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**MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.**

Series E: Sermons, Speeches, and Writings, 1933-1959.

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Box  
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Folder  
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Jewish-Christian relations. Sermons and notes.. 1942-1944.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the  
American Jewish Archives website.

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## CHURCHES SCHEDULE GOODWILL MEETINGS

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Two goodwill forums featuring interfaith and interracial programs will be held in observance of Brotherhood week, Feb. 20-27, by Temple Emanuel in collaboration with Grace church, the First Unitarian, the First Universalist and other downtown churches.

The Rev. Jacob Trapp and Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman will speak on "The Christian Looks at the Jew and the Jew Looks at the Christian," in the first meeting at 8 p. m. Sunday in Grace Community church, West Thirteenth avenue and Bannock street.

At the second meeting, Feb. 27, at 8 p. m. in Temple Emanuel, East Sixteenth avenue and Pearl street, the Rev. Daniel G. Hill of Shorter A. M. E. church and the Rev. Edgar M. Wahlberg will speak on "The White Looks at the Negro and the Negro Looks at the White."

**BROTHERHOOD WEEK**

**"THE CHRISTIAN LOOKS AT THE  
JEW—AND THE JEW LOOKS  
AT THE CHRISTIAN"**

**Speakers: REV. JACOB TRAPP**

Unitarian Church

**RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN**

Temple Emanuel

**Moderator: DR. WM. H. BERNHARDT**

Div. School of Theology

**PLACE:**

**GRACE COMMUNITY CHURCH**

Thirteenth at Bannock

**Time: SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 8 P. M.**

*You Are Invited to This Interfaith Forum*

Post  
2/19

★ Lest We Forget — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

1. What Judaism  
owes to Humanity  
(usually it is vice  
verse — read ①  
quotation FCC)

A. Broadening  
(Franz Rosenzweig)

B. Development of idea  
of love

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1840-1850 CALIFORNIA STREET • TELEPHONE TABor 5204

2.) What the Jew  
expects of the  
Kian — i.e. that  
he act as a Kian.

(Quote Chinese philosopher) <sup>(2)</sup>

The Jew is attacked  
for his morality

(Stanley High - P.P.)

(3)

(4)

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★ Lest We Forget — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

3) Current events  
have shown us  
that the two  
religions must stick  
together for common  
welfare.  
(Leifer — Himmoller)  
(5) (6)

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★ *Lest We Forget* — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

4) Clue — quote  
Franklin



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\* Lest We Forget - BUY WAR BONDS TODAY ①

We Christians have inherited  
the ethical and religious  
insights of Israel. We can  
never forget that the  
historic roots of our faith  
are in the Hebrew people.  
From Israel, we inherit  
the Ten Commandments, which  
are still our basic moral  
standards. From Israel we  
inherit the vision of social  
justice which has come to us

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★ *Lest We Forget* — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

Through Amos and Isaiah  
and Micah. From Israel  
we inherit even our own  
unique Xian classic, The  
NT, nearly all of which  
(if not all) was written by  
Jews.

Fed. Council (1200 ministers,  
"Stars + Sand", p. 329

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★ *Let's We Forget* — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

The fundamental  
Christian social principle  
is that of liberty, or the  
principle of respect for  
personality in all men.

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The second basic principle  
is brotherhood or fellowship.

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William Temple,  
Archbishop of York

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★ Lest We Forget — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

"To the corruptions of Christianity I am, indeed, opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the only sense in which he wished anyone to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other."

Jefferson, Writings, X, 377.

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★ Lest We Forget — BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

(1)

Religion is as effectually  
destroyed by bigotry as  
by indifference.

Emerson

Hence the value of Brotherhood  
week, and the significance  
of the title Brotherhood or Class

"We have just enough  
religion to make us hate,  
but not enough to make  
us love one another."

Jonathan Swift

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(2)

A Chinese philosopher said to  
Andre Bide: "The amazing thing  
about western civilization is that it  
bears the name of Christian and acts  
as if mercy, love, justice and brotherliness  
were the cardinal evils to be avoided.  
Why do you not do one thing or  
another: drop the Christian name and  
stop insulting the name of Christ  
by frankly pursuing a materialist objective  
or follow Christ practically and take the  
consequences?"

Forster Alley, f. 43

(3) (4)

There is a mystery about the  
people of the Jews, a mystery  
which both attracts and repels us.  
Sometimes I think that the mystery  
resides in the fact that they, unconsciously,  
perhaps, as a people, are the bearers of God's  
word .... We know they are ... We feel  
they are. And deep down in our  
hearts we hate them for it. For we  
hate God and do not want to follow  
His law. .... They remind us of  
something of which we do not like  
to be reminded. I think that there  
lies the secret of Jewish persecution  
in Christian lands.

Forgotten ally, p. 11

In "Jews, Anti-Semites, and Tyrants" **Stanley High** makes the sharp point that it's up to the enlightened folks to shoot the works in defense of the Jews, since owing partly to the disabilities under which they have labored in so many eras and countries, Jews have been found in the forefront in every effort for freedom and liberation. Where the Jew is fettered no one is free.

Mr. High has been an editor of the *Reader's Digest* since 1940. From 1919 to 1930, as a Methodist cleric, Mr. High was occupied as a member of the Reconstruction Commission in Europe and the Methodist Mission to China, as Assistant Secretary of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, and as editor of the *Christian Herald*. From 1932 to 1935 he was a current-events lecturer for the National Broadcasting Company and in 1936 he organized and directed the Good Neighbor League for Roosevelt's first campaign for re-election. Mr. High has written a number of books and many *Harper* articles. The most recent of his books was *Roosevelt—And Then?* published in 1937.



## JEW, ANTI-SEMITES, AND TYRANTS

BY STANLEY HIGH

**T**HAT the Jew is on the spot is no news for the Gentile and no novelty for the Jew. He has been more often on than off the spot ever since the reign of Justinian the First in the sixth Christian century. Since the 1870's, when modern anti-Semitism took hold in Germany and Austria, he has been there almost continuously. Hitler further transfixed him.

Neither, by this time, should it be news that the spot the Jew is on is to some considerable extent of his own making. If it were not of his own making he could escape it. But the Jews do not escape it. No Jew escapes it. The harder he tries the more he stays where he is. That has been true for as far back as we know anything about him. It was never truer than, with anti-Semitism waxing, it is to-day.

But to-day there is this difference. To-day the effort of the Jew to shed his unshakeable Jewishness or to escape its consequences is not only fruitless. It is unnecessary and it may be disastrous. For the Jew is being attacked to-day not merely for what he is accused of being, but also for what he actually is. That may be the most promising thing that has happened to him since the Dispersion.

For in the present crisis the issues involved in what the Jew has always represented have turned up at the top of the world's docket. The Jew is on the spot. For him it is the same spot. But this time he has company. He has the considerable company of all those who, like him, love freedom and hate tyranny; who desire justice and hate exploitation; who

believe mankind can build a world community that is fit for free men to live in; and who are now fighting because they will not take a dictator's "No" for an answer.

Thus for the first time on so vast and potentially conclusive a scale the Jew can be what he always has been—with trumpets and banners. This may not deliver him forthwith from all his troubles. But it will fix their source and nature, identify his enemies, join him to his friends, and make his Jewish cause something bigger and more important than Judaism—as in essence it has always been. In such a case for freedom-minded men the yellow badge with which anti-Semites mark the Jew will be no stigma but a ribbon of honor.

Meanwhile, on the old, inconclusive level, the debate goes on. To every argument against the Jew the Jews have answers. They are pat, factual, and conclusive. Some of them are semi-official. A few, recently, have been prepared by peripheral Jews who have put disarming emphasis on the fact that though they are in the community of Semites they are not of it. All told, these considerable materials ought to do. But they don't. They are answers; but not the answer. Anti-Semitism, which was never more widespread in the United States than during the past five years, has not been diminished by them.

Save for the self-satisfaction which may accrue, it is not particularly convincing to ascribe the present state of affairs—as

some Jews do—to congenital Gentile perversity. It is no apology for the perversions to which Gentile flesh is heir to say that this particular one is too highly specialized and has for too long survived while other selective animosities have had their day and disappeared to be thus summarily checked off against the streak of evil which, admittedly, is in us.

Nor, unhappily, can the guilt be wholly fixed on Hitler. To try to fix it wholly there is to ignore too long a past. In regard to the Jews, as in divers other matters which we are now engaged to settle, Hitler is the evil instrument of evil forces which—though he has employed, enlarged, and buttressed them—he did not create. The going will be tougher for the Jews if Hitler wins. One gathers from current anti-Semitic literature that our all-out anti-Semites hope that Hitler will win. But their cause is far from lost if he does not. They aim to turn war weariness, disillusionment, and suffering to sufficient anti-Semitic account to make the going tougher anyway.

If this is true the Jew should know by now that the cause lies not simply in the venom of his enemies but also in himself—not any current self, but the ancient and, for Jew and Gentile alike, the unshakable self of Judaism. For the woe of the Jews is the Jew—the unmistakable, unchanging, miraculously eternal Jew. He, more than any other of the races of man, is not only his own burden bearer, but his own burden.

Intuitively or otherwise, the Jews' oppressors have often known this better than the Jews. Basic, long-run anti-Semitism, as distinguished from the hit-and-run slanders by which the mob is started, imputes little to the Jew that is not Jewish. The world being what it habitually has been, and the Jew being what he always is, it was inevitable that the two—through so many centuries—should have been afoul of each other.

But this did not happen because of the reasons ordinarily assigned. The reasons ordinarily assigned vary in time and place. Under the Inquisition the Jew

was accused of profaning the mass and was manhandled therefor. In nineteenth-century Russia the ritual murder accusation was the pretext. In western Europe, immediately after the First World War, publication of the soon exploded but still current *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* served the purpose. Hitler's anti-Semitism has had numerous strings to it—chief of them being the Jewish-Bolshevist allegation.

Currently in the United States the most articulate anti-Semites are the after-dinner kind. They dislike the Jews in varying degrees for various reasons. Apart from the way they feel, there may be some basis for what they say.

Some Jews are undeniably loud. They do seem to flock together—which makes them louder. Real estate operators in my town tell me that, for a number of allegedly good reasons, real estate values would suffer if the Jew were let in—which, in so far as the prevailing mores can prevent it, they are not. Some Jews push and elbow. Toward redcaps, bell-boys, clerks, nurses, and others who serve them there is a widespread belief that some of them are not very considerate. I have business friends who insist that on the commercial side some of them bear close watching.

That these and other faults may also be Gentile faults is true. But it is irrelevant. Except in the eschatological sense, the Gentile is not up for examination. Whatever the precise ratio of shortcoming between Jew and Gentile, the Jew might do better to acknowledge something more than his just share, take what remedial measures he can, and move on to more important business.

The more important business is basic anti-Semitism—which this catalogue of phony crimes and minor irritations decidedly is not. If it were, no Gentile would be particularly disturbed and no Jew would need to be. In that case it could be put up with until education and assimilation got in their ameliorative work and the phenomena disappeared beneath the ensuing smoothness.

No—the Jew has not been hounded for the better part of the past thirteen centuries because of fictions about ritual murders or because he shoves in the subways or, even, because he “killed Christ”—an assertion to which Jews are inclined to give fantastic overemphasis. He has not been hounded for these reasons both because these reasons have not mattered that much for that long, and because he has often been hounded in times and places where they did not matter at all.

I have not been able to find that a lack of social graces or too much economic acumen figured in the Inquisition. Ritual murders—or religious accusations of any other kind—were no important part of the anti-Semitism that flourished in the first decade of this century in France; and are no part whatever of the anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany. I have seen painstaking studies of anti-Semitism in the United States and have conducted one myself. I have yet to see any evidence that the story of Christ's crucifixion has had any considerable effect on its rise or that the efforts now under way to modify that story in the interest of inter-religious harmony will cause its appreciable decline.

These are not anti-Semitism. These are its fronts. The fronts change. The thing that age-in, age-out has remained unchanging is not the pretexts, but the anti-Semitism. That makes it one of the most amazing phenomena in the history of human relationships. It is much too amazing and unique to be dismissed by seasonal explanations drawn from the headlines. The fact that lies back of the changing headlines and back of all the changing fronts and pretexts is that the basic reasons for anti-Semitism have never changed.

## II

Anti-Semitism is a recurring form of reaction against the struggle of Western man for religious, political, and economic emancipation. The Jew has been hated because the sources of that struggle are in large part Jewish; because inspiration

from Jewish sources has been one of the chief things that have kept it going; and because, even when the Jews themselves have tried to quit the fight, they continued to stand as its ubiquitous, distinguishable and, therefore, disturbing symbol.

That is why Jewish persecutions have always been the handmaidens of tyranny. Tyrannies, to be sure, are chronically intolerant. But the subjects of their intolerance vary with their dangers and ambitions. Toward the Jew however the intolerance of tyranny is unrelieved. With him—if tyranny gets its hands on him—it is always the same, woeful story. He is never made an exception.

That was true in the period when the absolutism involved was that of the Church. Freedom, then, went by the name of heresy. Heresy was a failure to submit to the prevailing tyranny—which happened to be ecclesiastical. The Jews, *ipso facto*, were heretics and, with varying degrees of harshness, they were treated accordingly. With rare exceptions, this is the only way they were treated. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, in particular, they were expelled, hounded, and massacred across the face of Europe. In the sixteenth century they were officially consigned to the ghetto by the Papacy.

There was no considerable break in this routine of persecution until the Church's absolutism in secular affairs was loosened. In England it was the liberalizing influence of Cromwell in the mid-seventeenth century that ushered in an era of relative Jewish tranquillity. Throughout most of Europe the Jewish lot did not much improve until the liberating events of the late eighteenth century.

Since then—and particularly since the rise of modern anti-Semitism in the 1870's—anti-Jewish feeling and persecution of the Jews have risen and fallen exactly as the struggle for religious, political, and economic emancipation has waxed and waned. In the past seventy years anti-Semitism has been the indispensable instrument of the forces of

reaction. It has served them coming and going: offensively as a way to get power; defensively, as a way to keep it.

It revived in Germany, not as is sometimes alleged as a result of the 1873 financial collapse, but as a product of the effort of the aristocracy, the agrarian capitalists, and the reactionary clericals to stem the tide of democracy which—spurred by the spreading influence of the Manchester school of liberalism—threatened to sweep the country. Its roots in Austria and Hungary were of exactly the same ultra-nationalist, ultra-reactionary sort.

In Russia at that time anti-Semitism was still the official policy of the government. Jews were confined to ghettos and treated as aliens. But liberalism filtered into Russia from western Europe and—with the same ungodly combination back of it—a savage offensive was launched against the Jews.

A pogrom broke out in western Russia on Easter eve, 1881. The mob violence that followed was bloodier than anything which had been visited on the Jews since the Black Death massacres in the fourteenth century. As usual, the means by which the mobs were incited were incendiary fabrications wholly unconnected with the real issues or the real parties involved. On the side of economic reaction this outbreak was engineered by Russia's land-owning classes—incensed and frightened by the recent emancipation of the serfs. On the side of political reaction it was the handiwork of the Slavophiles—who had drunk of Hegel's disruptive philosophy of race superiority and were alarmed at the signs and portents that the beginnings of economic freedom would lead to greater political freedom.

There was another resurgence of violent anti-Semitism in Russia at the end of the century. It was the same story. Constitutional reform was on the way. The rapidly increasing industrial proletariat was getting dangerously articulate. In all of this, anti-Semitism served as cover for an anti-democratic counter-offensive.

In Rumania—where the Jews remained under official discriminatory disabilities until 1919—modern anti-Semitism was wholly the creation of nationalist politicians. As an over-all screen for their opposition to democracy, they preached a hodge-podge gospel of German derivation designed to prove that government should be exclusively in the hands of indigenous, Rumanian "Christians."

In France modern anti-Semitism did not seriously flourish until the 1880's. It reached its culmination in the Dreyfus case in 1894 and thereafter. It was fashioned and foisted on the country by the Church, enraged at the free-church policy of the Republic; by the closely allied royalists, who wanted a restoration; and by the army, which had become a catch-all for the nation's reactionaries.

After the First World War anti-Semitism was first turned to large-scale account by Adolf Hitler. But its revival antedates him. The fabricated *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*—purporting to prove that the Jews are party to a vast conspiracy to rule the world—were rescued from Russian oblivion in 1919 and published in Germany. This "revelation" became thereafter the law and the prophets for that increasing company of Europeans who were frightened out of their reactionary wits at the prospect of what the Russian Revolution might do to their capitalistic *status quo*.

There is no record in Hitler's shady Austrian youth that any such prospect as this disturbed him. In fact there is a good deal of evidence that his youthful anti-Semitism was a retroactive product of the fecund imagination of his maturity. At any rate, he was—and is—anti-Semitic for precisely the same reasons as were his political and economic forbears and colleagues.

"My Jews," he said to Rauschnig, "are a valuable hostage given to me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an almost indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign. You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset

the ideas and the criteria of the whole world, simply and purely by attacking Judaism."

What Hitler boasted he would do he almost did. Anti-Semitism, in his diseased wake, has become—in the past ten years—an international epidemic. Its symptoms, as I have pointed out, are various. But the nature of the disease and its source are everywhere the same.

In Spain and Latin America anti-Semitism is the work of the die-hard, anti-democratic Falange party. In France—before 1939—it flourished in the upper-bracket salons of the appeasers and got to the streets in such anti-Republican outfits as the Croix de Feu. Oswald Mosley's clock-reversing Black Shirts—most of whom, unlike their American kinsmen, are now interned—were the out-in-front anti-Semites of pre-war Britain. But there, as in France, potent aid and comfort for these brawlers were derived from certain sections of the jittery but more prudent aristocracy.

Anti-Semitism in the United States is of the same piece. From Father Coughlin, the Ku-Klux Klan, and the Christian Front on up in the social scale to the long bars of our "best" clubs, the barest scratching of an economic or political reactionary almost unfailingly produces an anti-Semite. The same thing works almost as well in reverse. Apart from complaints against the Jew which arise from characteristics which—as with the Gentile—time and tenderness will heal, it can be said that anti-Semitism of the all-out German variety does not exist in the United States—any more than it exists anywhere else—except as it grows out of the ambitions and the fears of those who believe we have gone too far, and must, at all costs, be prevented from going farther along the road of religious, political, and economic emancipation.

It is the result of no quirk or aberration that the Jew is thus pounced upon. The enemies of freedom have understood, generally better than its friends, just what has to be beaten and whom, if the clock is to be turned back. They hate

the Jew because in his history and his loyalties, the Jew stands for and is the personification of everything that they stand against; and because, in his manner of life and, more recently, his leadership, the Jew has contributed far more than his proportionate share to those emancipating enterprises which promise to make the world safe for freedom.

### III

The heaviest responsibility that the Jew has to bear is his gift to the world of the Old and New Testaments, the Prophets and Jesus. Encompassed in those gifts are the form and substance, the life and breath of the struggle for freedom which the powers of the world have most desperately sought to suppress.

Guttersnipes, who serve an anti-Semitic purpose without knowing what it is all about, may call the Jews "Christ-killers." But authentic anti-Semites—with their established order to look out for—hate the Jews for no such reason. They hate the Jews not because they killed Christ, but because they produced Him. They know what short shrift can be made of their scheme of things if the succession of Jewish principles and prophets in which Jesus stands takes hold and gets going.

The area marked out by those principles and prophets is history's most fought over moral terrain. It extends from the God who cursed Cain for shrugging off his brother's blood to Moses, whose fame rests on his leadership of a slave rebellion; and Elijah, dubbed by the King a "troubler of Israel"; and Amos, who spoke uncomfortably at Bethel; and Isaiah, an aristocrat who walked with the proletariat; and the Prophet of the New Testament who, in the words of the High Priest, "stirs up the people" and, with His own words, has been stirring them up ever since.

It is true that, by diligent search through the world's wisdom literature, much of what these Jews said can be found elsewhere. But nowhere else where they have been said have they laid

such fighting hold on mankind. More amazing even than our failure to make them good has been our inability to escape them. The need to escape them has been in every Christian century the first necessity of the tyrant. For that necessity the Jew, more uniformly than anyone else, has had to suffer.

He has had to suffer not because he was more militant or more Christian than the Christian, but because, until Hitler made the plunge, frontal attacks on Christianity have generally been held to be imprudent strategy; because Christianity, as currently organized, was frequently too valuable an instrument of tyranny or reaction to be blunted; and because to hit the Jew was a way to hit at the substance of Christianity without destroying the advantages that might accrue from its form.

But historically, the Jew did more than give to the world something which large segments of it have ever since wanted to get rid of. He went on from there and, by his loyalties and manner of life, and in defiance of the powers that were trying to shake him, set up a society of his own based on the precepts and principles they were trying to shake.

It cannot be said that the Jewish character and the nature of the Jewish community are entirely a result of the diligence with which the Jew has worked at his religion. Too many Jews for too long have not worked at it at all and too many other influences have been at work. But it is a remarkable fact that these extra-religious influences have frequently served to accentuate the very qualities which were most emphasized in the Jew's religion, and most abhorred by the forces of Gentile reaction.

Tyranny assumes that there is a right and a wrong side of the tracks and no bridges. Whether his field of operation is religion, politics, economics or all three, a good deal of a tyrant's time is consumed in seeing to it that no bridges are built. The Jewish religion originated—in the view of the contemporary world—on the other side of the tracks. For most of the

time since—by the stigma the Jews have been made to bear, by the ghettos in which they have lived, by the outlawing and persecutions they have suffered—it has stayed there.

But the Jews have not stayed there. Given half a chance—and half a chance is more than they were usually given—they have built their own bridges and crossed the tracks. That doubled their offense, for, from having believed that the disabilities imposed by the world were unjust, they have gone ahead against fearful odds and proved that they were untrue. As a result of what they have achieved, there is more in Jewish history to hearten the underdog than in any other segment of human experience.

Moreover, in the political area, tyranny—ancient and modern—has been narrowly nationalist. Its walls have been bounded on all sides by barbarians, or in the more recent streamlined version by those who are worthy only "to stew in their own juice." All manner of pretexts have been used through the ages to give force to this exclusiveness. Latterly Hegel, Nietzsche, and Rosenberg have given it what some people like to call philosophical sanction. In any event, it is a doctrine which has been of immeasurable use to those who had ideas of conquest, or who, having conquered, desired to keep out infiltrating influences which might spoil the fruits thereof.

But since the Dispersion the mind and spirit of the Jew have never been thus corralled. Despite the tribalism of much of the pre-Christian history of Judaism, it was not a part of the teaching of his prophets that they should be. "Blessed be Egypt my people," said the supranational God of Isaiah, "and Assyria the work of my hands and Israel mine inheritance."

This internationalism the Jew has never been able to escape—partly because it was a part of what he believed, and partly as a consequence of the way in which, since the Dispersion, he has been treated. His line has gone out into all the earth. Across all manner of bitter

boundaries and at great peril and sacrifice, he has been his brother's keeper. He has been—at one and the same time—a loyal member of both a national and an international community. Hitler and his kind know what they are up against. They know that some little fire for the crusade for that larger and more inclusive society of which men have dreamed is bound to be kept burning so long as there are any Jews about. For keeping it alive—at their own hearths in their own ghettos—the Jews have suffered.

They have suffered, for the most part, unresistingly. That fact also belongs in their "indictment." The God of the world in which the Jews lived has most of the time been on the side of the heaviest battalions. It was part of the prevailing philosophy of force to keep Him there. But the Jews never had any battalions. In fact they got along—and miraculously well—by the exercise of those non-violent virtues which, so it suited the world to maintain, could best be got along without. That put them afoul of the princes of the established order at another point.

It is not to be wondered at that from an ancient schooling of such a sort the Jew emerged into the modern and, until recently, freer world as a champion for the rights he had always believed in, yet never had. I do not like the philosophy of Karl Marx. Neither do most of the Jews. But there is something eminently fitting in the fact that a Jew—unable, despite Gentile upbringing, to shake his Jewishness—should have given so great a lift to the proletarian upsurge in the modern world.

The reactionary attack on the Jews in the late nineteenth century in Europe was no case of mistaken identity. The Jews were in the forefront of the liberating movement that swept Germany after 1870. They had a large hand in the rise of democratic thought in Austria and Hungary. They were out ahead in the prolonged effort for constitutional reform in Russia. Out of all proportion to their

numbers, they helped to establish the trade-union movement throughout Europe; they were involved in every effort to extend political freedom, and, after the First World War and particularly in Germany, were invariably, aggressively, and with great intellectual effectiveness on the side of democracy.

Nor have the anti-Semitic reactionaries in the United States been missing the target in the nearly ten years in which, with increasing zeal and venom, they have been packaging the Jews and the Roosevelt reforms. There is no good purpose served—in fact the purpose served is a very bad one—by trying to disprove that most Jews have been for the New Deal, and that a large number of them have had an important part in it.

The majority of Jews have been overwhelmingly for the New Deal just as they have been for other progressive movements. They have been for it because—as a consequence of what they have believed and experienced—the New Deal, for all its faults, appeared to be another chapter in what they have always been for. They may have been wrong. Perhaps the New Deal will turn out to deserve no place in the push toward greater freedom. But the Jews have been there because they have thought it deserved it and—in such a case—they could not be anywhere else.

Neither is there any profit in attempting to discount the charge that, for all they were worth and with all the strength they could muster, the Jews of the United States were against Hitler and for the democracies in this war long before the United States got into it. They were. They would have been for the democracies even though there were no Jewish score to settle with the Nazis. They would have been for the democracies because, by all the accounts of what they had to say on similar issues, that is where their own prophets would have been, and where, by that devotion to freedom which has been flogged and pounded into them for thirteen Christian centuries, the Jews themselves want the world to be.

It is not likely that anti-Semitism will entirely disappear from the world this side of the millennium. But thanks to the age-old consistency of the Jews and to the clarifying openness of their modern enemies, the issues involved in anti-Semitism, its rise and fall, are now too plain to be missed. Until that far off, divine event when the last fight for freedom is won, the Jew will probably continue to bear the brunt of the hatred of all those who aim to put a ceiling to the things that man aspires for and sets out to be.

To-day, however, the Jew has a comfortably large legion of fellow-travelers. They are not Jews. They are Gentiles who are going his way. Their number includes those Christians who believe in the Christ of compassion and brotherly

love and who refuse to wash their hands, Pilate-wise, of the meaning of that Christ for this world. It includes all of us, of whatever race or creed, who believe that democracy without mutual tolerance and equal opportunity and active good will is not democracy at all but fascism. Now that we are at war with tyranny, that number should include every authentic American. To such Americans, the stigma that the Jew bears is no stigma. They know that the Jew is branded, not for having for so long been a Jew, but for having for so long been right. Whatever promise the future holds for them rests in the hope that—through this present, vast travail—enough Gentiles may be as right, and with as much tenacity, as the Jew has been and is.

# Anti-Semitism Treason Against God, Country

Dr. Henry Smith Leiper's Recent Sermon at First Presbyterian Church Here Acclaimed for Depth of Feeling and Dire Warning

In a sermon delivered at First Presbyterian Church, Englewood, October 19, 1941, Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, of Leonia, declared that "Anti-Semitism Is Treason Against God and Country," and this sermon was acclaimed by the congregation as one of the most stirring messages ever given on the subject. So many requests were made for its reproduction in The Englewood Press that The Press has published it in installments.

By HENRY SMITH LEIPER,  
American Secretary, World Council of Churches

If I were to come to you and tell you that the bubonic plague—"black death"—had broken out in America, a shudder of fear would run through every heart. If you have been reading Dr. Cronin's remarkable novel "The Keys of the Kingdom," you will remember the stark terror which the news of its approach spread in the city where his hero was a missionary. I have seen it in China and I know how terrible it can be. I am now bringing you a solemn warning against a kind of spiritual black death. I wish it might strike you with fear sufficient to make you do something about it!

I am thinking of the plague of foul anti-Semitism which has been deliberately planted here by Adolph Hitler and is being spread by his conscious and unconscious agents. Well do I remember going to the Berlin Headquarters of Der Fuehrer in 1931 and 1932 and being given there the literature of hate which the Nazi party was using to inflame the German people. Of course, they assured me that their anti-Semitic attacks were limited to the "Eastern Jews" who had but recently come to Germany and that so harm was intended against those of the race whose ancestors had lived in

Germany for seven to nine hundred years. They knew as well as I did that the Jews had served Germany in the first world war proportionately as faithfully as non-Jews—12,000 having given their lives at the front.

### No Foundation

Hitler knew, as he later told Hermann Rauschning, that his racial theories were without scientific or historic foundation; but he also knew that by planting the seeds of anti-Semitism he could quickly destroy the rising democratic structure of Germany. He used anti-Semitism as a catalytic to crystallize the unrest abroad in a land, helpless to retaliate against its foreign foes, but entirely free to maltreat its half million Jews, about one per cent of the population. They were made the scapegoats for the nation's every ill, real or fancied.

I well remember the complacency with which even the best Germans—Christians and Jews alike—viewed this campaign of vilification. On one occasion at my request, the leaders of the Evangelical Churches met with Dr. Everett Clinchy and myself in Berlin for an entire day to discuss the threat of Hitlerism. Although few of them had any good words to say for anti-Semitism, they were all obviously indifferent to its menace and blind to its potentialities as an instrument for the destruction not only of the Jews but of the basis of decent life and ultimately of Christianity itself. They did not see, as many do not today in America, that in the Nazi type of anti-Semitism there lies hidden a vicious hatred of Christianity itself—as indicated by the fact that the worst charge brought against the Jews by the professional Nazi propagandist is that they are responsible for the introduction of Christianity into the world. Attacks on the Old Testament had already begun before Hitler came to power and the New Testa-

ment soon was included as a target. I visited Reichsbishop Mueller, Hitler's puppet leader of the Evangelical Churches, at the time when he was rewriting the sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments to bring them into line with Nazi anti-Semitism. Better men than he find themselves revising their Christianity once they give place to this vile germ!

### No Doubt About It

There is not the shadow of doubt that Hitler has always promoted the planting of this disease in democratic cultures to start a malady which quickly spreads with dire results to all. He knows better than some democratic peoples that the best way to gauge the caliber of any culture is to find out how it treats its minorities and, in particular, its Jewish minority. For democracy means the right to be different. If differences can be repressed democracy dies. But I am not thinking chiefly of Germany this morning as I consider with you the dread plague of anti-Semitism. I am assuming that you desire to keep yourselves free from infection. But mere passive aloofness is no protection when the Black Death is abroad! Vigorous measures are necessary if we are to ward off the dangers already threatening America. Consequently I ask you to examine the nature of anti-Semitism. It is not dislike of certain types of persons. It is not the mere natural desire to be with your own social set. It is a peculiar form of illogical, irrational madness. It is a blindness akin to all race prejudice but complicated by the religious aspects of Jewish-Christian relationship. It is a process of generalization from any unpleasant experiences in contact with Jewish people. It is the willingness to damn a whole race because some individuals, whether few or many, have characteristics one does not and cannot like. It is the

answer of the escapism which seeks a scape-goat on which to blame misfortune or disaster. It is essentially an attack on the rights of people—a devilish device to direct the wrath of the people in times of difficulty from the real authors of their distress. Anti-Semitism is not content to deal with crime (if committed by a Jew) through the ordinary legal procedure. It wants to revert to the savage primitivism which punishes his whole family and, for that matter his whole community or his whole race. It sees no individual; judges by no calm appraisal of the facts. I will recall an experience in a forum which illustrates this. I said to a person, obviously strongly anti-Semitic, "Let's look at the facts." She replied vehemently, "I don't care anything about the facts." She was right, no anti-Semite does! He has already helped to demonstrate the truth of Mr. Hitler's too well-publicized principals of procedure; telling big lies often enough so that people believe them and finding a scape-goat upon whom every ill can indiscriminately be laid. Times of unrest or unemployment, or war provide, an ideal environment for turning endemic anti-Semitism into the pandemic sort.

It is certainly not necessary to point out that every line of the New Testament plainly shows how utterly un-Christian is anti-Semitism. I need point only to Paul's statement in his letter to the Romans, "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were accursed by Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen, according to the flesh who are Israelites." Later, he exclaims, "I say them, hath God cast away His people? God forbid. God hath not cast away his people."

#### Utterly Un-American

Nor do I need to take much time to remind you that anti-Semitism is utterly un-American. George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and others of our great leaders have spoken with deep and unmistakable conviction. (It is typical of the present Nazi attempt to poison the very springs of American democracy that a spurious letter brazenly ascribed to Benjamin Franklin has been widely used to make him appear as a sponsor for the total destruction of the Hebrew people!

This letter quotes supposed diaries and records which are non-existent as evidenced by the concerted testimony of the best Franklin biographers and historians.) Let me quote but a line or two from George Washington: "Happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection demean themselves as good citizens. May the children of the stock of Abraham who dwell in this land continue to merit and enjoy the goodwill of the other inhabitants," (From a letter to the Newport Hebrew Congregation after Washington's first inauguration.)

The most representative agencies of the United Churches have spoken unhesitatingly and convincingly on this matter. For example, the Oxford Conference of 1937 on Church, State and Society, after pointing out the responsibility which Christians bear for the prejudice directed against Jews, said "The first need is that the deepest inner attitude toward persons of other races be completely transformed by the gracious gift of God into conformity with the mind of Christ. Persons of all races should become to the Christian sons and daughters of God . . . of one brotherhood in God's love. . . . There is a call from God today to all Christians for a more passionate and costly concern for the outcaste, the underprivileged, the persecuted, the despised. . . . The recrudescence of pitiless cruelties, hatreds, race discrimination—including anti-Semitism—in the modern world is one of the major signs of its social disintegration. To these must be brought not the weak rebuke of words but the powerful rebuke of deeds." Thus spoke the representatives of 130 denominations in fifty nations.

Only a few weeks ago in a meeting attended by nearly one hundred official representatives of the major non-Roman denominations in the United States, sitting as the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, the following action was unanimously taken "Recent evidences of anti-Jewish prejudice in our own country compel us to speak again a word of solemn warning to the nation. Divisiveness on religious or racial grounds is a portentous menace to American democracy. If one group be made a tar-

get of attack today, the same spirit of intolerance may be visited on another group tomorrow and the rights and liberties of every group thus be put in jeopardy. . . . We condemn anti-Semitism as un-American. . . . Anti-Semitism is an insidious evil which, if allowed to develop, would poison the springs of our national life. . . . We condemn anti-Semitism as un-Christian. . . . No true Christian can be anti-Semitic in thought, word or deed without being untrue to his own Christian inheritance. In behalf of the Christian Churches which comprise the Federal Council we voice our renewed determination to unite in combatting every tendency to anti-Semitism in our country."

Assuming now a determination to unite in combatting this terribly evil thing, what means can we employ? First of all we can be very certain that the spread of it is the work of Adolf Hitler and his agents for the deliberate purpose of penetrating the inner defenses of democracy. What is the evidence, you ask? The clear statements of Hitler himself, the example he has set in every nation of Europe, and the additional concrete fact that a recent survey showed that 40 per cent of all the anti-Semitic literature circulating in the United States was printed in Germany and another 20 per cent quoted directly from Nazi originals. Would Hitler have sent this virus here to make us strong, do you suppose?

Secondly, get the easily ascertainable facts to meet the atrocious lies which are already being widely circulated even by people who ought to know better. Does someone say that the Jews control the press of America? You can point out that there is not a single Jew on the board of the Associated Press, not a single Jew on the directorate of the United Press, not one controlling the International News Service, not one as a director of the American Newspaper Publishers Association or the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The 27 newspapers owned by 12 Jewish publishers have a circulation of less than 2,250,000 copies daily. Gentile-owned newspapers have a total daily circulation of 37,190,024.

In other words the overwhelming "domination" of this field by Gentiles is apparent on the face of the record. Six or seven out of every

one hundred copies of our daily American newspapers are produced by Jews. Hearst controls a circulation of 4,000,000 as against the total "Jewish-controlled" circulation of 2,700,000. Take a look at the Jewish newspapers. Prominent among them are The New York Times, the Philadelphia Record and the Philadelphia Inquirer! The editor of the weekly magazine "Editor and publisher" presents these facts and rightly asks "Why all the hubbub?" The answer is: Because Adolph Hitler is fishing for trouble, and a gullible American public has swallowed his bait, hook, line and sinker.

#### Not Warmongers

You can scotch the outrageous scandal that Jews are warmongers. Most American Jews feel as do most Americans of other faiths with respect to foreign policy. That is, they represent every shade of opinion. The Gallup poll shows that the ten most interventionist states contain the smallest proportion of Jews and the ten most isolationist states have a proportion of Jews more than four times as great. It must be pointed out that the Jews are more aware than most Americans of the real character of the Hitler menace; but if you would damn a man for warning you of the spread of a plague which you ignored and he understood, then you will damn the Jews for being on the whole more concerned about the spread of Nazism than blind American Gentiles who think themselves immune from danger and are almost completely callous to the ghastly sufferings of a crucified Europe.

You can bring to bear the simple fact which makes a fool out of any person who says that the American government is controlled by Jews. There is one Jew in the cabinet, one in the Supreme Court; there are less than a dozen in the House of Representatives containing 435 members. There are none in the Senate, none in the War Department, none in the Navy Department, none in the State Department—I refer, of course, to officials, not to clerks and minor staff. Some of the most prominent experts of Hebrew race now in Washington were called there by the Hoover administration; but they provide Hitler

and Goebbelis with a shadowy excuse for damning the Roosevelt administration as Jewish.

#### In Finances

You can expose the preposterous absurdity of a claim that Jews dominate our financial structure. Only nine percent of the 637 stock exchange brokerage firms in New York are Jewish but, since the Jews constitute one-third of the population of the city, that nine percent might rise to 33 percent and then it would only be true that the Jew and the Gentile were evenly represented. Only two and eight-tenths percent of our foreign banking is handled by the one really prominent Jewish banking concern. The heavy industries, public utilities, aviation, coal, lumber, rubber and food products show a negligible proportion of Jewish ownership or control.

Jews do not own the insurance companies though they act as salesmen. They deal in scrap iron but produce no steel. They are predominant in the clothing industry and textile distribution, though constituting a minority in the retail field and in chain-store organization. Their ownership and control of the motion picture industry is by no means complete; but even there any fair-minded person will discover that the character of the films is largely determined by the voice of the Gentile at the box office and not by the stealth of the Jew in the producer's sanctum. (Some of the greatest and best distinctive Christian pictures have been produced by Jews and then neglected by the Christian public in preference for cheap, sensational films.) The Jews constitute less than four per cent of our population and a poll of the directors of great corporations show that the Jews hold but four and eight-tenths per cent of the directorates—scarcely a monopoly!

Your Nazi-duped anti-Semitic American may even accept these facts since he can't disprove them—and still assert with a leer that anyway "all Jews are Communists." Know your facts and you will be able to point out first of all, that Karl Marx, founder of modern theoretical Communism, saw the light of day in a Christian home although his parents were from Jewish stock. He was baptized a Lu-

theran Christian at the age of six. Why not call his Communism, then, a Lutheran product? It is, if you call kittens biscuits when they are born in an oven. Hitlerism is then Roman Catholic and modern Stalinism, Greek Catholic since Hitler, like Mussolini, was born a Catholic and Stalin studied in a Greek Orthodox monastery! Not even Russian bolshevism—which is very different from Marxist Communism—provides substantiation for the favorite anti-Semitic charge, since the highest proportion of Jews in the party has been five per cent; only one member of 11 in the Polit-Bureau is Jewish; and only eight of 195 State Control Commissioners are Jewish. In America two and one-half per cent of the registered Communists, half as many proportionately as Gentiles, are of the Hebrew race—in other words one out of 1,000 of the Jewish race belong to the Communist Party and if you multiply that proportion by ten you have but one per cent to show for the anti-Semitic argument.

The fact that every important Jewish organization in America has condemned Communism may not weigh heavily with your fanatic Nazi—but it is a fact just the same

There is a positive side to this story which you can help tell. Not only have the Jews not contributed unduly to the forces which threaten our democracy but they have made contributions which place us all in their debt. It is true, as the Nazis charge, that the Jews historically produced Christianity. The founder of the Church and every one of his associates save Luke came out of Israel. Sixty-four of the 66 books in the Bible were penned by Jews. So were all of the basic laws upon which our legal system rests. The concepts of democracy derive from the Old Testament, which we think of as a Christian book, but which is actually the Jewish Bible.—Christian by adoption, not in origin. In the field of health-protection and the fight against disease, our debt to Jewish scientists is immeasurable. (Logical anti-Semites ought to ape the fanatical Nazis who sought to do away with vaccination, the Schick and Wasserman tests and the cure for diabetes because all were discovered in whole or in part by Jews!) Seventeen Nobel prizes have gone to Jewish recipients and who could ever

recount the treasures in art and music and literature, which we owe to Jewish genius? The American Jews have set a distinguished example in care for their own destitute and practically no case is known of a Jew coming on the public relief roles during the depression years. Family loyalty is beautifully exemplified among them. An experienced jurist points out that when the courts deal with derelictions in the realm of finance, the Jew is disproportionately represented in the dock but that when the court is dealing with cruelty, personal assault, desertion, or homicide, the Jew is conspicuous by his absence as compared with the Gentile.

#### Hitler's "Gleam"

Do you wonder that John Adams exclaimed: "I insist that the Hebrews have done more to civilize man than any other people." No wonder that Hitler, the world's leading anti-Semite shouts: "I shall undo the effects of the thousands of years of human domestication. I want to see again the gleam of the beast in the eyes of youth." Elsworth Huntington of Yale, eminent sociologist reminds us that "Among all the world's groups of peoples, there is none which for so long a time so uninterruptedly and to so high a degree in proportion to its members, has furnished great leaders.... In proportion to their numbers, no other group in America shows a line of great men so long, so unbroken and of such constant high quality."

There is no excuse for sitting helplessly or silently by when un-American or un-Christian things are said about Jews. You can be sure and you can point out that consciously or unconsciously the person who attacks them as a race (I am not referring to individual derelictions, since Jews are members of the human race and heirs with all of us of man's propensities for baseness, vile dishonor and criminality) is spreading the deadly germs of a plague which could wreck America from within, no matter what tremendous measures of exterior defense we may take.

#### A Story

I should like to leave with you the story which I heard but recently of the experience of a young man in a New York university who was

caught years ago in one of the periodic outbursts of anti-Semitism which have blotted the pages of history. Assured that he could serve his university and his nation by violence against the Jew, he attacked a fellow student one dark night and injured him so severely that he fled in panic fearing that he had killed his victim. Leaving the university and going to a far distant part of the country, he eluded detection. Years later, the company in which he was an official became involved in great difficulty and needed the expert service of a noted eastern concern in the same utility field. He sent for one of its specialists and was horrified when the latter arrived at his office to find himself face to face with the Jew whom he had so nearly murdered that dark night in New York. Bent and crippled, with a hospital record of more than two years, the Jewish specialist immediately sensed the situation. He said quietly: "I know some of the things that must be going through your mind. Let me say a word or two, and then we'll just mark it down as a closed incident. I spent two years in a hospital. That gave me a lot of time to think things out. It made me more than ever determined to make good not for myself alone, but for you and others like you who, for some reason or another, did not believe that Jews were entitled to the advantages and opportunities of our American systems.

"My deformity has been a driving force, an incentive, and not an insurmountable handicap. I bear no ill will toward you. On the contrary, I intend to throw our whole resources behind your organization and make it possible for you to undertake a large expansion program here."

You say this is not typical of the Jew. I say, from my own experience with many Jewish people in many lands that it is much more typical than the things the anti-Semite will point to. I have been in trouble and sorrow and have discovered how much more likely my Jewish friends are to express their sympathy than my fellow Gentiles. I have seen magnanimity, generosity and high-mindedness expressed in notable ways. I can never forget that during these recent terrible years Jews have shown far more concern to

aid Christian victims of Nazism than have Christians in caring for the Jew in dire distress. As secretary of the board of the American Committee for Christian Refugees, I have myself transmitted more than \$125,000 of Jewish gifts toward this work. I know of no comparable contributions by Christians toward the magnificent work of the Jewish relief agencies who have poured out more than \$100,000,000 to bind up the wounds of their afflicted brethren.

#### We Must Be Positive

You cannot make your opposition to anti-Semitism effective simply by abstaining from unjust or unfair discriminations and prejudices. No one asks you to excuse the wrongs perpetrated by evil-minded or criminal Jews, though it might be well to remind yourself that Gentile discrimination has frequently been at least a contributory factor in goading Jews to crime. You can take a positive Christian and American stand in defense of justice and equal treatment. You can remember that you will frequently recognize certain types of Jews and completely miss others who, if you knew they were Jewish, would win your unhesitating approval. It is true that "race prejudice is a function of the high visibility of difference" and one of my Christian minister friends recently reported to me his humiliation at the discovery that when he faced a Jewish congregation in a synagogue, he thought that only a small proportion of them were Jewish—because he had associated certain characteristics with the Jews and assumed them to be universal!

You can fight the plague with the Golden Rule! You can strive for a sense of proportion. You can show your sympathy and your friendliness to individual Jews who sorely need comfort and reassurance in days like these. You can get their viewpoint and learn to differentiate between individual bad manners—or worse—and the qualities of the group. We can all profit from reminding ourselves that anti-Semitism in any form is treason to our democratic heritage and to the Kingdom of God whose word tells us plainly "If a man say I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar and truth is not in him."

# What Hitler Told Me about Christianity

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

By Pastor Niemoeller



# What Hitler Told Me About Christianity

FOR four years I have been Hitler's prisoner in a concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, near Berlin.

I was put to work originally in the quarry, but later was assigned to lighter tasks because of my weakened physical condition, and now have plenty of time to think of my past life. I regret nothing. As leader of the German Confessional Church, I am proud to suffer behind bars for my religion, for Christianity, just as the Apostles did for their faith.

I am not allowed to receive any letters from abroad, nor am I permitted to mail anything to anybody.

I have authorized Dr. Leo Stein, who was interned here with me for eighteen months, to publish all this in my name.

I am aware that this publication will only make my situation worse, but I consider it my religious duty to tell the world the truth of Hitler's opinion of Christianity and what he aims to do about it the world over.

MARTIN NIEMOELLER

BY PASTOR MARTIN NIEMOELLER

as told to Dr. LEO STEIN

Former University of Berlin Law Professor

★ I HAVE met Adolf Hitler exactly three times in my life. I met him for the first time in January, 1931, at the Hotel Kaiserhof in Berlin, where seventy Protestant clergymen had gathered to be addressed by him in explanation of his Church program. He was quite late, but upon his arrival he was apologetic and particularly polite.

He nodded to all of us and said: "I have asked you to come here because I want to persuade you that I—just as much as you—am working for a moral reconstruction of the German people. Since the last war, Germany has been in need of more and better Christianity, more churches; and a stop must be put to the spread of atheism. What we need is a more profound inner faith in order to preserve ourselves as a people. I am a Catholic, but I am asking you to help me in my great task."

Hitler then asked us to propose ways and means of co-operating with him. He promised us that as soon as he obtained power, the Church would not only retain all its rights but would be entitled to greater support from the state, and would have control of the schools. In brief, there would be a better understanding between the government and the Church than had been the case in the Weimar Republic.

I must admit that we all had a very favorable impression from the

modest way in which Hitler spoke, and I knew that from that time on he could count on the support of the majority of the Protestant clergy in Germany.

Immediately after his speech, Hitler walked up to me and said, "I am pleased to see you here, Herr Kapitänlieutenant." "I am no longer an officer," I said. "I am a pastor now." "People like you," he exclaimed, "who went straight from the U-boat to the pulpit, are exactly what the new Germany needs! Christianity needs its heroes of the last war."

I was proud of his appreciation and really pinned all my hope on him. In the spring of 1932 I had my second

conversation with him. At that time we were certain that he would be the ruling power in Germany. I was charged by the United Protestant Church Association to ask Hitler certain definite questions in order to secure definite commitments. Present with him were Göring, Hess, and Rosenberg.

"I have come to you," I said, "because the Church frequently finds attacks directed against it in the Nazi papers, and because it is not always the Christian spirit that is found in the Hitler Youth and in the Storm Troopers. Furthermore, we find it hard to understand the many murders committed by these Storm Troopers."

"Murders?" Hitler shot back. "How can you say murders? What the Storm Troopers are doing is to purge Germany of the Communists and Marxists, of Jews and Liberals. This has nothing to do with murder. This is self-defense."

"I shall never permit a member of my church to be molested," I said indignantly.

Hitler suddenly became soft and placating. "Please, won't you see to it that they understand me? I have such an enormous task ahead, the work of my life. The masses cannot always be fed with bread and sugar; they also need the whip. I have to toil and work, to struggle and organize, to crush this republic which has nothing in store for Christianity be-

cause it's a Jew republic. When I am Chancellor and Führer, the Church will live again, and live freely. I shall re-establish the co-operation between the government and the Church, just as it used to be in the old Prussian state.

"The Church will play the major role in the educational school system. I am not yet in a position to conclude any contracts. However, to you, as an officer, I give my solemn word of honor that I shall carry out all my promises. These are election times. Propaganda may be excessive, shootings may occur; but I promise that the Church will be re-established with its rights."

I reported the results of my conversation to the Church Council, which considered everything satisfactory. But later events proved that we were as naïve as we were blind. Like the late Neville Chamberlain, I trusted Hitler, and he betrayed me just as he did the rest of the world which listened to his peace utterances.

At the time of the last conversation I had with him before I was arrested, persecution of the Church was at its peak. Crosses on the church towers had been replaced by golden swastikas; the Hitler Youth was educated in the spirit that not Jesus but Adolf Hitler was the true son of God. In the schools the Old Testament was decried as Jewish. Pogroms against the Jews were sweeping the country and our clergymen were being thrown into concentration camps. Gestapo officials were writing down our every speech and priests were arrested even in their pulpits.

In this, our hour of greatest despair, I asked for an audience with Hitler, and it was on January 5, 1934, that I had my memorable talk with him.

This time he was entirely different. I had to wait more than four hours at the Reich's Chancellery, and when he greeted me his manner was icy. "You desire to talk with me?" he began, standing like Napoleon with his arms crossed.

Two secretaries were sitting at a desk, taking down every word that was spoken.

"Yes, Mr. Chancellor," I replied; "I have come to you because I am worrying about the Church."

"What's the matter with your Church? Didn't I keep all my promises? Didn't I put the Reichsbishop Mueller in charge? What are you complaining about?"

"Never before," I said, "did we have Protestant bishops. Never was there any need for Church Ministries. You promised us equal rights, but



Pastor Niemoeller, prisoner. "I was put to work originally in a quarry."

A remarkable, challenging revelation from a world-famous prisoner—words that may cause his death!

you have made us only an instrument of the Party."

"Why are you causing me such difficulties with this Confessional Church?" Hitler was becoming enraged and gesticulating. "Formerly the Prussian kings were the highest masters of the Church. Today I am a Prussian king for the people and for the Church, and you will have to accept that as a fact."

I felt a bit dizzy. He really had said, this former house painter's assistant, "Today I am a Prussian king."

"We don't want to cause you any difficulties, Mr. Chancellor," I explained, "but I am here as a representative of the Protestant faith. Your government has ordered measures that sooner or later will destroy our Church and the fundamentals of our faith. We can't stand by idly while the government gives such orders. Didn't you promise us freedom of the Church instead of its suppression?"

Now Hitler grew wild. He cried out like a madman, "You, as an officer, have learned to obey! You have to

obey! I alone determine what is and what is not Christian. I determine what the Church has to do. I and I alone am the Führer of this nation. The Lord has chosen me for this office and my people have called me."

"Not you, Herr Hitler, but the Lord is my leader," I replied. Only later did I learn that these words were responsible for his ordering my arrest. But at the moment I tried to be a bit conciliatory.

"It is also my concern about the Third Reich that made me come to you," I said.

He was still shouting. "You are concerned about the Third Reich? You had better leave that to me!"

"Then," I replied, "I'm very sorry I came to you."

This made him so furious that what he now uttered betrayed his whole hatred and his true intentions:

"I thought of making the German Church the most powerful in the world. I wanted to name German bishops in all the countries that I am going to conquer. I wanted a powerful Church. I wanted to unite all religions and churches under the spirit of National Socialism. I thought of putting officers like you in charge. But you are all Jew-infested. Your Christianity, after all, is nothing but a stepchild of Jewry grown soft and infested with these stupid humanitarian illusions.

"If the Christian Church wants to fight me, I shall annihilate it as I have crushed and will crush all my other enemies. I don't mind walking over corpses as long as I reach my goal. I need no Christianity. Whoever won't obey will be destroyed, and that goes for you too. You are a deserter, and you know that for desertion there is only one punishment—death."

"I have only deserted to Christianity," I said vigorously—"to my faith; and I am willing to take upon myself all the suffering it involves."

"You will regret it." These were Hitler's last words to me.

During the last four years of my imprisonment I have never had any cause for regret. As long as I have my cell where I can pray, I am still happier than Hitler, the promise-breaker and incorrigible liar, who hardly dares to go out alone for fear that a bullet might hit him from behind.

To the people the world over I send this message: *Keep the Faith.*

THE END

# Hitler's War Against The Catholic Church

A record of treaties broken, of men, women and children persecuted

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This is the first of two articles on Hitler's treatment of Catholics in Europe. Both are based on a publication of the National Catholic Welfare Conference — "The Nazi War Against the Catholic Church."

Nine days after Easter Sunday in the year 1923, a harsh voice made itself heard in Germany's ancient Catholic city of Munich. "If a people is to become free," it proclaimed, "it needs pride, self-will, defiance, hate, hate, and once again hate!"

Since that Eastertide of less than 20 years ago, the voice of Adolf Hitler has grown louder in the world, while his will to evil has become infinitely more powerful. And none has suffered more at Hitler's ruthless and ruinous hands than the clergy and faithful of the Catholic Church.

This assault on the Church has been no haphazard thing. It has been a calculated effort to root out and destroy the Christian religion, a shameless attempt to substitute a bloodthirsty paganism for the Sermon on the Mount.

Hitler's impious disciples proclaim him a divinity — one of strife, hate and slavery, yet one greater than the Prince of Peace.

"It is only in one or two exceptional points," says Julius Streicher, one of the Fuehrer's ardent champions, "that Christ and Hitler stand comparison, for Hitler is far too big to be compared with one so petty."

A wall of censorship masks the crimes and profanations of the self-announced anti-Christ. But through that wall has come word of persecutions and martyrdoms which rank with the early trials of the Catholic faith.

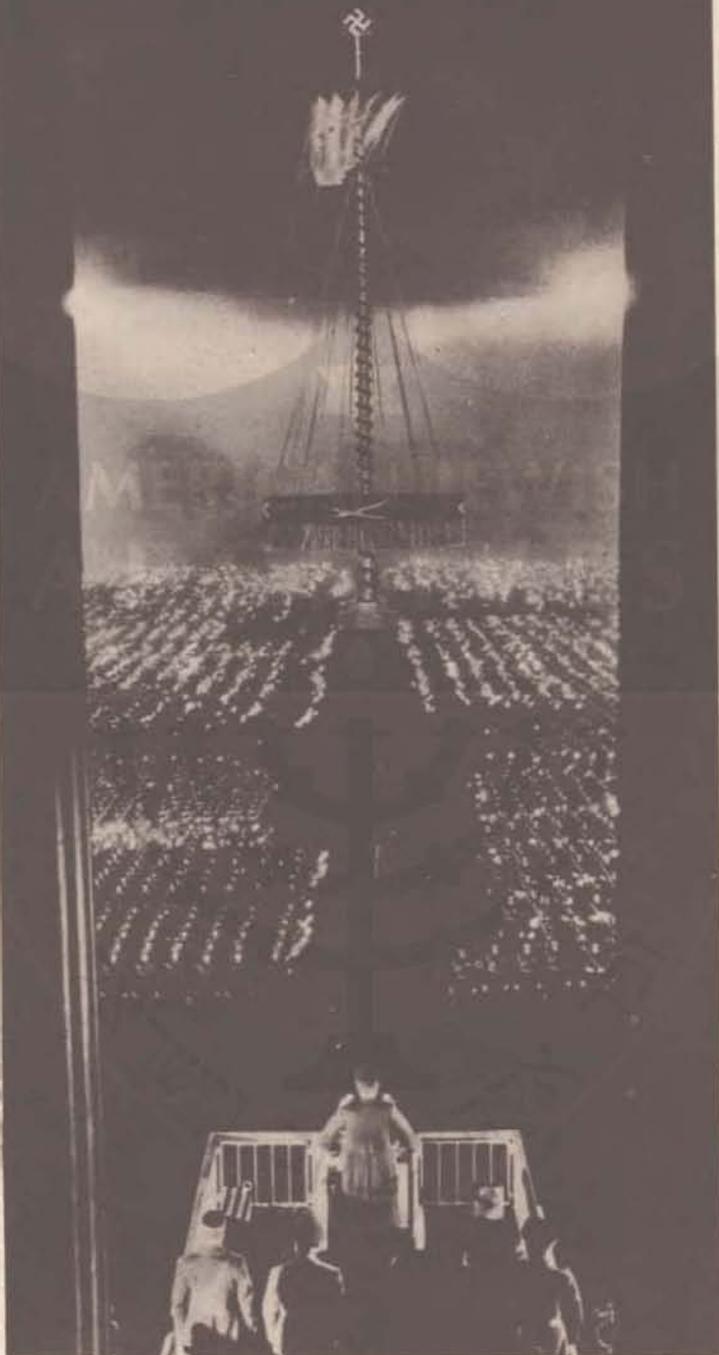
## Hitler Sets the Stage

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich. The next day he issued a Proclamation to the German Nation. He said:

"It [the German government] regards Christianity as the foundation of our national morality."

On March 23 of that year, addressing the Reichstag, the new Chancellor stated:

"The government of the Reich, which regards Christianity as the unshakable foundation of the morals and moral code of the nation, attaches the greatest value to friendly relations with the Holy See, and is endeavoring to develop them."



The pagan Maypole and swastika are religious symbols at a Nazi conference.

These solemn guarantees from the head of the new German State naturally made a profoundly reassuring impression throughout the world. Yet, exactly two weeks later, Hitler was expressing himself privately in a diametrically opposite manner.

At the very time when his government was requesting the Vatican to resume negotiations for a Concordat (agreement) between the Holy See and the Reich, Hitler said to a small group of his intimates:

"The religions are all alike, no matter what they call themselves. They have no future—

certainly none for the Germans. [Italian] Fascism, if it likes, may come to terms with the Church. So shall I; why not? That will not prevent me from tearing up Christianity root and branch, and annihilating it in Germany . . .

"I am willing to sign anything. . . . Anyone whose conscience is so tender that he will not sign a treaty unless he can be sure he can keep it in any and all circumstances is a fool."

## Behind the Nazi Mask

Hitler's views on the real role of Christianity and the Church were thus revealed on the night of April 6, 1933. His hearers included Goebbels, Streicher and Hermann Rauschning.

It was Rauschning who later broke with the Nazis and left Germany. In his book, *The Voice of Destruction*, he further reports Hitler's words as follows:

"For our people it is decisive whether they acknowledge the Jewish Christ-creed with its effeminate pity-ethics, or a strong, heroic belief in God in Nature, God in our own folk, in our destiny, in our blood.

"Do you really believe the masses will ever be Christian again? Nonsense. Never again. That tale is finished. No one will ever listen to it again.

"But we can hasten matters. The parsons will be made to dig their own graves. They will betray their God to us . . ."

These cynical and sinister statements to the little audience of Hitler's inner circle foreshadowed the Catholic "immorality" trials of two years later.

"Catholic priests know where the shoe pinches," Hitler told Rauschning. "But their day is done, and they know it. They are far too intelligent not to see that, and to enter upon a hopeless battle.

"But if they do, I shall certainly not make martyrs of them. We shall brand them as ordinary criminals. . . . And if that is not enough, we shall make them appear ridiculous and contemptible."

## Catholic Freedom Is "Guaranteed"

On July 20, 1933, the Concordat between Germany and the Vatican was signed at Vatican City. Hitler, not the Vatican, had sought it. Hitler, not the Vatican, at once began reducing it to nothing.

The Concordat consisted of 34 Articles and

a Supplementary Protocol. Article I read in part: "The German Reich guarantees freedom and public practice of the Catholic religion. It acknowledges the right of the Catholic Church, within the limits of those laws which are applicable to all, to manage and regulate her own affairs independently."

Yet, within three months, Cardinal Bertram wrote in a pastoral letter of his "grievous and gnawing anxiety" about Catholic organizations, the freedom of Catholic works of charity, Catholic youth, the freedom of the Catholic press—and the fate of many good Catholics who now had to suffer because of their former political views.

### The Pope Is Not Deceived

Another who sensed the trend in Germany was His Holiness, Pope Pius XI. Wiser than most other men of those days, the Holy Father did not suffer from many illusions about the value of Hitler's signature on any agreement.

Anxiously the Pope watched. And soon the Nazi dictator openly showed his hand.

In January, 1934—within six months of the signing of the Concordat—Hitler named Alfred Rosenberg as cultural and educational leader of the Reich.

Rosenberg was famous even then as the so-called "mystic" or "philosopher" of National Socialism—and notorious for his enmity to the Christian religion in general and the Catholic Church in particular.

The government went on to disband young people's organizations, sweeping them into the Hitler Youth. Then the Pope spoke. On April 2 he issued this message to the Catholic youth of Germany:

"Despite all the hardships through which Providence is leading you, and in the face of propaganda . . . which points away from Christ and back to paganism, you have kept your pledge of love and loyalty to the Savior and His Church."

On May 20, speaking in Rome to 5,000 German pilgrims, Pius XI again vigorously condemned the new paganism.

Twice more that year he repeated his condemnations, with mounting emphasis.

### Ridicule of the Priests

The next year, 1935, saw the start of planned ridicule of the Church in Germany. Liam O'Connor, in *Hitler's War on the Church*, quotes this song chanted by Hitler Youth on a Confirmation Day in a Wurttemberg village:

*"The blacks are all seducers,  
They fight not for their home;  
As ever they are liars;  
They fight for wealth and Rome.  
'Tis clerics make Reaction  
And good-for-nothings—so  
Let's beat up all the traitors,  
Nor any mercy show!"*

This year was also marked by attacks on Catholic Youth organizations, which were solemnly accused of Communist plotting. Anti-Christian slogans were chanted from trucks, which bore on their sides scurrilous cartoons of priests and nuns.

Month by month, the record of Nazi persecution speaks:

In January: Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Hitler's Minister of the Interior, urged "putting an end to Church influence over public life."

In April: a decree prohibited publication of daily papers of a religious nature. Censorship of religious weeklies followed.

### An Archbishop Is Spat Upon

On May 12: the Archbishop of Paderborn, Msgr. Klein, was attacked by Hitler Youth as he arrived at Hamm. "They shouted insults at him," reports O'Connor, "tried to prevent him from entering his car, attempted to overturn it, spat inside and attacked with knives Catholics who protested."

In July: a decree by Goering against "political Catholicism" placed arbitrary power in the hands of the Nazis.

That same month, at the Reich Education Conference in Munich, Herr Roder of the Min-



Against the Church: Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi "mystic," and Adolf Hitler.

istry of Education exulted, "I was delighted—I say it again, delighted—to wipe 20 monkish training colleges off the face of the earth with one stroke of the pen."

On July 13: Minister of State Adolf Wagner declaimed, "In the days that lie immediately ahead of us the fight will not be against Communists or Marxists, but against Catholicism. Everyone will find himself faced with a serious question: 'German or Catholic?'"

Hitler himself had set the year's general tone in an interview granted to the Reich Leader of the Students' League. He said:

*"We are not out against the hundred and one different kinds of Christianity, but against Christianity itself. All people who profess creeds are smugglers in foreign coin, and traitors to the people. Even those Christians who really want to serve the people—and there are such—will have to be suppressed."*

### The Catholic "Immorality" Trials

The so-called "immorality trials" of the Catholic clergy began in the summer of 1935. An eyewitness account of these trials appears in *Skeleton of Justice*, by Edith Roper, one of only nine newspaper correspondents allowed access to the German criminal courts. Part of Mrs. Roper's story reads:

"The German press heralded the proceed-

ings with these headlines: *A Thousand Trials for Sex Crimes Brought against Catholic Priests, Monks, Nuns and Nurses!*

"The propaganda machine, aiming to excite the lowest instincts of the people, was in full swing. Weeks ahead of time the newspapers promised sensational revelations and details . . . to make sure that everyone would read about the trials.

" . . . Under the direction of Oberregierungsrat Dr. Doerner and several propaganda advisors, reporters drove to West and South Germany to cover the trials. They had orders to attend every one . . .

"Ordinarily the German courts exclude the public at the least hint of immoral or sexual matters, but these entire proceedings were open to all who cared to come.

### The Truth about the Trials

"When the reporters returned to Berlin between sessions . . . they were disgusted. They showed me the instructions forbidding them to report the fact that feeble-minded children and other persons of unsound mind were the chief witnesses for the prosecution.

"They said that not one healthy person or impartial witness was called to testify. We had all known the trials themselves had been instigated only for purposes of propaganda, but nobody had reckoned with such drastic methods or shamelessness . . .

"The *Freiburger Zeitung*, for instance, carried this: 'A sequence of horrors . . . All kinds of unnatural lechery . . . Debaucheries of greatest magnitude . . . Horrible homosexual crimes . . . A criminal in a priest's cassock!'

"Then one day the reports, and most of the trials as well, were suddenly stopped—long before the thousand specified cases had been completed. . . . The propaganda division thought it best not to overwork the occasion . . . the action against the Catholics had succeeded. . . .

"The accused could do nothing beyond denying the charges. How could they supply practical proof that they had not committed the alleged act? . . .

"The Propaganda Ministry refrained from taking action, at this point, against any politically suspect priest. Only those never heard of before were indicted, and this made the propaganda 'take' in the end.

"The Germans asked why, if the priests had not proved refractory in either political or church matters, they were being condemned. They *must* have been guilty. . . ."

### Where "Mercy Is for Cowards"

The next two years were a repetition of what had gone before. One by one, the 34 Articles of the Concordat were systematically violated by the Nazis.

The State strove particularly to inculcate in the children of Germany all the harsh cynicism of National Socialist ideology, and to crush out of their hearts the words of Christ. One example of this—among many—comes from a textbook distributed in 1936 to all schools in Germany:

"The teaching of mercy and love of one's neighbor is foreign to the German race, and the Sermon on the Mount is, according to Nordic sentiment, an ethic for cowards and idiots."

Against such a background, on March 14, 1937, was issued the great Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, *On the Situation of the Catholic Church in Germany*, "Mit Brennender Sorge" ("With Burning Anxiety"). Some of it is here-with reprinted:

"With deep anxiety . . . we have for a considerable time watched the Church treading the Way of the Cross . . . among that people to whom St. Boniface once brought the light of the Gospel of Christ . . .

"If the tree of peace planted by Us with pure intention in German soil has not borne the fruit We desired . . . the experience of the past years fixes the responsibility. It discloses intrigues which from the beginning had no other aim than a war of extermination . . .

### There Is No "National God"

"Only superficial minds can fall into the error of speaking of a national God, of a national religion, and of making a mad attempt to imprison within the frontiers of a single people, within the pedigree of a single race, God, the creator of the world, the King and lawgiver of the peoples . . .

"In your territories, Venerable Brethren, voices are raised in an ever-louder chorus, urging men to leave the Church . . . By disguised and by open methods . . . the loyalty of Catholics to their faith . . . is subjected to a violence which is as unlawful as it is inhuman. With the feelings of a father We are moved, and suffer profoundly with those who have paid such a price for their fidelity to Christ and to the Church . . .

" . . . We direct especially fatherly words to youth. By a thousand tongues today there is preached in your ears a gospel which has not been revealed by the heavenly Father. . . . The printing press and the radio flood you daily with productions . . . hostile to faith and to Church, and unscrupulously and irreverently attack what, for you, must be sacred and holy.

### "Let Him Be Anathema"

"And today when new perils and trials threaten, We say to this youth: 'If anyone preach to you a gospel besides that which you have received' at the knees of a pious mother, from the lips of a believing father, from the lessons of a teacher faithful to God and to His Church, 'let him be anathema.'"

This message from the Vicar of Christ speaks impressively for itself. It speaks, as well, for humanity.

The German government's retaliation also speaks for itself, and for the Nazis.

Twelve printing offices which produced the Encyclical were closed. Religious periodicals which had reproduced its text were banned for three months. All copies which the police could lay hands on were confiscated. Men and

women who had transcribed or circulated the Encyclical were arrested.

Further, Hitler put 1,000 more clerics on trial for alleged sexual crimes.

### Politics and the Church

But the central contention of the Nazis was that the Pope, by protesting against bare-faced violations of the Concordat and wanton persecution of religion itself, had intruded in the political sphere of the German State.

On May 1, in a speech at Berlin, Hitler said: "So long as they [the churches] concern themselves with their religious problems, the State does not concern itself with them. But so soon as they attempt by any means whatever . . . to arrogate to themselves rights which belong to the State alone, we shall force them back into their proper . . . activity."

The Holy Father answered Hitler on Christmas Eve, 1937, in his message to the College of Cardinals. He said in part:



For the Church: Archbishop Innitzer, Cardinal Faulhaber, Pope Pius XI.

"In Germany, in fact, there is religious persecution. For some time people have been saying and trying to make other people believe there is no persecution, but we know there is . . .

"Indeed, rarely has there been persecution so grave, so terrible, so painful, so sad in its deep effects . . .

"Our protest, therefore, could not be more explicit or more resolute before the whole world. We are engaged in religion and not in politics. Everyone knows it, and all those can see it who wish to see."

With this vain appeal to reason the Church made its stand clear. But worse trials lay ahead.

### Physical Violence Begins

"We began our fight with political Catholicism in March, 1933," shouted Minister of State Adolf Wagner in March, 1938. "The time has now come to continue this fight. Away with political priests! Down with political Catholicism!"

"I am absolutely clear in my own mind," Reich Leader Alfred Rosenberg echoed, "and I think I can speak for the Fuehrer as well, that both the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Confessional [Lutheran] Church, as they exist at present, must vanish from the life of our people."

Speech was soon turned into action in a series of assaults upon the persons of churchmen of high position. Victims of physical violence, in the space of just a few months, were Bishop Sproll of Rothenburg (attacked three times), Cardinal von Faulhaber of Munich (attacked twice) and Archbishop Innitzer of Vienna (also attacked twice).

The assaults on Cardinal Innitzer were typical of Nazi methods. A description of one of these is quoted, in part, from the *Osservatore Romano* of October 15, 1938:

### Nazi Toughs Wreck a Chapel

"Friday, October 7, a service for Catholic youth took place in St. Stephen's Cathedral [Vienna]. . . . The Hitler Youth and the SA had gathered there, too, and started counter-shouts and whistlings: 'Down with Innitzer! Our faith is Germany!' . . .

"The next day . . . at 8:15 in the evening, the demonstrations started again from all sides. . . . The [Cardinal's] residence was entirely surrounded. Stones came from all directions; all the windows were broken. . . .

"The heavy door was broken a quarter of an hour later and a disorderly crowd poured in, destroying everything they came across in the antechambers and on the staircase. The inmates of the residence hurried towards the chapel to the Cardinal's protection. It was feared that the Blessed Sacrament would be the object of a sacrilege, and a priest consumed the Sacred Host . . .

"The intruders had reached the episcopal chapel, struck a secretary of the Cardinal unconscious, destroyed the statue of a saint and . . . [then they] stormed the study of the Cardinal, where they broke open a writing table

and smashed a crucifix. . . . Everywhere the furniture was smashed, pictures slashed . . .

"A curate . . . was taken and thrown out of a window . . . It is said that both his legs were broken so that his life is in danger.

"Outside on the square the Cardinal's purple mantle, some articles of personal use, furniture, carpets, etc., were burnt. The outrages were not reported in any of the Vienna newspapers."

### Still Hitler's Lies Go On

At the close of that year, the Pope again protested against the violence of the Nazis, in language comparing Hitler with Julian the Apostate. In particular, he decried German efforts to make it appear that, in the recent occurrences in Vienna, the assaulted Catholics had been almost the authors of the aggression.

On January 30, 1939, Hitler celebrated his sixth anniversary as dictator of the Reich. In the course of one of his lengthier speeches, he blandly uttered this bald assertion:

"No one in Germany has hitherto been persecuted for his religious views, nor will anybody be persecuted on that account."

### The Bishops Meet—and Protest

While the Church within Germany lacked physical means to strike back at its oppres-

sors, it was gradually marshaling a full measure of moral indignation against the Nazis. Protest burst out in June, 1941.

On the 26th of that month the Archbishops and Bishops of Germany, assembled at Fulda—Fulda, the ancient Fortress of St. Boniface—issued their famous Pastoral Letter. Appointed to be read from all pulpits on July 6, this was a document evincing the highest courage.

It reads in part:

"The events we speak of are all well-known to you, and the object of your and our deepest concern. They are the restrictions and limitations which have been put upon the free preaching of our creed and upon our church life . . . .

"The Church is and will be the guardian of moral laws given by God and it will never abide that which God has forbidden . . . [Yet] the Church has found great obstacles during the past few years and particularly during the last months . . . .

### "We Refuse to Choose"

"There are no more religious Sunday papers and bulletins . . . which, up to now, preached the creed and strengthened the moral powers of the family. As long as they are not published, you parents must endeavor to replace what you and your children miss in printed religious instructions by regular attendance at church and by supporting the pastoral work in your community . . . .

"The existence of Christianity in Germany is at stake. Quite lately a book has been distributed in Germany in hundreds of thousands of copies which contains the assertion that we Germans had to choose between Christ and the German people . . . .

"With burning indignation we German Catholics refuse to make such a choice. We love our German people and we serve them, if necessary, with our lives, but at the same time we live and die for Jesus Christ. . . . We are convinced that we serve our beloved German people best when we preserve Christ and His Gospel for them.

"It would mean a terrible impoverishment of our people if we relinquished those Christian principles which for more than a thousand years have been the foundation of its spiritual and moral culture."

### The Nazis Plan a State Church

The spirit which produced this passionate protest was shortly recognized by the Nazis in their own way. Less than five months later, Alfred Rosenberg, the accredited anti-Christian prophet of National Socialism, issued a 30-point program setting up the framework of state religion in the New Germany.

The outline of the proposed "National Reich Church" (*Nationale Reichskirche*) was devastating. Its main points follow:

1. The National Reich Church claims with all decisiveness the sole right and sole power over all churches within the German Reich's boundaries; declares them as National Reich Churches of Germany.

2. "National Reich Church forces no German to belong"—but "National Reich Church is ready to do all in its power to gain possession of the last German soul." Further, National Reich Church will tolerate no other churches or church-like organizations and clubs, especially those with international connections or government.

### Paganism—20th-Century Model

3. National Reich Church is determined unswervingly, and by all means, to annihilate Christian faith which, "though foreign to our being and character, was imported to Germany in the tragic year 800."

4. There will be no scribes, pastors, chaplains or clergy in National Reich Church, and only National Reich orators are to have the right to speak.

5. National Reich Church ceremonies will take place on Saturday evenings only, with festive illuminations.



A Nazi cartoon mocks Vatican radio defense of "criminal" German priests.

6. In National Reich Church, German men, women, boys and girls will unitedly pledge themselves to the Nazi conception of God.

7. National Reich Church will unswervingly work toward inevitable unification with the State. . . . National Reich Church demands the immediate transference of all property of all churches and confessions to the State. It also forbids future churches to obtain possession of the smallest dot of German land or that such be given them.

8. National Reich Church orators are to be State officials.

9. National Reich Church demands that printing and delivery of the Bible immediately be stopped in Germany.

### That Holy Book, "Mein Kampf"

10. National Reich Church declares that henceforth "our people's greatest document and book will be our Fuehrer's *Mein Kampf*. National Reich Church is conscious that this book contains not only the greatest but, much more, the purest and truest ethics for the present and future life of our people."

11. National Reich Church removes from all altars the crucifix, the Bible and all holy pictures.

12. On the altars of National Reich Church "will be our all-holy book *Mein Kampf* and on its left a sword consecrating our German people to the same token of God."

13. National Reich Church recognizes no forgiveness of sins. National Reich Church represents the viewpoint, and will repeatedly profess it, that sin is inexorably avenged by the iron laws of Nature.

### Nazi Pagan Baptism

14. National Reich Church rejects the baptism of German children with both water and the ritual of the Holy Ghost.

15. Parents of a newborn German child must go before the altar only to repeat a German vow in the following words:

For the man, "I swear by God this holy oath that I, the father of this child, and my wife are probably of Aryan descent. As a father, I swear to rear the child in the German spirit for the German people."

For the woman, "I swear by God this holy oath that I (NAME) bore my husband this child and that my husband, the father of this child, and I, the mother, are probably of Aryan descent. As a mother, I swear to raise this child in the German spirit for the German people."

16. National Reich Church abolishes confirmation, confirmation instruction, communion and communion instruction.

17. The marriage of German men and women is to take place with a repetition of the oath of loyalty with the right hand on the sword. In National Reich Church no act may take place in an undignified kneeling position.

18. National Reich Church will not tolerate the existence of religious symbols.

19. On the day of its foundation, all of the new National Reich Churches, cathedrals and chapels within the Reich and its colonial boundaries will remove the cross of Christ, which will be replaced by the *Hakenkreuz* [the Nazi swastika] as the "only unconquerable symbol of Germany."

### The Bishops Cry Out Again

There is no need to dwell on how the almost incredible *Nationale Reichskirche* program must have affected every Christian in Germany. It is enough to know that this barbaric proposal did not silence Church opposition to the Nazis.

On March 22, 1942, the Catholic Bishops of Germany issued another pastoral letter, one even braver and more trenchant than that of the preceding summer. Excerpts follow:

"For years a war has raged in our fatherland against Christianity and Church, and has never been conducted with such bitterness. Repeatedly the German Bishops have asked the Reich Government to discontinue this fatal struggle; but . . . our appeals and endeavors were without success . . . .

"In the Concordat of July 20, 1933, the Reich Government granted the Catholic

Church State protection for the free development of its functions. Actually, these grants have not been kept . . .

### Broken Promises

"1. Promised and pledged was 'the liberty of creed and worship of the Catholic religion.'

"In truth, pressure is frequently used on those who depend on State or party positions to force them to conceal or deny their Catholic religion or to compel them to abandon the Church. . . . Open worship of the Catholic religion has been restricted to such a degree that it has disappeared almost entirely from public life . . .

"2. Catholic parents and the Church have the natural and divine right to educate their children religiously. . . . The influence of the Christian churches on school and education has been expressly granted.

"Actually, however, the rights of parents and Church are being more and more restricted and have become ineffective. Juveniles . . . are being influenced in an anti-Christian manner and kept away from religious services . . .

### How Priests Are Treated

"3. The Catholic Church and its priests have the right and the duty to pronounce and defend . . . the creeds and doctrines of the Christian religion. The clergy, by agreement, has been granted State protection for the execution of its duties.

"In reality, Catholic priests are watched constantly and suspiciously in their teaching and pastoral duties; priests, without proof of any guilt, are banned from their dioceses and homes, and even deprived of their freedom and punished for having fulfilled their priestly duties truthfully and scrupulously . . .

"We emphasize that before the authorities we stand up not only for religious . . . rights, but likewise for the human rights bestowed by God upon mankind. Every honest human being is interested in the . . . preservation of these rights; without them the entire western culture must break down.

### A Burning Plea for Fair Play:

"1. Every man has the natural right for personal freedom within the boundaries designated by obedience to God, consideration for his fellow-man and the common good, and the just laws of the civil authorities.

"We German Bishops protest against every disregard of personal freedom. We demand juridical proof of all sentences, and release of all fellow-citizens who have been deprived of their liberty without proof of an act punishable with imprisonment.

"2. Every man has the natural right to life and the goods essential for living. The living God, the Creator of all life, is sole master over life and death.

"With deep horror German Christians have learned that, by order of the State, numerous insane persons, entrusted to asylums and institutions, were destroyed as so-called 'unproductive citizens.' . . . We German Bishops shall

not cease to protest against the killing of innocent persons . . .

"3. Every man has the natural right to property and . . . to protection by the State of private property against willful interference. Nevertheless, in past years many Church possessions . . . have been taken away by force from their lawful owners and used for other purposes. Even places of worship have been confiscated and desecrated.

### "We Speak for All Citizens"

"We Bishops . . . protest against this violation of natural property rights and demand the return of the unlawfully confiscated . . . property. We protest . . . for the sake of the common good . . . what happens today to Church property may tomorrow happen to any lawful property.

"4. Every man has the natural right to the protection of his honor against lie and slander. On the front and in the homeland,



"Enemies of the State" ridiculed here include priest (left) and rich nun.

faithful Christians fulfill their patriotic duties like all their fellow-citizens.

"Yet Catholic priests and laymen are suspiciously watched, secretly suspected—nay, publicly branded as traitors and national enemies—just because they stand up for the freedom of the Church and the truth of the Catholic faith . . .

"We Bishops protest against such violations of truth and justice; we demand effective, honorable protection for all citizens, including faithful Catholics and members of Catholic orders . . .

### Cardinal von Faulhaber Speaks

Naturally, the pagan masters of Nazi Germany disregarded the "demands" so stoutly presented in this letter by the Bishops. Yet the fact that it was written at all shows two encouraging things:

First, the Church in Germany is fully aware of its great peril.

Second, there are still Church leaders able and willing to speak out against Adolf Hitler in his own domain.

Last May 8, for example, Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber of Munich sent to the Vatican an 11-point indictment of the anti-Catholic attitude in the Reich. The brave Cardinal's

fighting words were published in the uncensored press of the free world.

His charges, in condensed form, follow:

1. That a "veritable war against Christianity" is being waged in Germany.

2. That the Church is the victim of an elaborate [and typically Nazi] system of "anti-Christian espionage."

3. That "moral blackmail" is being applied to faithful Catholics in an effort to lessen their church attendance—and to the Church itself in an attempt to extort greater "contributions" to the funds of the National Socialist party.

### What "Loyal Germans" Must Do

4. That intensified propaganda efforts are being made among the lower-paid workers to get them to disavow the Church.

5. That the Church is being accused of being a "super-national organization"—and that "loyal Germans" are asked how they can reconcile their duties to the State with their duties to the Church.

6. That violence is often brought into play in the "catechism" of a "doubtful" German—one who is required to "develop a conscience of his nationality" or "suffer the consequences."

7. That "grave measures" have been taken in primary and secondary schools to prevent religious instruction.

8. That, under the pretext of lack of paper, publication of religious material has been forbidden—while, on the other hand, the number and size of German publications attacking the Church has "increased beyond measure" of late.

9. That young people have been forbidden to attend evening religious festivals on the ground that they "prevent their getting enough sleep"—yet "attendance at party functions, which often last well past midnight, is obligatory."

### The Church "Fights for Its Life"

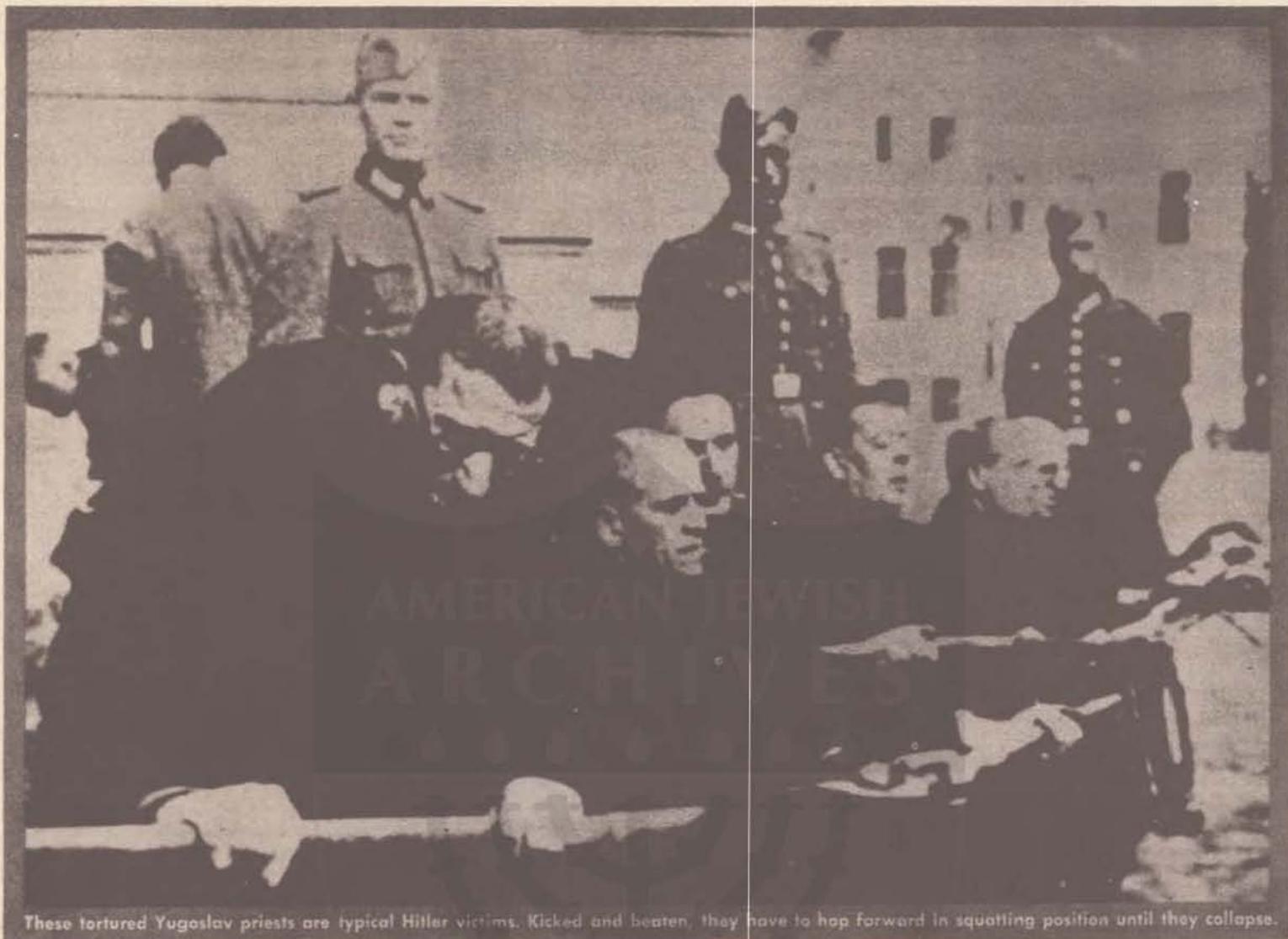
10. That Church organizations have been prevented from acquiring land on which to build religious structures, and that in many cases land already in the possession of the Church has been sequestered without any indemnification.

11. That Church property, such as bronze bells and even ritual vessels of immense real or intrinsic value, has been sequestered without warning or indemnification.

"Today," declared Cardinal von Faulhaber, "it is a question of life or death for Christianity, for in its blind rage against religion the Nazi 'faith' does not or cannot distinguish between Protestantism and Catholicism."

He closed his report to the Vatican with a prayer that "the Church stand together for the fight of its existence."

In its next issue LOOK will publish the true story of how Adolf Hitler has carried this war against Catholicism and the Catholic Church into Poland, Holland, Belgium and other conquered countries.



These tortured Yugoslav priests are typical Hitler victims. Kicked and beaten, they have to hop forward in squatting position until they collapse.

## Hitler's War on the Catholic Church

Persecution has gone hand-in-hand with the Nazis' military conquests

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This is the second of two articles based on "The Nazi War against the Catholic Church," a publication of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The first dealt with the situation inside Germany. This installment covers German-occupied areas in Europe.

Pope Pius XI died on February 10, 1939. Three weeks later Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, was elected in his place as Pius XII.

In the time of Pius XI, Adolf Hitler's bestial attack on Christianity was largely confined to the German Reich. His successor has seen that attack extend to the far corners of Europe, moving hand-in-hand with the Nazi military conquest of other peoples.

### IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The four-power Munich pact, as-

suming "peace in our time," was signed September 29, 1938. Two days later Hitler's troops crossed the border of Czechoslovakia and occupied the Sudetenland.

Persecution of Catholic clergy began almost at once.

Priests who for years had ministered to both Czechs and Germans were robbed of their property and expelled. Those remaining were deprived of all financial support and set to manual labor.

On March 15, 1939, Hitler seized the rest of Czechoslovakia. The provinces of Bohemia and Moravia became a protectorate of the Reich—and Nazi "protection" took its familiar form.

Within a month, the German secret police arrested many representatives of the Catholic Church. Gestapo agents went into churches to supervise sermons. Hundreds of priests were denounced, taken forcibly to Ges-

tapo headquarters and tortured.

Later in the year, after war had begun, these persecutions increased. In September alone the Gestapo arrested 487 Czech priests. All were taken to prison.

On October 28, 1940, it was reported that priests were being forced to show their sermons to the Gestapo for approval, and to deliver them with the Nazis' corrections—or go to jail.

Meanwhile, religious instruction was stopped. The property of most monasteries and convents was confiscated. Monks and nuns had to leave secular hospitals.

And physical violence was rampant. For example:

Reliable eye-witnesses state that when the Canons of Brno Cathedral arrived at Spielberg fortress for internment, SS guards seized them and dragged them to the chapel. There one

priest had to read aloud a sacrilegious address from the pulpit. The older priests were made to dance around the altar holding torn-down crucifixes.

### IN POLAND

At dawn on September 1, 1939, Nazi Panzer divisions attacked Poland. The assault on the Catholic faithful of Poland followed quick upon invasion of their soil.

Official reports on the inhuman persecutions here have been sent to the Vatican by Auguste Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland. Excerpts follow:

"Archdiocese of Gniezno—The Archiepiscopal seminary of philosophy at Gniezno was taken over by the soldiers. A German general has taken the Archiepiscopal palace . . .

"Many priests are imprisoned, suffering humiliations, blows,

maltreatment. A certain number were deported to Germany. . . .

"At Bydgoszcz, in September [1939], about 5,000 men were imprisoned in a stable. . . . A corner . . . had been designated as the place for the necessities of nature. The Canon Casimir Stepczynski . . . was obliged, in company with a Jew, to carry away in his hands the human excrement. . . .

"Those churches which still have the ministrations of priests are permitted to be open only on Sunday, and then only from nine to eleven in the morning. . . .

"Sermons are allowed to be preached only in German, but since these serve often as a pretext for the Germans to carry off the priests to prison, there is scarcely any preaching. . . .

"Marriages are not being celebrated, since it is severely forbidden to bless a marriage which has not already been contracted before an official of the civil government. The latter, as a matter of principle, does not admit marriages between Poles. . . .

"The crucifixes were removed from the schools. No religious instruction is being imparted. . . . The priests are being compelled to pray publicly . . . for Hitler. . . ."

### The Nazis Despoil Poland

"Archdiocese of Poznan—The Cathedral of Poznan . . . parish church of 14,000 souls, was closed by the police under the pretext of being unsafe for use. . . .

"The clergy is subjected to the same treatment as the priests of the Archdiocese of Gniezno. They are maltreated, arrested, held in prison or concentration camps, deported to Germany. . . .

"Our boys and [some] of our girls over 14 years of age are being deported to Germany. After the Sunday services these young people are arrested at the church door and sent off; a transport leaves every week. . . .

"Diocese of Chelmno—The ancient Cathedral, a veritable jewel of Gothic art, was closed, then made into a garage. . . .

"The seminaries . . . are occupied by the German army. . . . The seminary cellars . . . have been the scene of tortures inflicted on both priests and Catholic laymen.

"Of the 650 priests . . . only some 20 are left. The others were imprisoned or deported, or forced to perform exhausting and humiliating labor, at which some died. . . .

"Diocese of Katowice—The treatment inflicted on certain priests . . . has been outrageous.

"For example, Fr. Kupilas, parish priest of Ledziny was shut

up for three days in the confessional of the church at Bierun, where 300 men and women were imprisoned at the same time without anything to eat and without being allowed to go out. . . .

"Fr. Wycislak, Vicar of Zyglin, was arrested and beaten in the streets . . . until the blood ran; then kicked and even trampled until he lost consciousness. . . ."

Cardinal Hlond's reports to the Vatican conclude:

"... Hitlerism aims at the systematic and total destruction of the Catholic Church in the rich and fertile territories of Poland which have been incorporated in the Reich. . . ."

"The Cathedrals have been closed and their keys are kept by the invaders. . . .

"[At least] 35 priests have been shot, but the real number of victims . . . undoubtedly amounts to more than 100. . . .

"In many districts the life of the Church has been completely crushed. . . . Catholic worship hardly exists any more; the word of God is not preached; the Sacraments are not administered, even to the dying. . . .

"The Catholic Action has been completely suppressed. The Catholic press has been destroyed. . . . Charitable associations and works have . . . been destroyed.

"Monasteries and convents have been methodically suppressed. . . . Their houses and institutes have been occupied by the army or the Nazi party. Many monks have been imprisoned. . . .

"The invaders have, further, confiscated or sequestered the patrimony of the Church. . . . The Cathedrals, the bishops' palaces, the seminaries, the canons' residences . . . the churches . . . the personal property of the priests, the archives, and the . . . museums—all have been pillaged. . . ."

### The Pope Protests

As Cardinal Hlond's reports poured in, Pope Pius XII protested unrelentingly.

On October 28, 1939, the Holy Father issued his first Encyclical. In this he wrote:

"Venerable Brethren, the hour . . . is in many respects a real 'hour of darkness' . . . in which the spirit of violence and of discord brings indescribable suffering to mankind. . . .

"The blood of countless human beings, even non-combatants, raises a piteous dirge over . . . Our dear Poland, which, for its fidelity to the Church, for its services in the defense of Christian civilization . . . has a right to the generous and brotherly sympathy of the whole world. . . .

"[Poland] awaits . . . the hour of a resurrection in harmony with . . . justice and true peace."

And in a Christmas Eve message to the College of Cardinals, the Pope condemned Nazi "atrocities" and "illegal use of means of destruction, even against non-combatants, refugees, old persons, women and children . . ." as "acts that cry for the vengeance of God."

### IN HOLLAND

Little Holland, invaded without warning on May 10, 1940, surrendered to Hitler just five days later. At once the Nazis began harsh anti-Catholic measures.

Gestapo agents attended all church services. Stormtroopers marched through the streets on Sundays to keep Catholics from going to Mass.

The Catholic Youth Movement was suppressed. Priests were arrested. Religious publications were suspended.

But the sturdy Dutch have fought back. On September 2, 1940, Nazi Commissioner Arthur Seyss-Inquart felt it necessary to order a purge of Catholic priests and monks who refused to advocate National Socialism.

On January 26, 1941, the Dutch bishops issued a pastoral letter which moved the *Essener National Zeitung*, Hermann Goering's own newspaper, to dire threats. "We guarantee," blustered the *National Zeitung*, "that Hitler's party is strong enough to manage the Catholic Church in the Netherlands."

Later (again quoting the *Zeitung*), Archbishop de Jongh was fined for refusing to call Hitler's invasion of Russia a "religious crusade" against Bolshevism.

### IN BELGIUM

Hitler's treacherous blow at Holland coincided with an invasion of neighboring Belgium. Here resistance lasted 18 days; but even before the end, Nazi paganism was busy. The extent of Catholic persecution in Belgium is indi-

cated by the repeated appeals of Joseph Ernest Cardinal van Roey that his people stand firm.

This brave and honest Christian has written a most significant discussion of the viewpoint of good Catholics toward the Nazi tyranny. It speaks for the vast majority of the Cardinal's fellow-Belgians. Brief excerpts follow:

"Q. After all, isn't it true that the Church can adapt herself to any regime?"

"A. No. Never can she adapt herself to governments that oppress the rights of conscience and persecute the Catholic Church. On the contrary, Catholics are obliged to [help] impede the imposition of such a regime.

"Q. Aren't Catholics resigned to defeat and collaboration with the Nazis?"

"A. No. Reason and good sense will direct us in the way of confidence, of resistance, because we are certain that our country will be restored and will rise again."

### IN FRANCE

As the largest Catholic country in Europe, France came in for special German attention after Hitler's conquest of May-June, 1940. A few examples:

July 26, 1940: The palace of Cardinal Suhard, Archbishop of Paris, was searched by the Gestapo. Supposedly the police wanted "evidence of collusion between the late Cardinal Verdier and the Jews."

September 9: The Bishop of Quimper was placed under house arrest. He had denounced Nazi plans to "remake" Brittany.

October 11: Msgr. Ballard, Archbishop of Besançon, was sentenced to jail for "attempting to turn the people against the Germans." He had tried to collect food for 25,000 French war prisoners.

Also on October 11: Vicar-General Galan was sentenced to nine days in jail for reading a message to raise the people's spirits.

Such repressive measures were invoked wherever Nazi troops occupied French soil. Meanwhile, one part of France was being forcibly annexed to Hitler's Germany.

This was Alsace-Lorraine, three-quarters of whose 2,000,000 inhabitants are Catholics. Nazi treatment of the Church here brought a denouncement, in German, from the Vatican radio.

The National Socialist Party, the Vatican declared, was trying to penetrate Alsace-Lorraine ideologically. Schools were already reoriented; Catholic



The Holy Father, Pius XII

schools had been disbanded, and priests active in educational work had been dismissed.

Further, the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls were being established throughout Alsace-Lorraine, and children were being sent to Germany for Nazi training.

Elsewhere in France, German persecution of Catholics has followed the familiar pattern. It has been less marked by bloodshed than in, say, Poland—but it has been nonetheless cynically cruel in its methods.

One typical trick stands out, for it makes capital of the nation's physical hunger.

In some areas, famished French Catholics have been swayed from the Church by the simple device of offering them their weekly ration cards only on Sundays—and at the time when Mass was celebrated.

### IN YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia was invaded by the Nazis in April, 1941, and fell in 12 days. The prostrate nation was then divided up. German, Italian, Hungarian and Bulgarian soldiers each occupied certain portions of Yugoslav soil.

The Reverend John La Farge, S. J., tells in *America* (a leading Catholic weekly) of the perse-

cutation of the Church in Slovenia (now Italian-occupied). His narrative reads in part:

"An official report sent to the Holy See and to Mussolini by the Consulta established by the Italian government in Slovenia . . . covers the period from the [German] invasion . . . to May 18, [1941]. . . .

"It may be briefly described as hell for Catholics and Catholicism in Slovenia, a 98 per cent Catholic country—a hell deliberately planned by Adolf Hitler, out of his diabolical hatred for Christ and His Church.

"In the very first days after their arrival . . . the Germans began to claim, and seize, the Slovenian church property . . . and to dissolve . . . religious houses. . . .

"The German officials, for the greater part, left the execution of the persecution of the Slovenes to young, often not even 20-year-old, members of the SS and SA divisions and the Gestapo. . . .

"In house-searching, arrests and seizures . . . the attitude and conduct of these . . . were brutally sacrilegious.

"So, for instance, in the parish church at Kranj . . . occurred the following:

"The priest catechist Zuzek, who alone among the clergy of the city of Kranj had not been arrested up to this time, was celebrating Mass. At the Consecration, an officer of the Gestapo strode into the church with his cap on his head and a lighted cigaret in his mouth.

"He walked through the church and up before the altar with his revolver raised, and threatened the priest. The faithful assembled in the church hastily dispersed. The officer sat down then . . . and yelled away at the priest.

"In Begunje, near Lesce, over 500 Slovene prisoners, of whom 105 were priests, were lodged in the penal institute for women at that place. . . .

"These prisoners had to clean the latrines, carry the fecal matter out on the fields and perform other such works.

"By such labors and by the manner of their execution, the priests were to be humiliated and degraded to the utmost before the populace, and their priestly vocation made to seem ridiculous and . . . repulsive."

### "Obey God!"

Such has been Adolf Hitler's bloody crusade against Christianity, waged wherever the Nazi tyranny holds sway over inno-

cent and defenseless peoples.

The record is not complete. It cannot be until the wall of Nazi censorship is torn down and the whole story of Catholic persecution stands revealed. Already, however, the civilized world is aghast at the crimes of Hitler, the new barbarian.

Yet this evil apostle of darkness has not yet achieved his infamous ends. Everywhere the spiritual force of true faith is arrayed against him.

Europe's Catholics still heed the call of Pope Pius XII, broadcast in November, 1941: "We must obey God rather than men!"

And there is another force opposing the self-proclaimed anti-Christ—the righteous force of arms that have been taken up by nations united against him.

When Hitler is finally broken on the field of battle, his spiteful will to evil will also end. Just two months ago the free press of America reported a prophetic phrase from the lips of that staunch and fearless anti-Nazi, Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich.

The Cardinal was speaking of the bombing of Cologne, in the heart of Hitler's Germany. That bombing, he said simply, was "a prelude to the last judgment."

END



REPRINTED THROUGH

COURTESY OF

LOOK MAGAZINE

ISSUES OF

DECEMBER 29, 1942 AND JANUARY 12, 1943



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He who shall  
introduce into public  
affairs The principles of  
primitive Christianity will  
change The face of The  
world.

Franklin,

Letter to French Ministry  
March 1778

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