of the German Jews.

Appendix II

Excerpts from *Civiltà Cattolica* and *Osservatore Romano*

(1) Regarding the Question of Zionism
(*Civiltà Cattolica*, Vol. 89, II, (1938) p. 76-77.)

The unique peculiarity of Judaism lies in the fact that it is simultaneously and indissolubly a nation and religion, even for the unorthodox Jews, because of their persistent Talmudic "Messianism".

Even more strange and peculiar is the fact that Judaism is an equivocal nation and also an equivocal religion. An equivocal nation, because, it is itself and something else at the same time, a part of all the nations in the world where it became established; Italian Judaism, French, German, English, American, Rumanian, Polish and so on; therefore the Jew enjoys two nationalities.

Seemingly he brings advantages to the nation in which he resides - which he actually does with his financial power and his resourcefulness - , but these advantages are dedicated, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, to the ascendancy and domination of the Jewish nation, holder of the high finance, and through it, more or less concealed, of the domination of the world. It is an equivocal religion, because, even though it boasts of being the only true religion -

-
1. As an example; The *REGIME FASCISTA*, in one of its articles (Cremona, January 22, 1938), after having given a long list of positions occupied by the Jews in Trieste, concludes: "Having made the due proportions between the 250 thousand Catholics and the 4000 Jews, we have to con-

that is to say - the Judaism of the Old Testament, model and preamble of the New, and therefore preparation for Christianity - it is by now actually a profoundly corrupted religion; the Judaism of the Talmud, antithesis of Christianity.

In fact, all the value of Judaism, its only reason wasin being the preparation for the advent of the Messiah, that is to say of being the people "chosen" to conserve the cult of the real God and the promises of redemption and universal Kingdom of the Messiah, King and Saviour of the world. After the Messiah came, in the person of Jesus Christ, necessarily and automatically the value of Judaism ceased altogether, as the "chosen" people and as religion; vos non populus meus, et ego non ero vester, according to the energetical expression of the prophet¹ Hoseah.

The real Messianism, spiritual and supernatural, of which Judaism was the real religion and simultaneously the real chosen people to prepare it, has changed into the Talmudic Messianism, materialistic and worldly. Therefore now Judaism is a nation inasmuch as it believes to be chosen for universal messianistic domination, materialistic and worldly; and it is a religion inasmuch as it professes such Messianism. This is why Judaism is a profoundly corrupted religion inasmuch as it is a nation which presume itself chosen, and it is a nation inasmuch as it is the religion of corrupted Messianism, Messianism, latent and

clude that these have nine tenths (900 per thousand) of the positions represented the intellectual, economic, financial and labor union direction of Trieste.

operating also in the unorthodox Jews and even in the atheistic ones, is, as we already mentioned above essential to Judaism.

Eliminate Messianism and automatically Judaism and the Jewish nation will cease to exist. Except by a moral miracle of Grace, it is impossible to eliminate Messianism from the Jewish soul, that is, without their conversion to Christianity. This is why, as we were saying, only in case of the conversion of all Israel to Christianity a definite solution could be given to the Jewish question. This, as said in the prophecy of Saint Paul, will happen towards the end of times.

Meanwhile, the Jewish question will remain unsolved, because, as all agree, even those most benevolent toward the Jews, the corrupted Messianism, that is, the ruinous desire for a world-wide financial and temporal domination, is the real and profound cause which renders Judaism a focus of disorder and a permanent danger for the world. This is why we can only give a relative and provisional solution, and this is none other than the traditional one applied by the Popes; Charity without persecutions, and simultaneously prudence with suitable provisions, as for instance, a form of segregation or distinction convenient to our times, in short, a civilized hospitality and coexistence, similar to the one used with foreigners.

It cannot be said that this is an unjust treatment of citizens with different religion, because, alas, it is an undisputable fact that Judaism is not only a religion, but also indissolubly a nation,

4

founded on materialistic and worldly Messianism, consciously or unconsciously, but in any case inevitably profound and longed for.

Thus, in order that the Jews might be considered with perfect justice, foreigners, the integral execution of Zionism has been proposed by some, not only with the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, but also with the possibility of sending there if not all at least the majority of the Jews, now scattered throughout the world.

(2) A Homily of the Bishop of Cremona
 The Church and the Jews
 (Observatore Romano, January 15, 1939)

We have just received the text of the Homily which was held during Epiphany by the Bishop of Cremona, Monsignor Giovanni Gazzani. Reproduced here and there in summary and in pieces and commented upon in such a way as to create the impression that with respect to the thoughts developed by the eminent Minister there are divergencies between the Bishops and even with the exalted word of the Pope, it not only deserves, but needs to be faithfully reproduced, especially the following part, because its text splendidly proves the identity of thought, of teaching and of apostolate which binds the Ministers with one another and all of them with the Supreme Minister.

Having recalled the fatal misconception, the horrible deeds, the hateful Jewish persecution of the Messiah, his apostles and disciples, against the budding Church, H.E. continued:

"Understand, brothers, I do not mention all this to lay a heavy hand on the Jews in this hour of their great affliction; in doing this I would act against the word and spirit of Christ. I do not want to add more distress to the distressed. But it is necessary in the present confusion that you frankly face the great historical fact, in the light of our faith,

The hand of God is evident in human history, illuminating especially in the tragic vicissitude of the Jewish people.

This people, small in number compared with the whole of the human race, intelligent, diligent and penetrating, mixes itself with all the peoples, without ever blending with anyone; adapts itself admirably to the political and civil, economic and cultural conditions of all nations and of all times, but retains with inflexible tenacity its own racial characteristics and its own organizations as a community in the synagogues. So, without wanting to, it becomes the shining testimony of the divinity of Christianity.

In its almost totality, the Israelitic people refuses to believe in the Gospel, but gives to the Christian religion, conserving and divulging them, its Sacred Books, in which, through the word of the prophets, we can read, so to speak, the forthcoming history of Christ; and with the fact of its historical vicissitude, this people confirms the predictions and divinity of Christ Himself.

Admirable are the successes of the worldly prosperity of the Jews. One could say that God keeps the promise of worldly prosperity to this people, that was his favorite, after having refused it the treasures of the eternal kingdom of Christ; but when it reaches a certain degree of prosperity and power, and seems near the realization of its dream of a Judean empire, a storm unloosens against it, which repeats in various forms the punishment predicted by Christ. Let us remember what happened at the time of Julian the Apostate, who dared to give the lie to Christ, favoring the Jews in the attempt of reconstructing the Kingdom of Israel. From the excavations of the foundations, erupted flames, like from a volcano, and the attempt had to be abandoned. This is also told by the pagan historian Ammiano Marcellino.

And now when the Jews have acquired in the richest countries of the world a great and strong domination in the economic, commercial, industrial and financial fields, and here and there also in the political, while they were trying, under the protection of rich nations, to reconstruct the Kingdom of Sion, again a new storm unloosens against them.

It is always the sign of the hand of God; who, however, let us understand, does not consecrate the excesses committed here and there by the hate against the Jews; as when He used Nebuchadnezzar to punish the Jewish people, still His favored one, He did not legalize all the cruelty and wickedness of that mighty Babylonian king.

You have heard it said that the Church protects and defends the Jews with their Judaism.

It is not true.

The Church has always considered the living together of the Jews with the Christians as long as they remain Jews as dangerous to the faith and tranquility of the Christian peoples. And that is why you will find an ancient and long tradition of ecclesiastical legislation and discipline, designed to restrain and limit the action and influence of the Jews amidst the Christians, and the contacts of the Christians with them, isolating the Jews and forbidding them to exercise those offices and those professions through which they could dominate or influence the spirit, the education and the customs of the Christians. But the greatest preoccupation of the Church has always been the defense and preservation of the religion and the customs of the Christians

from the harmful Jewish influence, and none other.

It is understood, that the form and strictness of the external disciplinary provisions of the Church were different according to the conditions of the countries, peoples and times, but the spirit and the substance of ecclesiastic discipline with regard to the Jews always was the same and will be.

Nor could the Church today dispense with the new conditions of civil living together, created by political occurrences in modern states and by the progress of modern private and public education, as by the changed customs of the Jews who, although preserving their spirit, do not profess and do not practice any longer their old Talmud in its entirety.

But even in the harshest times, when everything was more severe in the laws and customs of the peoples, the Church has always raised her voice in the defense of the Jews, when the reactions of the Christians against them passed the limits of humanity and charity.

And then the Church has always prayed and still prays for the conversion of the Jews and has for them a special prayer in the solemn liturgy of Holy Friday; and always welcomes with maternal arms and christens those Jews - alas always so few in number - that open their eyes to the Christian light and sincerely embrace the Christian faith.

Those, however, must break all their links with the Jewish communities and liberate themselves from any form of participation and cooperation in their social action. And this is why the sincerely con-

verted Jews meet their abandonment, aversion and not rarely persecution by their former brothers in Judaism.

Had the Church refused access to the converted Parisean Saul of Tarsus, she would not have now the Apostle Paul.

The Church cannot and does not admit the racial materialism which makes the soul and the spirit depend on blood, and which does not recognize the domination of the free and reasonable soul over the hereditary instincts, denying the efficacy of grace for this domination of the spirit over flesh and of Christian charity over natural sympathies and antipathies.

And these sincere converts, whether they come from Judaism or Paganism or from apostasy or heresy, once baptised, they are Christians in the eyes of the Church like all the others and are being treated like all the others and their marriages with Christians have exactly the same substance and effect as those of all the others.

The Church cannot forget the doctrine of St. Paul, who writing to the Colossians, affirmed that "among the regenerated in Christ there are no more Hellenes or Jews, circumcised or not circumcised, barbarians or scythians, slave or free man, but Christ is everything in all."

It is not true that the Church has changed now her canonic legislation to favor the Jews who remain such.

According to the laws of the Church, today as always, a Catholic cannot marry a Jewess and viceversa. And the Church has always done, and

does even today, everything possible to prevent these mixed marriages. And it is a fact that almost all of the mixed marriages with non-converted Jews were always purely civil ones.

In very few cases, after the situation created by the civil marriage, the Church, out of pity for the spiritual want of the Catholic party, with stiff conditions for the protection of this party's faith and for the Catholic education of the children, conceded and still is conceding dispensations of tolerance.

And today, still, Catholics submissive to the wishes of the Church do not take nor accept certain Jewish domestics, nor do they place themselves at the service of Jews if it means living in familiarity with them and much less do they trust their nursing babies to Jewish wet nurses, or their children needing instruction and education to Jewish teachers. And if until yesterday there were not a few Jewish teachers in our schools, this was not due to the Church.

But certainly not human, and much less Christian, is the scandalized feeling of certain zealots over acts of pity or charity and demonstrations of compassion for the Jews, who have been reduced by the laws for the defense of the race to miserable and pitiable conditions. To be scandalized by such merciful compassion, one must have forgotten or not understood the parable of the good Samaritan, told by Christ Himself, and to agree with Jewish inhuman intransigence against which Christ told it; it means not to understand and feel the meaning of that charity that is the practical substance of the Gospel.

Not even compassion and pity for the most common delinquents offends the law in whose name they were sentenced.

Every year I visit our jails to celebrate Easter for the inmates and I address them in words of compassion and comfort in the presence of the same magistrates who because of the strictness of the laws and the demands of social defense had to sentence them. But I have never heard the slightest protest or expression of grief by the Royal Prosecutor who is always present and touched by words of Christian charity.

But do not believe that, because of false compassion, and much less because of political calculation, the Church has enlarged today her discipline regarding the baptism of Jews.

It is possible that some parish priest or some simple monk, having let himself be taken in by the hypocrisy and slyness of some Jew, or because of imprudent compassion for him, in some case may disregard the rules set forth by the Church for such matters, but the Ecclesiastical Authority itself, in discovering such a case, would be the first to reprimand, and if necessary to punish, the person guilty of breaking its discipline.

Rest assured that the Church, who has always been cautious and slow in believing in the conversion of the Jews, and is not used to concede them baptism without long and serious probation, is even more slow and more cautious, when the circumstances of time and place can induce a Jew or a Pagan to ask for baptism in order to overcome legislative barriers or because of calculations of personal interest

or passion".

And remember, if needed, the particular diocesan dispositions, Monsignor Vescovo said, why is the Church being accused ?

The answer, as we will see in the next number, constitutes the conclusive part of the family , from which we may decide if today it is only a question of defense against Judson or also of attacks against the Catholic Church.

(3) The Homily of the Bishop of Cremona

Why is the Church being Accused?

(Observators Review, January 16-17, 1939)

In the last part of the Homily of the Bishop of Cremona is asked:

"Do you know why the Church is being accused of favoring the Hebrews at the expense of the Christians? Because the Church has condemned the exaggerated racism of the Germans, in the name of which Germany has harshly persecuted the Jews.

Now, please understand that the Church has not condemned and does not condemn any political defense of the integrity and prosperity of a race, and any legal precaution against an excessive and injurious Jewish influence on the nation, provided the supreme rules of human brotherhood and of Christian charity are not utterly disregarded, and so long as it is done with reasonable judgment and under discriminating conditions, so that a person not deserving it will not suffer from a harshness deemed necessary with regard to others.

The Church has condemned that exaggerated and separating racism, that wants to erect unsurpassable barriers of national and racial hates, aversions and egotisms, between people and people and between race and race in humanity. This exaggerated racism would end by blocking the path to the progress of human civilization, by forbidding any people and any race to add to such progress their own particular contribution of their nature, their talents and their activities and that everyone might profit by the contributions of all, and all by the contributions

of everyone.

The Church has condemned that exaggerated German racism which pretends to be erected doctrinally upon the foundation of a philosophical religious system which denies Catholic faith and Christian civilization.

It is the materialistic system of blood as generating principle determining the intellectual and spiritual as well as the individual and social life. It is the system which denies the supernatural order, the divine revelation and the divine inspiration of the Bible; it denies the original creation and unity of humanity; it denies the original sin, the universality of redemption, even redemption itself, and by it doing so the divinity of Christ, of His Gospel and of His Church, it denies the existence of a personal God, distinct from the world. It reduces the soul's immortality to the racial continuation of blood in successive generations, and substitutes for God the divinity of race and blood, which generates right and determines morals, and practically arrives finally at inhuman sterilizing mutilations, to efface the reproduction of a human race.

How could the Church fail to condemn such a complex of errors, without being a traitor to her mission of custodian and teacher of the divine doctrine of Christ ?

It would be a calumny of the worst and intentions of the Church to attribute such condemnations to viewpoints or to political aversions and sympathies. It is not the fault of the Church, if from her condemnation of certain doctrinal systems contrary to the Catholic faith the

political prestige of a state would become compromised or diminished that has incautiously promised to sustain it.

The Church does not make politics and never enters into the political order, except where and when it is made necessary by the entanglement of political with religious problems, because of the nature of such matters.

Because it is evident that religion, which must educate and guide men and nations to the observance of the laws of God and to the eternal salvation of souls, cannot but influence all human activities as all of them have to be subordinate to the laws of God.

Thus, all religious values are supreme in human life, and all other values weaken, devaluate, are lost as soon as they are put in contrast to religious values.

It should be remembered what the Head of our Government said to the people of Vicenza on September 23, 1923. 'A people cannot become great and mighty, conscious of its destiny, without drawing near to religion and considering it as an essential element of its life'.

The Church, in its mission, does not concern herself with the forms and political systems of the various state regimes. She lives with and endeavors to maintain peaceful relations with all any form of political rule, that allow her to evolve her divine mission in the world. In fact the Church, seeing that an exclusively Catholic regime is practically not possible in the modern states, negotiates and concludes its concordates with any regime that is found willing with authoritarian regimes as well as with democratic ones.

And with her concordates the Church does not intend to bind herself to the political forms of the various state regimes, nor to place herself at the service of this in preference to that; she aims only at protecting the liberty and dignity of her ministry among the peoples; and also at getting the worldly means indispensable to her spiritual mission, and at protecting the liberty of the faithful to teach and practice the doctrines of the Gospel and to collaborate with the Church herself in conserving and confirming Christian life by religious education of the youth and of the people.

Which means this; the Church intends to defend and protect that indispensable part of Christian life which is now called Catholic Action, which - although under different forms and different denominations - was always active in the Church and has no connections whatsoever with any political party, past, present, or future.

When the Church can develop her mission freely she does not endanger any political regime, on the contrary, it helps all because she teaches the faithful to recognize and respect the authority of the state in that form of political rule which it assumes in their fatherland and to collaborate with it for the common benefit of the fatherland itself; but the Church does not impose upon the faithful of a nation that they should renage the political regime of their own country to profess another, provided they leave their sons free to have their own political opinions when they don't contradict the teachings of the faith and of Christian morals.

But the Church cannot refrain from condemning a doctrine contrary to the revealed truth of which she is the custodian, with regard to the political powers used in sustaining it, even if they were in other respects beneficial to the Church herself.

No services for the Church can be invoked to silence her in the proclamation and defense of her divine truth.

The Church condemns and excommunicates also her own Bishops, Patriarchs, and if necessary also her Cardinals, when they become upholders of doctrines opposed to faith.

She has condemned Henry VIII of England, although at first she had deserved the title of defensor fidei, Defender of the Faith, and although he involved in the schism nearly a whole great people, who had given so many Saints to the Church.

It is also true that the Church even before condemning the German racism had already solemnly condemned the atheistic Communism professed, sustained and practiced in the Union of the Soviet Republics of Russia, Mexico and red Spain.

And when in France certain simple minded Catholics, dominated by the charm of social reforms which were to be imposed, showed that they would let themselves almost be taken in by the tryp of the outstretched hand of the Communists - it should not be kept quiet nor forgotten - it was precisely the Pope who gave them the alarm, protesting that Catholics cannot ally themselves with the Communists, atheists by program, for any political or social goal.

And the excommunication of the Canon 2335 against the followers