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From European Anti-Jesuitism to German Anti-Jewishness:

A Tale of Two Texts

“Jews and Jesuits will move heaven and hell against you.”
--Kurt Lüdecke, in conversation with Adolf Hitlerⁱ

A Presentation at the Conference “Honoring Stanislaw Musial”
Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland (March 5, 2009)

The current intense debate about the significance of “political religion” as a mode of analyzing fascism leads us to the core of the crisis in understanding the Holocaust.ⁱⁱ Saul Friedländer has written of an “historian’s paralysis” that “arises from the simultaneity and the interaction of entirely heterogeneous phenomena: messianic fanaticism and bureaucratic structures, pathological impulses and administrative decrees, archaic attitudes within an advanced industrial society.”ⁱⁱⁱ Despite the conflicting voices in the discussion of political religion, the debate does acknowledge two relevant facts: the obvious intermingling in Nazism of religious and secular phenomena; secondly, the underestimated role exercised by Munich Catholicism in the early life of the Nazi party.^{iv} My essay is an effort to illumine one thread in this complex territory of political religion and Nazism and my title conveys its hypotheses. First, that the centuries long polemic against the Roman Catholic religious order the Jesuits, namely, its fabrication of the Jesuit image as cynical corrupter of Christianity and European culture, provided an important template for the Nazi imagining of Jewry after its emancipation.^v This claim will be exhibited in a consideration of two historically influential texts: the *Monita*

secreta which demonized the Jesuits and the *Protocols of the Sages of Zion* which diabolized the Jews.^{vi} In the light of this examination, I shall claim that an intermingled rhetoric of Jesuit and Jewish wills to power operated in the imagination of some within the Nazi leadership, the most important of whom was Adolf Hitler himself.

While often noticed, the similarity of the demonizations of Jesuit and Jew has rarely been rigorously analyzed. They were both the most frequent victims for those who sought a total, diabolical explanation for how history operated. They formed, as Lacouture has said, a “tragic couple.”^{vii} Their diabolical character was charted on the axes of space and time. Spatially, they operated outside of any specific territory and aspired for domination over the world; they lurked behind thrones at the same time that they were quite willing to overthrow those very kings and nations. Jews and Jesuits were preeminently people of the city and, thus, were accused of being allied to wealth, loose morality, and a cunning, deracinated intelligence which was contemptuous of the traditions of the rural past. Temporally, they were at home in periods of decadence and collapse and, thus, they were perceived as devotees of modernity: the same spectacles which detected the Jesuits as fathering the French revolution saw the Jews as the creators of the Russian one.^{viii} The fabrication of these images is indebted most to two texts.

1) Monita secreta. The *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, the *Monita secreta* or, as the volume was also called, the *Monita privata*, was first published in 1615 in Cracow, Poland. While it was published anonymously, its author was almost certainly the Polish ex-Jesuit Jerome Zahorowski who had been expelled from the Order for disciplinary issues in 1613. The *Monita secreta* reveals an unbridled will to power, the ultimate aim of which is total “political governance.”^{ix} The goal was to be achieved

through close association with rulers and magnates who would be drawn to the Jesuits because, in contrast to other religious, the claims of Christian conscience would be presented as less demanding. Jesuits will become spiritual advisers to rulers in order to “infiltrate their mind” and to insert themselves into the most worldly of decisions while appearing not to do so. As one instruction mandates: In recommending individuals to the rulers for various positions “confessors and court preachers should say that they do not wish to interfere in any public administration. They should say they are speaking against their will and only out of official duty.”^x

The life-blood of this accumulating power is wealth and a frequent refrain of the *Monita* is the obligation to extract it. First from the powerful: “Our confessors of princes and magnates are to be frequently reminded that while they confer spiritual benefits, they are not to be remiss in asking for material things to enhance the welfare of the Society. Therefore they are not to miss the opportunity to acquire something when it is offered. And if the gift is deferred, they should remind the noblemen without, however, showing too much avarice.”^{xi} The Church’s bishops should be manipulated in the campaign for positions and riches: “We should praise their episcopal zeal and emphasize that their action will be remembered perpetually when our Society has taken such ecclesiastical posts. In particular, the Society will easily obtain ecclesiastical benefices from those bishops who are our penitents and slavishly depend on our direction and expect to be promoted by us to richer and more important episcopacies.”^{xii} Next in line as potential benefactors are widows who, along with their children, should be encouraged to enter religious life so as to preclude any inheritance or a second marriage and, thus, the loss of their wealth: “The widows should have explained and shown to them what is lacking in

our churches and the unfinished buildings of our colleges. They should be motivated to make such outlays as will acquire perpetual praise. Examples would be the building of churches, dining halls and similar buildings which should be designedly made grandiose and magnificent. Thereby the widows have the opportunity to declare their generosity to the world.”^{xiii} Such women must be protected from worldliness, however. “If it happens that the widows, who are inclined to piety and are very attached to the Society, are owners of a villa or two, they should be prompted to resign their goods to the Society, contenting themselves thereafter with an annual allowance from us in order that, free from temporal cares, they attend more easily to the service of God.”^{xiv} Not to be overlooked in the search for wealth are the members of the Society itself who should ideally be recruited from the families of rich benefactors. “Kind treatment is also to be shown to those young men who have not yet signed over their property to the Society. After the renunciation, they should be fed with bread and no longer with milk.”^{xv} The generosity of its members, exhibited through this renunciation and their vows, does not warrant commitment from the Order, however: “These vows do not constitute a mutual contract as if the Society was perpetually obliged to keep persons with such vows. That was never true, but the Society can dismiss when it pleases anyone for whatever reason, since the obligation [to remain a member] falls to the vower and not to the Society.”^{xvi}

The will to power is also a will to knowledge and the confessional becomes the key technology for the gathering of personal secrets and general information. Jesuits become “kings of knowledge” through their schools but also by way of their machinations.^{xvii} Knowing the secrets of rulers and their ladies empowers Jesuits in their manipulation of government ministers and advisers. Of course, there is no regard for the sacramental

secrecy of the confession itself. For example, carnal sins may yield important usable material: “If any confessor of ours hears in confession that any person of whatever sex has sinned carnally with some ecclesiastic, he should inquire if it is one of ours and who he is by name. The confessor should not absolve the penitent if he does not first name the accomplice outside of confession.”^{xviii} This way of operating accurately reflects the character of the Jesuit who is callous and a dissembler: “Our fathers should visit widows often, keeping them steadfast and paying their respect with pleasant and witty conversation. In confession, they should not treat them severely unless there is no hope of getting something out of them.”^{xix} The creation of such wills to power and knowledge is a disciplined, policed community at the center of which is the hidden but effective authority of the Jesuit Order.

2) The Protocols. *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion* has had many editions and, therefore, several editors but the consensus of scholarly opinion had been that it was composed in Paris around 1897-1899 by foreign agents working for the Russian secret police (Okhrana) under the direction of its leader Pyotr Ivanovich Rachkovsky. An abbreviated form was first published in a Russian language newspaper in 1903 but the longer version, the one that most subsequent editions follow, was published by Sergei Nilus in 1904 and his name is frequently given as its author.^{xx} That consensus has recently been challenged and the argument has been made that the *Protocols* were composed in Russian and that country provides their explanatory context.^{xxi} Mirroring that disagreement, there is scholarly controversy with regard to the objectives its composition was meant to serve. Many are of the opinion that the text provided one more weapon in the anti-Semitic arsenal of tsarist Russia. For others there is no

convincing evidence that the governments of the last two Czars ever distributed the work or otherwise used it. Although *The Protocols* might have remained the “obsession of reactionary imaginations, unknown to the world at large,” it was the Russian Revolution and the development of a new myth of “Judeo-Bolshevism” that rescued the work “from obscurity and has proved the most effective basis for its spread and its credibility.”^{xxii}

The Protocols are an account of conspiratorial discussions among Jewish leaders and reveal their will to power and their goal of establishing a world government that is subservient to them. They speak openly of their methods which are guided by the law that the “political has nothing in common with the moral.” As they say: “And the weapons in our hands are limitless ambitions, burning greediness, merciless vengeance, hatreds and malice.”^{xxiii} The leaders acknowledge their responsibility for creating the French Revolution which was merely a step toward the world domination to which they aspire: the achievement of an “international power of a nature that by its position will enable us without any violence gradually to absorb all the State forces of the world and to form a Super Government.”^{xxiv} The leaders have contempt for non-Jews whose mind is “underdeveloped in comparison with our mind” and who are called to “blind obedience.” “The *goyim* are a flock of sheep, and we are their wolves. And you know what happens when the wolves get hold of the flock?”^{xxv} Still, non-Jews are needed to carry out the directives of the Jewish elders. “The administrators whom we shall choose from among the public, with strict regard for their capacities for servile obedience, will not be persons trained in the arts of government, and will therefore easily become pawns in our game in the hands of men of learning and genius who will be their advisers, specialists bred and reared from early childhood to rule the affairs of the whole world.”^{xxvi}

As was the case with the *Monita secreta*, wealth is the life blood of the conspiracy. “In our hands is the greatest power of our day—gold: in two days we can procure from our storehouses any quantity we may please.” The objective of the elders is precise: “On the ruins of the natural and genealogical aristocracy of the *goyim* we have set up the aristocracy of our educated class headed by the aristocracy of money.”^{xxvii} Along with money, secrecy and the Press are essential tools for domination and the Press “with a few exceptions that may be disregarded, is already entirely in our hands.” The newspaper militia will be “like the Indian idol Vishnu” and will have a “hundred hands”: “Those fools who will think they are repeating the opinion of a newspaper of their own camp will be repeating our opinion or any opinion that seems desirable for us.”^{xxviii} As with the Jesuit plots, the Jewish will to power is allied with a very modern will to knowledge. The elders will surround themselves with other Jewish leaders, “with persons prepared by a special super-educational training in our special schools. These persons will have cognizance of all the secrets of the social structure, they will know all the languages that can be made up by political alphabets and words; they will be made acquainted with the whole underside of human nature, with all its sensitive cords on which they will have to play.”^{xxix} These educated radicals will spread resentment throughout society: “Then will the hour strike when, not for the sake of attaining the good, not even to win wealth, but solely out of hatred towards the privileged, the lower classes of the *goyim* will follow our lead against our rivals for power, the intellectuals of the *goyim*.”^{xxx}

The fruit of this struggle will be a government that, while having the “appearance of a patriarchal paternal guardianship,” will be totalitarian: “In our programme one-third of our subjects will keep the rest under observation from a sense of duty, on the principle of

volunteer service to the State. It will then be no disgrace to be a spy and informer, but a merit”. No challenge to the new order of governance will be tolerated: “we shall slay without mercy all who take arms in hand to oppose our coming into our kingdom.”^{xxxix} As was the achievement in the *Monita secreta*, these wills to power and knowledge create a shrine of authority that is “glorious” because it is “all-powerful.” “Our authority will be the crown of order, and in that is included the whole happiness of man. The aureole of this authority will inspire a mystical bowing of the knee before it and a reverent fear before it of all the peoples.”^{xxxii} The elders of Zion do acknowledge, however, that there was one foe who compared with their ambitions and talents: “Reared on analysis, observation, on delicacies of fine calculation, in this species of skill, we have no rivals, any more than we have either in the drawing up of plans of political actions and solidarity. In this respect the Jesuits alone might have compared with us, but we have contrived to discredit them in the eyes of the unthinking mob as an overt organization, while we ourselves all the while have kept our secret organization in the shade.”^{xxxiii}

3) ‘Monita’ and ‘Protocols’. Quite apart from this explicit mention of the Jesuit, there is an obvious correspondence in the representations of the Jesuit and Jew in these two documents . Recent scholarship has deepened the appreciation of that similarity and has attempted to trace the twisted paths along which the early seventeenth-century *Monita* contributed to the categories of the late nineteenth century *Protocols*. The emphasis has been on understanding the French milieu in which the latter was composed and where there had long been an anti-Jesuit discourse.^{xxxiv} Although major French intellectuals such as Michelet and Quinet helped to fashion the image of the diabolical Jesuit, it was the novelist Eugène Sue who popularized the figure in several enormously successful

serialized works: *The Wandering Jew* (1844-45) and *The Mysteries of the People* (1849-1857). In them the plot for Jesuit domination of the world is put forward in careful detail and the Jesuit type is put under a microscope:

It is a curious sight to view from on high the regular play of thousands of men whose personalities are continually absorbed into the immutable character of our order. (...) We possess that power. Truly, I am always struck by an almost frightening admiration, while musing that before joining us there was a man who thought, saw, believed and acted as he wished (...), and when he has been with us for a few months, there is nothing of the man left other than a shell. Intelligence, spirit, reason, conscience, free will are all paralyzed in him. He is dried up, atrophied by the habit of a mute, terrible obedience. He has engaged in mysterious exercises that shatter and kill all that is free and spontaneous in human thought. Then into these bodies that are deprived of soul, that are mute, cheerless, cold, we breathed in the spirit of our order. Immediately bodies march, see act, mechanically execute commands, but they are ignorant of any plans. They are like a hand that accomplishes the most difficult of tasks without grasping the thought of the one directing it.^{xxxv}

The second major French source is the political pamphlet written by Maurice Joly and published in 1864: *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*.^{xxxvi}

Their conversation is a disguised attack on the dictatorial rule of Napoleon III and the volume was quickly confiscated by the French and its author sentenced to jail. The judgment of the court pointed out that the dialogue “established a general thesis that the dreadful despotism taught by Machiavelli in his treatise, *The Prince*, has succeeded, by artifice and evil ways, in imposing itself on modern society....The author charges the French government with having, through shameful means, hypocritical ways, and perfidious contrivances led the public astray, degraded the character of the nation, and corrupted its morals.”^{xxxvii} Its close relationship to the *Protocols* was first noticed by a correspondent for the *Times* of London, Philipp Graves, who discovered a copy by chance in 1921 in Istanbul. Norman Cohn has pointed out how the forger of the *Protocols* plagiarized two-fifths of his entire text from Joly and even its arrangement was

imitated with the “twenty-four chapters of the *Protocols* corresponding roughly with the twenty-five of the *Dialogue*.”^{xxxviii} The themes for the discussion come out of the popular anti-Jesuit and anti-Jewish rhetorics of nineteenth century France. Machiavelli articulates the commonly charged Jesuit moral position on the relationship of ends to means: “What emerges from these considerations is *that good can come from evil; that one attains good through evil*, just as someone is cured by poison, or someone’s life is saved by the cut of a knife. ...Everything is good or bad according to the use made of it and the advantage derived from it.”^{xxxix}

Another important twist in the road to the *Protocols* was provided by a chapter in a novel by a German, Hermann Goedsche, who published *Biarritz* in 1868 under the pseudonym of Sir John Retcliffe. The chapter was entitled “In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague” and told the story of how leaders from each of the twelve Jewish tribes came together to plot the conquest of the world. They worship gold and imagine control of the media through it: “Our possession of gold, our skill in devising means of exploiting mercenary instincts, will make us the arbiters of public opinion and enable us to dominate the masses.” The sexual motif, that will become a specific staple of German anti-Semitism, is also voiced in this meeting: “It is desirable that Jews should refrain from taking women of our holy religion as their mistresses and that they should choose Christian virgins for that role.”^{xl}

In recent years scholars have complemented the earlier emphasis on the French role in the evolution of the *Protocols* with a new regard for the Russian milieu in which it was first published. For example, Cesare De Michelis has argued persuasively that the construction of the diabolical Jesuit who was ancestor to the Jew of the *Protocols* owes

less to the writings of Sue than it does to the “perverse image of Jesuitism” that flourished in nineteenth and twentieth century Russia and that led to legal prohibition of entry into Russia for Jesuits.^{xli} That image, he claims, would have been far more influential on the Russian authors of the original version of the Protocols.

4)Meeting Hitler. There is the occasional testimony to how this linked anti-Jewish, anti-Jesuit discourse found political voice in Nazi thought and practice. For example, Eichmann’s deputy, Dieter Wisliceny, who was executed in 1948 for his own involvement, described the two ideas which led Hitler and Himmler to the mass murder of Jews: one was a biological racism; the other was a “mystical and religious view which sees the world as ruled by good and bad powers. According to this view the Jews represented the evil principle, with, as auxiliaries, the Church (the Jesuit Order), Freemasonry and Bolshevism.”^{xlii} There are several major streams which carried the interrelated visions of anti-Jesuit and anti-Semite to Hitler himself. Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* celebrated the prowess of the Aryan people in its struggle with other races and his volume was very popular in Nazi circles and Hitler himself acknowledges Chamberlain’s stature in his *Mein Kampf*.^{xliii} Chamberlain’s hope for Aryan supremacy explicitly entailed a life and death conflict with Jewish and Jesuit cultures. For him, Ignatius of Loyola, allied with the Jews who made up his circle of friends, embodied the “struggle against the Germanic spirit.” The Jesuit ethos put forward an “absolute materialism” that both opposed the mystical, spiritual quality of an Aryan Christianity and subverted its love for freedom.^{xliv} Another source for Hitler would have been his one time ally, General Erich Ludendorff, who published several works that yoked Jesuit and Jew together in a general conspiracy against German

moral life and in the particular responsibility for the “stab in the back” on the homefront that brought defeat to Germany in World War I.^{xlv} A third more significant source is represented by Dietrich Eckart who has been regarded as a mentor for Hitler and to whom Hitler paid tribute at the very end of *Mein Kampf* as that “man, one of the best, who devoted his life to the awakening of his, our people, in his writings and his thoughts and finally in his deeds”.^{xlvi} Among those writings is a dialogue between him and Hitler that was published in 1924 as *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin* and which Ernst Nolte has called the “most authentic and revealing of all conversations with Hitler.”^{xlvii} As the title indicates, the speakers assert that Bolshevism was invented by the Jewish spirit from its very beginnings in Moses. There is much discussion of religion, of Judaism, of the Catholic Church as well as of the Reformation in the text. Eckart also speaks of the Jesuits and ties them to the Jews in terms of both personalities and spirit. “The moral theology of the Jesuits is similarly execrable as the moral teaching of the Talmud.”^{xlviii}

The key figure in the interrelating of Jew and Jesuit for Hitler, however, is most likely Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946) who came to be the Nazi Party’s leading ideologist well before he was appointed in 1934 as the “Führer’s delegate for the supervision of the whole intellectual and philosophical education and training of the National Socialist Party.”^{xlix} Born in Estonia into a family of Baltic Germans, he fled the Communist Revolution in 1918 and, along with other fiercely anti-Communist Russian émigrés, Rosenberg arrived in Munich at the beginning of 1919. It was in Munich where he met Hitler’s associate, Dietrich Eckart, who quickly employed him as a writer for the newspaper he edited, *In Good German (Auf Gut Deutsch)*. Rosenberg immediately starting writing up the anti-Semitic views he had brought from Russia and central to

which were convictions regarding Jews' aspiration for total power, their destructive materialism, and their responsibility for the Russian Revolution.ⁱ It was also in Munich that Rosenberg encountered the influence of Bavarian Catholicism which he probably viewed through the lens of the anti-Catholicism and anti-Jesuitism of his native Russia.ⁱⁱ In any case, he was appalled by the power exercised by Catholic culture and saw the materialism of the Jesuit at the center of its corruption of spiritual power. In 1920, Rosenberg published his *The Trace of the Jew through Changing Times* which crudely articulated the fundamentals of his anti-Semitism. In the same year he published a series of articles on Jesuitism where he examined its embodiment of Judaism.ⁱⁱⁱ A year later he would put Jesuits and Jews together as criminal aspirants to world domination.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

Rosenberg met Hitler in 1919 and he quickly became one of his followers for which he was rewarded with important posts that included chief editor of the party newspaper (*Völkischer Beobachter*) and later Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Despite these positions, there has been a tendency to underestimate Rosenberg's importance to Hitler and the Nazi movement because he does not seem to have been an influential force in Hitler's major decisions.^{liv} Today, as greater respect for the place of ideology in Nazism has grown, there is new regard for Rosenberg's importance as the architect of the National Socialist worldview.^{lv} Hitler decided to make him the first recipient in 1937 of the National Prize for Art and Science and its citation asserted that Rosenberg had distinguished himself "because he helped establish and stabilize the world view of National Socialism both scientifically and intuitively." There is also the 1943 personal letter from Hitler in which he wrote: "I still remember the day I met you in the home of Dietrich Eckart. Since then you have become the first spiritual and intellectual

co-builder of the party.”^{lvi} Although Hitler’s biographer, Konrad Heiden claimed that Rosenberg was the first to give Hitler a copy of the *Protocols*, it seems that Eckart was more likely to have introduced Hitler to its ideas and the first indication of Hitler’s embrace of those ideas is in his notes for an August 1921 speech.^{lvii} We do know, however, that Hitler also adopted Rosenberg’s view of the collusion between Jewish leadership and the creation of the Russian Revolution. We may surmise that Hitler’s own anti-Jesuitism would have welcomed Rosenberg’s presentation of the parallel between Jews and Jesuits.

For Rosenberg, the Jesuit founder “Ignatius Loyola formed a type. He consciously trod under foot men’s feelings of honor, set a new goal for ideas, revealed exact means and ways and was thus a conscious cultivator of souls.”^{lviii} Its “corpse-like obedience” has created a “herd of soulless slaves.” And for what purpose? Its goal, “Ad maiorem dei gloriam” (“For the greater glory of God”) has become the “disintegration of the Nordic-Germanic West,” and the Order has “wormed its way in everywhere that a wound became noticeable in the body of a people.”^{lix} The Order also possesses a will to knowledge that solidified itself in working toward, as it in fact did, the definition of Papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council. In having this doctrine solemnly declared “Jesuitism has drawn the last logical conclusions from the Roman system” and the “Roman-Jesuitical systematic destruction of personality was perfected.”^{lx} Jesuits and Jews have dreamed what can only seem a nightmare for spiritual peoples: “We know of the monstrously strong evil dream of Ignatius Loyola whose soul-destroying breath lies even today over our entire culture.” “On Mount Zion a dream was cultivated for centuries, the dream of gold, of power of lies and hatred. This dream drove the Jews

around the entire world, a restless, strong dream...Abandoning love, beauty, honor, the Jew dreamed only of the loveless, the ugly and the honorless. The Jew sought domination and, until 1933, seemed stronger than us.”^{lxi}

Conclusion. We know from his customary rhetoric that Hitler accepted the validity of the *Protocols*. As he writes in *Mein Kampf*:

To what an extent the whole existence of this people is based on a continuous lie is shown incomparably by the *Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, so infinitely hated by the Jews. They are based on a forgery, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* moans and screams once every week: the best proof that they are authentic. What many Jews may do unconsciously is here consciously exposed....Anyone who examines the historical development of the last hundred years from the standpoint of this book will at once understand the screaming of the Jewish press. For once this book has become the common property of a people, the Jewish menace may be considered as broken.^{lxii}

We may even wonder whether the *Protocols* was the key text for the development of Hitler’s worldview and personal strategy. His early biographer Konrad Heiden had suggested this perspective. Even if it was a forgery, Heiden pointed out, the *Protocols* nevertheless provided a “textbook of world domination, pure and simple.” “At first he [Hitler] sincerely believed that *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* were the instructions for establishing Jewish world domination. Later when time came for him to formulate his own aims, he was forced to recognize that they were laid down in this supposed Jewish book.”^{lxiii}

To my knowledge, there is no comparable reference to the *Monita secreta* in Hitler’s writings and speeches but that work’s image of Jesuit ambition and corruption was very likely in Hitler’s mind well before he developed his passionate hatred of the Jews. When he lived in Vienna before World War I, it is reported that the two groups he harangued the most were the Communists and the Jesuits, not the Jews.^{lxiv} This animosity toward

the Jesuits likely goes as far back as his adolescent years in Linz, Austria, where there was especially strong support for German nationalism. Hitler was certainly drawn as a youth to the nationalist anti-Hapsburg movement led by George Ritter von Schönerer. His “away from Rome” movement was a summons to replace the international Roman Catholic allegiance promoted by and the Jesuits with an authentic Germanic spirituality. To quote Schönerer: “So, away with those fetters that bind us to a Church inimical to Germany. Not a Jesuit but a Germanic spirit shall rule and govern in German lands.”^{lxv} Hitler’s own views and frequently expressed admiration for Schönerer suggest the “fact that Hitler not only adopted Schönerer’s political principles but also virtually copied them.”^{lxvi} If Hitler the politician comes to discard the Jesuits as object of his public invective, the reason may very well have been the two lessons he drew from the failure of Schönerer’s pan-German movement. He concluded that it was politically unwise and unnecessary to attack the Catholic Church at that time and this reluctance was one of the sources of Hitler’s rupture with his sometime ally Ludendorff who criticized him for being soft on Catholics and Jesuits.^{lxvii} The second lesson was that one should “on purely psychological grounds, never show the masses two or more opponents, since this leads to a total disintegration of their fighting power.”^{lxviii} The Jews were to be the one opponent.

This, however, did not shield the Jesuits from potential danger. As Munich’s Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber warned in a March, 1933 letter to the Bavarian episcopate: “We confront new situations from day to day, and the present Jew-baiting can turn just as quickly into Jesuit-baiting.” And while no group’s losses are comparable with that of the Jews, the enmity against the Jesuits did not stop at mere baiting: some eighty-three of them were executed by the Nazis, another forty-three died in concentration camps, and

twenty-six more died in captivity or as a result of it.^{lxxix} And the Jesuits did not totally drop from Hitler's preoccupations. Indeed, the Nazi Party's very first propaganda leaflet of 1920 declared its anti-Jesuitism.^{lxxx} And Jesuits appear in a very curious manner in some of Hitler's speeches. On December 23, 1928, Hitler denied charges that the Nazi Party was under Jesuit influence and that it was even preparing a "völkische-jesuitische" dictatorship.^{lxxxi} On November 23, 1930, Hitler mocked the claim that the Nazis were really Jesuits in disguise.^{lxxxii} Two years later, in three different speeches, he explicitly denied the accusation that he was in the pay of the Jesuits.^{lxxxiii} What are we to make of these protestations? Was it the case that, as Heiden pointed out regarding the *Protocols*, Hitler took over for himself that imagined dream of a Jesuit will to absolute power that, while written in the *Monita secreta*, haunted Hitler's youth in Linz and his early adulthood in Vienna and Munich?

ⁱ Kurt Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1937) 462. Lüdecke became an important early financial supporter of Hitler although he later became an opponent. A careful examination of Lüdecke's book has judged it to be generally reliable. See Roland Layton, Jr., "'Kurt Ludecke and I Knew Hitler: An Evaluation,'" *Central European History* 12, 4 (1979) 372-386. The context for the sentence I quote was Hitler's plan to appoint Alfred Rosenberg his foreign minister.

ⁱⁱ See the collection of essays by Uriel Tal, *Religion, Politics and Ideology in the Third Reich* (New York: Routledge, 2004). More recently there is Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion and Politics, From the Great War to the War on Terror* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), Emilio Gentile, *Politics as Religion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006) and Richard Steigmann-Gall's *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). An important collection of essays on the *The Holy Reich* was published in *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, 1 (January, 2007). Earlier significant works include the two volumes edited by Hans Maier and Michael Schäfer, *Totalitarismus und Politische Religionen* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996); *Der Nationalsozialismus als politische Religion*, edited by Michael Ley and Julius Schoeps (Bodenheim: Philo Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997); Claus-Ekkehard Bärsch, *Die politische Religion des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1998).

ⁱⁱⁱ “From Anti-Semitism to Extermination,” *Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989) 31.

^{iv} Extremely helpful for studying this role is the work of Derek Hastings. See his “How ‘Catholic’ Was the Early Nazi Movement? Religion, Race and Culture in Munich, 1919-1924” *Central European History* 36, 3 (2003) 383-433. Also see his dissertation: *Between Church and Culture: The Rise and Crisis of Progressive Catholicism in Munich, 1900-1924* (University of Chicago, 2004).

^v I choose the term “anti-Jewishness” in my title in order to transcend the false dichotomy between a religious anti-Judaism and a secular anti-Semitism. For an excellent recent study of anti-Jesuitism, see Róisín Healy’s *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003). Also there is Charles O’Neill and M. Pontet, “Antijesuitismo,” in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús I* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001) 178-189.

^{vi} Reference will be to the translation of the *Monita secreta* contained in Sabina Pavone’s *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita secreta* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005) 217-233. For the *Protocols*, reference will be to a translation by Victor Marsden published in 1934 without identification of place or publisher. The same translation was published two years later in London by the Britons Publishing Society. My own references will be to both page and protocol numbers.

^{vii} Jean Lacouture, *Jesuits: A Multibiography* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1995) p. 176. For general discussions of the demonization theme and hatred toward one or both groups and the relationship to each other, see Manfred Barthel, *The Jesuits: History and Legend of the Society of Jesus* (New York: William Morrow, 1984); Alexander Brou, *Les Jésuites de la légende*, 2 vols. (Paris: V. Retaux, 1906, 1907); Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Bernhard Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln: Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder’sche Verlagshandlung, 1892); Léon Poliakov, *La causalité diabolique: essai sur l’origine des persécutions* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1980); John Padberg, “The Demonization of the Jesuits,” *Intolerance and Indignation: l’Affaire Dreyfus*, edited by Jean Marx Guieu (Paris: Fischbacher, 2000) 141-150; Wolfram Kaiser, “‘Clericalism—that is our enemy!’: European anticlericalism and the culture wars,” *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 47-76; Jonathan Wright, *God’s Soldiers* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), especially chapter 5: “‘Rhapsodies of Calumny’: The Creation of the Anti-Jesuit Myth,” 133-171.

^{viii} As examples of this literature, see René Fülöp-Miller, *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits* (New York: Viking, 1930); E. Paris, *Histoire secrète des jésuites* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1970). Also “Antijesuitismo,” in the *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, 178-189.

^{ix} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 220 (Directive 4). On Zahorowski, see *The Wily Jesuits and the ‘Monita secreta’*, 27-42. Pavone points out here how odd it was that, two years before he died, Zahorowski was reconciled to the Jesuits and, after leaving his library to the Society, he was buried in the crypt of the Jesuit church at Lublin.(36).

^x *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 220 (Directive 4).

^{xi} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 225 (Directive 10).

^{xii} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 219 (Directive 3).

^{xiii} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 223 (Directive 6).

^{xiv} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 226 (Directive 10).

^{xv} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 228 (Directive 13).

^{xvi} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 229 (Directive 14).

^{xvii} *The Wily Jesuits and the ‘Monita secreta’*, 180.

^{xviii} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 230 (Directive 15).

^{xix} *Private Directives of the Society of Jesus*, 222 (Directive 6).

^{xx} Scholarly literature on *The Protocols* continues to grow. A few important texts are: *Les Protocoles des Sages de Sion*, edited in two volumes by Pierre-André Taguieff (Paris: Berg International, 1992); Cesare G. De Michelis, *The Non-Existent Manuscript: A Study of the ‘Protocols of the Sages of Zion’* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Hadassa Ben-Itto, *The Lie That Wouldn’t Die* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); Stephen Eric Bronner, *A Rumor About the Jews: Reflections on Antisemitism and the ‘Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion’* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000); Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the ‘Protocols of the Elders of Zion’* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1969).

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- ^{xxi} See Michael Kellogg's *The Russian Roots of Nazism: White Émigrés and the Making of National Socialism, 1917-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 57-58.
- ^{xxii} Benjamin W. Segel, *A Lie and a Libel: The History of the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion'*, edited by Richard S. Levy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 16. The reference here is to Levy's introduction.
- ^{xxiii} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 144 (Protocol 1), 170 (Protocol 9).
- ^{xxiv} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 156 (Protocol 3), 164 (Protocol 5).
- ^{xxv} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 195, 198 (Protocol 15), 180 (Protocol 11).
- ^{xxvi} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 150 (Protocol 2).
- ^{xxvii} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 221 (Protocol 22), 149 (Protocol 1).
- ^{xxviii} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 167 (Protocol 7), 185 (Protocol 12).
- ^{xxix} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 168 (Protocol 8).
- ^{xxx} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 159 (Protocol 4).
- ^{xxxi} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 199 (Protocol 15), 205 (Protocol 17), 192 (Protocol 15).
- ^{xxxii} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 222 (Protocol 22).
- ^{xxxiii} *The Protocols of the Sages of Zion*, 161 (Protocol 5).
- ^{xxxiv} For example, see Umberto Eco, "Fictional Protocols" in his *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) 117-140 and Eco's "Introduction" to Will Eisner's *The Plot: The Secret Story of 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion'* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005) v-vii. Also see Svetlana Boym, "Conspiracy Theories and Literary Ethics: Umberto Eco, Danilo Kis and *The Protocols of Zion*" *Comparative Literature* 51, 2 (Spring, 1999) 101-122.
- ^{xxxv} E. Sue, *Le Juif errant* (Paris: Paulin, 1845). Cited in Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the 'Monita Secreta'*, xv.
- ^{xxxvi} Maurice Joly, *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, translated, edited, and with commentary by John S. Waggoner (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2002).
- ^{xxxvii} French Court Decision (April 25, 1865) cited in Hans Speier, "The Truth in Hell: Maurice Joly on Modern Despotism," *Polity* 10 (1977) 19-20.
- ^{xxxviii} Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 75. This book contains an appendix that quotes the parallel passages in both works.(257-261)
- ^{xxxix} *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, 11.
- ^{xl} Goedsche, "The Rabbi's Speech," from *Biarritz*, published as "Appendix I" of Cohn's *Warrant for Genocide*, 251-256, here 255; 254..
- ^{xli} *The Non-Existent Manuscript: A Study of the 'Protocols of the Sages of Zion,' 134-135.* Supportive of the importance of this Russian tradition is Peter Burke's "The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes," in *Christianity and Community in the West*, edited by Simon Ditchfield (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2001) 165-182.
- ^{xlii} Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden: Dokumente und Aufsätze* (Berlin: Verlags-GMBH, 1961) 51: "aus einer mystisch-religiösen Vorstellung, dass die Welt von guten und bösen Kräften gelenkt würde. Das böse Prinzip stellten nach dieser Ansicht die Juden dar, deren Hilfsorganisationen die Kirche (Jesuitenorden), Freimauerei und Bolschewismus waren." English translation from Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*, 180.
- ^{xliii} *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, (in two volumes) translated from the German (*Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts [1899]*) by John Lees (New York: John Lane Company, 1913); Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, translated by Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company 1971) 269. On Chamberlain, see Geoffrey Field, *Evangelist of Race: The Germanic Vision of Houston Stewart Chamberlain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981). Another influential source for Hitler, which I have no space to consider here, is Richard Wagner who saw the Jesuits as so deserving of contempt that even hate for the Jews was diminished as a consequence. See Wagner, *Judaism in Music and Other Essays* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1995) 80.
- ^{xliv} *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, I, 564, 566; II, 411.
- ^{xl} See Erich and Mathilde Ludendorff, *Das Geheimnis der Jesuitenmacht und ihre Ende* (Munich: Ludendorffs Volkswarte, 1929) and D. J. Goodspeed, *Ludendorff* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1966).
- ^{xlvi} *Mein Kampf*, 687.

- ^{xlvii} *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin: Zwiegespräch zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir* (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1924); Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York: New American Library, 1969) 417.
- ^{xlviii} *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin*, 39 and 57, note 124.
- ^{xlix} Lionel Kochan, "Alfred Rosenberg," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, volume 3, edited by Israel Gutman (New York: Macmillan, 1990) 1305. I want to thank the Director and staff of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris for access to and assistance with their rich Rosenberg archival materials. The major study of Rosenberg's conflict with the Churches is Raimund Baumgärtner's *Weltanschauungs Kampf im Dritten Reich* (Mainx: Matthias-Grünwald Verlag, 1977). An English language collection of excerpts from Rosenberg's writings has been published as *Race and Race History and Other Essays*, edited by Robert Pois (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974).
- ⁱ See Robert Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race: Alfred Rosenberg and Nazi Ideology* (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1972) 23-27. Also see Robert Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigrés in Germany, 1881-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972).
- ⁱⁱ For example, see Ellis Sandoz, *Political Apocalypse: A Study of Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor*, second edition (Wilmington, DL: ISI Books). Also see Fülöp-Miller, *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, 463-469.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Cecil, *The Myth of the Master Race*, 25-26.
- ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Alfred Rosenberg, "Das Verbrechen der Freimauerei: Judentum, Jesuitismus, Deutschen Christentum" *Schriften aus den Jahren 1917-1921* (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1943) 518.
- ^{lv} For example, see Joachim Fest, "Alfred Rosenberg—The Forgotten Disciple," *The Face of the Third Reich* (New York: Pantheon, 1970) 163-174.
- ^{lv} Michael Kellogg, *The Russian Roots of Nazism: White Émigrés and the Making of National Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ernst Pieper, *Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe* (Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2005); Irving Hexham, "Inventing 'Paganists': A Close Reading of Richard Steigmann-Gall's *The Holy Reich*," *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, 1 (January, 2007) 64-75.
- ^{lvi} Cited in Hexham, "Inventing 'Paganists': A Close Reading of Richard Steigmann-Gall's *The Holy Reich*," 71-72.
- ^{lvii} Kellogg, *The Russian Roots of Nazism*, 73-75.
- ^{lviii} Alfred Rosenberg, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century: An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of Our Age*, translated by Vivian Bird (Torrance, California: Noontide Press, 1982) 58.
- ^{lix} *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, 103.
- ^{lx} *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, 100, 104.
- ^{lxi} *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, 283. See Rosenberg's attack on Jesuit criticism of his work: "Jesuitische Anmassungen," *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit: Eine Antwort auf die Angriffe gegen den "Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts"* (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1935 edition) 88-91.
- ^{lxii} *Mein Kampf*, 307-308.
- ^{lxiii} Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1944) 12, 141.
- ^{lxiv} See Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna: A Dictator's Apprenticeship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 302. Ian Kershaw writes: "Two subjects above all roused his aggression: the Jesuits and the 'Reds'....No mention was made of tirades against the Jews." (*Hitler: 1889-1936: Hubris* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1999] 58, 64).
- ^{lxv} Cited in Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 248.
- ^{lxvi} Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 251: "His [Hitler] views on ethnic anti-Semitism, the 'Jewish press,' Hapsburg's multiethnic empire, the precedence of the 'noble German people' over all other peoples, and the Germanic cult of the leader were as much in line with Schönerer's doctrines as was his hatred of 'Jewish-undermined Social Democracy,' of universal and equal suffrage, democracy and parliamentarism, the Jesuits, the House of Hapsburg, and many other objects of his contempt."
- ^{lxvii} Goodspeed, *Ludendorff*, 244-245.
- ^{lxviii} Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 252.
- ^{lxix} March 31, 1933 in *Akten Faulhaber*, ed. by Volk, I, 684. Cited in Theodore Hamerow, "The Conservative Resistance to Hitler and the Fall of the Weimar Republic, 1932-34," in *Between Reform, Reaction, and Resistance: Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945*, edited by Larry Eugene Jones and James Retallack (Providence: Berg, 1993) 461. The numbers of Jesuits killed is taken from Vincent Lapomarda's *The Jesuits and the Third Reich* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).

[2nd edition]). Perhaps the single most important document revealing Nazi attitudes toward Jesuits and their influence is the extensive 1937 report of the Gestapo. It has been published in *Berichte des SD und der Gestapo über Kirchen und Kirchengemeinden in Deutschland 1934-1944*, edited by Heinz Boberach (Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1971) 242-273.

^{lxx} Reginald Phelps, "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei," *American Historical Review* 68, 4 (July, 1963) 982. Hitler wrote it up with the Party's founder, Anton Drexler, in February when it was still referred to as the German Worker's Party.

^{lxxi} Adolf Hitler, *Reden, Schriften, Anordnungen Februar 1925 bis Januar 1933* volume III, edited with commentary by Bärbel Dusik and Klaus Lankheit with the assistance of Christian Hartmann (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1994) 370.

^{lxxii} Adolf Hitler, *Reden, Schriften, Anordnungen Februar 1925 bis Januar 1933* volume IV, 132.

^{lxxiii} Adolf Hitler, *Reden, Schriften, Anordnungen Februar 1925 bis Januar 1933* volume V, speeches of April 18 (p. 73), April 22 (p. 89), April 23 (p. 95).