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## A Comparative Historical Analysis of the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust

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A Comparative Historical Analysis of the Spanish Inquisition and the  
Holocaust

by

Jon Winger

Advisor Mark Molesky, Ph.D.

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the Master of Arts in History

Seton Hall University

South Orange, NJ

Summer 2022

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History

## APPROVAL FOR SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE

Jon Winger has successfully defended and made the required modifications to the text of the doctoral dissertation for the Masters degree during this Summer, 2022.

## DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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## Introduction

Since the founding of Judaism by the patriarch Abraham approximately 4,000 years have elapsed and the Jewish people have faced many tyrannical regimes that have attempted to wipe Abraham's progeny from the face of the earth. While all such attempts are racist hate crimes three totalitarian regimes garner the most opprobrium. The ancient Egyptians under Pharaoh approximately 3,800 years ago, the Spanish Inquisition which was initiated by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella about 650 years ago, and the Nazi regime under Adolf Hitler starting approximately 90 years ago. What the careful reader should find most frightening about what was written is that the time span between these events are becoming progressively shorter. The implications are that as the world turns faster these events are coming closer and closer together. It thus becomes even more important for us to find as many common denominators between these events so that we can predict when they are likely to recur and while prevention may not be a realistic possibility, mitigation is. We will later see that during the Spanish expulsion the Jews suffered severely as they were totally unprepared. Likewise, Hitler's plans were well outlined and published and some preventative action was possible.

An uninvited guest or an individual who is a burden upon the general society would of his very nature incur the wrath of the general population. This was certainly not the case preceding these acts of bigotry under the Egyptians, Iberians nor Germans. Biblically, Joseph was a high ranking official in the Egyptian government and with the blessing of the Pharaoh, Joseph invited his family to come to Goshen and live there. In effect, the patriarch told Pharaoh that the intent

was only to remain temporarily. The monarchy, however, enslaved the Jews for over two centuries and even initiated a genocide by ordering the murder of all the newborn sons. In Spain before the Catholic Monarchs took over, the Jews were welcome members of the society and had high ranking positions for both the Moslem and Catholic city states including advisor to the king and in one case Samuel the Nadib, the military chief and poet. The Conversos during the Catholic reign were often initially well respected members of the society and had high ranking positions and until 1492 the Jews themselves were active in society. In Germany many Jewish soldiers served with distinction in the First World War and Jews held prestigious positions in academia, law and medicine. They also ran successful businesses. In fact many of these people felt greater allegiance to Germany than to their Jewish brethren. In the end it appears that this loyalty to Germany made no difference.

This paper is an attempt to try to understand the methods and underlying philosophy of the Nazi induced Holocaust and the Iberian led punishment of the Jews and to see what common threads and distinctions can be drawn. Initially, the intent was to compare and contrast the Nazi initiated Holocaust with that of the Spanish Inquisition. It is harder to define the Iberian hate crime as to the perpetrators then in the case of the Nazis. Firstly, the Nazis existed as a legal government for slightly over a decade with Hitler being the head of state from its inception till hours before its total collapse. The Iberian catastrophe lasted depending upon definitions for over half a millennium and still has an office in the Vatican under the title Congregation of Defenders of the Faith. The term Inquisition is also confusing and must be defined more specifically as multiple Inquisitions existed and some overlapped. The initial Inquisition was led by the Benedictines and was aimed at a Christian group called Cathars. If you question how brutal or

successful the Benedictines were, think about the last time you saw a Cathar.<sup>1</sup> The next groups of Inquisitions that existed consist of the Roman Inquisition, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Portuguese Inquisition. These often overlapped in time and space but were jealous of their rights and prerogatives. Much conflict existed in terms of power and money, much of which was stolen from their victims by the different Inquisitions. Complicating this discussion is the fact that the largest Iberian pogrom involving approximately 50,000 murders<sup>2</sup> which was inspired by Catholic clergy in 1391 preceded the Spanish Inquisition and this probably exceeded all the other murders done by the anti-Semitic forces in this era. Friar Vincent Ferrer failed to convert a large number of Jews to Catholicism according to chronicler Bachiller Andres Bernaldez. As a result of this failure the people of Castile spitefully put many of the recalcitrant ones to the sword whereupon many Jews came in voluntarily for baptism.<sup>3</sup> Thus this pogrom also resulted in the reality that many Jews became Conversos. This created a divided community of Jews and former Jews, where many of the Conversos that embraced Catholicism would in some cases become severe enemies of their former brethren. Even former rabbis that converted would on some occasion become rabid anti-Semites. The Conversos often for a period of time would be able to enter the enlarging secular economy and also be able to secure positions in the Church. The details and the complications of defining terms will be discussed in greater detail in the body of this work.

As historians we are always admonished not to be guilty of presentism. There is significant evidence that there were many Conversos (new Christians) that were truly Crypto Jews. To avoid being accused of presentism it may be argued that we lack the privilege to place

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<sup>1</sup> Cullen Murphy, *God's Jury the Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, (AMS Press, 1988), Volume 1: 41.

<sup>3</sup> Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006), 2.

our morality and declare freedom of religion is a right that we now recognize and can therefore condemn the Church for violating this right. In fact this discrimination was applied not only against Jews but also against Moslems and Protestants. If this is correct and we will later show that the Inquisition did successfully remove Judaism from Iberia perhaps we lack the right to condemn the Inquisition. I refuse, however, to be put in the position of Hannah Arendt who lessened the criminality of Adolph Eichmann, the architect of the Nazi Holocaust, by writing about the “banality of evil”. What was done was wrong by most moral perspective and forcing conversion and neither trying to persuade the converts to the validity of their new religion nor having a real educational approach to inform the new converts is wrong and must be condemned. Using any other standard will allow any tyrant to argue that the morality of his regime is the only moral yardstick that can be used. More to the point, the argument that this work suffers from presentism is repudiated by the fact that both regimes that are the focus of this paper were preceded by the governing bodies that were far more tolerant. The Inquisition was preceded by the Moslems of Andalusia, and by King James I (who based on financial incentives), in the 14<sup>th</sup> century protected Jews. The Third Reich was preceded by The Weimar Republic. Lastly, any person or organization that claims to walk in the shadow of the Almighty and follow in his mercy must by their very nature be held to a higher standard and here clearly The Spanish Inquisition failed.

We will also discuss Professor Netanyahu’s argument that this was not anti-Judaism but anti-Semitism as the Conversos were targeted even though they claimed, and in many cases honestly, that they were religious Catholics. The distinction between anti-Judaism and antisemitism rest on the principle that anti-Judaism is a religious and philosophical prejudice. The Jews are condemned because of deicide and the refusal to accept the new religion. This of



course says that the Jewish guilt crosses generational lines. Antisemitism on the other hand is a racial prejudice that is only peripherally related to a single misdeed but rather related to racial genetic flaws in the Jews. It must be remembered that the Inquisition's rules of jurisprudence differed from what we today would accept, as they acted under the assumption that it is worth condemning many innocent people to make sure they didn't fail to punish any guilty and they also felt that once you were accused, you were guilty until proven innocent. They frequently incarcerated people on trial for 5, 10 or 20 years before reaching a verdict and would in the rare case that they lacked adequate evidence rather than call the accused innocent would suspended the trial with the option to begin again. In 1627 Gaspar Isidro Arguello, a member of the Suprema, wrote a manual based on instructions from Torquemada for the Inquisition ordering "that prisoners should not be worn out in prisons from delays; and their trial should be performed immediately."<sup>4</sup> This was unfortunately often ignored. Lastly the names of the witnesses and accusers were kept secret from the defendant. The attorneys for the accused were selected by the Inquisition, often paid by the Inquisition, and if the legal representatives offered too aggressive a defense the attorney could be excommunicated. This naturally offends us as Americans but we have yet much to see. In contradistinction we believe that we would rather free 99 guilty to save one innocent. We believe that you are innocent until and unless proven guilty. We constitutionally forbid double jeopardy. Lastly, we are guaranteed a speedy trial with the right to face our accusers.

It should be easier to characterize the Third Reich than the Inquisition. The Third Reich despite its huge imprint on history existed for less than thirteen years. Despite a few deaths of its leadership and though its leadership was expanded, its elite group was relatively constant.

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<sup>4</sup>Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614*, 70.

Despite this much controversy exists about the goals and actions of the Nazis. While this paper will go later into this in much more detail, it has been an area of tremendous scholarship as to the initial plans and motivation of the Nazis. For example, did the Final solution evolve with time? Was it the inevitable result of the bureaucracy that was created? Did Hitler always intend to murder the Jews? Is the historical interpretation of *A World without Jews* correct and the plan to remove Jews from initially Germany and then Europe required the destruction of the Jews by just encouraging their death or by mass murder or was simple emigration enough to satisfy their goals? In the Iberian Peninsula the role of the Church in its actions against the Jews is more difficult to characterize. Firstly, we are dealing with centuries to millennium. The Church had many changes in its leadership over this time. The Church was a much larger organization and as we shall see subordinates often would ignore the rulings of their superiors. The Church often acted in contradictory ways. The problem in all these cases is that while trends may be present, if we ignore the contradictory actions of the Church, its defenders will use these contradiction to discredit all of our assertions. Pope Pius XII has been characterized as literally a saint and he has been beatified. His detractors on the other hand have vilified him as a sinner. Since evidence exists on both sides it is imperative to objectively list and admit to both sides and see where the predominance of the evidence takes us. A Professor Berk once told me if we are not scrupulous with the truth of the Holocaust the Holocaust Deniers will drive a truck through our omissions and errors and deny the veracity of all the assertions. Similarly we must note the positive and negative actions of the Church and see what the predominant trends are.

The question arises as to when did Europe go wrong with its racist policies? To this question Norman Cohn in his book *Warrant for Genocide* would answer in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3.

Violence often was the foundation for the relations between the Christian and Jewish communities in Medieval Iberia. Unlike other Christian parts of Europe the Jews and Muslims constituted a significant presence in Iberia and most of the Christians interacted with these minorities. David Nirenberg in his work *Communities of Violence* explains how ritualized acts of violence in some ways set the limit of the relationships and kept the violence confined in space and time. Thus on Holy Week by having most of the attacks on Jews performed by clerics and children it limited the damage, protected adult relationships, and kept the violence confined to a few days a year.<sup>6</sup> By recognizing these violent acts initiated in the middle ages we can see a continuity of these rituals and connect it to the Holocaust. This European anti-Semitic actions varied by era and by other factors in the community and its secular and religious leadership but an underlying continuous thread exists. The challenging and difficult question remains as to why certain communities at different times allowed this limited sanctioned violence to break all bounds of control?

Lastly, the question remains as to the value of studying and comparing these events. To be fair, any moral individual would be horrified by the evil plans and programs that Hitler outlined in *Mein Kampf*. What was more appalling was that in his work he clearly stated his plans and strategies. What was mind boggling about this is that world leaders either did not read Hitler's playbook or ignored it and did not act in a proper defensive or offensive manner. For example, Hitler pulled no punches and clearly explained why he inevitably would have to invade the Soviet Union. He wrote this in the early 1920s. Why would Stalin, a supposed savvy politician, fail to recognize this risk and why was he totally unprepared for Operation Barbarossa? Some may argue that the accusation of Pope Pius's XII guilt during The Holocaust

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<sup>6</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 223-230.

is not totally fair as his primary responsibility was toward The Roman Catholic Church, its flock and its leadership, and not toward the Jews. The fairness of this argument and its accuracy will be discussed later. This argument, however, totally ignores the 2 million Catholic Polish people who were murdered by the Nazis and the 2,000 Catholic priests sent to Auschwitz. Pope Pius XII was presumably selected not so much for his spiritual leadership as for his diplomatic acumen. Even if he had cursorily read *Mein Kampf* he should have understood Hitler's game plan. Pope Pius IX was able to stop Bismarck by his actions, as opposed to Pope Pius XII who by negotiating several Concordats with Germany cut the legs from under the moderate Catholic party and let Hitler become an unchallengeable dictator.

The other group that failed to understand Hitler's plan are my colleagues, modern day historians. Time and again many historians argued that Hitler's worst mistake was invasion of the Soviet Union. If *Mein Kampf* is read carefully, it is apparent that he had no other options. To summarize, if we don't study what these evil people's plan we are also guilty, and responsible for not providing the means of action, and the call to arms to stop them.

The author is aware that conflicting statements exist in this work. It must be remembered when discussing the Inquisition that it spanned centuries and different people from that epic had conflicting views. Even the same individual often expressed different views over the decades of their lives. The records show conflicting trends and historical records diverge and not all statements are consistent. When we look for historical trends by the very nature of human endeavors irreconcilable differences appear. In addition to this bigotry, racism and intolerance create their own internal contradictory philosophy that often defies logic.

## Chapter One: Iberia Prior to Christian Domination

This paper deals with a comparison between the Holocaust and The Spanish Inquisition. It is essential as the first step in this work to discuss the history of the Iberian Peninsula, and then to discuss the different inquisitions, that existed not only in Iberia but throughout Europe and the New World, and lastly discuss the tolerance accorded to the Jews by the different players.

A Jewish presence existed in Iberia since at least the third century.<sup>7</sup> By the thirteenth century Iberia was the site of the largest Jewish community in the diaspora. The Jews, however, probably constituted only 2% of the indigenous population.<sup>8</sup> In the medieval countryside the Jew engaged in agriculture and herding activities. In the towns the Jews were tailors, shopkeepers, dyers, weavers, and some of them were professionals. Other parts of the civilized world were not always tolerant of the Jews. The Jews were expelled from England in 1290 and from France in 1306 but with certain notable exceptions, *convencia*, the ability to live together held out a while longer in Iberia.<sup>9</sup>

In the eighth century the Moslem royal family of Umayyads in the Middle East were slaughtered by a rival royal family the Abbasids which seized their kingdom. The only survivor from the carnage of the royal family of Umayyads was a young man named Abd al-Rhaman. In an amazing tale of survival he crossed North Africa and then took a short sea journey and ended up what in Arabic is referred to as al-Andulus, which we call Iberia, and there he started to build his empire. Prior to his arrival the easternmost extension of the Moors penetration in Europe had been set at the Battle of Tours in 732 when the Moslems suffered a humiliating defeat and lost so

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<sup>7</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 8.

<sup>8</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 10.

many soldiers that forever in their history they would refer to the battle field as The Plain of Martyrs. This would constitute the farthest east that the Moslem rulers penetrated Europe. The Moors however had many small states in Iberia. Some of the local rulers in Iberia were client states of Umayyads and thus owed a loyalty to Abd al-Raman. Other local rulers were part of the Berbers which was another Moslem ethnic alliance. The Ummayyads considered the Berbers to be ethnically and culturally inferior but still a military threat. In May 756 Abd al-Rhaman won a major military battle outside of Córdoba and thus established his legacy that was to survive for centuries.<sup>10</sup> He called his newly built estate Rusafa in memory of his family estate in Damascus. This was to become a cultural, philosophical Mecca where great intellects as Peter Abelard, Maimonides, and Averoes who were each of different confessional groups would work in search of their own truths and be able to utilize the vast cultural resources which included major libraries that were offered by the Umayyads. These brilliant men of divergent confessional groups among many others were able to add major religious works, as well as scientific works which were shared by all of the diverse cultural groups that were present. Abd al-Raman was very tolerant of other faiths and in fact the building in which he prayed in Cordoba was for much of his life on one side a mosque and the other side a church. He later bought out the Church and built a magnificent Friday Mosque.

During this era of Moslem domination, the Christian states never entirely disappeared but often retreated to the mountain regions. Under the monarchy of the Umayyads there was a vast economic revival with the institution of trade, new agricultural products, new agricultural techniques (including irrigation) and the population grew. Arabic became the spoken vernacular language and aside from the Moslems, the Christians and Jews benefitted. Arabic culture as

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<sup>10</sup> Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 8.

differentiated from Moslem culture grew and permeated through the Jewish and Christians communities. Despite Abd al-Rahman III being called defender of the faith, the dhimmi (the Arabic word for those that shared with them the monotheistic faith of Abraham) were somewhat lower class but were protected. The Jews and Christians as people of the book were able to engage in all commercial enterprises and in return for this were required to pay a tax from which Moslems were exempt. Cities, such as Cordoba, were being modernized and had running water, lit streets and libraries. The libraries were so well stocked that a paper factory was built. Poetry was a major discipline that was studied by warriors and the poetry was shared by members of all three religions. Latin was no longer the vernacular for Catholics but rather Arabic was used by all members of the community. Intermarriage of Moslems and Christians was common even among the royalty. In this situation there was much conversion by Christians to Islam. Alvarez, who was a major Catholic theologian who tried to protect the faith, complained of the loss of the Latin language by the Christians. The Jews who had lived in exiles for centuries did not seem to have exhibited much resistance to the use of Arabic as they had learned and used many different languages during their various exiles. The Umayyads shared much of their academic learning with their counterparts Abbasids in the Middle East. It is pertinent that the emissary for the Umayyads was Hasdai Ibn Shaprut who was respected by both sides, was a religious Jew, an intellectual, and a physician who authored medical texts. His religious membership in a different confessional group did not seem to hamper his ability to negotiate. Educational material flowed easily between the Middle East and Iberia.

It was the sacking of Madinat al-Zahra (the castle built by Abd al-Rhman III) in 1009 by a civil war between Berbers and Umayyads that marked the end of the summit and of the beginning of the fall from the advanced multicultural civilization that existed. This magnificent

castle housed special courts, a zoo with exotic animals, gardens and pools. The Jews as they moved away from the sacked city of Cordoba were welcomed and invited to other Arab cities such as Granada. One of the Jews who moved to Malaga, Samuel Ibn Nagrila, became the vizier. He was a warrior and a poet and as evidence of mixing of the culture he wrote Hebrew poems with Arabic melodies. Expanding and sharing cultures and learning from books from all civilizations was the basis of life in Iberia. Samuel was also responsible for the building of the fortress Alhambra. During this era the Christian Monarchs also expanded their territorial acquisitions. Alfonso VI a Christian monarch captured Toledo and he made it capital of translational work. The other Moslem states recruited military help from the Almoravids who took over much of the governance and they were succeeded by the Almohads, a fanatic group of Berbers from North Africa. In this era Pope Urban II organized the Crusades to defeat the Moslems and win back the Holy Land.

In 1085 a Christian king recaptured Toledo and it was made capital of Castile. At the highest geographic altitude in the city a new magnificent church was built. What is most interesting about the church is that it was built in Arab style with many horseshoe arches with Byzantine figures and Arabic writing above it. Political and military alliances often crossed religious lines. Despite this level of tolerance anti-Jewish riots broke out in Granada and Joseph the son of the famous Nagid was murdered. We are thus seeing the overpowering evidence of bigotry creeping in.

A level of tolerance, however, still existed in Iberia amongst the three religions. A man who was referred to as Moses Sephardi was baptized and became Petrus Alfonso. He was educated in Iberia and gained much knowledge in regards to culture, astronomy, and medicine. He received most of his education in the Moslem section of Spain. He moved to what would



become the British Isles and later returned to the continent probably in what is now Normandy. His education in Iberia made him a valued member of society. He became a physician to royalty. In Toledo his education would probably have been considered not much more than rudimentary. This reflects on the high academic attainment on the Iberian Peninsula where standards were so much higher than in neighboring regions. His acceptance as a Christian reflects better on this era than we shall find in subsequent eras where purity of blood became more important and was referred to as *limpieza*. He wrote the *Priestly Tales* which were supposed to be moral short stories and would be discussed centuries later by Chaucer. Later he wrote *Dialogues against Jews* which is a blatantly anti-Semitic text that creates a fictional dialogue between his old self named Moses, and his new self-named Peter. Further into this paper we will discuss additional anti-Semitic text that were disseminated by members of the clergy.

Even into the thirteenth century the attempt of the Jewish intellectual elite to mix the secular culture of Andalusia was somewhat of a challenge. In 1140 Judah Halevi one of the most sought after poets of that era left Iberia for Egypt having changed his orientation with the realization that to preserve Jewish culture a separation must exist from secular thought.

On July 16, 1212 in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa the Christian forces were victorious and delivered the standard to Pope Innocent III. This battle led in an almost straight trajectory to 1492 when the last Moorish state was defeated by Christian forces.

Still at the end of the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century great works of Jewish Theology were produced in Iberia. The Zohar was written, which explained Kabbalah (Jewish Mysticism) by Moses of Leon. In this same period Alfonso X tried to prevent the loss of the great works in his libraries and had them translated at great effort and cost into Castilian from

Arabic. Thus at this point the tradition for maintaining an educated cultural society was supported. Alfonso X also worked to preserve the architecture that was built by the Moslems.

It is important that we recognize that in Iberia we are dealing early on with a great seat of academia, intellectual investigations, and great libraries, but it is not clear how much of this permeated down to the lower sociological classes. Even into the 16th century, when Spain was a considered a totally Catholic country a friar lamented that barely 30 out of 300 of the common folks had sufficient education to know what an ordinary Catholic was obligated to know to be a Catholic.<sup>11</sup> This would of course become a problem when the Inquisition tried to enforce religious doctrine and the mass of the people were ignorant. Religious traditions by the lower classes combined local folklore, superstition, and some dogmatic beliefs and at this time the Church failed to teach its adherents the correct theological thoughts and customs.<sup>12</sup> It appears that the rulers, seeking to stabilize their power in Castile and Aragon, where civil wars had created disorder in the 1470s accepted an alliance with social forces that prepared the way for the elimination of a plural open society.<sup>13</sup> It must be emphasized that interfaith services were totally accepted as late as 1470. In 1470 the town of Ucles suffered from a drought and there were many processions that included Moslems, Catholics, and Jews all praying for rain. Hernan Sanchez Castro who was in the Christian procession and later joined the Jewish procession where he carried the Jewish Torah. Castro was denounced for this twenty years later.<sup>14</sup> This reflects on standards that changed so dramatically over a relatively short period that people were able to be prosecuted later for which at the time of commission of that act were not considered a violation of local custom nor laws, The year 1391 had many forced conversions of both Jews and

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<sup>11</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 4-5.

Moslems to Catholicism. In Aragon a royal decree said that forced conversions were not binding but many Jews felt it was safer to be a crypto Jew and at least pretend to accept the Catholic faith. There was a shortage of physicians and many Jews stepped into the breach and became physicians. Some were so successful and popular that some towns even exempted them from taxes.<sup>15</sup> The Jews also served the financial administration by becoming tax collectors. This of course did not increase their popularity. The percentage of tax collectors in the mid fifteenth century that were Jews amounted to only 15% which was disproportionately large for their share of the population but still a small minority.<sup>16</sup> The new King of Aragon Alfonso V from 1416 to 1438 protected both Jews and Conversos from attacks on them and allowed Jewish and Moslem physicians to visit Christians.<sup>17</sup>

On January 2, 1492 in a peaceful takeover King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella walked up the steep hill to Granada dressed in Moorish finery. The fact that they were dressed for the ceremony in their Moorish finery hinted in a misleading fashion that they would in the future show tolerance for the other religions. They guaranteed religious freedom even though by Papal decree they were to be known as The Catholic Monarchs. Muhamid XI known as Boabdil, the last Moslem monarch of an Iberian city state, sighed as he left Granada. His mother reputedly said that he should not cry like a woman for a home that he refused to defend as a man. The Catholic Monarchs preserved the Moorish architecture but that for the most part was the extent of their tolerance. Queen Isabella had the Mosque consecrated to be her chapel. This was quickly followed by the treaty being repudiated by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella and initiation of the persecution of the Moslem. The edict for the expulsion of the Jews came only 3 months after

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<sup>15</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 11-12.

<sup>17</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 14.

the capitulation of Granada. Isaac Abravanel who had direct access to the monarchs was able to delay the expulsion from July 31, 1492 to August 2, 1492. That was the extent of the mercy that was shown. Ironically the day of expulsion coincided on the Jewish calendar to the 9th of Av, which was the date that separated by many centuries was the date the First and Second Temple were destroyed.

To discuss the origins of the Spanish Inquisition we must go further back in history to discuss the Catholic Jewish Relations. In concert with the writings of St. Augustine, Rome since the Middle Ages asserted the position that salvation was achievable exclusively by those baptized into the Church.<sup>18</sup> St. Justin Martin argued that salvation outside the Church existed only for those that preceded the Church or were ignorant of its presence.<sup>19</sup> Once Christianity became the official state religion the Jews could no longer legitimately claim to be ignorant of its existence nor be redeemable without baptism.<sup>20</sup> The position of the Church tacked back and forth. Pope Gregory I (Gregory the Great) in reference to the Jews said “Should have no infringements of their rights... We forbid vilify the Jews.”<sup>21</sup> Pope Calixtus II promised the Jews “the shield of our protection.”<sup>22</sup> To understand the Spanish Inquisition we must go back to the First Inquisition. Pope Gregory IX appointed the first “inquisitors of heretical depravity”<sup>23</sup> in 1231. The Inquisition was aided by *Ad extirpanda* a papal bull in 1252 which justified the use of torture and in fact encouraged its use. As an aside this bull was used in our time to justify tortures use by our country on terrorists. The Dominicans ran this first Inquisition which targeted

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<sup>18</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 2

<sup>19</sup> Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*, 36.

<sup>20</sup> Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved*, 36.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in David G. Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, (Washington, DC: Regnery Pub., 2005), 19.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 20.

<sup>23</sup> Murphy, *God's Jury*, 9.

mostly Cathars. The Jesuits played a role in the other Inquisitions which primarily targeted Protestants, Jews, and Moslems.

As the Mayan religion and civilization was later destroyed in the New World with its relics and writings systematically destroyed by the Franciscans, similarly at a much earlier date the Cathars were declared as heretics and Crusades were sent against them culminating in the destruction of this sect including most of their texts. The thesis of their work appears to have been that a god of goodness could not also be the god of evil, of natural and man-made disasters and thus there must be two separate and opposing forces. The god of earthly forces in opposition to the god that is spiritual. Montesquieu, a mountain fortress, was their last redoubt but when it fell it was lost as the last military stronghold of the Cathars but the mission of the first Inquisition was not only a military victory but also to wipe out its adherents. The Inquisitors who received their authority directly from the Pope were able to be more successful than local officials as the pope's inquisitors had no loyalty to any local interests nor people. Traveling light with a few clerks and some bodyguards they could move rapidly. They often offered a period of grace with which to get locals to confess and bear witness against their neighbors. I do not want to imply that the work of the Inquisition was limited to Cathars but Inquisitor General Bernard Gui also targeted Jews and burned copies of the Talmud. In a period of approximately 15 years he executed 633 men.<sup>24</sup> Others were forced to wear special garb and others were placed in life long prison. Death was not a shelter from prosecution and he would exhume remains and then have them burned. Gui's manual which even included sermons to be given was a model that was followed for years. He even included instructions on methods of interrogating subjects to get the most intelligence from them. Examples of this would include having the inquisitor shift gears

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<sup>24</sup> Murphy, *God's Jury*, 45.

rapidly so as to put the person being interrogated off guard. The Cathars were not the only Catholics that were targets of the Inquisitors as after the imprisonment of Knights Templars, an order of military religious monks, they were subjected to Inquisitors and many were burned at the stake in the early fourteenth century.

The next Inquisition was the Spanish Inquisition which was licensed by the Church but was under the rule of King Ferdinand and his wife Queen Isabella. The Spanish Inquisition was authorized on November 1, 1478 by Pope Sixtus IV who issued a bull which translates into “Sincere Devotion is Required”. It initially focused mainly on the Jewish Conversos (those Jews who had been willingly or unwillingly baptized) and later on Moslems who had converted and at a later date the Protestants would be its target. A Dominican Monk Tomas de Torquemada would be the first Inquisitor General. The power struggles between the crown, the Inquisition, and the Vatican will be discussed in detail in future chapters. It should be stated that the strength of each of these three power centers would be influenced by the personalities of the individuals at that particular moment in time, their willingness to ignore other players, their dedication to enforcing their decrees, and where history placed them and their institution at that moment in time. The Spanish Inquisition moved to the new world in stages. Separate offices were established in Lima and Mexico City between 1568 and 1571. It was established in Cartagena on 1671.<sup>25</sup> Even in the New World there was concern by the secular government that the Inquisition would intrude on its secular control. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo of Lima while expressing his support and recognition of the important work of the Inquisition was concerned about it stepping on the civil domain.<sup>26</sup> The Spanish Inquisition ended in different regions at different times. In the New

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<sup>25</sup> Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 6.

<sup>26</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 6.

World it also ended in different places at different times as in Mexico ended in 1820. In Spain it technically ended in 1834. The last person executed for heresy by the Spanish Inquisition was Cayteno Ripoll in 1826 a school teacher who was hung rather than killed by the more common approach of being burned at the stake. In this paper we will also make mention of the Portuguese and Roman Inquisitions. These Inquisitions overlapped in time but often jealously defended themselves from encroachment upon their turf. Turf wars did exist and led to clashes as when Spain occupied parts of Sicily. The Roman Inquisition was started in the sixteenth century and was aimed mainly at adherents of the Reformation but that does not mean nor imply that it ignored other heretics including Jews, witches, homosexuals, free thinkers and public intellectuals. In this case the Pope wore two hats. He was the regent of the Papal States, with this hat ending in the 1870s, and he was head of the Catholic Church. This Inquisition was the one that put Galileo and with him modernity on trial. In this case it involved his claim that the earth rotates around the sun. There were name changes along the road for the Inquisition and until about 1908 it was known as the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition. It more recently has undergone the name change to Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. For over two decades it was led by Cardinal Josef Ratzinger later to become Pope Benedict XVI. In no way is this paper claiming nor implying that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is as harsh as the Inquisition. Most significantly, however, by the existence of the Congregation, the Church has not repudiated the Inquisition. Part of what will be discussed is the Index which existed into the 1960s and was various lists of books that were banned by the Church. There were multiple Indexes issued by various organs of the Church which were not always in agreement. One in particular allowed books to be maintained if certain parts were redacted.

The Portuguese Inquisition which deserves some attention in this paper as it was also located in Iberia and different parts of the New World will also be discussed later. The Portuguese Inquisition started in 1536. The migration of Jews and Conversos between these countries, which for a significant period of time were the two great superpowers will be discussed. What makes this even more convoluted is that for a significant historical period both countries were under the rule of a single monarch. In 1547 a bull was issued that recognized an independent Portuguese Inquisition modeled after the Spanish. This spurred a mass migration of Portuguese New Christians to Spain. These New Christians constituted 20% of the population of Portugal.<sup>27</sup> Beginning in the 1590s Portuguese New Christians took up much of the time of Spanish Inquisition.<sup>28</sup> In fact a derisive term in Spain for a Jew at this time was to refer to him as a Portuguese.

Even prior to Spain becoming a totally Catholic country, and even before the start of the Spanish Inquisition, massive pogroms against the Jews occurred in Iberia. In 1391 Archdeacon of Ecija Fernando Martinez despite having been ordered by civil and religious authorities to desist continued his anti-Semitic polemics and he was the major inciting force for the Pogrom of 1391. In Seville and Castile the pogrom may have had 50,000 victims, which overshadowed the Spanish Inquisition in terms of murders and forced conversions. In Aragon there are estimates of 100,000 Jews having been murdered. It is not the place of this paper to discuss the position of the Church on forced Jewish conversions, but suffice it to say that many prominent Catholic leaders in the Middle Ages lined up on both sides. It was claimed by some that Jews were needed to be around as descendants of witnesses to the Biblical facts. "In the primitive Church there would seem to have been a feeling of equality if not of cordiality between

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<sup>27</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 289.

<sup>28</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 289.



Christians and Jews.”<sup>29</sup> This tolerance slowly dissolved first to keep the Jews separated by rituals so that the Church would not lose its flock. St. Augustine argued that some social interaction was acceptable but that intermarriage could be dissolved. “It was in vain that Jesus on the cross had said “Father, forgive them for they know not what they do””<sup>30</sup> “It was in vain that St. Peter was recorded as urging, in excuse for the Crucifixion, “And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers”; the Church taught that, short of murder, no punishment, no suffering, no obloquy was too severe for the descendants of those who had refused to recognize the Messiah, and had treated him as a rebel against human and divine authority.”<sup>31</sup> In spite of this Pope Gregory the Great argued that the Jews should be encouraged by kindness to convert and objected to the use of force, and ruled that Jews should be allowed to celebrate their holidays.

Clement III, who ascended to the papacy in December 1183, prohibited forced conversion and murder or wounding those Jews who refused to convert and demanded that Jews have religious freedom.<sup>32</sup> In a bull on September 24, 1449 a bull was issued under the title *Humani Generis* *Enemicus* Enemy of the Human race attacked the idea of excluding any Christian based on lineage. “We decree and declare “the pope went on “that all Catholics are one body in Christ according to the teaching of our faith.””<sup>33</sup> In an interesting contrast to this in 1581 Pope Gregory XIII claimed that the guilt of Jews grows greater with each generation. Thus the tolerance of the Church did tack back and forth over the era that this paper deals with but main trajectory was toward less tolerance.

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<sup>29</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 30.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 34.

The fourteenth century, which preceded the Spanish Inquisition, was a particularly challenging century for Christian Europe and in particular for Christian Iberia. In this century Jews, Muslims, and Lepers were the property of the king and he would take steps to protect his property from the actions of the common people, the clerics, and the local lords. We shall later see that during the reign of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella this radically changed. Long term consequences including depopulation was important in influencing 14<sup>th</sup> century monarchs as was bribes and payment of taxes to the crown. As an example, the crown would help Jews collect their debt and forbid the destruction of the records of the debt as the crown taxed a percent of the interest earned. The crown was asked by Jews to provide protection and would in many cases comply. Two of the largest challenges in this century included the Shepherds Movement and the Bubonic plague.

The Shepherd's Movement existed in France and in Spain and was sparked by a 17 year old boy who claimed to have a vision of a dove, a maiden and the Holy Ghost and was told to fight the Moors.<sup>34</sup> This later expanded to attacking Jews and Lepers. In the 1320s the violence of the Shepherds spread to Aragon and 317 Jews were murdered. What is pertinent is that the crown took this issue seriously and tried those people complicit in the act and those civil authorities who failed to provide Jews with protection.<sup>35</sup> The crown recognized its responsibility and financial interests in local Jews and differentiated those Jews who resided in Aragon for over a year from those who recently arrived.<sup>36</sup> Other episodes of violence occurred the worst being in 1391 when despite the crowns efforts the number of Jews murdered ran into the thousands to tens of thousands in Seville and Valencia. Many of the Jews were baptized so that the mob

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<sup>34</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 43.

<sup>35</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 77-91.

<sup>36</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 115.

would let them live. In this era the crown made efforts to protect the Jews. These actions were often viewed as struggles pitting the king against local lords, clerics, town folks, and Shepherds. The Shepherds would claim that they were trying to protect the crown from the evil Jews.

The other major crises of the fourteenth century was the plague. The Iberian Peninsula was forewarned about the impending devastation by officials in France. None of the measures at that time impeded the disease, as germ theory was not understood by the medical community until the 1860s and not really accepted till the 1880s. The devastation was immense as for example in Barcelona within a matter of months 36% of the population succumbed.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly the Jews were not accused of poisoning the wells but were felt to be responsible as their sins which brought down the fury of the Lord. In Lleida alone 300 Jews were murdered.<sup>38</sup>

As a prerequisite to understanding the Inquisition it is important to appreciate the sociological criteria by which the Christian Spanish society operated. Integrity and honor was everything. Aside from integrity battlefield success added to honor. Even a relatively poor man could become a hidalgo if he could obtain honor. Certain actions would stain honor, such as being an employee and not being a true Christian. Having said this a Jew and a Muslin could obtain honor prior to the fifteenth century by fulfilling certain criteria. Entering the fifteenth century sociological walls were erected that discriminated against Jews and barred them from entering the upper classes. A major difficulty that existed is that by this time with conversions many people with Jewish lineage had entered the higher levels of society, albeit significant number were Conversos but not all of them, until the expulsion in 1492. By 1480 the Inquisition had given a major impetus to the discrimination based on blood lines.<sup>39</sup> Those with Jewish blood

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<sup>37</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 235.

<sup>38</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 237.

<sup>39</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 231-233.

began to be excluded from universities, starting with University College of San Bartolome but many other schools still existed that offered options to those with tainted blood. In 1531 this became much more widespread. The rules on *limpieza* were only strictly followed in certain institutions. Onto the stage now stepped Juan Martinez Siliceo, who was a man of humble beginnings, but who proudly proclaimed that both of his parents were Old Christians. Siliceo moved up the ladder becoming archbishop of Toledo. When a Converso, Dr. Fernando Jimenez, was offered a vacant canonry Juan blocked it. Siliceo argued that 50,000 Conversos had been burned at the stake and most of the priests in his archdiocese had impure blood. His attempt to enforce the law of *limpieza* ran into much opposition by Conversos but in 1555 times were changing and the Pope Paul IV issued a formal approval and in August 1556 King Philip approved it for Toledo.<sup>40</sup> In 1572 the Inquisition decided to enforce *limpieza*. The laws of *limpieza* were mostly applied in Castile and less than 1/6th of the Sees approved it, thus giving the other Sees an excuse not to introduce it.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly at a later date Pope Paul IV refused to approve this for Seville. Kamen argues that the laws were not widely accepted and often disregarded in military clubs, ecclesiastical appointments, and even in the Inquisition. Bribery was a method used to produce evidence of pure *limpieza* which often succeeded in an era where written documentation was often missing.

Spain, because of its economic gains, remained an area that attracted unskilled labor from France. The wages paid for example in Barcelona attracted French workers and these workers in the mid and late sixteenth century were treated poorly because of their Protestant background or because of them belonging to the lower classes or because of Spanish xenophobia.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 238.

<sup>41</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 239.

<sup>42</sup> William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 108.

## Chapter Two: Laying the Foundation to the Inquisition

Technically a Jew was not subject to the Inquisition because the target of the Inquisition could only be Christians who were guilty of heresy. Even some inquisitors objected to the legality and techniques used. Inquisitor Luis de Paramo objected to the forced expulsion and forced baptism of the Jews. He argued that forced baptism really didn't fulfill the sacrament properly and for that reason these Conversos were still essentially pagan and therefore outside the purview of the Inquisition. He further argued that forced expulsion of the Jews implied the concept of killing them and thus violated the scriptures.<sup>43</sup> His perspective was obviously not accepted. The Inquisition's main purpose was to root out heresy. A Jew since he was not baptized was not a member of the flock and could thus not be judged as a heretic since he was not a Christian. There are cases where the defense before the Inquisition by a Jew was lack of baptism.<sup>44</sup> Children under the age of 6 may have been capable of committing heresy. They would not be punished in many cases but were often brought before the Tribunal at age 12 for girls and 14 for boys.<sup>45</sup> In future action the Protestants when brought before the Inquisition could not seem to use this defense.

The difference between anti-Judaism and antisemitism at this point must be clarified. Anti-Judaism was a religious opposition to a group that was charged with a series of crimes the most blatant of which was the murder of Christ. The crime was judged to cross generational lines and if an individual maintained the belief prescribed by Judaism, despite the offense being committed

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<sup>43</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 70.

<sup>44</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 1.

<sup>45</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 1-2.

centuries or millennium earlier he was guilty of deicide. If that same individual saw the errors of his ways and repented and embraced the Church he was forgiven. If that person back slid and returned to Judaism as a baptized Catholic he was guilty of heresy and subject to the Inquisition and the prescribed punishment. Antisemitism in contradistinction is a racial prejudice for which there is no cure and the Jew is irredeemable. Purity of blood became a major issue and will be discussed later on in this work as to its economic, political, academic, professional, and cultural impact. Professor Benzion Netanyahu, father of Israel's former prime minister, argued that the distinction between these two prejudices is in truth a myth and was not reflected in reality. If anti Judaism was a sociological reality the Inquisition would have had no standing to suspect every Converso of in effect still being a practicing Jew. As we will see later in this paper the Spanish Inquisition assumed that all the accused New Christians were guilty of Judaizing and it would require incontrovertible proof of innocence to have the trial put on hold. Those who could not be convicted had their trial put on hold, were forbidden to discuss any part of it under penalty of heresy, and would have to live with the taint for the rest of their lives and for many generations their descendants would be suspect. The strict enforcement of the rule of secrecy would prevent discussion of the proceedings under threat of the discussion being heresy. Thus any defense outside the Inquisition of innocence from heresy made the accused guilty of heresy. Their blood would be considered impure. As we shall see the taint of impure blood was considered by many a fate worse than death. Thus, if a New Christian because of his blood line was suspect, then Professor Netanyahu would argue that this is by its very nature is a racial prejudice rather than a religious controversy. The Dominicans as in a brief issued by Inquisitor General Torquemada in 1496 and a later brief at the House of Santa Maria Niebuhr and San Pedro Martin of Toledo frailes could not accept a candidate if their *limpieza* was stained with Jewish or Moorish blood.

On the other side a Franciscan Cardinal Caietano argued that since the Jews had provide the blood for Jesus Christ and for most of the apostles it was wrong to discriminate against them. In 1535 Pope Paul III ordered that those of Jewish or Moorish blood not be excluded and upon finding that he was being ignored he repeated the ruling on 1537. In 1538 in effect Pope Paul III reversed himself. These inconsistencies will be seen throughout the era.<sup>46</sup> Pope Julius III pointed out the unscrupulous way the Conversos were trying to displace the Old Christians was an attempt to allow the return of Judaism. On the other hand Pope Pius IV refused to confirm the concept of *limpieza* and condemned this practice by the Church of Spain.<sup>47</sup> With all these inconsistencies even by the same individuals it becomes impossible to make hard and fast statements. On the other hand we are not dealing with the physical sciences where rules are more consistently employed than in human endeavors. As we shall see later in this paper the Nazis went back to the grandparent to test for purity of Aryan blood but the Spanish in many cases went only back to the grandparents but the Toledo statute affixed no limits.<sup>48</sup> The secrecy of the Inquisition added to the difficulty of judging and researching the purity of the blood. In order to obtain proof of purity of blood bribery by individuals to certain officials would often be involved.<sup>49</sup>

It may seem inexplicable to those of us living mostly in a modern day secular society to have so much attention paid to heresy. In contrast bigotry, while obviously irrational to modern day liberal thinkers, is something that can be easily understood as it is a fact of daily life. Most of the bigotry that we usually encounter falls along racial, national, socioeconomic, geographic, or philosophical lines. It may thus be hard for us today to appreciate the horror heresy held during

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<sup>46</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 99.

<sup>47</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 101.

<sup>48</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 102.

<sup>49</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 105.

the Inquisition. It must be remembered that in this era, life was short, with limited pleasures, or conveniences. Spices were so valuable since most food was bland. Protection against the environment even to the point of warmth and cooling was limited. Medical miracles were very limited and pain was a constant companion. In this world the next world and salvation was all the more important. The sin of heresy not only threatened the guilty party but all others who may be contaminated by it. Under their perception, obstructing the chance to get to heaven was a greater threat than stealing or even murdering would be in our world. For those reasons and especially for those who accepted the position that only the Church held the key to salvation, heresy was an unpardonable transgression and had to be extirpated at all costs.

While Christianity was the religion claimed by most of the people of Spain the depth of understanding of their faith was quite shallow and limited. “ In Vizcaya in 1539 an inquisitor reported that “ I found men aged ninety years who did not know the Hail Mary or how to make the sign of the cross”.....In the north of Aragon , reported another colleague in 1549, there were many villages that have never had sight of nor contact with Church or Inquisition.”<sup>50</sup> This of course was a threat to the Church which had to know by what measures to judge heresy as opposed to those individuals whose only crime was ignorance. By the second century of its existence 2/3 of the cases that The Holy Office was involved in were with charges that did not involve heresy or cultural deviations. <sup>51</sup>

Prior to the rise to power of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella anarchy reigned supreme in Spain. The roads were unsafe, commerce was difficult, the monarchs were bankrupt and the central authority was weak. Such was the situation as described by Hernandez del Pugar in a

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<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 256.

<sup>51</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 258.



letter from Madrid in 1473.<sup>52</sup> Adding to the misery the currency was of questionable value. “Every petty Hidalgo converted his stronghold into a den of robbers”.<sup>53</sup> This was what Queen Isabella, a fanatically religious regent, confronted when she ascended to the throne in 1474. The Church officials were not necessarily any better at protecting the people than the civil authority. The Archbishop of Toledo an ex officio chancellor of the realm received a salary somewhere between 80,000 to 100,000 ducat and patronage that doubled the salary and he took a perverse delight in war.<sup>54</sup> As such men of low moral stature led the Church it became increasingly important that the lower level clergy start to be better examples if for no better reason than to make the Catholic religion more appealing to Jews and Moslems and thus encourage them to convert. Priests were ordered to discharge their concubines, be celibate, and celebrate mass on a routine basis. In a further attempt to be appealing to the masses, rules were passed insisting that the clergy be chosen from the local population rather than some person from a foreign state foisted upon the locals by a church succumbing to patronage. Even King Ferdinand played the patronage game when he tried to have his six year old son to the archiepiscopal see of Saragossa. In this case his age caused the Pope to deny the application. One factor that made the Inquisition even more oppressive is that the Inquisitors were often from distant lands and this obviously created a situation where local residents felt more alienated.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps the most oppressive rule placed on the civil authorities by the Church is that lay workers of the Church were exempt from criminal and civil courts. This became even more of a problem during the Inquisition when large

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<sup>52</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 4.

<sup>55</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 201.

and poorly documented familiars claimed these same exemptions with the threat of excommunication against civil authorities if this was not honored.

Into this chaos stepped two sovereigns and it is imperative to understand their personalities. Queen Isabella was deeply and sincerely religious, and while maintaining her femininity to get her way she could also act with strength of character that in that era was attributed to only a man. She could impose harsh penalties but showed mercy. She zealously protected the office of the Crown. When Ferdinand's uncle addressed the king in too familiar terms she rebuked the uncle: "Hold! my lord the king has no kindred or friends, he has servants and vassals."<sup>56</sup> She had a fondness for jewelry and fine garments and indulged this despite an empty treasury. As an aside she supposedly used these jewels to finance Columbus's trip as the treasury lacked the funds. King Ferdinand was a powerful and resourceful monarch. He pinched pennies and watched with care as money left the treasury. He paid attention to details and would follow up to make sure his decrees were obeyed. He could be charitable but he made sure that the crown was paid what he felt it was entitled to. Other world leaders including the Pope recognized his power and influence. Subordinates of his including Torquemada, recognized King Ferdinand as a powerful leader that must be respected. He worked hard and then he retired but resumed his work when necessity required it by the end of the short reign of King Philip of Austria.

The new monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, brought law and order to their kingdom. Castles used by robbers were razed and judges were prohibited in real terms from being subject to bribery. A form of secret service was maintained to report to the monarchy as to the status of bribery in the courts. In most cases the reports and records of the time reflect more on King Ferdinand than on Queen Isabella and Ferdinand in his edicts wrote in the first person singular.

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<sup>56</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 10.

An explanation for this emphasis on the King over the Queen can be speculated upon from the time and place records were kept. There was the natural tendency of that era to minimize a woman. It is argued that King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were not initially anti-Semitic and employed Jewish physicians.<sup>57</sup>

A major question that needs to be addressed is as to how important was the Inquisition as a tool to enhance the monarchs centralized control over their rebellious and large kingdom? Henry Charles Lea, in his four volume ground breaking text, first published between 1906 and 1907 insists that the Inquisition was not a major tool used by Isabella and Ferdinand in gaining control over their realm. Other authorities disagree and judge there to be political motives and need for control in the use of the Inquisition. Irene Silverblatt said “Inquisition magistrate and their targets played for the most part, unsuspecting roles in the broad cultural work of state making, in the construing the mysteries of state.”<sup>58</sup> Henry Kamen a noted critic of Lea disagreed with this hypothesis of Lea. Kamen wrote “There is so much to be said for the argument that the crown, in the person above all of Ferdinand, who was the guiding force in its establishment and who continued his efforts after the death of Isabella, wished to use it to consolidate his power. The purity of his religious motives may be questioned.”<sup>59</sup> Kamen further argues that neither Isabella nor Ferdinand were anti-Semites. His argument that the Inquisition was a major tool used by the Monarchs to gain control over their realm seems most cogent. Initially for the first five years the Inquisition focused on the South which had recently been conquered from the Moors. The area of focus was Seville and Cordoba at that time. Many of the local power sources were Conversos and perhaps Isabella needed to cut them down to size.<sup>60</sup> Later, the Inquisition would garner more

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<sup>57</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 14.

<sup>58</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 79.

<sup>59</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 45.

<sup>60</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 46.

power and to a certain degree become a major independent power base. This would become even more apparent when Ferdinand passed from the scene. Weaker monarchs would lack his strength of character and be ignored by the Inquisitor General and local inquisitors. Some local inquisitors would not only ignore the monarchs but also the Inquisitor General and the Pope. In many cases, as will be seen later, they ignored central authorities that were less hard working than Ferdinand and those central authorities often forgot about the issue leaving the lower power source to control the issue. The effort to strengthen the central government came long before the Inquisition. In 1465 the people were so distressed by the civil unrest that they self-taxed and formed an army of 1800 horsemen later to be expanded to 3,000. King Ferdinand encouraged them in their good work and they initially had much success. This eventually languished. Several more hermandads were formed with the biggest problem being the taxation that this subjected the people to. These forces basically served to weaken the local nobility in favor of the central government. In 1498 in a false show of generosity the monarchs agreed to cover the cost of the army but of course this led to greater control going over to the central government. It would seem from Lea's discussion of the historiography of the Inquisition that the historian's perspective as to how important the Inquisition was as a political tool of the realm is tainted by the historians desire to incriminate, or recuse the Church as having participated in an evil organization or lay the evil at the foot of the monarchy. "Joseph de Maistre, in his profound ignorance of the Inquisition, started the theory that it was a mere political agency. Apologists like Hefele, Gams, Hergenrother and others, have eagerly elaborated this idea in order to relieve the Church from responsibility for its misdeeds, wholly overlooking the deeper disgrace involved in the assumption that for three centuries the Holy See assented to such misuse of delegated

papal authority, and stimulated it with appropriations from ecclesiastical revenues.”<sup>61</sup> Lea argues that the only time he found King Ferdinand used the Inquisition to disarm the feudal lords was when in 1507 he asked the Inquisition to bring charges against a commander of feudal forces, Caesar Borgia, “for heretical blasphemy and suspicion of atheism and materialism.”<sup>62</sup> Caesar died in 1507 during a siege. Later, monarchs would use the Inquisition as a tool to bend the political realities to their will. This is illustrated by the story of Antonio Perez who was a longtime advisor and secretary to King Philip II. When Antonio Perez fell out of favor with the King, Antonio fled to Aragon. This particular part of the realm strongly believed in legal rights and the King faced difficulties extraditing him back to Castile. In April, 1591 the King was able to prevail on the Spanish Inquisition in Aragon to proceed against Perez on a trumped up charge of heresy so that he could have him extradited to a more sympathetic part of the realm. The Inquisition did arrest Perez and incarcerated him. Multiple episodes of armed defiance occurred. In the end Perez fled to France. With an army of 18,000 men the King put down the revolt and brutally punished many of the supporters of Perez and burned Perez in effigy. It was armed forces that sent Perez into exile and crushed the revolt but it was all done under the pretense of supporting the Inquisition and eliminating the heresy.<sup>63</sup> In another instance King Phillip II used the Inquisition in Valencia to severely punish those nobles who were stained with banditry and brought disorder to the realm. The Inquisitorial courts were able to more severely punish these nobles than the civil courts could.<sup>64</sup>

The Council of Lateran in order to curb miscegenation in 1217 ordered Jews to wear special garb that would distinguish them as they for commercial purposes traveled between different

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<sup>61</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 92.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 93.

<sup>63</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 93-101.

<sup>64</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 130.

towns. This was reinforced in 1233 by Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV in 1250 but the monarchs fearing that this would incite the Jews who made major contributions to their treasury to leave or even create a rebellion quietly ignored the decrees. The Biblical law prohibits taking or paying interest between Jews but permitted charging interest to gentiles. The Church amended the law prohibiting interest between Catholics but non Catholics were exempt from this law. Banking thus became a major industry among Jews since only the Jews could make interest bearing loans to Catholics. The Council of Vienne 1311 sought to end this and stop all intercourse between Jews and gentiles. Fathers of Zamora said that no longer were only Jews allowed to be the only witnesses against other Jews. It further said Jews should be considered serpents but allowed to live only because they were humans but to be kept on a short lease. Christians were forbidden to use Jewish Physicians. The council of Lateran 1216 claimed that the physician had primary duty as a physician to care for the soul. Clearly the Jew could not be trusted to do this so Catholics were ordered not to use Jewish physicians. This was ignored well into the fifteenth century even by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. The royalty during many of these centuries needed Jewish administrators to be tax collectors. Obviously the tax payers were not thrilled with Jews who performed this function and on numerous occasions the Church past regulations prohibiting this. Tax collectors often were subcontractors who bid on the job. They paid a certain amount of money to the crown and then collected the required taxes. Their income was the differential between what they collected and what they bid. Many monarchs promised not to hire Jews as tax collectors or subcontractors for this collection but until the reign of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella the monarchs ignored their promises because they needed the cash.<sup>65</sup> The Church did not want Jews to hold a position that would place any Catholics

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<sup>65</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 38.

subordinate to them. All this points to pre-Inquisition attempts to isolate the Jews and impede them from making a living. The intrusive attitude went so far as restricting what prayers could be in Jewish prayer books.<sup>66</sup> The reaction of the Jewish community to the pressure placed on it by the conversions changed with time. Initially the rabbis of the community referred to the converts as anusim or forced converts but later referred to them as meshumadim or renegades or rebels.<sup>67</sup> The Jews who at this point were not subject to the Inquisition in some cases out of malice gave false witness to the Inquisition against the Conversos. In 1490 a Jewish doctor gave false witness against former Jews.<sup>68</sup> Obviously it is very difficult to frame the attitude of one group with respect to another group and generalities made often contain significant exceptions. The Jews kept some distance from their Converso brethren. They may meet to celebrate family events together but a religious rift was obvious. The Jews often failed to make significant moves to help their Converso brethren.<sup>69</sup> In a similar vein today more Orthodox Jews often maintain a distance from their less religious coreligionists in fear that the secularism and lack of commitment may rub off on them and their children. In 1449 a Converso in Toledo argued if there were any Judaizers you can count them on one hand.<sup>70</sup> Later on some Converso leaders argued that religious confusion existed but then argued that when going to the third generation these grandchildren often knew nothing of Judaism. Some Conversos blamed the Church for failing to provide teachers and missionaries. Changing dietary habits and food was challenging. The Old Christians used the term Alboraycos (neither horse nor mule) in reference to the Conversos and felt they were all suspect. Some critics claimed they were all secret Jews.<sup>71</sup> By the late 1470s

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<sup>66</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 29.

<sup>67</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 17.

<sup>68</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 18.

<sup>69</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 38.

<sup>70</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 38.

<sup>71</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 39.

there is scarcely any evidence of Judaizing by any old Conversos.<sup>72</sup> This did not prevent others from giving false testimony against them and causing them to be burned at the stake.<sup>73</sup>

The significant position of the Jews as soldiers in World War I will be discussed in the section on the Holocaust. To emphasize the loyalty of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula it should be mentioned that the Jews were also loyal soldiers. Forty thousand Jews followed the banner of Alfonso VI and endured severe casualties. The Jews also constituted a significant portion of the population. A census in 1284 counted 853,951 male adult Jews.<sup>74</sup> As the Inquisition and the Church did not seem to be particularly interested in loyalty to the crown there doesn't seem to be much mention of this fact in the Inquisition. The Spanish monarchs in the thirteenth century recognized their debt to the Jews and Jaime I of Aragon and Fernando III and Alfonso X in Castile offered their protection to the Jews. In fact when Jaime conquered Minorca in 1247 he put all Jews under his protection.

### Chapter Three: The Inquisition

There is strong evidence that when the Spanish Inquisition was first organized it was only envisioned as a short term institution. It was viewed as an institution that once it successfully removed the Jewish sacrilege the institution would be disbanded. Henry Charles Lea supports this thesis by showing that long term financing for the Spanish Inquisition was not provided at the inception of this bureaucracy.<sup>75</sup> Henry Kamen accepts this conclusion and argues that it was

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<sup>72</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 40.

<sup>73</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 41.

<sup>74</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 32.

<sup>75</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 147.



set up for the short term as an itinerant tribunal.<sup>76</sup> When the Spanish Inquisition was extended to Sicily, Ferdinand in the second decade of the sixteenth century took steps to place the Sicilian branch on a firm financial footing by ordering that the confiscations especially the real property be placed in a long term trust for its benefit. This would give circumstantial evidence that the monarchy learned from previous experiences that the Inquisition would last for an extended period of time. Current evidence shows that those assets sequestered by the Sicilian Inquisition were soon lost and thus Ferdinand's attempts failed but it does show intent.

It is important to keep in mind that Spain consisted of multiple kingdoms even after King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile married and these independent regions had different traditions and local loyalties. As early as 1464 or 1465 King Henry IV of Castile prosecuted Conversos and sought to confiscate their wealth. Later, early in Queen Isabella's reign the Vicar of Llerna executed two Judaizers and had their houses burned. This preceded any authorization from Rome for an Inquisition.<sup>77</sup> As we shall see later on the Inquisition was based mostly out of Castile and the institution was exported including much of its Castilian personnel to other regions. The other regions indigenous population often tended to resent these officials who did not tend to understand or support the local customs. The Argonese population resisted the Inquisition and resented a Castilian, Torquemada, being placed as Inquisitor General over their region.<sup>78</sup> By using his political capital King Ferdinand had Torquemada rather than the pope name the inquisitors to Aragon.<sup>79</sup> Though few executions were carried out in June, 1484 by the summer opposition was forming to the Inquisition.<sup>80</sup> The problem here was made more

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<sup>76</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 152.

<sup>77</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 4.

<sup>79</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 5.

<sup>80</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 5.

difficult because of the political power of the Jews and Conversos in this region and the political rights of the people (fueros) which were both used as an excuse for rebellion and defense of the rights of the individual which was felt to be a noble cause. The initial action of the Spanish Inquisition to impose its will over Aragon started in Teruel a small obscure town in the southern part of Aragon near the border of Castile. This was a small town of 600 households consisting of Old Christians, New Christians, Jews, and Mudejars.<sup>81</sup> The Inquisitor Fray Juan Solibera entered the city but by legal maneuvers the city fathers had hamstrung his activity and he was forced to flee to a hamlet called Cella. Solibera returned after forming an alliance with a hidalgo, Juan Garces de Marcella. King Ferdinand ordered de Marcella to take over the town and install the Inquisition which was accomplished. The Inquisition then executed members of the Converso family Santangel. Ironically the Santangels were related to Juan Garcia de Marcella through marriage. This highlights the intermarriage between Old and New Christians.<sup>82</sup> The assassination of Inquisitor Arbues in Aragon by a Converso plot backfired on the Conversos and led to a popular shift in support to the Inquisition and will be discussed later in this report.<sup>83</sup> In any event opposition to the Inquisition suffered a severe reversal. In both Aragon and Catalan the Conversos used their power and political influence to slow the steady march of the Inquisition in its mission to gain control. In the end it may have taken months but the Inquisition with the aid of King Ferdinand was victorious and its rules were the law. King Ferdinand was able to support the Inquisition since he held the control over all legal bodies, had the prestige of evicting the Moors from their last Iberian strong hold and defeating Remensa revolt.<sup>84</sup> The Spanish crown during this era was a major European power and it ruled distant parts of Europe, including Sicily

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<sup>81</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 7.

<sup>82</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 5-10.

<sup>83</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 11-12.

<sup>84</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 15.

and parts of Italy and it brought with it the Spanish Inquisition to these lands.<sup>85</sup> Here also the Inquisition used what the indigenous people considered foreign inquisitors and their first Spanish style attack on Conversos did not take place till the early 16th century.<sup>86</sup> In Sicily, mostly in Palermo the Spanish Inquisition did relax many Conversos but further up the boot in Naples the local Christian population did protect the local Conversos.<sup>87</sup> The power of the Inquisition was periodically challenged in Aragon but had the support of King Ferdinand. In 1512 in Aragon the United Cortes tried to limit the Inquisition and passed a Concordat. King Ferdinand was in a difficult position at that time between needing local support to defeat the Kingdom of Navarre and having recently withdrawn the Inquisition from Naples. He therefore signed the concordat. Being somewhat of an unscrupulous politician, King Ferdinand, as soon as Navarre was pacified and with the consent of Pope Leo X in 1513, annulled the agreement accepting the concordat.<sup>88</sup> When Charles V came to power he negotiated a different concordat which was different from the concordat that the United Cortes proposed but Pope Leo X tacked back and forth as to which side he would support. The Spanish Inquisition used one of its most common weapons which we will repeatedly see further into this report of ignoring those rulings of its superiors and following its own will. It proceeded for another 50 years in leading the Argonese Inquisition and persecuting Conversos.

Pope Sixtus IV on April 18, 1482 issued an extraordinary Bull claiming that the Inquisition was more motivated by profit from the confiscations than from religious fervor. For that reason he ordered that the accused 1) be given the names of their accusers, 2) be given the right to

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<sup>85</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 15.

<sup>86</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 16.

<sup>87</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 16.

<sup>88</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 21.

counsel 3) use only episcopal jails and 4) appeals be directed to Rome.<sup>89</sup> This basically made heresy comparable to other crimes. This obviously created a political tension between King Ferdinand and Pope Sixtus IV. King Ferdinand claimed not to believe the authenticity of the Bull as it ran counter all agreements and challenged the king's power base and King Ferdinand wrote to this effect to the pope on May 23, 1482. The pope wavered and in October 1482 the original Bull was rescinded, thus placing King Ferdinand in an unchallengeable position. All of the hopes for reforms in the Inquisition vanished and the Inquisition acquired power that was in many cases unchallengeable.

The Inquisition is often divided into four seasons or periods. The first era begins in 1480 and runs to approximately 1520 when the Conversos were the major target and the goal was to remove the Conversos heresy from Spain. The second season ran from 1520 to 1630 when the Inquisitions pursued Lutheranism, which while not being the subject of this paper was considered a major threat to the Church. The second target of the Inquisition during this period was the Moriscos ethnically of Moslem background who were baptized. Witchcraft and sexual offenses such as sodomy were the last two big offenses prosecuted by the Inquisition during this period.<sup>90</sup> The last Converso to be executed in Barcelona for Judaizing was Pedro de Toro in 1540 who was burned together with two others condemned for Judaizing but they were burned in effigy.<sup>91</sup> During this third period some Conversos then returned to Spain from Portugal and from 1650 to 1720 Judaizers were the major target. The final phase of the Spanish Inquisition lasted for a little over a century and had no dominant motif.<sup>92</sup> Major local exceptions did exist to the proposed time line. Murcia in southeast Spain was not particularly active in the Inquisition but in

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<sup>89</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 49.

<sup>90</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 35-36.

<sup>91</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 37

<sup>92</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 30.

the 1550s and 1560s did conduct major campaigns against Judaizers. Punishments included relaxing to penance.<sup>93</sup> In looking at these facts it must be kept in mind that Spain was a relatively large country with limited communication capabilities especially when considering difficulty communicating with the New World. These periods are not firm numbers as to date. Valencia which was the largest city in Aragon and attracted back Portuguese Conversos and on April 10, 1587 had an auto de fe that executed 5 live Conversos and six in effigy.<sup>94</sup>

It is not uncommon for the historically less sophisticated to confuse the Spanish Inquisition with the expulsion from Spain. In fact if asked many people would date the Inquisition from 1492 which was the year of the expulsion and the Inquisition had already been very active by that date. From a different perspective the Inquisition and expulsions were opposites. The expulsion was to remove the infidel Jews who were technically not subject to the Inquisition. The Inquisition was designed to keep all members of the flock pure and to get them to confess their sins and repent and serve a form of penance. This in no way implies that the Inquisition was not involved and to a large degree responsible for this heinous act but only to point out that the Inquisition was distinct and separate from the expulsion. In 1486 the Aragon Inquisition tried to have the Jews expelled from the dioceses of Teruel, Saragossa but this didn't happen.<sup>95</sup> Initially Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were hesitant to expel the Jews because of the potential loss of revenue. For what appears to be totally religious reasons the edict of expulsion was issued March 31, 1492 to be effective as of July 31, 1492 for all Jews who refused to submit to baptism. The major justification was the bad influence that these Jews exercised over the Conversos. A Jewish delegation led by Isaac Abravanel had two meetings with the King and even offered a large

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<sup>93</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 43.

<sup>94</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 129.

<sup>95</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 19.

contribution to the treasury if the King would cancel the order. There is a story unsupported by adequate documentation that when Torquemada Inquisitor General heard of this he burst into the room where the King sat and threw thirty pieces of silver on the table asking at what price Christ was for a second time to be sold out to the Jews.<sup>96</sup> If true, this would support the contention that the Inquisition had a primary role in the expulsion. At a third meeting with the crown the Jewish committee was told by both the king and Queen that the decision was firm and the only delay that would be accepted was to move the date by a few days so it would coincided with the Jewish calendar the 9th of Av, which was the same date that both temples were destroyed. The crown may have entertained the thought that few Jews would leave and refuse to accept baptism. In fact, people like Abraham Senior, who was treasurer of the crown and the Rabbi of Cordoba succumbed to the pressure and was baptized.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps a lesson that we should take from the expulsion and from the Holocaust is not to judge people put into intolerable situations who show their human frailties by failing to stand up to overwhelming tyranny. Spanish Iberia was still very diverse culturally and in certain regions of Spain, that lived in relative harmony, this order came as a surprise to the Jewish community. In certain other communities that had a history of accusations that Jews crucified and cut out the heart of a Christian child the new order was not a surprise.<sup>98</sup> To help with conversions the monarch told Torquemada to be tolerant and not to prosecute new Conversos on small matters.<sup>99</sup> It is estimated that in 1492 there was somewhat over 800,000 Jews in all of Spain who at the time of the expulsion had not been baptized.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 20.

<sup>97</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 21.

<sup>98</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 22.

<sup>99</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 22.

<sup>100</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 23.

Some richer Jews charitably helped their coreligionists but many poor had no option but conversion. As we will see later under the Nazis the Jews were forced to sell their possessions at depressed prices and in this 15th century epoch Jews were forced to sell a house for an ass or a vineyard for a small piece of cloth. Gold was not allowed to be exported nor taken with the emigrants. Many were forced back to Spain by storms on the high seas. Many who boarded ships were enslaved, robbed, murdered or died on fire on ships. Possibly 3,000 Jews emigrated to Italy from Aragon. Many from Aragon fled for a while to Portugal.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps as many as 40,000 emigrated and found temporary havens. Syphilis made its appearance in Italy and was dubbed a Jewish disease.<sup>102</sup> As a side note to be discussed in more detail later Hitler discusses syphilis in *Mein Kampf* and we will gain some historical perspective. After his death some Spanish official criticized Ferdinand for his actions. In terms of wealth Spain lost a limited amount as those Jews who left were by this time relatively poor as many of the wealthier Jews had become New Christians.<sup>103</sup> What the Inquisition had to now deal with is an added small ex-Jewish community added to the larger older Conversos. The older Conversos dating back to the pogroms of 1391 had positions fairly high up in society and since they were at least nominally Catholics were legally allowed to hold official positions.<sup>104</sup> As an example, Salomon Halevi, who was Rabbi of Burgos was baptized in 1390 became Bishop of Cartagena. Luis Santangel from a Converso family was the treasurer for King Ferdinand that helped finance Columbus's trip.<sup>105</sup> In Castile at least 4 bishops were New Christians. Converso physicians were used and trusted by the crown. In the fifteenth century a significant number of the Conversos were relatively easy going in

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<sup>101</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 24.

<sup>102</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 26.

<sup>103</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 27.

<sup>104</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 29.

<sup>105</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 30.

reference to religion and did not feel a strong connection to either religion. They had a more secular orientation. They were referred to as Alboraycos being as Mohammed's animal neither horse nor mule.<sup>106</sup>

The major work of the Inquisition was envisioned as removing any vestiges of Judaism from Iberia and later from the Latin portion of the new world. The Moors for a short period of time occupied the Inquisition's main attention, but for the most part it was the Conversos that took up the time of the Inquisition until the Reformation became a real threat to the Church. In 1496 approximately 4 years after the expulsion of Jews from Spain, New Conversos were barred from working for the crown so that they could spend their time more productively learning their new religion. The initial plan was to have the old Conversos live scattered among the Old Christians to learn religion from them and the New Conversos most importantly should be separated from their rabbis.<sup>107</sup> The Conversos were given 6 months to learn the 4 prayers and what were the 27 mortal sins. As a guide to the inquisitors searching for Judaizers they were told to look for those who avoid pork, remove fat from meat, observe the Sabbath, and kill fowl by decollation, keeping stated fasts, and eating meat on Lent.<sup>108</sup> As already discussed usury or charging interest was prohibited between Jews and fellow Jews in the Torah. The Catholic faith extended this to interest charges between fellow Catholics. The charging of interest was therefore considered a heresy and proof of Judaizing and thus claimed by the Inquisition as in its realm of control. Rome and the crown alternately gave and withdrew the control of this to the Inquisition. As was the modus operandi of the Inquisition it tended to ignore any removal of jurisdictional control no matter from where it arose. In 1552 for some reason that is unclear to Lea the Suprema gave up

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<sup>106</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 37.

<sup>107</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 231.

<sup>108</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 232.



jurisdiction in this area and the rules on interest on loans were recognized as beneficial to both parties and were not enforced in Spain.<sup>109</sup> A distinguishing feature of Christianity was monogamy. It was only later that monogamy was adopted by the Jewish religion and thus the Inquisition used monogamy as a feature to delineate Christians from Jews.<sup>110</sup> It is unclear whether the Jewish religion adopted monogamy to make it more difficult to differentiate Christians from Jews. Since matrimony was considered a holy sacrament the Inquisition could rank an abuse of matrimony and the crime of bigamy as heresy. By 1537 the Inquisition routinely persecuted bigamy.<sup>111</sup> A charge frequently brought against Conversos was atheism. This made sense as Conversos were not always clear in their own mind as to what cultural laws applied to them.<sup>112</sup> Because of the ability of the Inquisition to turn the whole country into informants and with ceaseless persecution over the generations the Jews slowly disappeared from Spanish Iberia<sup>113</sup> much as we shall see the Nazis succeeded in a short time to create for their community *A World without Jews*. As the Jewish threat receded the tyranny of the Inquisition receded. In 1567 at the request of Phillip II, Pope Pius V authorized in Murcia and Alcaraz to have New Christians who had been Judaizing absolved in a quiet fashion without confiscation for three years starting in 1567.<sup>114</sup> With the acquisition of Portugal by King Philip II in 1580 and with the significant number of New Christians who flocked to their former homeland in Spain the work of the Spanish Inquisition in removing the Jewish contamination was revived for a century and a half.<sup>115</sup> The racial antisemitism in Spain was either revived or reflected *Centinela*

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<sup>109</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 138-139.

<sup>110</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 117-118.

<sup>111</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 118.

<sup>112</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 255.

<sup>113</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 234.

<sup>114</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 235.

<sup>115</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 237.

*contra Judio*'s of Fray Francisco de Torrejoncillos published around 1673.<sup>116</sup> The book basically lists the myths of the Jews having tails and special odors and revived them. It stated unequivocally that baptism of Jews couldn't work and the Jewish guilt for deicide only increased over the centuries. The justification for the Inquisition was that the Jews were proselytizing to Old Christians and contaminating the Old Christians. The case of Lope de Vera was often discussed. He had impeccable *limpieza* and despite this competed at Salamanca for the Hebrew chair to which he was not appointed. He was a faithful Christian till on April 16, 1641 he revoked everything he said to the Inquisition and stated his desire to become a Jew. He felt so strongly about this that he self-circumcised. Despite efforts of the Inquisition to bring him back he refused and on June 25, 1644 he was relaxed (executed, but the Inquisition tried to separate itself from murder by having civil authorities perform the execution). This revived the fear of the Jewish contamination.<sup>117</sup> In the late seventeenth century the number of autos and those relaxed show an upward spike.<sup>118</sup> The Jewish false Messiah Zabathia Tzevi was of concern to the Inquisition and in 1666 measures were taken to prevent his supporters from leaving Iberia and joining him in Turkey and Palestine.<sup>119</sup> While complete studies are not available it is clear that "Judaism at last was rooted out of Spanish soil after a continuous struggle of three centuries"<sup>120</sup> Between 1780 and 1820 5,000 cases came before the tribunal, and only 16 involved the charge of Judaizing and 10 were foreigners. The importance to the Spanish Crown of the expulsion of Jews is illustrated by the fact that as part of the Treaty of Utrecht ceding Gibraltar to England it was specified that Jews and Moors would not be allowed by the British into Iberia.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 290.

<sup>117</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 294-296.

<sup>118</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 303.

<sup>119</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 303.

<sup>120</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 311.

<sup>121</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 312.

Before the Spanish Inquisition was organized Jews who were baptized would be liable for judgement by the regulars including bishops who were for the most part too busy to pursue Conversos who continued to observe many of the Jewish rituals. These Conversos who maintained many Jewish rituals were referred to by other Jews as Anusim. In 1429 at the Council of Tortosa an order went out that the children of the Anusim must be baptized within 8 days which incidentally was the same number of days after birth at which time the Jewish law required a circumcision of all new born males. These Anusim seem to have come to the conclusion that they could gain the secular benefits of converting with limited lip service to the Church without abandoning many Jewish rituals which they had observed since their childhood. It would appear that the willingness to be baptized was thus made easier for some by the thought that if they were careful in most outward appearances they could safely be baptized and still maintain much of their Judaism. This became an even more serious issue as many Conversos were able to attain high office in both the Church and in the state. When many of the more powerful Conversos including the Santa Maria's and the Davilas started an alliance against a royal favorite namely Alvaro de Luna of Juan II this created a political issue. Juan II applied to Pope Nicholas V for the initiation of the Inquisition.<sup>122</sup> What was unique in this case is that the plan was for the Inquisition to be authorized to proceed against both civil authorities and bishops. Thus the plan, which was never completed, was to give the Inquisition the authority to proceed against the Conversos in both the civil and religious sector. In this case Juan II lacked the strength of character and Alvaro de Luna was executed.

Fray Alonso de Espina, who may or may not have been a Converso, became the last confessor for De Luna and became the confessor for Henry IV. De Espina was rabidly anti-Semitic and

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<sup>122</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 57.

argued that the Jews had ripped out the heart of a Christian boy as part of their religion. It is historically not unusual for a Jew who converts to another faith to as part of his conversion become a major enemy of the Jewish people. He argued that all Conversos were in truth heretics. He further argued that the Jews will work toward the coming of the Antichrist. The pattern of his argument would centuries later be imitated in *Mein Kampf* that the Jews by binding princess to their cause are not punished for their crimes. At one time he claimed to have the names and foreskins of the many children who in violation of Christian law were circumcised. Fortunately his exuberance, in a McCarthy like fashion, outran the truth and when asked to produce by Henry IV the foreskins and names he backtracked. There is evidence that Fray Alonso de Hojeda succeeded de Espina as agitator against the Conversos. When in 1477 Queen Isabella placed her court in Seville, de Hojeda pressed her to get rid of all her Conversos advisors and officials. At that point the Queen ignored him presumably as she had too much on her plate and needed these advisors. The initiation of an Inquisition became a major conflict in the court pitting many of its proponents against many powerfully Conversos. Fray Alonso de Hojeda and with Archbishop Mendoza supported by a report that a large number of citizens of Seville were guilty of heresy that was spreading through Iberia and finally joined by Fray Thomas de Torquemada gained the upper hand. The Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, Bishop of Osma petitioned Pope Sixtus IV for a bull authorizing the creation of the Inquisition. Some argue that Sixtus delayed this for humanitarian motives but the delay was more likely the result of the negotiation with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella who demanded control and a large portion of the confiscated money.<sup>123</sup> King Ferdinand made it clear that before he would allow the formation of the Inquisition all appointments would be under his control or that at least minimally he would have

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<sup>123</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 61.

to approve them.<sup>124</sup> As we will see King Ferdinand was a scrupulous meticulous administrator and not many details slipped his mind and almost nothing was too trivial for him. He did not hesitate to communicate directly with the tribunals and bypass the Suprema.<sup>125</sup> King Ferdinand's orders toward the end of his reign were sometimes signed by the Suprema but this was not essential. As time passed the Suprema would interpose itself between the Inquisitors and the monarch and thus lessen the effective control of the crown. The Suprema used a phrase: “obedecer y no cumplir”—to obey but not to execute.”<sup>126</sup> Simply said the monarch was told to communicate to the inquisitors via the Suprema. Few monarchs would have the patience and stamina to control to this extent the Inquisition and the authority of the crown waxed and waned over the centuries. Carlos II (often referred to as the imbecile) let the Inquisitor General make appointments without the crown participating.<sup>127</sup> The loss of control of the finances was also an aggravating problem. The crown was entitled to the assets or at least a share of the assets confiscated. By 1560 we see letters from the Suprema to the inquisitor of Sicily not to share with the crown the actual number of the amount of the confiscations.<sup>128</sup> The obvious purpose was to prevent the crown from getting its share because it did not have the documentation to calculate its share. In Majorca in 1678 the Inquisition had several very successful raids and acquisitions. By this time the crown was in dire need of funds. The Inquisition was able to force the crown to come hat in hand and remit to the state a much smaller share than it would have according to the agreements been entitled to. In this case the inquisition was unable to keep a secret of the confiscation as it involved too many people and too much money.<sup>129</sup> The appointment of the

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<sup>124</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 112.

<sup>125</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 113.

<sup>126</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 127.

<sup>127</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 117.

<sup>128</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 128.

<sup>129</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 130.

Inquisitor General always resided with the crown and was never given to the Pope. This in effect made the Inquisition more powerful. The Inquisition tried to make itself on par with the power of the Crown, and as during the reign of Ferdinand the crown made local authorities follow the rules of the monarchy, so that now the local authorities would also be subservient to the Inquisition. While the crown could not directly order the Inquisitor General to resign it had the means to force the issue.<sup>130</sup>

The bull, licensing the Spanish Inquisition, was issued on November 1, 1478. The Inquisition was by this agreement placed under the control of the crown. “Although you and the other enjoy the title of inquisitor” Ferdinand reminded his inquisitors of Aragon firmly in 1486, “it is I and the queen who have appointed you, and without our support you can do very little.”<sup>131</sup> Many bishops were under suspicion but the trial of these was left to the Pope. For almost two years the Conversos were able to hold their enemies at bay. On September 17, 1480 Miguel de Murillo and Juan de San Martin both Dominicans were appointed as the first two inquisitors. It was made clear to them that they were subordinate to the monarchy. On October 9, 1480 transportation was made available to them. On December 27, a royal order went to the city ordering that these inquisitors be given by the local authorities all the aid they required in fulfilling their duties. This was the firm and irreversible beginning of the Spanish Inquisition. Emphasizing the economic motivation of the Inquisition to this group Fernandez Yangzhou Lebon was authorized to receive the confiscations. Many Conversos fled from Seville to neighboring feudal estates in the misguided belief that this would protect them. Both Miguel and Juan showed themselves to be excellent choices as in their mission they feared no nobles and spoke to royalty in a fashion that these nobles had not been spoken to earlier. Orders went out that all strangers, aiming at those

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<sup>130</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 118.

<sup>131</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 137.

people fleeing the Inquisition, were to be arrested. In short order the jails filled with these fugitives.<sup>132</sup> Another response by the Conversos was armed rebellion. One of the wealthiest members of the community Diego de Susan organized an armed rebellion purchasing arms and recruiting soldiers to fight the Inquisition. His daughter, however, passed the information to a Spanish caballero with whom she was involved. Information quickly was shared with the Inquisition, the armed rebellion failed, and six of the conspirators on February 6, 1481 went to the stake. Justice was quick and harsh in order to make it clear to all potential dissenters as to the power and brutality of the Inquisition<sup>133</sup> Despite this many still fled and were able to find refuge in Portugal, Moors territory, and in areas of other nobles. Compounding this problem plague broke out and in an act of presumed humanity many were allowed to flee and avoid the epidemic on the condition that they left their wealth behind. We will see many threads constantly showing that financial incentives made the purity of motives of the Inquisitors suspect. Ship master received heavy fines for giving passage to fleeing Conversos. Aside from the option of punishing the heretics there was a concern about the portable valuables they would take with them.<sup>134</sup>

Limpieza or purity of blood was used to distinguish the reliable Old Christians from the suspicious New Christians. In Aragon “the Green Book (Libro Verde) of Aragon”<sup>135</sup> showed the genealogy of the noble house and confirmed that most of the nobility was tainted with the blood of New Christians. Angered by the exclusion of his family from some exclusive clubs Cardinal Francisco Mendoza y Bobedilla gave Philip II “Tizon de la Nobleza de Espana (Blot on the

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<sup>132</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 62.

<sup>133</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 62-63.

<sup>134</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 70.

<sup>135</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 32.

nobility of Spain)”<sup>136</sup> purportedly to prove that virtually all the nobility was tainted and that his family should not be discriminated against.

The Tribunals that were locally scattered throughout the country were responsible to the Inquisitor General and to the Suprema which was the central committee. The first Inquisitor General was Torquemada, a Dominican. It was, however, Cardinal Mendoza originally of Seville and later of Toledo (who is famous as the sponsor of Columbus) who put in motion the negotiation with Rome for formation of the Inquisition.<sup>137</sup> The term of the Inquisitor General was usually held during the life of the pope and was usually renewed upon the pope’s death. The local inquisitors were initially felt to serve at the pleasure of the Inquisitor General and that would tend to mean upon the death of the Inquisitor General the license of the inquisitors would expire. It was later felt that the life of the pope would be the determining factor of the length of the inquisitors’ license but it would automatically renew. The Spanish Inquisition existed for centuries, explaining why these rules were fluid and difficult to make hard and fast statements about them. Torquemada, the first Inquisitor General, was a singularly powerful individual who controlled much of the decisions. Upon his death the Suprema became more powerful and the Inquisitor General’s orders were usually countersigned by some other member of the committee. When King Ferdinand died in 1516 and Ximenes the Inquisitor General’s attention was divided as he was also governor of Spain and thus the Suprema became even more powerful.<sup>138</sup> The relationship between the Inquisitor General and Suprema varied with time and which individual was in which position and thus personalities and strength of character were important factors in determining power. As communication improved with a postal service, replacing the use of

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<sup>136</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 32.

<sup>137</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 138.

<sup>138</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 2, 57.



special couriers which were expensive, the individual tribunals were more closely monitored by the Suprema and monthly reports by the tribunals were required by 1632.<sup>139</sup> By the mid eighteenth century the centralization was completed and local tribunals were unable to act without the approval of the Suprema.<sup>140</sup> One of the major ways that the Suprema was able to maintain control was by virtue of its control over the purse strings. By 1517 orders went out that payment should not go to local tribunals but to the receiver general of the Suprema.<sup>141</sup> Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdes worked assiduously to strengthen the Suprema at the expense of the individual tribunals. In 1561 he issued a new set of regulations for all trials by the tribunals and by June 19, 1568 his successor ordered that to relax any individual consent of the Suprema was required.<sup>142</sup> During his successor's term (Diego de Espinosa) the Suprema took even more control over the tribunals and their actions. Communications between the central organization and the tribunals became more frequent and detailed. It is difficult for us in this communication era to recognize that even within Iberia communication between different parts of the peninsula were long and difficult.<sup>143</sup> The Suprema during the era of Espinosa became so centralized that it even ordered what food should be served to the Inquisitors during the auto.<sup>144</sup> By 1625 the tribunals were required to get approval for any physical punishment that was sentenced.<sup>145</sup>

The principal responsibility of the local tribunal was to cause fear. In the *Manuel of Eimeric*, Francisco Peña in 1578 stated: "we must remember that the main purpose of the trial and execution is not to save the soul of the accused but to achieve the public good and put fear into

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<sup>139</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 63.

<sup>140</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 64.

<sup>141</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 66.

<sup>142</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 61.

<sup>143</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 69.

<sup>144</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 70.

<sup>145</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 71.

others.”<sup>146</sup> Thus the trial was not so much to judge guilt and innocence but to teach the members of the flock a fear of the dangers of heresy and the power of the Holy Office. “As we have had occasion to see, enmity and vengeance inspired much of the evidence offered to the Inquisition in its early years. “Fear of neighbours, rather than the Inquisition, was on this premise the first - and constant -concern of those denounced.”<sup>147</sup> In his book *Judge Thy Neighbor* Patrick Bergemann shows how informants both voluntary and paid were responsible for creating terror during the Spanish Inquisition, Romanov Russia and Nazi Germany. Later in this report the use of informants during the Nazi era will also be discussed. Fear was a major tool used by all these regimes. There is documentation that many of the accusations were based on petty issues and the statements made by the witnesses were rescinded in a number of cases and their testimony was spurred by malice.<sup>148</sup> Perjurers were often treated benignly so as not to impede the flow of accusations.<sup>149</sup> This is of course in direct opposition to the modern liberal concept of the purpose of jurisprudence. The first set of regulations as to how the tribunals would function were drawn up in Seville in 1484. Torquemada amplified the rules in 1485, 1488, and in 1498. The next Inquisitor General, Diego Deza, added to these regulations in 1500 and they were named *Instrucciones Antiguas*. These rules were poorly organized and different tribunals interpreted them and enforced them differently.<sup>150</sup> In 1561 they were all reorganized by Fernando de Valdes with the objective of creating a strong firm central organization that was relatively rigid. In 1567 *Compilacion de la Instrucciones* was published in Madrid.<sup>151</sup> The Suprema and Inquisitor General usually acted in concert. By the early 1500s the Suprema

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<sup>146</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 174.

<sup>147</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 175.

<sup>148</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 176.

<sup>149</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 181.

<sup>150</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 139.

<sup>151</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 140.

consisted of six members and usually met every morning and three afternoons a week. In some cases the Suprema would issue orders in the absence of the Inquisitor General.<sup>152</sup> As the Suprema became even more important than the Inquisitor General greater administrative centralization occurred. In some cases as mentioned the denunciations were a form of vengeance. More commonly the rural communities resented the Inquisition and formed a wall of silence. This wall was sometimes used against some individuals perceived as disloyal to the local community, namely the familiars, and denunciations were made against them.<sup>153</sup>

The position of members of the tribunal now needs to be perfunctorily reviewed. The inquisitor was supposed to be a man of good repute and at various times there was a requirement that they be at least age 35 or 40, but that was often changed. The promoter fiscal or prosecuting agent's job, which was initially performed by the inquisitor was later split off if for no other reason to give the inquisitor the nominal appearance of being impartial. The fiscal was charged with the duty of creating fear in the hearts of the parties involved.<sup>154</sup> The fiscal was also charged with making sure the area in which the tribunal functioned was clean and that meticulous records were kept. The tribunal also hired notaries or secretaries to keep records. An Alguazil, or secretary of sequestration was charged with keeping records of all the sequestration. There was also a nuncio who was a courier of messages. There was a portero who served citations and a gaoler or jailer. Physicians were also used to examine inmates before and after torture. Unsalaries individuals included calificadoras who issued unpaid religious opinions, and were ordered to do so by the Inquisition. Initially most members of the Inquisition were clergy and therefore at times consultants were needed for their legal expertise. Commissioners were also

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<sup>152</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 140.

<sup>153</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 180.

<sup>154</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 165.

appointed and their position changed with time. At times they could arrest and prosecute and later they were paid very well to check limpieza or genealogy or blood lines to see if individuals were entitled to hold governmental or ecclesiastic positions, join organizations, or attend schools. The advantage of these positions included many exemptions including from taxes and military service. There were also unpaid familiars which will be discussed later.<sup>155</sup>

Even having said that increasingly there was centralization of the Spanish Inquisition, the face of the Inquisition to most people was the local tribunal. The local tribunals would rent homes at what was determined to be fair rent but if the owner of the house returned from his journey, even if he was a regular bishop he was often prohibited from reclaiming his residence.<sup>156</sup> The number of personnel in the tribunals was constantly expanding and in 1647 one tribunal employed 150 people not including familiars.<sup>157</sup> As economic times became more challenging for the Inquisition the pay of the lower level staff suffered and by 1802 had not increase in a 100 years and messengers and secretaries would have to spend half their salary on rent.<sup>158</sup> Nepotism was seen constantly in the tribunals. The most vexing work on the tribunals was to make visitations to smaller parishes and an inquisitor would travel with a small retinue.

With the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 there were many people who were charged with Judaizing. As to whether these charges were grounded in reality or simply in the greed of the inquisitors is hard to determine. As in most of world events it was likely both factors were present but as to which predominated is speculative. From 1531 to 1560 only 3% of the Toledo Tribunal's cases were related to Judaizing.<sup>159</sup> Much of the wealth of the Conversos had already

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<sup>155</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 83-98.

<sup>156</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 72.

<sup>157</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 73.

<sup>158</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 75.

<sup>159</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 283.

been confiscated and by 1562, 70 years had elapsed leaving very few avowed Jews from 1492 still alive. Therefore by 1540 there were few cases of Judaizing. “Diego Serrano de Silva in 1623 argued “we see by the experience of many years that families of this race are at heart thorough Christians, devout and pious, giving their daughters to convents, their sons to the priesthood.”<sup>160</sup> There were a few exceptions to this. Circumcision and obeying the Sabbath was not doable as it was too easy to uncover but the Fast of Esther was observed by small groups who continued to believe in the G-d of Israel and used the Catholic version of the Old Testament. In 1588 in Castile in Quintanar there was a small isolated group of perhaps a hundred families who tried to maintain their Jewish religion.<sup>161</sup> In 1630 the Inquisition issued criteria by which to identify Conversos who practiced Judaism but these criteria were based on practices of a century earlier. It mentions buying kosher meats from butchers with Jewish sounding names which in reality just didn’t exist as such a blatant crime was to observable.<sup>162</sup> Use of false witnesses to prove *limpieza* was common.

The major crime that the Inquisition was charged with prosecuting was heresy and a more complete look at how this would be defined is now appropriate. Heresy could be subdivided into two forms. Material heresy was an act of ignorance where the perpetrator who was a baptized individual was unaware at the time of the transgression that he committed an offense. This form of heresy was usually not prosecuted. As was previously mentioned much of the indigenous population had a very limited understanding of their religion nor of its rituals and rules. Formal or mixed heresy was an act committed by a baptized individual who understood at the time of the act that his act transgressed on the teaching of the Church. The formal heresy can also be

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<sup>160</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 284.

<sup>161</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 285.

<sup>162</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 286.

subdivided into actions that are internal which is not displayed by word or speech, thus mostly related to thought. The external heresy can again be subdivided into Occult which is done in privately with only one or two people being able to see it as opposed to Public where it is done in the open so all can see it or in view of at least two people. <sup>163</sup> Heresy was somewhat of an elastic term and the Inquisition did not shy away from stretching its definition. <sup>164</sup>

Even in Spanish Iberia, the different kingdoms responded to the Inquisition differently. Castile, which was under Queen Isabella, more quickly accepted the Inquisition. Aragon was a different subject. The country had Cortes which could be considered a form of legislative body. The rights of the people (fueros) were jealously guarded. Saragossa a city in Aragon resisted the Inquisition and fought for their fueros. Inquisitor Arbues despite many warning of an assassination plot went to the Cathedral alone but was wearing armor. Three assassin found him there and with lances slipped between his armor assassinated him. He survived for a day and many miracles were described at that time and ascribed to him. He was unique among the inquisitors in later being the only one granted sainthood. The assassins were executed and the assassination plot created a martyr which helped the cause of the Inquisition. <sup>165</sup> There were many Conversos in the city and multiple attempts at resistance and bribery failed. Teruel, another city in Aragon that was fortified and walled was ordered by the crown on October 2, 1484 to have all local offices appointed by the crown. The city initially resisted the entry of the Inquisition. The king then made Juan Graces de Marzilla governor of the town. It can easily be argued that by imposing the central government's authority over these cities the King used the Inquisition to enhance his own power. Catalonia also tried to demand its rights of self-

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<sup>163</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 2.

<sup>164</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 9.

<sup>165</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 96-97.

government but that was also squashed.<sup>166</sup> Majorca which was in many ways part of Catalonia also strove to be independent especially in regards to the rights of the citizens and how it handled the Inquisition.<sup>167</sup> It must be understood that even though Castile and Aragon were in the same kingdom conjoined by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand the two had different traditions and laws regarding the rights of their citizens. In Castile the regent ruled with great autonomy. In Aragon the rights of the citizens previously described as *fueros*, (laws that included many rights of the citizens) and the Cortes which could be compared to a legislative and executive body were jealously guarded, much as the Rights of an Englishman were guarded in a different locale and era. When the Cortes was not in session the Diputacion was responsible for administering and protecting the laws. When a Castilian inquisitor entered Aragon and trampled on these rights some pushback occurred.<sup>168</sup> Many Conversos supported and joined this resistance, creating different power source vying for power. The big winners as we shall see was the crown and the Inquisition. The loss of power was felt by the regular Church, local authorities and the Conversos. Recognizing the opposition King Ferdinand stated it would not be possible that the Catholic faithful of Aragon would have demanded *fueros* that were adverse to the faith nor that the regent would deny *fueros* that were not adverse to the faith.<sup>169</sup> Obviously the implication was that if there were few heretics there would not be any dread of the Inquisition. This would be the equivalent of saying that since law enforcement is so even handed there is no need for attorneys. The King did use the Inquisition to strengthen his position in Aragon, but he was wily enough not to step too much on the powerful Conversos in Aragon. He also protected his favorites when they were in a position to help him. Members of Luis de Santangel's family were

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<sup>166</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 100.

<sup>167</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 102.

<sup>168</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 50.

<sup>169</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 51.

accused of Judaizing but the crown protected them. In a similar fashion, Gabriel Sanchez's family were implicated in the murder of Arbues which was being tried in the Holy Office and the King ordered them to excuse that family.<sup>170</sup>

Outside Castile the Inquisition was received in a less embracing form. There were four reasons for this: 1) The resentment of the privileges of the Inquisition by the local civil leaders. 2) The resentment of the Inquisition by the local clergy. 3) The inquisitors who were natives to Castile were looked upon as foreigners 4) They could not often speak the language of the indigenous population.<sup>171</sup> As time passed especially in the small town the Inquisition slid into obscurity<sup>172</sup>

One of the protocols used by the Inquisition was the Edict of Grace. By this procedure people would be given the opportunity to confess their sins and be absolved of the sins if done within thirty or forty days of the opening of the Inquisition in any locality. Initially a sermon was given and the people were assured that if they complied no sentence of death nor permanent imprisonment nor confiscation would be visited upon them. This brings to mind a later quote by Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Warren Berger "It is not unprofessional to give free legal advice but advertising the first visit will be free is a bit like a fox telling chickens he will not bite them until they cross the threshold of the hen house". The sanbenitos (the odious penitent garment which will be discussed later) by order of Inquisitor General Valdes was never to be dispensed during the Edict of Grace.<sup>173</sup> They would be given a penance such as they would donate a portion of their assets for use in the war against the Moors.<sup>174</sup> If these penitents held

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<sup>170</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 56.

<sup>171</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 81.

<sup>172</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 82.

<sup>173</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614*, 231.

<sup>174</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 157.



public office they may be forced for a period of time to vacate that office. Presumably to prove their purity of heart they would have to name all the people they knew including family members who had sinned and the penitent delineate the sins of others. The records are pitiful as people implicate close relatives including parents. This created many challenges for the penitents including not knowing what others had said the penitent's transgressions were. People would live in fear of being denounced and would make confessions and accusations based on this fear.<sup>175</sup>

One Converso in Toledo wrote: "Bit by bit many rich people leave the country for foreign realms, in order not to live all their lives in fear and trembling every time an officer of the Inquisition enters their house, for continual fear is a worse death than a sudden demise."<sup>176</sup>

There was significant ignorance of Catholic theology and people were not always aware of what constituted a transgression. People also did not know that their own personal thoughts needed to be reported. The inquisitors had extensive records which over time they learned to cross reference. They then used the testimony of others as well as that of the subject given at different times against them. Promises of Term of Grace were often not honored to the extent that the supplicants would have hoped for. If a penitent was found to have not confessed completely, his previous admissions given during the Edict of Grace could be used against them during Edict of Faith. Naturally the decision as to whether the confession during Edict of Grace was complete was at the discretion of the tribunal. Testimony often went back several decades. At that time some Conversos did not recognize the risk of being observed by servants or others of performing Jewish rituals. Jews were forced to testify against Conversos. In some cases Ferdinand and Isabella found the testimony by Jews against Conversos to be highly suspect.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 178.

<sup>176</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 178.

<sup>177</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 1, 65.

The need to reorganize the royal court in Castile to achieve greater efficiency with individual departments in charge of different functions of the government was recognized. The department of Justice (Concejo Real de Castilla), Finance (Concejo de Hacienda) also Concejo de Estado, Concejo de Aragon, and a special one for the Hermandades met on a daily basis.<sup>178</sup> To this as its import grew the Inquisition was added and referred to as La Suprema. The first Inquisitor General was appointed and the confessor to the crown Thomas de Torquemada was selected. He made a significant impact on the infrastructure and the modus vivendi of the Inquisition for the rest of its existence. His zeal and unbending actions made the Inquisition efficient and earned him the praise of many popes. When the Inquisition acquitted an accused, Torquemada ordered the tribunal to retry them. When again some of these were acquitted he said he would have executed them all and they were again brought before the tribunal. This created the precedent of almost no acquittals being dispensed by the Inquisition.<sup>179</sup> Torquemada's term expired when the Pope Sixtus IV who appointed him died. The crown requested that his reappointment should continue until a replacement was chosen but Innocent VIII only reappointed him for his lifetime. Torquemada by his very nature created ill will. Arguing that it was to help an elderly man (Torquemada) that Pope Alexander VI appointed multiple other inquisitor generals allegedly having the same powers that Torquemada had in 1494. Despite this we see letters between him and the King showing that Torquemada retained his power till his death on September 16, 1498.<sup>180</sup> The other inquisitors general appointed by Pope Alexander VI maintained their positions until they died but were not replaced. When Torquemada died he was replaced by Diego Deza. In 1504 when the Bishop of Jaen resigned it left Deza as the sole inquisitor general which remained

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<sup>178</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 66.

<sup>179</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 67.

<sup>180</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 68.

the status until Deza was forced to resign in 1507. During his leadership a series of regulations were issued that would shape the future of the Inquisition. On November 29, 1484 he issued the Suprema Instrucciones de Sevilla. In January 1485 he promulgated more rules under his own name and signed with the authority of the crown. His last set of regulations Instrucciones de Avila came in 1498 and when the regulations were issued it was at a meeting at which King Ferdinand and Isabella participated.

The crown guarded the safety of the Inquisitors and threatened punishment if civil authorities injured or failed to provide protection to members of the Holy Office. One of the excuses of the Inquisition for not listing the names of the witnesses was to protect the witnesses from the vengeance of the accused. There is evidence that Ferdinand tried to protect those arrested from unfair treatment. In one case he wrote to the inquisitor in regard to Anton Ruiz of Teruel who had been imprisoned for five months and in another case the property of Jaime de Santangel was confiscated and Ferdinand appealed for swift action for both of them.<sup>181</sup> He reminded them that the major function of the Inquisition was salvation of souls. We will see later in the paper how often this was ignored and the corruption that seeped into the work. Exemptions were sold even from wearing the sanbenito and money that was confiscated from the convicted was often improperly diverted.

The Inquisition felt its mission was to preserve the nation and the empire by preventing violations of Catholic doctrine and thus protect the nation by ensuring the blessing of their deity. We will discuss the court system but at this moment it is relevant to state that the accused were presumed guilty. At different stages the Inquisition functioned differently but the Inquisitors especially from Lima were “a quarrelsome bunch”<sup>182</sup> Taking directions from the Suprema was

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<sup>181</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 72.

<sup>182</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 7.

difficult and the inquisitors bridled under its authority. This was exacerbated by the long delay in communication that was often caused by the need for a long ocean voyage. There was a feeling that the Spanish who were a special and more religious state were “Gods new chosen people”<sup>183</sup> How else can one explain the fact that while the conquistadores never amounted to more than 500 warriors in the New World they were able to defeat such well-trained soldiers as the Aztecs, Incas, and Mayans who outnumbered them by a large multiple. It was imperative to maintain the purity of the faith in order to maintain their chosen status.

Max Weber divided history into the traditional era from the more modern era. The traditional bureaucracies were chosen based on nepotism, patronage and without thought of merit. The more modern bureaucracies were organized on a more rational basis, had professional, impartial standards, and were impersonal and less corruptible. By the seventeenth century the new modern state with its individual bureaucracies and obligations was already forming. Irene Silverblatt argued that the Inquisition was the first step in this formation of a modern bureaucracy.<sup>184</sup> While Silverblatt would indubitably concede that the Inquisition was far from a perfect bureaucracy, it served as a model that would inevitably lead to modern governmental organizations. This was the forerunner of the Third Reich which was responsible for the Holocaust, but more comparisons will be included at the conclusion of this paper. Silverblatt further argues that part of the state actions were initiated to encourage and force its citizens to accept certain “moral philosophies” as unalterable truths including the concept of purity of blood as a prerequisite for advancement.<sup>185</sup> For the Inquisition this concept was of pure Spanish Catholic blood, for the Nazis it was pure Aryan blood untainted by Jewish progenitors, thus the difference between the

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<sup>183</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 82.

<sup>184</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 8-9

<sup>185</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 12.

Iberians and the Nazis is in fact a question of only time and place. Racism was and is a concept that the modern state uses to push its agenda. The Inquisition appealed to the logic of this reasoning for the public good and national security, to help make its adherents more loyal.<sup>186</sup> Violence was also a major prod used by both regimes to achieve their goals.

No area of the world exists in a vacuum. We cannot understand the Spanish Inquisition without understanding the Portuguese situation. After the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 many of them were able to buy temporary rights to immigrate to Portugal from King John II. Some estimates claim that at least 50,000 of the 100,000 Jews went to Portugal. The Jews then constituted approximately 20% of the population of Portugal.<sup>187</sup> After eight months King John II declared that any Jew who had not converted was to be placed in bondage. In 1494 King Manuel I restored the freedom of the Jews. Under pressure from Spain in 1497 King Manuel I decreed all Jews must leave Portugal without their children. A mass conversion of many Jews resulted some of whom were sincere and some of whom paid only lip service to their new religion but maintained as much Jewish tradition as possible. This also developed a slang term in Spain of referring to the Jews by the name Portuguese. Approximately a century later the Portuguese Inquisition became very active against these Conversos and many of them returned to their ancestral homeland of Spain.<sup>188</sup> The Spanish Inquisition by this point believed it solved the Jewish question. The Spanish Inquisition then again actively pursued Judaizers after the Jews returned to Spain from Portugal. Another set of dates that are important in this event is that from 1580 to 1640 the Spanish Crown also ruled Portugal. There was thought to be a slippery slope between heresy and treason.<sup>189</sup> When not united under one crown there was much competition

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<sup>186</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 15.

<sup>187</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 32.

<sup>188</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 32.

<sup>189</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 149.

between these two super powers. As has already been mentioned Conversos were often referred to as Portuguese by the Spanish in a derisive manner. There were at times a concern of these Conversos teaming up with Portugal, Netherlands or Portugal's major ally Britain in an attempt to oust the Spanish. There was also the concern that the New Christians were impeding Spanish colonial law by sending money outside the empire to avoid paying tariffs.<sup>190</sup> There were rebellions in northwest Argentina, an area where many "Portuguese" were thought to be conspiring with the Dutch. "But as inquisitors were never tired of reminding their superiors, they were the vanguard troops preventing the overlapping assaults of New Christians, foreign enemies, and Indians that threatened to unravel Spain's colonial order. They insisted that Madrid recognize how the Holy Office of the Inquisition not only served to extirpate heresies, but also in large part, (served to maintain) the temporal tranquility of the kingdom."<sup>191</sup> It was further argued that the New Christians were bringing their Jewish customs to the natives of the New World.

Before discussing the morality of the objectives of the Inquisition we need to discuss the efficiency, honesty, and professionalism of the organization. A difficulty in conducting this analysis involves the challenge of evaluating what happened from the fifteenth century and continued for hundreds of years after that. Obvious cases exist on both sides but the real question is on which side the predominant trajectory lies. Both Henry Kamen and Irene Silverblatt seem to have a more respectful attitude toward the Inquisition. "Henry Kamen, preeminent English scholar of the Spanish Inquisition, cautions us to abandon this version of Inquisitors as "small-minded clerics" and instead, understand them as "an elite bureaucracy""<sup>192</sup> Irene Silverblatt in the same chapter shows the Inquisition to use efficient bureaucrats keeping long meticulous

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<sup>190</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 149.

<sup>191</sup> Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 151.

<sup>192</sup> Quoted in Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 57.

paper trails, perhaps at time being over exuberant, but with the distant bureaucrats bowing to the central authority of the Suprema. People were presumed guilty and needed to prove their innocence but that was based on the presumption that heresy was such a heinous crime that could contaminate the rest of the population that it must be extirpated at all costs. Henry Charles Lea who much earlier at the start of the twentieth century in his four volume work seems to cast a different light on the Inquisition. With multiple examples he paints it as a corrupt institution, in which a large portion of its staff and leaders used the Holy Office for their personal gains. While both provide examples to prove their case, it would seem that Lea's argument has the winning hand. In the early years the Inquisition confiscated huge amounts of money and property. If the Inquisition from the top down had been more honest and efficient it would have sequestered these funds for future needs rather than the wasteful disposition among self-seeking employees and contractors. What must be credited in regard to the bureaucracy of the Inquisition was its meticulous record keeping and its ability to search these records to find old crimes. In 1525 Alvaro de Montalvo returned from a vacation and said "we know what we have here but know nothing of the future."<sup>193</sup> Six months later someone who had heard his remark, at the confessional was told to denounce him. Alvaro, who unsuccessfully proceeded to plead senility, was found in the records of the Inquisition during a term of grace to have admitted to some Judaizing and was discharged without penance or reconciliation. The tribunal found this former case and he was, therefore, sentenced to perpetual prison, reconciliation and confiscation. What is most impressive about this case is that without computers the Inquisition was able to find these old records. This argues in favor of Irene Silverblatt's claim that this was an efficient bureaucracy.

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<sup>193</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 51.

An example of the corruption discussed by Henry Charles Lea was exemplified by the Inquisitor in Cordoba Doctor Guiral. Guiral sold penitent exemptions from wearing the sanbenito. The sanbenito which will be discussed later was a penitential garb that was worn by heretics and was later hung in the church casting a bad light on the convicted and his family for many generations. To return to Guiral, he pocketed 150,000 maravedis from these sales. He also pilfered significant sums from the confiscated properties. He also was paid by some Conversos to ignore rulings and let the New Christians keep their property. Lea then discusses Doctor Guiral's successor "Diego Rodriguez Lucerio, was a criminal of larger views and bolder type who presented himself to us as the incarnation of the evils resultant from the virtually irresponsible power lodged in the tribunals."<sup>194</sup> By this time the huge sums of money that the Inquisition had been collecting were markedly diminished with the exception of in the City of Cordova. There was significant hostility between Lucero and local authorities in Cordova. In 1501 Lucero was emboldened and went on a spree of accusation against Old Christians including nobles and church officials. He thus created a wave of terror from which no one felt safe. He had certain prisoners instructed in Hebrew prayers and rites so that he could threaten the prisoners and force them to falsely testify against people who committed no heresy. The prisoners by being educated were more effective witnesses.<sup>195</sup> An appeal was made to the Inquisitor General Deza to relieve and arrest Lucero. Deza tried to evade the situation by saying that the accusers needed to provide him with evidence. This was obviously an attempt to delay as all the evidence was under lock and key of the Inquisition. Lea felt that at least part of the reason Lucero was protected was the money he brought in from his massive confiscations.<sup>196</sup> When Mayor Gonzalez

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<sup>194</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 73.

<sup>195</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 74.

<sup>196</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 73.



de Mayorga interfered with Lucero's crime Lucero reacted. Lucero insured that his office was inviolable by in addition to the penance imposed on Mayorga, he also deprived him of the ability to hold office for life and banished him. "The Suprema including Deza himself, hastened to disclaim all responsibility for Lucero's misdeeds in a letter addressed to the chapter of Cordova in which it said accusations brought against him seemed incredible for even highway men, when robbing their victims, spare their lives, while here not only the property but the lives of their victims were taken and the honor of their descendants to the 10th generation"<sup>197</sup> The sequence of events that followed reveal the power of the Inquisition and the backing it received. When Lucero was to be placed on trial he organized an auto de fe to burn all the prisoners who could testify against him. This included many Old Christians. The monarch King Philip, son in law to Ferdinand past away at this point and his wife Queen Juana was the de facto monarch. She was psychologically unable to remove Inquisitor General Deza from power and Deza feeling less threatened restored Lucero to power. At this point Padre Fray Francisco de Cuesta, head of the convent of la Merced ordered Lucero arrested and his property confiscated. In an act of violent rebellion a group of citizens freed the prisoners of the Inquisition some of whom were Old Christian with impeccable *limpieza* who had been imprisoned for six or seven years. Inquisitor General Deza tried to restore Lucero to power. At this point Lucero again incarcerated those that were freed a short time earlier. One of the people freed was Geronomite Hernando de Talavera, who had some strains of Jewish blood and whom Queen Isabella used as her confessor and had made him archbishop of Granada. Upon Lucero's return to power he had Talavera incarcerated again and an appeal for this good man was made to the Pope. After long delays the case was decided to free Talavera again but justice delayed is justice denied and before being freed he had

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<sup>197</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 77.

returned to his maker.<sup>198</sup> At this point King Ferdinand was unable to defend Inquisitor General Deza and Ximenes took his place. For the first time the Inquisition was put on trial and Lucero was convicted and taken away in chains. Again Lucero's sentence was commuted and he returned to power for a short time till King Ferdinand found a successor to Lucero. It was not hard to find a successor to Lucero as the position as a result of the property being confiscated was very remunerative. Even upon being freed the victims did not frequently get their property back.<sup>199</sup> In contradistinction Lucero because of pressure exerted by Ferdinand was released from prison. There were few witnesses against him as many had been burned by him at the stake, or fled in fear for their life. Lucero spent the rest of his life at the Seville Canonry which he in effect had stolen from his victims. Some of his co-conspirators were also rewarded by Ferdinand. What is more relevant than the evil inflicted by this man, was that he prospered and was not punished.<sup>200</sup> While Irene Silverblatt, as previously discussed, refers to the Inquisition as the foundation of the modern bureaucracy based on honesty and merit this major episode certainly provides an example to the contrary.

The life of Bartolome de Carranza Miranda would be relevant to review at this time. He was born in 1503 and at the age of 18 he took his vows as a Dominican and by 1533 he was a junior professor of theology. He was no innocent in regard to punishing heretics. In 1533 he sailed with Prince Philip to England for the prince to marry Queen Mary. During his three years in England he claims that "he had burnt, reconciled, or driven from the land thirty thousand heretics and had brought two million souls back to the Church."<sup>201</sup> Despite his efforts to avoid prominent positions, Carranza was appointed archbishop of Toledo, probably the highest

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<sup>198</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 75.

<sup>199</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 80.

<sup>200</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 80.

<sup>201</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 16.

ecclesiastic position in Spain. He was not highly popular among many of the Church hierarchy as he advocated reform such as the ending of profitable abuses. This was the era that the Church was just beginning its life and death struggle with Protestantism. It is easy to see how some of his comments may have been misconstrued as possibly being disloyal to the Church. To those of us who grew up during the McCarthy era we understand how things could so easily be blown out of context. Archbishop Carranza lacked the worldly sophistication to be very careful about every word he uttered. It today may be compared to those who say politically incorrect phrases. His position was too important for others not to aspire to his position and be jealous of him. Inquisitor General Valdes placed charges against him upon the death of Charles. Charles had been a greater supporter of Carranza. Carranza was loyal to the Church and said if his book would be offensive to the Church he would suppress it. "He was rigid in the performance of divine service, he visited prisons, hospitals and convents, he put an end to the sale of offices and charging fees for licenses, he revised fee-bill of his court, he enforced the residence of parish priests, and was especially careful in the distribution of preferment- in short he was a practical as well as theoretical reformer. His charity was also boundless..."<sup>202</sup> His book was well received but certain sentences were taken out of context. Inquisitor Valdes succeeded in arresting him and then imprisoning him in a hidden place. Carranza though in many ways naïve did recognize that Inquisitor Valdes was trying to destroy him and then presented the tribunal with 25 reasons why Valdes and his associates should be recused from judging him.<sup>203</sup> Many of these objections were legitimate but the system was not impartial. Carranza though treated better than other victims of the Inquisition almost died in a cell which was overridden by fecal odor and was not well ventilated. His trial did not start until he was incarcerated for two years. The whole issue had

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<sup>202</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 20.

<sup>203</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614*, 204-208.

become a scandal in Europe. Pope Pius IV after a great deal of time ordered the trial be shifted to Rome. King Philip to avoid an embarrassing situation wanted to leave the disposition in the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. At this point Pope Pius IV died and his successor was Pope Pius V. Pope Pius V was a strong advocate of punishing heresy but would have no tract with these unscrupulous actions of the Spanish Inquisition. The strength of different leaders and the results can be seen. Pope Pius V would not back down and Inquisitor General Valdes was willing to take the risk of a conflict with the pope but King Philip was not. The Inquisition used its usual tactics of delay and succeeded in so far as Pope Pius V past away before the matter could be adjudicated. Fortunately Pope Gregory XIII his successor ordered Carranza's release. The Church did not exonerate Caranza but subjected him to penance. The day of his release the town was crowded with many coaches and well-wishers. He quickly went to his death bed and died a short time later. On his death bed he declared his loyalty to the Church. He was imprisoned at the age of 53 and rotted there till he reached the age of 73. King Philip financially benefited as a part of his sequestration that Philip received was taken from Carranza's revenues mounting 2 or 3 million ducats.<sup>204</sup> The relevance of this story is that if a man of such prominence would be treated so poorly, we must assume a lot worse for its other victims. This episode also reveals an area of jurisdictional disputes between the Inquisition and the regulars as to how far the authority of the Inquisition extended as to its abilities to place on trial church officials. The question also involves whether the seal of the confessional protected those to whom confessions were made from revealing anything that could be interpreted as heresy from the Inquisition.

At this point it would be appropriate to discuss the power that the Inquisitors felt they had and how they abused it. An incident occurred that those of us living through the pandemic can

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<sup>204</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 29.

appreciate. Inquisitor Antonio de Contreras left Barcelona which was undergoing a pestilence. He and his entourage presented themselves to the city of Taronga and demanded admission. Taronga had a quarantine against Barcelona and refused him admission. Antonio said if they do not admit him in the time he could recited “Miseries” three times he would excommunicate the whole city. In the end he did excommunicate the town and left a note to this effect on the gate and left for a convent. The town leaders were required to do penance which not only stigmatized them but their descendants.<sup>205</sup> This story is but one more example of the abuse of power of which members of the Inquisition were guilty. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Torquemada was a monk but few of the other inquisitors were monks or clergy. Most of the others could have fulfilled many bureaucratic positions in the government. Most of them were not very pious. Only one was canonized and he was assassinated while praying in a cathedral (Arbues discussed elsewhere in this paper). Many of them had concubines and were stiff necked and arrogant.<sup>206</sup> Most were Castilian’s which made them looked upon as if they were foreign invaders by the Argonese. The average inquisitor served approximately 5 years in any one location.<sup>207</sup> Most inquisitors lacked foreign language skills with the exception of those who served in the Basque country where they had to communicate with the natives and they also tended to remain in these posts longer.<sup>208</sup>

Initially before the Inquisition the crime of heresy was judged and prosecuted by the ordinaries, that is the regular Church officials from priests to bishops to cardinal. With the licensing of the Inquisition these functions were taken away from the ordinaries and lodged with the Inquisition. There was no specific legislation that took away from the ordinaries the power to

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<sup>205</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 101-102.

<sup>206</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 58.

<sup>207</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 59.

<sup>208</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 60.

judge the crime of heresy, but the Inquisition made the claim that it was the sole source of judgement for this crime and was able to enforce this claim.<sup>209</sup> It was often considered by local people advantageous to have regulars participate in their trial as the regulars were viewed as more sympathetic to the locals.<sup>210</sup> Part of the purpose of disenfranchising the ordinaries was to solidify the power of the Inquisition and to prevent the ordinaries from sharing in the financial rewards. In addition Inquisitorial Courts often covered several dioceses making it geographically difficult for regulars to participate with the tribunals.<sup>211</sup> In 1595 Pope Clement VII wrote a letter stating that episcopals had the authority to judge heresy, but as in other cases the Inquisition simply ignored this rulings that would limit its power and thus increased its own strength.<sup>212</sup> As would be expected power struggles developed between these two groups. Because of many of their powers the Inquisition won most of these battles. The great strength on the Inquisition was enhanced by its unwillingness to capitulate. One example is that when the Edict of Faith was read the Inquisitor insisted that the town bow to the Inquisitors rather than to the ordinaries. The crown sided with the ordinaries but it was not until the crown issued two letters that the Inquisition conceded.<sup>213</sup>

Before we can sit in judgement on the tribunal, so that we should not be judged guilty of presentism we need to discuss how civil courts in that era acted. The courts in that era “was not so much an instrumentality of justice as a venal organization to extort the largest possible sums from pleaders and to oppress the poor for the benefit of the rich.”<sup>214</sup> The secular courts would also prosecute clergy which was more the exception than the rule in the tribunals.

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<sup>209</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 2, 2.

<sup>210</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 2, 5.

<sup>211</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 2, 6.

<sup>212</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 2, 3.

<sup>213</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 1, 140.

<sup>214</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 2, 161.

It is premature even at this point in the paper to discuss the pain inflicted by the Inquisition but if convicted the *sanbenito* would hang in the church for many generations and the progeny would suffer far into the future. There are certainly worse fates than death. This is opposed to the Holocaust when the plan was to annihilate the Jews and the reader needs to understand that death may be more onerous if the victim dies with the knowledge attached that his descendants for eternity will be tarred with his conviction. There is no question that the number of people murdered by the Nazis is an order of magnitude many times larger than the Inquisition, but the Nazis were in power for less than two decades and the Inquisition existed for centuries and to a certain extent still exists. The Inquisition, however, provided a living death for many. It incarcerated people for decades and the victims lived without being allowed to communicate with their family. Even in the rare instances that they were released they were forbidden from ever discussing the proceedings with family. Their wealth would be confiscated before conviction and some of their children would die of starvation.

There is a dearth of literature comparing aspects of the Inquisition to the Holocaust. It is pertinent to bring up at this point the book *Judge Thy Neighbor: Denunciation in the Spanish Inquisition, Romanov Russia, and Nazi Germany*, by Patrick Bergemann. In this book he creates a management model comparing informants in the eras mentioned. The informants fall into two categories. The paid informants would include those that informed during a period of grace so that their payment, which was in fact illusory, as will be later seen, was being pardoned for their own sins. The illusion was that the Inquisition would honor its pledge, but as long as the informants perceived a benefit from the Inquisition would be dispensed as paid informants. After the period of grace was dispensed with, if for no other reason that the promise of pardon was widely recognized as unreliable, the informant were considered voluntary informants and thus

consisted of a different group of revenge seekers on their neighbors or true adherents to the faith. Part of the difference may be illusory as the Inquisition did not hesitate to use torture. In any event the Inquisition increased its terror by having the target of their investigation not know who the informants were and what was said. The right to face their accusers did not exist and secrecy was one of the most powerful weapons that the Inquisition used with great expertise.

As had previously been stated there were many power bases all competing for control. Pope Sixtus had an interest in protecting his profitable right to hear appeals and overturn rulings of the Spanish Inquisition. Question also arose as to whether King Ferdinand or the Pope could choose the Inquisitors. Because of strength of personality and position the king made it clear that the ultimate decision was his.<sup>215</sup> In his next move to regain control Pope Sixtus on April 18, 1482 issued a most extraordinary bull that heresy should be viewed as a crime like any other and be entitled to a fair trial. This ran counter to all previous precedent since the 1200s in which in heresy the accused was presumed guilty.<sup>216</sup> This bull was not complied with.

Some historians have argued that King Ferdinand was far less zealous over his religion than Queen Isabella. It is relevant to review his last instructions to King Charles V who was his grandson. "As all other virtues are nothing without faith, by which and in which we are saved, we command the said illustrious prince, our grandson, to be always zealous in defending and exalting the Catholic faith and that he aid, defend and favor the Church of God and labor, with all his strength, to destroy and extirpate heresy from our kingdoms and lordships, selecting and appointing throughout them ministers, God-fearing and of good conscience, who will conduct the Inquisition justly and properly, for the service of God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith,

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<sup>215</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 89.

<sup>216</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 89.



and who will also have great zeal for the destruction of the sect of Mahomet.”<sup>217</sup> It should be understood that at this point the Jewish menace was mostly crushed. King Ferdinand died on January 23, 1516. His successor Charles V at the time of his grandfather’s death was a teenager living in Flanders and proved even upon his return to Spain to be a weak and vacillating head of state.

Inquisitor General of Castile Ximenes may have had many faults including inflexibility, but he was intolerant of monetary corruption and dismissed many inquisitors who tried to profit from the confiscations. He worked earnestly to get King Charles V to see his point of view. Ximenes had a relatively short tenure as Inquisitor General and he worked to have one Inquisitor General for all of Spain. New Christians endeavored unsuccessfully to have the name of witnesses revealed but their attempts even by bribery failed to get the Inquisition forgo this powerful tool.

The secrecy under which the Inquisition operated was its most powerful weapon and made the tribunals more terrifying and heinous than all its other tools. Initially the work of the Inquisition was done in public. As late as 1488 the records of the tribunals were kept in a public space. As late as 1501 in Toledo a Fiscal called for prosecution to the Inquisitor and this was done as he was sitting in his public seat. The trials were however held in private. Mention of secrecy shows up as early as 1498 where an oath of secrecy was included in the pledge proscribed by the inquisitor.<sup>218</sup> The secrecy oath was taken seriously and a breach caused a severe response. In one instance in 1523 when the vicar general of Saragossa was felt to have discussed certain secret in public he was ordered to be called on the carpet.<sup>219</sup> The accused were not told of what crimes they were accused for an extended period of times. The prisoners were

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<sup>217</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 82.

<sup>218</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 162.

<sup>219</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 162.

<sup>219</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 162.

brought three times before the tribunal to confess their crimes without being told what they were being accused of.<sup>220</sup> After the three opportunities to confess the accused were told what the charges were and were required to respond to the charges on the spot with records of their statement kept to use against them at further proceedings. This also protected the Inquisition from being accused of internal contradiction and being accused of violating common law. People who had business before the Inquisition had no entitlement to learn the procedures nor protocols of the Inquisition.<sup>221</sup> A single witness was all that was required to prove that someone had violated the rule of secrecy. Because of the rule of secrecy the Inquisition could function both as a legislative and judicial body. It wrote its own codes and had the advantage that this and its actions were never examined by the light of day. To help maintain secrecy the accused were placed in “carceles secretas or secret prison”<sup>222</sup> which was housed in the same building of the tribunal so that the accused would not be taken out of the building enroute to the tribunal. Bail was an unusual exception early on and later did not exist. For lesser crimes the accused could be confined to his city a *placera* or to his home the *carcei de familiars* a less rigorous prison.<sup>223</sup> While still being horrendous it is likely that the jails of the Inquisition were somewhat better than the civil jails, with the major exception of the burden of secrecy.<sup>224</sup> This should not be misconstrued to be thought that the prisons of that era would by any stretch of the imagination be acceptable by current standards but we must avoid being accused of presentism.<sup>225</sup> While even Lea says the episcopal jails were less hospitable this does not mean prisoners did not die in

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<sup>220</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 193.

<sup>221</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 163.

<sup>222</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 174.

<sup>223</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 174.

<sup>224</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 184.

<sup>225</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 184.

Inquisitional prisons from atrocious conditions.<sup>226</sup> If a heretic proved to be impenitent a gag could be applied to him as a means of torture.<sup>227</sup> Physicians were to be supplied to the sick prisoners. The treatment of the imprisoned varied within the Inquisition and depended on the will of the officials involved. A wealthy prisoner to a small extent could ease some of the pain of imprisonment by having a servant imprisoned with him as in the case of Carranza.<sup>228</sup>

There was great laxity in the legal requirement for a witness for the prosecution but strict rules applied to the witnesses for the defense. Unlike our system of justice it was felt to be better to let 100 innocents be punished rather than let one heretic go free.<sup>229</sup> There was no prohibition on the inquisitor to ask leading question.<sup>230</sup> The process of ratification was used to take testimony a second time to make sure the witness was consistent.<sup>231</sup> When the tribunals were busy this was often ignored. To protect the Inquisition as well as witnesses for the prosecution the identity witnesses for the tribunal were kept secret. This of course created a heavy burden on the defense as not being able to confront the accuser. This also created a situation where an individual could harm his neighbor by testifying falsely and was protected from retaliation as his identity was not revealed. It would be instructive at this point to learn some statistics on the outcomes of the trials. "In the tribunals of Valencia an estimate for 3075 trials 1566-1609 suggests they concluded as follows: 44.2 percent were penanced, 40.2 percent were reconciled,

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<sup>226</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 187.

<sup>227</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 176.

<sup>228</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 182.

<sup>229</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 185.

<sup>230</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 186.

<sup>231</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 187.

<sup>231</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 176.

<sup>231</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 182.

2.5 percent absolved, 9 percent suspended , 2.1 percent burnt in effigy, 2 percent burnt in person.”<sup>232</sup>

Another major power wielded by the Inquisition was the power to excommunicate and as we have already seen this power caused great terror. This could only be nullified by The Holy Office or the Pope.<sup>233</sup> It needs to be constantly in our mind that communication options were severely more limited than in the modern world and this created a situation that made overruling a decision more challenging if for no other reason that it was difficult to do in a timely fashion.

The power to arrest was an awesome power. People were detained for decades before judgements were made. Even if eventually exonerated, which was very rare, with the records being sealed all that people would remember was that the accused was arrested and that would not only ruin the accused lives but by the rules *limpieza* (blood lines) their descendants for many generations and any close relative. People were charged with the responsibility of denouncing anyone guilty of heresy even including close relative. Because of the implications of arrest the Suprema ordered that if there was only one witness an arrest not be made. This was not frequently adhered to.<sup>234</sup> The accused was expected to pay for his own incarceration. If he lacked the funds his household goods were confiscated and sold at auction.<sup>235</sup> Upon sequestration of the property of the accused the family was often left destitute. However, by 1506 some provisions were left to the family of the accused. This may take some time and in one case two young daughters died of starvation and one was reduced to begging as a result of all the assets being seized.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 199.

<sup>233</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 138.

<sup>234</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 168.

<sup>235</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 170.

<sup>236</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 171-172.

Another major tool used by the Inquisition was that it was inviolable. The theory was that if the Holy Office admitted an error it would damage its mission of stamping out heresy. For that reason the Inquisition would never admit mistakes and this inviolability was accepted by other centers of power. If for example an accused was found to be innocent beyond all reasonable doubt the trial would be placed on hold and the accused be released from incarceration. This of course in no way exonerated him, compensated him for his lost property nor time, nor returned his nor his families good name. This inviolability extended to all people in the Inquisition including servants.<sup>237</sup>

What was frequently not understood by members of the flock is that a confession to the inquisitor was not the equivalent of a confession to the parish priest. The priest was interested in absolution. The Inquisitor was interested in prosecution. The uninitiated victim of the Inquisition would in an attempt to appease the inquisitor by admitting to some violation not realizing that his testimony was being transcribed and in effect he was placing himself in greater jeopardy.<sup>238</sup> In effect the Inquisition would use the accused's own words against him. Intent of actions was relevant as for example if one said he avoided pork because it disagreed with him and not because of a religious prohibition that was pertinent. Confessions to be acceptable must show repentance and renunciation of the wrong done and a prayer for readmission to the Church.<sup>239</sup> The penitent to be believed must name accomplices. Confession that came only after torture were not accepted as evidence of repentance and these poor souls were subject to relaxation, which is a euphemism for execution. The person who confessed under torture was able to use the revocante which meant that he claimed he was not guilty but only admitted to an offense as a

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<sup>237</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 142.

<sup>238</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 197.

<sup>239</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 197.

result of his inability to withstand the pain of torture. The confession was then nullified but the torture was reinstated. One technique used by defendants was to recant the confession the following day and when the torture was about to be reinstated again confess and then repeat the process. This procedure did not find favor in the eyes of the inquisitors.<sup>240</sup> Ability to withstand torture was considered as partial evidence of innocence but the Inquisition did not usually follow this evidentiary rule.<sup>241</sup>

No one with the possible exception of the monarchs were immune from prosecution by the Inquisition. As an example St. Teresa of Avila who was later canonized and her reformed Carmelites were denounced initially but the Inquisition did not aggressively pursue the matter. Earlier in her life when rumors surfaced that the Inquisition was investigating her, she said “people came to me in great alarm, saying that these were difficult times that some charge might be raised against me, and that I might have to appear before the inquisitors. But this merely amused me and made me laugh. I never had any fear on that score.”<sup>242</sup> In 1576 denunciations were made against her and she said “Father would that we could all be burned for Christ.”<sup>243</sup> She died in 1582 and her book was not licensed till after her death. Further denunciation against her occurred in 1589 to 1591. It did not help her cause that it was well know that her blood was tainted with Converso stock.<sup>244</sup>

Confessions were often needed in order to prove heresy. In Aragon, which admitted the Inquisition, torture was illegal and was only used against the Templars by special command of Pope Clement V.<sup>245</sup> When the Spanish Inquisition began to function torture was already in use

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<sup>240</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 29.

<sup>241</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 30.

<sup>242</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 129.

<sup>243</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 129.

<sup>244</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 131.

<sup>245</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 2.

in criminal proceedings in Seville. In Aragon it was forbidden in secular courts but freely used in matters of faith.<sup>246</sup> Despite current myths the Inquisition used torture less frequently than civil courts. The use of torture varied by era but the inquisitor could not order it. It needed to be ordered by the *consulta de fe* and then the accused was brought to the audience chamber where all inquisitors and regulars were present and they voted on it only when the evidence implied guilt but they needed the confession. The inquisitors and regulars tried to distance themselves from the physical violence but by a compilation of Torquemada's directives they were required to be in attendance during the torture.<sup>247</sup> The crime needed to be of significant magnitude to justify this extreme approach. If the accused then used another line of defense torture needed to be reconsidered.<sup>248</sup> If torture was judged to be a harsher punishment than the accused would be sentenced to if found guilty it was not allowed.<sup>249</sup> As intent was an essential element in the crime of heresy torture was often needed to determine intent on the part of the defendant.<sup>250</sup> To this end both Pope Paul IV and Pope Pius V decreed that torture could be used for this purpose.<sup>251</sup> Being condemned to the stake would therefore not protect an accused from torture as the purpose was to find other heretics and remove this scourge from the land.<sup>252</sup> Nobility, nor ecclesiastic status, nor age conferred exemption from torture. Accused from the extremely elderly down to ten years of age were subject to it. Infirmary could only help determine the degree of torture used. Pregnancy was supposed to delay torture but not universally.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 2.

<sup>247</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614*. 68.

<sup>248</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 7.

<sup>249</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 8.

<sup>250</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 10.

<sup>251</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 11.

<sup>252</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 12.

<sup>253</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 15.

Physicians were consulted often to determine if the accused could survive torture. The two most common tortures were garrucha or pulleys and water torture.<sup>254</sup>

Otrosi was the term used for the fiscal applying for the imposition of torture to encourage the accused to confess.<sup>255</sup> More uniformity developed on the use of torture as time passed and as the Suprema assumed greater control over the tribunals. Presumably if someone uttered a phrase of heresy and then denied intent he would be tortured to learn his true intent. If he maintained his innocence of intent through the torture he had to abjure and could possibly be subject to the lash or exile. This was less severe than if he admitted intent because then he could be subject to confiscation and possibly to relaxation.<sup>256</sup> Torture was supposed to be limited to a half hour but in many cases it extended to two to three hours.<sup>257</sup> The person who confessed under torture was required to ratify his confession and if he refused the torture was reinstated.<sup>258</sup> Torture was used frequently by the Inquisition. Between 1575 to 1610 approximately one out of three people accused of heresy were tortured and in the late 1600s approximately three out of four people accused of Judaizing were tortured.<sup>259</sup> The inquisitors were not sophisticated enough to use brain washing. Finally at the early part of the 19th century King Ferdinand ordered the end of the use of torture and Pope Pius VII ended it for all tribunal in a letter an April 12, 1816.<sup>260</sup>

The Edict of Faith especially combined with the secrecy was an awesome weapon by which the Spanish inquisition was able to subjugate the whole population. It in effect filled the land with spies. When the Edict of Faith was issued in any locale all individuals were required to

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<sup>254</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 18.

<sup>255</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 42.

<sup>256</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 53.

<sup>257</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 22.

<sup>258</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 188.

<sup>259</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 189.

<sup>260</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 34-35.



report any violation by anyone living or dead. The Jewish rites which also must be reported were enumerated, as were Moslem customs, witchcraft, Protestantism and Illuminism.<sup>261</sup> Also included in this was mistreatment of any holy object such as a Crucifix. To make sure no one was unaware of their responsibility of informing the Inquisition a proclamation was issued that all those over age 12 must assemble and listen to a detailed listing of what must be reported to the Inquisition. The responsibility of reporting the dead made the Inquisition even more terrifying and permitted the Inquisition to confiscate their former property from their heirs and even from those who in good faith had purchased the property. Six days after the proclamation was issued another proclamation was made repeating the earlier proclamation and demanding compliance. The regulars were required at high mass to tell the faithful of their responsibility to denounce and admit to their own transgressions on pain of excommunication thus creating terror throughout the parish. What was said after a cross draped in black was paraded and on the altar were two torches and the priests stood in silence as the following was read “We excommunicate and anathematize, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, in form of law, all apostate heretics from our holy Catholic faith, their fautors and concealers who do not reveal them, and we curse them that they may be accursed as members of the devil and separated from the bosom and unity of the holy Mother Church. And we order all the faithful to hold them as such and to curse them so that they may fall into the wrath and indignation of Almighty God...”<sup>262</sup> This was said to people who lived in a relatively small isolated community by modern standards and this must have created terror and fear in the hearts of all who heard it. The ceremony also ended dramatically with a procession marching out. The Edicts of Faith at the site of the tribunal was issued on one Sunday during Lent. It of course was issued when it went to

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<sup>261</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 32.

<sup>262</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 32.

smaller districts. Toward the end of the 18th century it was published less frequently as the Spanish Inquisition faded.

The trial was started with the presumption of guilty and he who refused to confess was viewed as an impenitent. Initially the inquisitors were inexperienced with a heavy workload and trials were dispatched in haste and with limited record keeping. As time passed more elaborate and uniform procedure were established by the Suprema and furnished in 1568 under “de Processor of Pueblo Garcia”.<sup>263</sup> Initially the accused was thrown into a secret prison and sent to trial quickly. With time it became more common to impose long delays at the discretion of the inquisitor. The one exception was that if the accused requested an audience before the inquisitor it was invariably offered quickly in the hope that this may be a confession and there was concern by the tribunal not to miss the opportunity of collecting more valuable information and evidence. On the accused’s first meeting before the tribunal an oath of honesty and secrecy was administered to the accused. He was brought before the tribunal three times before the trial without being informed of what charges he faced. He was told that no case ever comes before the tribunal without adequate evidence to convict and to save his soul and receive mercy he needs to confess. He did not yet know the charges that were pending against him and thus was at great risk of confessing to a crime of which the tribunal was ignorant. Prior to 1530 the tribunal may have hinted to his crime but by 1540 the general rule was that he was given no information.<sup>264</sup> In our system of jurisprudence the accused must be Mirandized and offered a licensed attorney gratis. This was the initial policy of the inquisition with the exception that if the advocate found proof of his client’s guilt he was required to share it with the tribunal.<sup>265</sup> If an advocate offered

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<sup>263</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 37.

<sup>264</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 39.

<sup>265</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 43.

to zealous a defense for his client the attorney was subject to penalties. When inquisitor Pays de Sotomayor felt that an advocate was too zealous in the defense of his client he subjected the advocate to penance.<sup>266</sup> With time the defendant even lost the right to choose his own counsel.<sup>267</sup> The tribunal chose the counsel and if the accused insisted on his own counsel this counsel could only communicate with the appointed counsel. Eventually the appointed counsel was not even allowed to communicate with the counsel selected by the defendant.<sup>268</sup> The appointed counsel soon became an employee of the Inquisition with his loyalty to the Holy Office rather than the accused. Even the accused's children could not communicate with their parent when he was in the secret prison nor could they be sure he was incarcerated nor could they communicate with the advocate by 1522.<sup>269</sup> To protect the rights of minors till the age of 25 a curador was appointed but again this was done for appearances without any substance. The curador was usually a low ranking employee of the Inquisition such as the jailer.<sup>270</sup> Care had to be taken so that the accused could not determine who the witnesses testifying against him were. The defendant would not be informed of the time nor place of the investigated event.<sup>271</sup> The only defense that the accused could marshal in regards to prosecution witnesses were tachas, which was to discredit prosecution witnesses by proving enmity or other disability and by abonos which was to prove that the defendant was a man of good religious character. One of the many obstacles facing the defendant was that he had to list potential witnesses against him without knowing if they were part of the prosecution and thus provide the Inquisition with more information about

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<sup>266</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 44.

<sup>267</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 45.

<sup>268</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 46.

<sup>269</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 48.

<sup>270</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 50.

<sup>271</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 54.

himself which could be self-incriminating.<sup>272</sup> Insanity was a viable defense.<sup>273</sup> Another defense that usually failed was that the baptism by which they were subject to the inquisition was invalid.

<sup>274</sup> If the baptism was invalid the accused was not a Catholic and thus not subject to the Inquisition. As mentioned earlier trials were initially held quickly after arrest but as the inquisition matured it was not unusual for trials not to be completed for 15 to 20 years after arrest during which time the prisoner was kept in the secret prison.<sup>275</sup> This despite the insistence of the compilation of Torquemada's edicts calling for a speedy trial.<sup>276</sup> This was prolonged when the Suprema insisted on reviewing all cases.<sup>277</sup> Cases could last much longer and be initiated after death. Fernan Sanchez had been converted in 1416 and died in 1456. His case went before the tribunal and in 1525 his body was exhumed and burnt and his estate confiscated.<sup>278</sup>

People could be tried in absentia in one of three ways. The first was that the accused would be excommunicated and if he failed to appear for trial within a year he was classified as a heretic. If the proof was conclusive, he was summoned to appear and if he failed to appear he was convicted. If the evidence was inconclusive he would be summoned to appear and prove his innocence and if he failed to appear he would be convicted. The usual sentence was burning at the stake and if captured the sentence would be carried out. In some cases the burning occurred as long as twenty years later. The Inquisition had a long memory.<sup>279</sup>

Earlier in this paper it was stated that the Inquisition was both a legislative and judicial body. By this it meant that the Inquisition judged the guilt or innocence of the accused but the

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<sup>272</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 63-68.

<sup>273</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 58.

<sup>274</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 69.

<sup>275</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 75.

<sup>276</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614*, 70.

<sup>277</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 80.

<sup>278</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 82.

<sup>279</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 86-91.

determination of what punishment the offender would be sentenced to was at the discretion of the tribunal.<sup>280</sup> In some cases the Inquisition's verdict went into great detail of the crime the recitation of which could take many hours and this was called *con meritos*. In other cases the inquisition there would only give a brief recitation of the character of the offense and this was referred to as *sins meritos*.<sup>281</sup> The convicted would be in ignorance of their offenses and conviction until the *auto de fe* and care was taken that the accused would not even be aware when the *auto de fe* was scheduled. The one exception to this was if the accused was scheduled to be relaxed (burned at the stake) and the inquisition wanted to give him the opportunity to confess and repent before the sentence was carried out it gave him that opportunity. One of the reasons that the convicted was left ignorant of the charges was to prevent him from appealing to the *Suprema* or to Rome or to the Crown.<sup>282</sup> Appeals for minor infractions had a small chance of succeeding unless the accused was a member of the clergy who had enough education to challenge the Inquisition with a viable defense. For the most part once a sentence was handed down no one other than the Inquisitor general could modify it with the exception if it was in the Indies because of communication difficulties.<sup>283</sup> In civil courts nobility was judged more leniently but since the Inquisition considered the nobility better able to understand their offense they were judged more harshly. Despite the above clergy for the most part were treated more leniently.<sup>284</sup> If a convicted individual failed in his penance he was judged guilty and was often relaxed although the records reveal many exceptions to this.<sup>285</sup> In some instances the Spanish Inquisition was willing to acquit because it could always bring the accused back on the same

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<sup>280</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 93.

<sup>281</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 93.

<sup>282</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 94-95.

<sup>283</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 98.

<sup>284</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 100.

<sup>285</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 101.

charges as there was no protection against double jeopardy.<sup>286</sup> In the city of Toledo from 1484 till 1531 less than two acquittals per year were recorded.<sup>287</sup> More often the case would just be suspended and the accused would never know if and when the case would be brought up again and of course he was forbidden to discuss any part of it with family or friends and thus had a sword of Damocles hanging over his head. Possibly even more painful he could not share his concerns with family nor friends. Toward the end of the Inquisition it became more common to suspend the trial but with a punishment as severe as 200 lashes attached for those thought to be innocent was administered.<sup>288</sup> Compurgation was another means of ending the trial. When the tribunal was unable to reach a conclusion an assembly was made of a number of the accused's acquaintances who were told of the accusation and the accused presented a denial and the compurgators were asked to swear as to whether they believed the accused or thought the accused was guilty. If they found in her favor the accused was required to abjure and still received some penance.<sup>289</sup> This was resorted to rarely and quickly fell out of favor as the inquisition would lose some of its secrecy and would have to admit by its nature that the Inquisition was not infallible.

The Auto de Fe or Act of Faith was the procedure by which the Inquisition publicized, justified, exhibited, entertained the local populations, and humiliated the offenders. The Inquisition spared no effort nor expenditure to make this exhibition dramatic and memorable especially during the formative years of the Inquisition.<sup>290</sup> In the early years the autos were disbursed all over the country and in small towns. By 1515 they tended to be only in the large

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<sup>286</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 106.

<sup>287</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 107.

<sup>288</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 110.

<sup>289</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 113-117.

<sup>290</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 209.

cities. For anyone who was in an auto de fe as a criminal, it would have a lasting effect on him and his family. For lesser offenses there were some private autos so that the accused would not be humiliated. Two staging areas existed, one for the convicted and their attendants and the other for the inquisitors, all their attendants, and all the ecclesiastical and secular officials.<sup>291</sup> The day chosen for the auto was a feast day to make it a greater pageant with increased attendance. At least a month was spent in preparation. The evening prior to the auto a great procession occurred and the convicted were told of their crime and sentence and given a chance to repent. On the day of the auto the accusations were read in great solemnity and it was necessary to protect the victims from the local populace. The site of the burning was a distance from the ceremony with only a secretary from the inquisition being there to record it. As time passed and autos could no longer be afforded by the increasingly impoverished inquisition and the number of burnings decreased so as to economize. As we shall later see by comparison the loss of economic means in no way diminished the Nazi zeal for executing the Jews. It was extremely humiliating to the inquisition that it had trouble affording autos. Eventually autos were held in the church in an attempt to economize, but the notification to the seculars of whom to relax was always done outside the church in an attempt not to profane a holy site.<sup>292</sup> With time autos became less pompous and less well attended. It is relevant that no auto de fe was celebrated in honor of King Ferdinand nor Queen Isabella, who were the moving force in the formation of the Spanish Inquisition. The auto was viewed in his era as a pious act for the creator, not to be defiled by making it an act of pomp for the regent.<sup>293</sup> This was not true of later regents who thus made it both a religious and a political secular event.

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<sup>291</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 211.

<sup>292</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 224.

<sup>293</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 227.

There was a series of minor violations for which minor penalties were given. The most common was reprimand. As part of a minor punishment the convicted was expected to abjure. When he abjured he was expected to state 1) he accepts the Catholic faith 2) he detest all heresy including that which he is accused of 3) he will be obedient to the pope 4) he will persecute all those not faithful to Catholic faith and 5) he accepts all penance imposed.<sup>294</sup> It may seem hypocritical that while insisting that the penitent swear loyalty to the pope the Holy Office in many cases side stepped the pope's decrees. If there was a relapse the punishment could become more severe including relaxation. Exile would usually state which areas were forbidden to the individual and the length of time was always specified.<sup>295</sup> The house in which the heresy was performed was designated and often razed.<sup>296</sup> Spiritual penance included such things as fasting, pilgrimage to a shrine, and hearing a mass.<sup>297</sup> Sometimes the Inquisition could be innovative and have a penalty as nailing an arm to a cross while the sentence was read.<sup>298</sup>

More severe penalties would often be imposed. Scourging was ordered by the Inquisition and while the number was prescribed by the tribunal it was carried out by the executioner. Again we see the Inquisition's attempting to distance itself from the punishment in the false belief that having a non-clergy perform the violence would absolve the Inquisition. The sadism of the era was demonstrated by the proclamation that it was an offense worthy of excommunication to throw stones at the penitent.<sup>299</sup> It is not possible to judge whether the malice of the common people fed off the violence of the Inquisition or the reverse but neither reflects positively on the situation as compared to when the Moslem reigned. It should be remembered that on Holy Week

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<sup>294</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 124.

<sup>295</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 126-128.

<sup>296</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 126-130.

<sup>297</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 131-132.

<sup>298</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 133.

<sup>299</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 136.



in the 14<sup>th</sup> century children and clerics would hurl stones at the Jews. Two hundred lashes were the usual maximum but no mercy was given based on age nor gender.<sup>300</sup> Verguenza was used in place of scourging and the convicted would be paraded through the street stripped to the waist wearing the insignia of his offense while the town crier told of his sentence. This was extremely painful to those who were sensitive and held high positions and also to modest young women.<sup>301</sup> Another severe penalty was to be sent to the galleys. The incentive to sentence an individual to galleys was that King Ferdinand needed rowers for his navy, especially when he ruled Sicily, and those imprisoned by the Inquisition seemed a fertile source of free labor. It also provided financial relief to the Inquisition from the expense of paying for imprisonment for those unable to fund their own incarceration. Pope Alexander VI gave license to this punishment.<sup>302</sup> It was noted that only male prisoners could serve in the galleys and because of the harsh treatment of galley workers no volunteers would accept the position. To make it economically feasible service was placed at a minimum of three to four years. The galley captains would try not to release the prisoners after their term was completed. The tribunals tried to have these prisoners released on time and the captains often ignored the instructions. The female equivalent to working on the galleys was to work in hospitals or prisons.<sup>303</sup> If someone was reconciled to the Church they were exempt from charging royal sales tax and oddly this created a jealousy among merchants who lacked this economic advantage.<sup>304</sup> At one point one of the severe punishments was to be imprisoned for life. Since all the prisoners money had been confiscated and often squandered by the Inquisition there was no money to pay for the imprisonment and the convicts were often

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<sup>300</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 137.

<sup>301</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 138.

<sup>302</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 140.

<sup>303</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 145.

<sup>304</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 150.

ordered imprisoned in their own house, or in a convent.<sup>305</sup> In some cases the prisoners would enter town to sell goods much to the consternation of shopkeepers who could not compete since as already mentioned the convicted were exempt from many taxes.<sup>306</sup>

The sanbenito was a penitential robe that carried multigenerational implications and constituted a tremendous burden on the person and his family. It's design varied by the time and circumstance. The *de dos aspa* meant that the convicted was guilty of formal heresy and would be hung in the local Church for generations after the convict was relaxed. The compilation of the instructions provided by Torquemada specified that the sanbenito never be removed from the church even by order of the Inquisitor.<sup>307</sup> This meant that the whole congregation would be aware that this family lacked purity and would be brought to light every time they entered the church. The *de media aspa* would only be worn during the *auto de fe*.<sup>308</sup> The Suprema even ordered that inquisitors when they journeyed to distant parts of their districts confirm that the sanbenitos were hung properly and make sure all were accounted for. People even tried to change their name so that they wouldn't carry the stigma attached to their family.<sup>309</sup> Conversos would steal the sanbenitos from the church and deface the tablets that had the family name engraved on them. The Spanish constitution of 1813 said that no punishment should extend beyond the guilty individual to the family which meant the sanbenitos were to be removed from the church.

Execution by burning moved from custom to law. Perhaps so as to distance itself from the barbarity of its actions, the Inquisition pronounced them as heretics beyond salvation and

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<sup>305</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 151-153.

<sup>306</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 155.

<sup>307</sup>Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614*, 74.

<sup>308</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 163.

<sup>309</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 167.

then handed them over to secular authorities to be burned. Whether this carried any moral distinction is left to the reader. The Church, however, granted an indulgence to anyone contributing firewood to the pyre on which the victims were burned.<sup>310</sup> If the secular administration failed to burn the heretic the secular authority was excommunicated and if a year passed the secular authority was also declared a heretic.<sup>311</sup> According to “*Repetorium de Pravitare Hareticorum*” the secular minister was not entitled to see the records justifying the death sentence.<sup>312</sup> “Still the estilo of the Inquisition required the ghastly comedy of asking for mercy.”<sup>313</sup> If someone was burned in effigy there was no request for mercy. On April 1, 1569 the bull *Si de protegendes* said that anyone interfering or harming officials of the Inquisition should receive the same punishment accorded for high treason.<sup>314</sup> A sad consequence was one who in the face of what the tribunal considered incontrovertible evidence refused to admit his guilt, even in the face of torture, perhaps a true and faithful believer, was relaxed.<sup>315</sup> A *diminuto* was one whose confession did not ring true to the Inquisition and he was relaxed.

In an attempt to bypass the Inquisition some Conversos bought papal penitent which absolved people not only for past sins but future misdeeds. Wealthy Conversos considered this a form of insurance policy. This proved to be a lucrative business for the pope. Pope Sixtus IV at a considerable profit would sell the pardons and then let the Spanish Inquisition annul them and the Church would then get a third of the proceeds collected by the Inquisition of the confiscations. Of course, this meant the Conversos paid twice and received nothing in return. Pope Innocent VIII continued this lucrative practice. King Ferdinand voided these pardons

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<sup>310</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3, 184.*

<sup>311</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3, 184-185.*

<sup>312</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3, 186.*

<sup>313</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3, 188.*

<sup>314</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3, 189.*

<sup>315</sup>Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3, 198.*

unless the party involved was a favorite of his.<sup>316</sup> These historical facts brings us back to the question as to whether the Inquisition was an honest bureaucracy as suggested by Kamen and Silverblatt or a corrupt bureaucracy. Pope Julius II continued this lucrative practice with one hand selling letters of pardon and with the other hand negating it.<sup>317</sup> Pope Leo continued this scam of selling pardons without shame and then negating them until the money ran out for this particular individual at which time there were plenty of other individuals who out of lack of alternatives would pay for worthless pardons.<sup>318</sup>

In 1531, Fray Francisco Ortiz was arrested by the Inquisition for criticizing the Inquisition. He was a favorite of Charles, but the Inquisition would not relent. When he was imprisoned for two years Pope Clement asked that he be released for time served. The Inquisition would not even yield to this. In total he was sentenced to four years imprisonment and to two years reclusion in a convent and for two more years of suspension of his license to preach. This was done even after he submitted himself to the mercy of the tribunal. When Pope Paul III tried to reorganize the Roman Inquisition in 1542, and in 1548 he issued a declaration that the Spanish Inquisition would never be subordinated to the Roman one. The last two references are meant to provide examples of how neither the crown nor the Church could bend the Inquisition to its will. The Church provided the Inquisition with documents that the Inquisition would use in the future to maintain its dominant position.<sup>319</sup> Even King Philip IV was subservient to the Inquisitor General.<sup>320</sup> The Suprema even issued a notice to tribunals after 1571 to supplicate, that is ignore, any of these letters requesting pardon from Rome.<sup>321</sup> The

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<sup>316</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 38.

<sup>317</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 39.

<sup>318</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 43.

<sup>319</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 43.

<sup>320</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 45.

<sup>321</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 44.

Spanish throne by this time had lost much of its power and was disrespected. The Suprema could recommend to Philip IV in reference to orders from Rome “obedecer y no complir to obey and not to execute.”<sup>322</sup>

Confiscations was the major source of income for the Inquisition. The large sums of money involved corrupted much of the institution and its employees. There may be a few exceptions who withstood the lure of money such as possibly Inquisitor General Torquemada, but as bees are drawn to honey, people are drawn to money. In many ways this led to the downfall of Spain as it was the proverbial killing of the goose that laid the golden egg. Those Converso families that produced the people who were merchants, bankers, government officials as tax collectors, and professionals including physicians were the major target of the Inquisition. It was their wealth and standing that made them prime targets. Willie Sutton the noted bank robber reputedly said I rob banks because that is where they keep the money. In similar fashion the Inquisition went after wealthy Conversos because that is where the money was.<sup>323</sup> The economic engine that provided Spain with wealth was thus being destroyed for short term gain. The original plan under King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella was that the crown would receive one third, another third was for the Inquisition, and the final third was for pious charitable acts.<sup>324</sup> In a letter on March 11, 1498 King Ferdinand wrote of his right to a third and the crown continued this policy as late as 1554.<sup>325</sup> On October 17, 1500 King Ferdinand scolded some Inquisitors for being negligent and allowing some wealthy Conversos to hide their wealth so that when found guilty it would be harder to confiscate.<sup>326</sup> By offering commissions for tracing property, gangs of

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<sup>322</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 51.

<sup>323</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 108.

<sup>324</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 109.

<sup>325</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 109.

<sup>326</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 111.

detectives formed to earn a bounty. Men of standing including mayors would participate in these hunts for wealth. That which was owned by the accused at the time of the alleged heresy and all subsequent property could be seized. If a house was sold after the alleged heresy the sale was voided. The new owner had no recourse. If a debt was developed as in the case of a mortgage this would also be voided as the heretic no longer owned the land nor had any assets. Being dead was no protection from confiscation and trying the dead could be very profitable. In 1484 it was ruled that the dead could be prosecuted even forty or fifty years posthumously.<sup>327</sup> This of course created terrible difficulty for creditors. To help ease the problem in 1499 creditors were given 30 days to present their claims but few did well.<sup>328</sup> On March 6, 1498 an attempt was made to protect the workers and some of the assets confiscated could be used to pay the wages of the Moorish servants.<sup>329</sup> The problems faced by creditors was obviously a major impediment on trade and did cause major problems for the Spanish.<sup>330</sup> Another complexity introduced was that either of the marital partners was entitled to their share of the profits made and earned by the marital estate, ganancia. The other member of the couple, who was not involved in the heresy, could lay claim to her share which was very complex to ascertain and led to much negotiations. Another beneficiary of these proceedings were ship captains who would relieve fleeing Conversos of their property while on board. Have no fear, however, the crown tried to get a part of this action too.<sup>331</sup> The families including young children were often left penniless without any visible means of support in a world that lacked a social economic safety, net making starvation a real possibility. Henry Charles Lea states: “These transactions justify the conclusion

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<sup>327</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 112.

<sup>328</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 113.

<sup>329</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 113.

<sup>330</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 114.

<sup>331</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 116.

that persecution was largely a matter of finances well as of faith.”<sup>332</sup> Ferdinand tried to introduce a degree of honesty in so far as the transaction were recorded but since he was the law and much of the money went to him, perhaps it was his personal benefit rather than integrity that spurred him to cause a degree of honesty. Records from the sixteenth century from the Suprema indicate that for the most part the tribunals were self-supporting.<sup>333</sup> The confiscations ordered by the Inquisition along with the penance that it ordered by the Inquisition created suspicion by local residents. “Not surprisingly, many ordinary Spaniards came to the conclusion that the Inquisition was devised simply to rob people. “They were burnt only for the money they had.” a resident of Cuenca averred. “They burn only the well-off, because they have property; the others they leave alone”, said another”.<sup>334</sup> The crown did not make as much money as it imagined it would. It appears the Inquisition was not very good at sharing. “In 1524 a treasurer informed Charles V that his predecessor had received 10,000,000 ducats from the Conversos, but the figure is both unverified and implausible”.<sup>335</sup> The situation is made clear by an “anonymous Converso of Toledo who in 1538 directed a memorial to Charles V: “Your Majesty should above all provide that the expenses of the Holy Office do not come from the property of the condemned, because it is a repugnant thing if inquisitors cannot eat unless they burn {recia cosa es que si no queman no comen}.”<sup>336</sup> For the 17th and 18th centuries confiscation and canonries were the major source of income for the Inquisition.<sup>337</sup> Inflation strongly negatively impacted on the Inquisition.

The Inquisition had another major revenue stream. Pecuniary penance granted the heretic absolution. Presumably this was only to be used in cases of suspicion of heresy which lacked

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<sup>332</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 123.

<sup>333</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 127.

<sup>334</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 149.

<sup>335</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 150.

<sup>336</sup> Quoted in Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 153.

<sup>337</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 153.

adequate proof. This however begs the question that since all those coming before the court were presumed guilty how much proof was really needed? Perhaps this can be clarified by the fact that money paid in penance was not shared with the crown and only was shared by the Church and the Inquisition. King Ferdinand tried to get a share of the penance but in this he did not succeed.

<sup>338</sup> Despite orders from the Suprema to the notaries to maintain careful records of the penance they failed to do so and there is evidence that the inquisitor embezzled the money that was kept under lock and key.<sup>339</sup> With time other crimes, as bigamy, blasphemy, inappropriate language, disrespect toward the tribunal and witchcraft could be punished with penance and fines. The Suprema told the tribunals when making these decision to consider the needs of the Suprema and the wealth of those being judged.<sup>340</sup> On some occasions the Suprema found the fines to be arbitrary and ordered their return. These penances soon formed a substantial portion of the income of the Inquisition. In an attempt to get the family to contribute penance were imposed beyond the victim's ability to pay and corporal punishment such as galleys or scourging would be added to induce the family contribute to penance.<sup>341</sup>

The Inquisition had additional sources of income. At the time of the formation of the Inquisition Torquemada 1484 announced that he expected all the clerics employed in the Inquisition would receive benefices from the Church. They also expected to get lodging from the Church. The Spanish Church resisted this. As a form of compromise Pope Innocent VIII issued a brief on February 8, 1486 ordering the salary continued to be paid to the clergy working for the Inquisition but required the Inquisition to supply a vicar to replace the lost personnel and this was restricted to a 5 year term. When this term expired the Pope renewed the agreement and

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<sup>338</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 135.

<sup>339</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 136.

<sup>340</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 137.

<sup>341</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 138.



continued to do so for centuries as long as the Inquisition continued to function.<sup>342</sup> King Ferdinand helped arrange this in the hope that this would supplant rather than just be a supplemental source of income for the members of the Inquisition, but on this he was to be sorely disappointed.<sup>343</sup> In addition to this those branches of the Church that tried to discontinue subsidizing the Inquisition on a routine basis, failed. The Holy Office prevailed as it threatened Church officials with excommunication. The Church of Spain had accumulated a significant amount of wealth which became another target of the avaricious Inquisition. Ferdinand recognized that if the Holy Office was to procure the best people more funds were needed and Pope Alexander VI issued a brief on November 25, 1501 ordering canonry and prebends be incorporated into the Inquisition and thereby turning over a significant income to the Inquisition.<sup>344</sup> Inquisitor General Valdes taking advantage of this loophole in the tribunal courts upheld the rights of the Inquisition to seize canonries and demand prebends on threat of fine and excommunication. Thus even the Church was cowed by the Inquisition.<sup>345</sup>

The question of tax exempt status for the Church, Inquisition, ordinaries, inquisitors and lay workers as familiars was always in a state of flux. The Inquisition as in many other areas fought hard for any privilege for itself, its clerical members and its lay members including familiars.<sup>346</sup> Part of the strength of the Inquisition was that it fought unremittingly for its position and prestige and it often ignored negative rulings from the crown and the Church.

The bulk of the prosecutions of the Inquisition was for a crime that was referred to as “propositions”.<sup>347</sup> These were verbal statements sometimes in the middle of conversations, or in

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<sup>342</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 143.

<sup>343</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 145.

<sup>344</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 146.

<sup>345</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 148.

<sup>346</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 145-150.

<sup>347</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 260.

moments of anger that was in conflict with Church theology.<sup>348</sup> As stated earlier large portions of the population were relatively ignorant of the teaching of the Church. People of limited knowledge could therefore make statement unwittingly that went against Church doctrine and could therefore be charged with a crime. Most blasphemy was in fact made out of ignorance. Even such educated people as Archbishop Carranza could make an innocent remark and face the ire of the Inquisition. Propositions could involve aspects of faith, thoughts about sexuality, clergy and most seriously questioning the legitimacy of the Inquisition.

The Inquisition was involved in areas that would seem far afield from religion. The exportation of horses was a major concern of the Inquisition. It must be remembered that the horse was not just an animal but also a major weapon of war both in the New World against the indigenous people and in the old world. The Inquisition was initially concerned about the exportation of horses to Moors whom the Church considered as infidels and a major source of heresy.<sup>349</sup> An even stranger area that the Inquisition became involved in was the coinage of money. The velum that was issued was poorly backed by a devalued coinage. The velum was of such poor quality that a significant quantity of counterfeit currency came in from abroad. The Inquisition strangely enough called this heresy at it was an attempt to weaken the king.<sup>350</sup>

Free Masonry made its first appearance in history in England in 1717. On April 28, 1738 Pope Clement XII issued a bull against it. The Inquisition tried to take exclusive control over the prosecution of Free Masons. There were suggestions of capital punishment to be applied for this but it was only imposed once with extenuating circumstances. The Inquisition was not allowed to

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<sup>348</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 260.

<sup>349</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 104-105.

<sup>350</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 106-107.

have exclusive jurisdiction on this as even Philip V prosecuted them.<sup>351</sup> The relevance of this is as we will later see the Nazis considered membership in this fraternal organization a crime.

The Inquisition did cry poverty and attempted to procure additional financial support from the crown. This financial situation was exacerbated by the expulsion of the Moors from Aragon since the Inquisition had been fining them 10 ducat per offense.<sup>352</sup> Until the time of the death of Queen Isabella in 1504 the Inquisition seems to have been financially stable and prosperous.<sup>353</sup> The Inquisition appealed to Philip II and then Philip III for financial support but the lavish life style of these monarchs limited their ability to respond. During this time the Inquisition still had a large income from the prebends and other money supplied by the Spanish Church. The major problem was that the devaluation of the Spanish currency resulted in the need for higher salaries to just negate the effects of inflation. Corruption and ineptitude exacerbated the situation. The unwillingness to pay the financial secretaries an adequate wage caused them to seek additional work elsewhere and thus distracted them from protecting the financial stability of the Inquisition. To supplement the lack of staff local residents were hired who were loath to confiscate or proceed against their neighbors and thus these locals acted corruptly. The corruption was not confined to the local tribunals but the Suprema was also involved. Pedro Pacheco a presiding member of the Suprema in 1642 was arrested by the Inquisitor General for malversation.<sup>354</sup> Despite some signs of poverty the tribunals and Suprema had funds for various investments. There is evidence that despite the cries of poverty emanating from the Inquisition it was probably better funded than other branches of the government that were well on their way to decline. By the 1730s financial records indicate that at that point the Inquisition was in deep

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<sup>351</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 111-112.

<sup>352</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 150.

<sup>353</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 152.

<sup>354</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 151.

financial distress with expenses of the Suprema being double its receipts.<sup>355</sup> To review King Ferdinand considered the Inquisition to be his personal piggy bank. Under Charles V the Inquisition assumed financial control over its own destiny but with no central treasury and its incompetence and corruption it ended up in dire straits in the 18th century.

The position of familiars conferred upon those lay volunteers who claimed to work for the Inquisition certain privileges. As evidenced by the fact that they carried weapons they were not members of the clergy.<sup>356</sup> The position was formed especially for itinerant tribunals for whom for the most part there was a shortage of personnel and thus free labor was welcomed.<sup>357</sup> The names of those people who provided these services to the Inquisition including protection and enforcement because of the code of secrecy was often not provided to civil authorities. In effect this gave rise to people who had dubious or no connection to the Inquisition demanding the privileges of members of the Inquisition. Often just using the word “faith” would create such fear and terror in the eyes of civil authorities that they would often just concede that some of these people were familiars. Especially in regards to laws that forbade nonmilitary personnel from bearing arms the familiars would often ignore the statutes. The Inquisition claimed a draft exempt status for its members and even for its familiars. The draft exempt status was insisted upon even when the survival of the nation was at stake. The number of people that could be given the status of familiars was frequently contested between the Holy Office and local authorities.<sup>358</sup> As to whether members of the Inquisition could hold public office during their service to the Holy Office varied by region and time as in Majorca in 1662. The question of whether familiars were exempt from civil or criminal prosecution in secular courts was an issue

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<sup>355</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 152.

<sup>356</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 62.

<sup>357</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 145.

<sup>358</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 156-161.

that was fought over in many areas and times, but in general the Spanish Inquisition which was loath to give up any of its rights protected the familiars.<sup>359</sup> For the most part the decisions in this regard were appealed only to the king.<sup>360</sup> Despite this familiars were often a group of people of questionable morality and for example in Sicily between 1595 and 1634, 151 were charged with resistance, 44 with counterfeiting, and 107 with perjury.<sup>361</sup>

By the end of the 17th century the Spanish Inquisition had “eradicated Judaism (from Spain) it virtually expelled the Moriscos, it preserved Spain from the missionary zeal of Protestantism, but it failed ignominiously when it undertook to restrain the expression of aversion and contempt mutually entertained by Dominican and Franciscan, Jesuit and Carmelite.”<sup>362</sup>

Blasphemy in and of itself should not have involved the Inquisition. The area that was supposed to involve the Inquisition was heresy. If the blasphemy involved a denial of faith then the Inquisition considered it under its sphere of jurisdiction. Obviously such a question involved much latitude in the decision making process.<sup>363</sup> We will see throughout this work the Inquisition tended to expand its sphere of influence.

Sexual misconduct was prosecuted by the Inquisition. Sodomy was considered a crime against morality. The Spanish Inquisition would usually punish sodomy with burning except if the person was under age 25 and then they were punished by either the whip or the galleys.<sup>364</sup> This will become more relevant in this work when we compare the punishment of sexual crimes, usually involving miscegenation by the Nazis. Bigamy was a crime that the Inquisition prosecuted. The crime was frequently also charged against women. Bigamy was felt to be heresy

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<sup>359</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain Volume 1*, 169.

<sup>360</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 170.

<sup>361</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 64.

<sup>362</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 13.

<sup>363</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 121.

<sup>364</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 268.

since it questioned the sacredness of marriage. The problem faced by some individual is that the Church did not sanction divorce.<sup>365</sup> Another problem with bigamy is that monogamy was essentially and at times a uniquely a Christian value and there was a question of whether bigamy reflected on Judaizing.

There can be no doubt that the Inquisition dramatically changed the world and the culture for which the Ummayyads dynasty had planted the seeds in Iberia. To this point we have been discussing the tyranny, lack of tolerance, and pervasive fear that the Inquisition spread over a previously gentler society. Before the advent of the Inquisition an era of academic freedom and thirst for knowledge existed and a willingness to express disparate view in Andalusia and the Inquisition's dousing this spirit will next be discussed. No specific commission was given at the onset of the Inquisition to censor any printed material and yet that is what it did very early in its existence. In 1490 it burned a large number of Hebrew bibles.<sup>366</sup> Perhaps this act foreshadowed and legitimized the Nazis who in a Christian world burned Torah scrolls on Kristallnacht. In 1502 King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella promulgated a rule that basically decreed that no books could be printed, imported, or sold without government license. This was to be the basis of future laws and would place academia under government control.<sup>367</sup> It should be remembered that printing was in its infancy and books were a valuable economic commodity. Prior to the Reformation the Church felt so confident of its position that it looked with good natured indifference to those whose opinions did not follow its exact precepts as in the time of Erasmus.<sup>368</sup> Cardinal Adrian in 1521 prohibited the writings of Luther and assumed it was the

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<sup>365</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 266.

<sup>366</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 480.

<sup>367</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 480-481.

<sup>368</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 481.

function of the Inquisition to burn those writing within 3 days of receiving notice<sup>369</sup>. More books were added to the lists of those to be seized and burned in 1525, 1530, and 1531. The Holy Office simply assumed and abrogated for itself the right to destroy the heretical books and punish its possessors. In 1515 the Lateran Council and in 1564 The Council of Trent placed in the hands of bishops throughout Europe the privilege of licensing books.<sup>370</sup> In 1527 by granting licenses for books the Inquisition seized effective control over this area. Expurgation, that is censoring and deleting certain sections while allowing the book to be held, was unique to the Spanish Inquisition. The first printed index listing prohibited books for the Inquisition was printed in 1546 and disseminated in 1547.<sup>371</sup> While the Reformation started in 1517 it became a more ominous threat in 1557 and 1558 when protestant cells were found in Seville and Valladolid.<sup>372</sup> On September 7, 1558 the regent in Castile Juana banned books printed in other realms in the Spanish empire and required a license for printing books in Castile. This law contained many weaknesses. 1) The law applied only to printing in Castile and did not effect the rest of Spanish Iberia. 2) The law only applied to importing books to Castile and not the rest of Spain. 3) Much of the literature used in Spain was from abroad and books as the complete works of Erasmus seems to have entered Spain relatively easily. 4) At this point the law was often flouted and reprints even with major changes did not require a license.<sup>373</sup> In Valencia 40% of books lacked a license.<sup>374</sup> As late as 1565, 20 students in University of Toulouse were from Aragon and Catalan.<sup>375</sup> In 1559 the first index compiled by the Inquisition was disseminated.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 482-483.

<sup>370</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 103.

<sup>371</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 485.

<sup>372</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition 1478-1614*, 104.

<sup>373</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 105-106.

<sup>374</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 106.

<sup>375</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 107.

<sup>376</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 486.

The major target of the index were works of piety that used the vernacular and this included translations of the Bible and works of prayer books translated into Spanish. Granada's Book of Prayers which had 24 printings and was approved by both the Council of Trent and the Pope could not be removed from the Spanish Inquisition Index.<sup>377</sup> Hebrew books of Holy Scripture were banned.<sup>378</sup> Perhaps thus later giving legitimacy to burning Torah scrolls on Kristallnacht prior to the start of the Holocaust. Some medical texts were also on this index.<sup>379</sup> Bookstores were vigorously searched with threats of excommunication and fines if they had a banned or suspicious book. If a heretic wrote comments in a book this must be blotted out. Civil authorities cooperated with the inquisition in collecting books for destruction.<sup>380</sup> If a person read a book and detected heresy in it he was obligated to denounce it and this spread the oversight that the Inquisition was able to sustain. In 1583 the Spanish Inquisition issued a new two volume index. The first volume was released in 1583 and was a list of books. The second volume issued the following year was a list of what must be expurgated and thus contained books that were not banned. Books could be placed on the index solely on the basis of authorship. If a book on science or high intellectual merit was written by a questionable author or had a questionable passage the book could be placed on the index and thus restrict the intellectual and scientific advancement of Iberia.<sup>381</sup> In 1632 another index was issued and in 1640 an addendum was added by Sotomayer.<sup>382</sup> The work was so extensive in compiling the list of books that a junta of experts were enlisted.<sup>383</sup> Many of the decisions of the Inquisition on which books were banned

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<sup>377</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 110-111.

<sup>378</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614*, 217.

<sup>379</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614*, 216.

<sup>380</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 488.

<sup>381</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 492.

<sup>382</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 495.

<sup>383</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 496.



were often arbitrary and capricious. If things became too complicated it was often simpler to ban them.<sup>384</sup> Even just owning or selling books made one an object of suspicion. The consequences of such an anti-academic environment will be discussed later. The king's library had many books of the first class (those who all the books of a particular author were condemned) and they had to be moved to a separate room and in 1616 the rules were lightened so that scholars under supervision were permitted to read the books that were classified in the first class. The owner of the book was liable to pay for the cost of reviewing the books that he held in his library. The death of the owner of libraries afforded the opportunity to examine the library for any heretical material. This even led to economic repercussions as the trade in books was stifled. The French revolution created a significant literature that needed to be excluded by the rule of the Inquisition.<sup>385</sup> Henry Kamen's perception was that the Indexes were not really as enforced as Lea would have us think. Kamen claims that booksellers often refused to buy the Index and mostly ignored it.<sup>386</sup> Books ordered to be picked up and removed by the Suprema were often ignored. As late as 1569 booksellers in Barcelona were selling forbidden books or books not expurgated.<sup>387</sup> Henry Kamen claims that the only time that booksellers were fined for selling books in Barcelona was in 1593.<sup>388</sup> The penalty for the crime could have been death but only a fine was imposed. Keeping heretical thoughts from crossing the border from France proved a challenge to the Barcelona branch of the Spanish Inquisition.<sup>389</sup>

It would be unacceptable to provide only those acts which the modern world would find unacceptable and neglect those area where many people would applaud their action. Some

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<sup>384</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 115.

<sup>385</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 509.

<sup>386</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 117.

<sup>387</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 119.

<sup>388</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 120.

<sup>389</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 116-117.

confessors who were regulars took unfair advantage of their flock especially the women and forced them to perform certain sexual acts. The women were in some cases placed in a very difficult position if they needed absolution and they could only receive it from their priest. The confessional was built to physically separate the confessor from his flock and decrease any sexual arousal. “The spiritual courts were, however notoriously lenient...”<sup>390</sup> First in Granada by Pope Paul IV and then throughout the area governed by the Spanish Inquisition Pope Pius IV granted this area to Inquisitor General Valdes. Unfortunately, the Inquisition after assuming authority over these indiscretions acted with the same leniency as the spiritual courts formerly did.<sup>391</sup> A high priority on the part of the inquisition was to avoid scandal that would diminish or not enhance its position. On May 22, 1571 inquisitors were advised by the Suprema to avoid this area and limit themselves to instructing the regulars.<sup>392</sup> In cases of sexual allegations against a regular two witnesses were required both testifying against different violations.<sup>393</sup> This stands in sharp contrast to cases of Judaizing where the requirements of proof were more limited and there was always the presumption of guilt.

While sexual indiscretions were often ignored by the ecclesiastical courts and by the inquisition, the clergy faced another challenge. Statements made during sermons by the clergy were fair game for the Inquisition and there was no lack of witnesses. It was frequent that statements made during sermons were reviewed by the tribunal.<sup>394</sup> As Judaism became less of a threat this was a greater area of interest for the inquisition. Unguarded statements made by the clergy from the pulpit could attract the attention of the Inquisition. Diego Diaz, a priest, preached

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<sup>390</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 36.

<sup>391</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 38.

<sup>392</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 40.

<sup>393</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 46.

<sup>394</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 64.

in Portuguese that Jesus had not died for Castilians. Priest Reus was prosecuted for saying that he would rather be in hell with a Frenchman than in heaven with a Castilian.<sup>395</sup>

With this obvious laxity in regard to the morality of clergy on sexual matters it is interesting to see how morality in an area of sexual speech was handled. To even say that celibacy was not better than the married state was one of the most common crimes that the tribunal judged. The punishment varied greatly from incident to incident but there was certainly great focus placed on it by the Inquisition. An even more common crime was to just state that fornication between unmarried men and women was permissible. Just the statement was considered a mortal sin. This crime brought to the Inquisition a large crop of cases and victims. While torture was not used for this offense sequestration and confiscation was employed.

The Inquisition “turned a blind eye to the trading activities of foreign Protestants, mainly English Dutch, and German. The peace treaty with England 1604 and with the Dutch in 1609 merely accepted the situation. Some French merchants continued to fall afoul of the tribunal”.<sup>396</sup> The English during Cromwell were even negotiating to allow British sailors to hold services in Spain but that was too much for the Suprema.<sup>397</sup> In 1676 at least 64 foreign Protestants denounced their heresy and asked to be baptized. When England was at war with Spain 1586 to 1596 English sailors especially in the Canaries were prosecuted by the Inquisition and some were relaxed. Attempts to reinvigorate financiers residing in Spain and Africa succeeded for a period of time. In 1634 and again in 1641 Duke of Olivares Prime minister under King Philip IV tried to bring back Jewish financiers from Levantine and Africa. In 1628 King Philip IV worked on bringing back Converso financiers from Portugal to Spain. Many of these financiers because of

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<sup>395</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 265.

<sup>396</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 277.

<sup>397</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 278.

their ethnic origin and great wealth became targets of the Inquisition and much wealth was confiscated.<sup>398</sup> After 1640 the home country of the Portuguese Conversos could no longer protect them and they suffered at the hands of the tribunals. By 1650 a new reign of terror was started against all economic classes of New Christians.<sup>399</sup>

The Inquisition did well under the Habsburgs but when the Bourbons took over the rule in Spain, the new Crown was more challenging and controlling and limited the Inquisition more strictly than the Habsburgs did. An interesting side note about this as we shall see later is that Hitler while believing in monarchy and dictatorship and while blaming the Jews to a greater degree, spent considerable amount of space in *Mein Kampf* blaming the Habsburgs for much of the challenges facing the Aryan race. Even before the Bourbons relieved the Habsburgs of the throne, weakening of the awesome power of the Spanish Inquisition had begun. In 1677 Carlos II declared that excommunication ordered by the Inquisition was illegal “in matters connected with laymen and temporal and forbade its employment”<sup>400</sup> In 1696 Carlos II organized a meeting of several of the realms within the kingdom and this resulted in the Consultation Magna which was a report written by Doctor Joseph de Ledema which outlined many of the abuses of the Inquisition. While the Inquisition was able to sidestep many of the reforms suggested it did signal a downward spiral in the unchallengeable power of the Inquisition. Carlos II died on November 1, 1700 and he was the last of the Habsburgs.<sup>401</sup> King Louis XIV of France felt that the Church was an arm of the state and the Church was subject to the rule of the monarchy. Following the family tradition Philip V the young Bourbon king of Spain did not hesitate to order the Inquisition to help him stop rebellion in Valencia and Catalonia and punish any priest

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<sup>398</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 291.

<sup>399</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 293.

<sup>400</sup> Quoted in Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 1*, 202.

<sup>401</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 60.

who sermonized against him and charge that priest with heresy.<sup>402</sup> Thus the Inquisition became a willing accomplice of enforcing the mandates of the state with the tenuous connection that to disobey the state was heresy. In 1775 Carlos III a Bourbon issued a decree that the Inquisition had royal jurisdiction the same as granted to the secular courts and said that the Inquisition must respect these courts domains and cease from issuing excommunication in cases that it didn't agree.<sup>403</sup> This order needed to be issued two time but it signaled the beginning of the end.

It is difficult to determine how many people were murdered by the Spanish Inquisition and it certainly reached nowhere near the horrendous figures of the Holocaust. In Aragon the Spanish Inquisition executed over 500 Conversos and penanced, (stole all their possessions and that of their families), and publicly humiliated thousands of others. As we have already discussed this humiliation destroyed countless other family members and associates. The numbers mentioned refer only to a limited area of Spain and a limited time period.<sup>404</sup> Between 1570 and 1625 approximately 54 people were relaxed for Judaizing in Castile.<sup>405</sup> Wikipedia claims that between 3,000 to 5,000 souls were relaxed by the Inquisition and this represent approximately 2.7% of all the cases that it handled. While that number pales before those murdered in the 1391 pogroms in Spain and the much larger numbered murdered by the Nazis, living deaths, decades of imprisonment, destruction of families and people that spanned centuries created its own living hell and that misery cannot be measured. Perhaps the last line of the chapter should be a quote from Henry Charles Lea, "The inquisitors labored long to save his soul by inducing him to recant without success; he was pertinacious to the last and was burnt alive in the Seville auto of October

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<sup>402</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 102-103.

<sup>403</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 2*, 206.

<sup>404</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 26.

<sup>405</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 48.

28, 1703 – one of those martyrs whose constancy explains why Judaism has been indestructible.”<sup>406</sup>

#### Chapter Four: The Non-Theologic Impact of the Inquisition on Spain

The question arises as to how destructive the Spanish Inquisition was on the long and short term military, political, economic, and sociological well-being of Spain. Spain was considered the foremost religiously Catholic country in the world. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were given the title from the Church as the Catholic Monarchs. At the height of its power, at the time England confronted the Spanish Armada, it was Spain that was considered the super power with England being thought of as a backwater country with a pirate mercenary navy. If there was a second superpower in the world it was Portugal. (*To Rule the Waves*) In that same book the author claims that the defeat of the Spanish Armada was a myth cooked up by the English Queen’s courtier and in fact the Armada was never defeated. In fact two additional armadas were built in Spain but never set sail. At that time wooden frame ships in the ocean would rot if left in salt water. It was only later that the innovation of copper bottoms for wooden ships was adopted that wooden ships had a longer life. This chapter is aimed at seeing what caused the decline of Spain and to what extent the Spanish Inquisition contributed to that decline. In history perception often trumps reality and the beginning of the fall of Spain may have started with the myth of the defeat of the Armada by England. The defeats of Spain in the nineteenth and twentieth century was certainly no myth.

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<sup>406</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 3, 192.

The inspection and confiscations of books even hidden in crates containing other goods caused endless periods of time lost docked in the ports of Spain Visitas de Navios creating ports that merchants disliked to enter. With the wealth of Spain and its colonies in the new world merchants should have been straining at the bit to enter these ports but the Inquisition turned the tables and made it an area to avoid. In January 1632 the king sent a letter to the ports complaining that the abuse of ships in the ports leading to damage of cargo and vessels, the endless stays and inspections had severely damaged commerce and he asked what could be done about it?<sup>407</sup> In the end the situation did not change. Complaints from the Dutch, French, and English ambassadors of the delays on offloading ships to the damage caused to them in Balboa because of the time spent going through the vessels in search for hidden books went unheeded. The Suprema responded in a way to make it understood that it was willing to get embroiled in a dispute with much of Europe and lose all the attendant trade rather than spend more money on salaries to hire more inspectors who would respect the property of others.<sup>408</sup> In Barcelona the situation was significantly better and the most careful inspection was made only to ascertain if Jews were onboard.<sup>409</sup>

It is clear that those with wealth were forced to cross borders to preserve their lives and wealth. In some cases they crossed back and forth between the countries of Iberia. In other cases they left the peninsula. As an example of the flight of capital and loss of economically productive members of society that several hundred Converso families left Barcelona for France obviously taking their wealth with them in November and December 1485.<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 511.

<sup>408</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 517.

<sup>409</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 518.

<sup>410</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 14.

The use of licenses to allow books to enter or remain in the country negatively impacted on Spain's ability to advance in many spheres. The authority to issue licenses for books was debated and fought over, pitting the pope against the Suprema.<sup>411</sup> There was a sharp drop off in number of cases brought over banned books later on reflecting on the intellectual stunting of Spain.<sup>412</sup> In 1814 the Inquisition was restored to censorship of the press and it worked to suppress all politically revolutionary literature.<sup>413</sup> The Inquisition thus was allied with the conservative political forces against the more democratic forces. The democratic forces may have brought more enlightenment into the country. Spanish literature and the arts were also stifled by the Inquisition. Despite having said all this liberal new ideas did penetrate Spain often coming from France. If it came from nobility the Inquisition was reticent about objecting by the mid eighteenth century. When, however, a health officer made some liberal remarks this was viewed as an opportunity for the tribunal to make its mark.<sup>414</sup> Henry Kamen is of the opinion that discussions of political affairs was tolerated.<sup>415</sup>

The impediments to academia cannot be too greatly stressed. Anything written or said was subject to the investigation of the Inquisition. Professors who gave lectures had to be careful and even the hasty notes written by students could be used in the tribunals by the prosecutors. Books written could take months to get a license to publish if ever. All this of course had economic repercussions and everyone felt that they were standing on the abyss.<sup>416</sup> Thus Spanish

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<sup>411</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 524.

<sup>412</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 527.

<sup>413</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 3*, 544.

<sup>414</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 114.

<sup>415</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 135.

<sup>416</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 57.



intellect wasted its efforts on minutia.<sup>417</sup> Further isolating Spain King Philip II issued a decree in 1558 prohibiting Spaniards from studying in foreign universities.<sup>418</sup>

Technologically however Spain was behind the rest of Europe. Spanish printing was inferior to the rest of Europe. When Philip II needed technological consultant he called in Belgians, Germans and Italians.<sup>419</sup> Grand tours by members of the noble class in Europe to increase its education skipped Spain. It was common to criticize the Castilian elite by Italian and Germans for their lack of cultural sophistication.<sup>420</sup>

While the financial figures were not compiled as to the loss to Spain of economic activity the financier who had lent King Philip IV 100,000 ducats was fined by the Inquisition 300,000 ducats. The Saravaria family was subject to financially crippling confiscations as was the Pasarino and Pino family.<sup>421</sup> In 1655, four wealthy Portuguese merchants were seized in Seville. The tax collecting members of the Cardoso family who were prominent merchant fled to Amsterdam for greater safety away from the Inquisition. The Cardoso brothers who were being blackmailed also fled.<sup>422</sup> A midnight reign netted 14 Portuguese merchants on September 13, 1655.<sup>423</sup> These caused the financiers who offered the Crown relief to disappear.<sup>424</sup> It can easily be presumed that this financially impacted on the economic health of Spain when these people who constituted a significant portion of the economic engine and the subsequent generation were removed. Thus a large increase in the late 17th century emigration of Portuguese New Christians resulted from the action of the Spanish Inquisition.

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<sup>417</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Volume 4*, 63.

<sup>418</sup> Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*, 42.

<sup>419</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 135.

<sup>420</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 135.

<sup>421</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 291-292.

<sup>422</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 293.

<sup>423</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 293.

<sup>424</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 294.

To summarize the Inquisition interfered with the intellectual and economic advancement of Spain. Trade and commerce was hindered by the Inquisition which placed its own agenda above the welfare, economic and military survival of the nation. The added cost of trading with Spain, the risks of ships being delayed in port for prolonged periods of time, and the threat to Protestants had its impact. Many of those Jewish families who by their wealth and acumen were forced to depart negatively impacted on Spain. Culturally the Iberian Peninsula which had been at the forefront of civilization under the Ummayyads was severely incapacitated. The economic opportunities created by discovering and colonizing the New World should have enhanced the position of Iberia but instead was squandered as was the intellectual lead. “The splendid promise of the sixteenth century was blasted by the steady repression of all originality and progress, and Spain, from the foremost of the nations became the last.”<sup>425</sup>

#### Chapter Five: Prologue to the Holocaust

Having thus completed our review of the Spanish Inquisition, we will move forward and discuss the history, society and players into which the Holocaust was born. The surrender of the Entente, ending the First World War, and the prolonged peace conference and the demand for reparations greatly humiliated the German people. As the world economy collapsed in the depression and as the German Mark was destroyed by inflation the people of Germany suffered greatly and the opportunity for the right wing parties and the communist parties to grow was significant. The German people based on Wilson’s 14 points, the Germans stand against the Bolsheviks, and their agreement to rid themselves Hohenzollerns created the expectation that the Allies would offer them a treaty that they thought would be reasonable by the German’s

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<sup>425</sup> Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Volume 4, 55.

standards. The German people forgot the fact that the peace treaty they signed with Russia deprived the Soviets of 56,000,000 people or 32% of its population, 73% of its iron ore, plus 6 billion marks in reparation. The Germans did not expect the Allies would use this as the yardstick as to what type of peace to offer the Germans.<sup>426</sup> Evidently, what Germany felt that what was appropriate for the Russians the Germans felt was too onerous for them. Even Lord Keynes the British economist was appalled by the terms of the peace treaty and referred to it as a “Carthaginian Peace”. The terms of the peace treaty of Versailles was published May 7, 1919. Terms of the treaty included heavy reparations in species and natural raw material, limitations on the German armed forces, Alsac Loraine to be returned to France, some territory to Belgium and other territory to Denmark, and some land to the Polish Government (Polish people were considered as inferiors by many who accepted the Aryan Philosophy) that split Germany into two disconnected land masses.<sup>427</sup> Many of the right and left wing political parties in Germany considered this a stab in the back and Hitler felt more betrayed by his fellow countrymen and the Jews than by the Allies. In reality Germany had little choice but to accept the terms as they could not militarily withstand an attack from the west and they would realistically be quickly defeated. The Weimar Republic was told that it would either sign the treaty by June 24, 1919 or the armistice would come to an end and the war would resume. Field Marshall Hindenburg dumped the responsibility on General Groener who notified the cabinet that there was really no option and with only a few hours remaining on the ultimatum the National Assembly agreed to the terms of the treaty.<sup>428</sup> A rampant inflation ensued and the German mark which traded at

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<sup>426</sup> William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1960), 57.

<sup>427</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 58.

<sup>428</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 56.

initially 4 marks to the dollar collapsed.<sup>429</sup> When France occupied the Ruhr on January 23, 1923 and because Germany failed in its reparations, it fell to 18,000 marks to the US dollar and by August 1, 1923 it was a million marks to the dollar and by November, 1923 to four billion marks to the dollar.<sup>430</sup> This obviously created economic paralysis especially for the working class. If the Weimar Republic had had the political backbone to increase taxes the problem may have been partially relieved, but it didn't and the situation deteriorated. The Weimar Republic's Constitution was an extremely progressive document. It included a bill of rights, guaranteed universal suffrage (Jews were included), a welfare system, and a parliamentary system with proportional representation.<sup>431</sup> Those who blithely say that the German experience cannot happen here because of our constitution best remember Benjamin Franklin's response to a person who asked after the Constitutional Convention what they made, answered "A republic if you can keep it."

Hitler, at this stage, did not, blame the Allies as much of internal traitors, politicians without backbone and most prominently the Jews. Hitler was building up the Nazi Party as a political force but it had not yet developed the strength to take command. In a premature action he started a rebellion using the reputation and support of the legendary, but stupid, General Ludendorff to stage a putsch from a beer hall. They were able to face down one police detachment but the next detachment armed with carbines was not as easily intimidated. Reminiscent of the shot heard round the world of the American Revolution no one knew who fired the first shot, some claim it was Hitler.<sup>432</sup> The General refused to hide but eyewitnesses

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<sup>429</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 51.

<sup>430</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 61.

<sup>431</sup> Anthony J. Sciolino, *The Holocaust, The Church, and the Law of Unintended Consequences*, (Bloomington: iUniverse, Inc. 2014), 77.

<sup>432</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 74

claimed that Hitler dove for cover. Hitler was seen to run away and leave his fallen comrades. It is not the intent here to call Hitler a physical coward in all cases because in other situations Hitler showed physical courage. On April 27, 1919 he claimed to have faced down those who wanted to arrest him with his carbine.<sup>433</sup> There does not seem to be any challenges that both of his medals the Iron Cross Second Class and the Iron Cross First Class was earned by him. Hitler was placed on trial for this act of revolution but his final remarks at the trial was, "I alone bear the responsibility. But I am not a criminal because of that. If today I stand here as a revolutionary, I t is a revolutionary against the revolution. There is no such thing as high treason against the traitors of 1918."<sup>434</sup> Hitler as the consummate politician was well prepared to take advantage of any political opportunity that passed his way and knew how to present things in a way that would enhance his position. Four men were placed on trial for high treason. General Ludendorff who had the courage not to flee and proudly marched forward during the demonstration as others ran for cover from the gunfire was acquitted. Gustav von Kahr who was State commissioner of Bavaria and had been defiant of Berlin's orders including those shutting down Hitler's newspaper, *Voelkischer Beobachter*<sup>435</sup> was convicted. Colonel Hans von Seisser the head of the Bavaria state police was also convicted. Before the final demonstration began for the putsch, Hitler threatened with his pistol which he claimed had four bullets, Kahr, Seiser, and Lossow (Minister of the National Army) (General Lundendorft had not yet arrived) and then commit suicide if they did not follow his orders. His intention was to become head of state and have the others fill various ministerial positions.<sup>436</sup> Kahr showing courage at this meeting said it was of no matter to him if he was executed. General Ludendorff then appeared at the meeting as the

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<sup>433</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 208.

<sup>434</sup> Quoted in Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 75-76.

<sup>435</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 66.

<sup>436</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 69.

march began and Hitler took personal charge of the general and this gave Lossow, Kahr, and Seiser the opportunity to disappear. As mentioned during the demonstration Hitler hid from the bullets being fired. According to eyewitnesses Hitler was the first to flee and leave his wounded colleagues to their own fate. Hitler would return on future anniversaries of November 8<sup>th</sup>'s march after he assumed power to the beer hall and honor the 16 Nazis who had perished, to honor their memory, but always neglecting to mention that he abandoned them. At the trial Hitler said "For it is not you gentlemen, who pass judgement on us. That judgement is spoken by the eternal court of history. What judgement you will hand down I know. But that court will not ask us, did you commit high treason or did you not?' That court will judge us. The quartermaster general of the old army (Ludendorff), his officers and soldiers, as Germans who want only the good of their own people and Fatherland, who wanted to fight and die. You may pronounce us guilty a thousand times over, but the goddess of the eternal court of history will smile and tear to tatters the brief of the state prosecutor and the sentence of this court. For she acquits us."<sup>437</sup> Despite the fact that the Constitution prescribed life imprisonment for those who committed high treason he was only sentenced to five years. Attempt to deport Hitler as a foreign national, he had Austrian citizenship, failed. He only served 6 months of the sentence prior to being paroled. It would be interesting but probably fruitless to speculate how the world would have changes had the Weimar Republic incarcerated this man for life? Many times in history heads of state had their hands on the enemies, who later brought down their regimes, and just threw away the opportunity. For example we can think of Castro being held by Batista and Nelson Mandela being held by the apartheid state of South Africa. Some may have thought this was Hitler's end, but he and his party knew how to capitalize on this and it made him a national figure. He was

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<sup>437</sup> Quoted in Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 78.

incarcerated at Landsberg where he was given luxurious quarters and started dictating his book *Mein Kampf* or *My Struggle* to Emil Maurice and later to his fellow inmate Rudolf Hess. The sales of his book, despite Nazi propaganda to the reverse, were not stellar until he became Chancellor in 1933. Even then it is not clear how many people could plough through this rambling, poorly constructed, and frankly boring prose and bought it more for the sake of appearance. From 1925 through 1929 only 32,672 books were sold. As the fortune of the Nazi Party rose and as the book came out with a less expensive edition sales in 1930 rose to 54,086 copies.<sup>438</sup> When he became Chancellor he sold a million copies. In the next chapter we will review Hitler's book in depth but the author of *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* said it well when he wrote "But it might be argued that had more non-Nazi Germans read it before 1933 and had the foreign statesman of the world perused it carefully while there was still time, both Germany and the world might have been saved from catastrophe."<sup>439</sup> Street hawkers in Germany would then sell pictures of Frederick the Great adjoining Bismarck, Hindenburg, and Hitler with the quote: What the King conquered, the Prince formed, the Field Marshal defended, the Soldier saved and unified."<sup>440</sup> The term Third Reich is derived from the First Reich being the Holy Roman Empire, and the Second Reich being the regime of Prussia under the guidance of Bismarck, and the Third Reich was the era belonging to Hitler.

When Hitler was released from prison in 1924 five days before Christmas his political chance of success seemed dismal, even to former party members. The financial Guru Horace Greeley Schacht had helped put in place a financial system that reorganized the German currency. The Dawes plan called for a reduction of the reparations to levels the German economy could tolerate

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<sup>438</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 80-81.

<sup>439</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 81.

<sup>440</sup> Quoted in Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 90.

and further called for the evacuation of the Ruhr by the Belgium and Dutch and helped reorganize the German currency under the Reichsmark. American financier, J.P. Morgan, who basically functioned as a United States central bank (which went out of existence during the administration of Andrew Jackson) helped float a \$200 million loan which kept Germany solvent. With all these positive events the German economy started to return to tolerable positions and that with the return of national pride as plans were made for the Ruhr to be returned to German sovereignty and plans to admit Germany into the League of Nations, made Hitler's prospect look bleak to many exclusive of Hitler. In addition to this, plans were under way to expel Hitler from Germany.<sup>441</sup> Hitler was also forbidden to speak in public till 1927.<sup>442</sup>

From 1925 till the onset of the 1929 Depression the Nazi party did not do well. Hitler recognized that the prosperity of Germany was dependent upon the prosperity in the United States and its ability to continue lending money to Germany. Without these loans Germany could not pay its reparations. In 1928 the Nazis garnered only 810,000 votes out of 31,000,000 votes cast and was more the butt of jokes than a party taken seriously. Hitler's approach at that point was to gain power through the ballot box.<sup>443</sup> The Nazi party developed at this time two sections. PO I was designed to undermine the government with its own press office, labor union office, and foreign affairs office and PO II office was a government within a government with its own labor, agriculture, justice, and interior cabinet offices.<sup>444</sup> An S.A. office (better known as Brown Shirts) was set up with several hundred thousand goons to protect Nazi Party events and disrupt unfavorable groups. They also set up the S.S. which was initiated as bodyguards for Hitler but eventually became an organ for terror under Himmler. The basic concept already in the

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<sup>441</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 112.

<sup>442</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 129.

<sup>443</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 118.

<sup>444</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 120.



execution phase was to have the party prepared to take over the state government once the party destroyed the former republic. The party attracted so many people of low moral status that it became necessary to establish a court to keep all the embarrassing internal disruptions quiet.<sup>445</sup>

With the onset of the Depression Hitler found the long awaited opportunity to win major political support and victories. Adding to his opportunities Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann, who was responsible for bringing Germany into the League of Nations, negotiated the Dawes and Young Treaty and the Locarno Pact which regained for Germany most of its lost territories, died several weeks before the stock market crashed which foreshadowed the Depression. "Like most great revolutionaries he could thrive only in evil times, at first when masses were unemployed, hungry and desperate and later when they were intoxicated by war. Yet in one respect he was unique among history's revolutionaries: He intended to make his revolution after achieving political power."<sup>446</sup> In other words, he achieved political dominance under the rules of the Weimar Republic rather than by military action and then instituted his revolution. Using the despair of the people he campaigned to gain more political power for his party. In the 1930 election his party from a poultry 810,000 votes garnered 6,409,000 votes moving it in parliament from the 9th party position to second place. Hitler recognized the need to bring industrial leaders and more importantly the Wehrmacht into his political camp. General Groener, Minister of Defense, continued the military's opposition to the Nazi party and three officers were put on trial for high treason for distributing Nazi propaganda. Hitler arranged for their defense by providing two highly competent, Nazi attorney, Hans Frank and Carl Sacks. To convert this into a show trial Hitler testified on behalf of the defendants stating that the party had no intention of a military takeover but solely to use constitutional means for the party to take power. Hitler thus

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<sup>445</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 122.

<sup>446</sup> Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 135.

used their trial as a political stage. The officers were convicted but sentenced to only 18 months imprisonment. It is relevant in order to understand *Mein Kampf* to read Hitler's last statement at the end of the trial. When asked by the President of the court if he repudiated an earlier statement that "heads will roll in the sand" Hitler responded: "I can assure you that when the Nationalist Socialist movement is victorious in this struggle, then there will be a National Socialist Court of Justice too. Then the November 1918 revolution will be avenged and heads will roll!"<sup>447</sup> The relevance of this statement is that even at this point Hitler did not shy from speaking publicly of his true agenda and we must review *Mein Kampf* with care and the respect that it probably reflected his true agenda. Hitler then progressively pursued the support of both the military and also the captains of industry. At this point no party could gain a majority. The government fell many times but President Hindenburg tried to avoid appointing Hitler as chancellor. With no party able to secure a majority, the economy in disarray, the people individually in financial distress, the German pride shrinking despite getting international concession, the governments were constantly falling. The Nazi party was not on a consistent upward trajectory. In the November 6, 1932 the Nazi party received two million votes less than in the previous election and lost 34 seats in the Reichstag to then have only 196 seats out of 585 seats. The party thus lost its aura of invincibility. In addition to this the party was running out of money and could not afford another election. The position for the chancellorship was sought by many of the parties, but coalitions could not be organized. Eventually running out of options and fearing that the government and the state would literally disintegrate forced the other parties to offer the position of chancellor to Hitler. He presumably made some concessions to the other parties, but with his past history they would have been fools to believe him. Hitler's biggest advantage was similar to

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<sup>447</sup> Quoted in Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 141.

the Inquisitorial Tribunal that would not admit failure nor defeat. The ability to move forward despite the opposition and ignore the actions of superiors, and other people at your level, and competitors is a powerful and often decisive weapon. On March 23, 1933 the Weimar ceased to exist in all but name. The Reichstag, ceded all its legislative power in all emergencies to Hitler and his cabinet. Hitler promised that this bill, that was referred to as The Enabling Act, would never effect the Church and would be used in cases of emergency only. It is hard to imagine with our retrospectoscope that anyone would believe these blatant lies from Hitler. The German Social democrats voted unanimously against the bill. Hitler then showed his true colors: “You come late but yet you come... You are no longer needed... The star of Germany will rise and yours will sink. Your death knell has sounded... I do not want your votes. Germany will be free, but not through you.”<sup>448</sup> Hitler by this time had either expelled or had the S.A. deal with the communist but he needed the Catholic Center party to get the bill passed. The Catholic Center Party constrained by the concordats signed by Pope Pius XI and negotiated by the Secretary of State Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, who shortly became Pope Pius XII supported the Enabling Act and finished off the republic. Many opportunities existed to stop this evil man but because of his single minded pursuit of his objectives and the disorganization, greed, exhaustion, and stupidity of his opponents the world endured over a decade of horror. At the conclusion of this paper we will try to summarize the wasted opportunities in both tragic epoch that are the basis of this paper.

## Chapter Six: Excerpt from Mein Kampf

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<sup>448</sup> Quoted in Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 199.

A significant area of scholarship has developed surrounding the evolution of the agenda for the Final Solution. The major area of controversy involves the question as to whether the Nazi leadership always intended to exterminate the Jews or to simply make Europe free of Jews and had no concern as to the survival of the Jewish people outside of Europe at least initially? It would be instructive to review Hitler's solitary major literary work, *Mein Kampf*. Hitler's autobiographical, philosophical, political, and self-aggrandizing and solitary major work is poorly constructed. His plans evolved over time and changed with world events but this works give us a chance to have access to the deeper inner thoughts of this heinous madmen. In reviewing his book it is not the purpose of this paper to divine out whom the book influenced but rather look in depth into the heart of the perpetrator of the Holocaust and a world tragedy. A question arises as to why Hitler would in such a public document reveal his inner thoughts and secret plans? Several possible answers include his ego being so great that he thought that in any event he was unstoppable, or his need for money. Unlike many of his subordinates his personal drive for wealth did not seem to be that great. It is possible that he thought that his work would attract supporters and he either did not think the opposition would read his work or simply ignore its conclusions. He may have felt that the opposition would not be in a position to stop him. He probably believed that fate was on his side and that the tide of history could not be deterred.

The book begins as an autobiographical sketch starting with his childhood and his life with his parents. His father was a civil servant who retired to become a farmer. Some of the salient points of this history, his father whom Hitler describes as a very stern man who was driven wanted Adolf to follow in his footsteps and learn to be a civil servant. He strongly discouraged or forbade a course of study in the arts, history or politics. They had many arguments over this issue. From his study of history Hitler developed strong political opinions.

The father died when Hitler was only 13 years old. Because Hitler became ill his mother allowed him to pursue his artistic talent and discontinue the schooling aimed at having Hitler become a civil servant. He was rejected from art school and Hitler's mother passed away when he was quite young, leaving him to fend for himself financially. He then took up residence in Vienna. During this period, he worked as a laborer and hunger was always a constant companion. Later for a living he painted water colors and while this only provided minimal sustenance, it did provide him time to pursue his self-study. He claims his political opinion evolved over time. Initially he thought that the concept of social democracy was a positive.<sup>449</sup> He however always opposed trade unionism and communism and as he discussed the concepts and read more his opposition to them grew. He argued that the stupid bourgeoisie by opposing the reasonable demands of workers foolishly drove the laborers politically to the left.<sup>450</sup> He felt that the part of unions that try to better the lot of workers benefits the nation.<sup>451</sup> Hitler claims not to have been originally an anti-Semite. "For the Jew was still characterized for me by nothing but his religion, and therefore, on grounds of human tolerance, I maintained my rejection of religious attacks in this case as in others. Consequently, the tone particularly that of the Viennese anti-Semitic press seemed to me unworthy of the cultural tradition of a great nation."<sup>452</sup> He also wrote "I was not in agreement with sharp antisemitism tone, but from time to time I read arguments which gave me some food for thought."<sup>453</sup> He already at this stage in life claimed a strong anti-French bias.

Hitler delineated his basic philosophy when he wrote "For me and all true National Socialists there is but one doctrine: people and fatherland. What we must fight for is to safeguard the

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<sup>449</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 37.

<sup>450</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 45.

<sup>451</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 46.

<sup>452</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 52.

<sup>453</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55.

existence and reproduction of our race and our people, the sustenance of our children and the purity of our blood, the freedom and independence of the fatherland, so that our people may mature for the fulfillment of the mission allotted it by the creator of the universe.”<sup>454</sup> Hitler claimed to have received card member number 7 to the German Workers Party, the precursor to the Nazi Party, but that was probably a lie.<sup>455</sup> He was probably 555 and he altered his membership card to make himself appear as a charter member. Hitler did not believe in democratic principles. A strong smart leader is what is required. Perhaps the leader needs to be elected to take charge but then he should not rely on the opinion of the masses. Once elected he does not have to follow the lead of the masses. If he infringes on the principles of the movement he should be subject to recall but in daily decisions he should make his own decisions.<sup>456</sup> The man in charge needs three distinct characteristics that do not necessarily overlap. In so far as some members may not have all three characteristics, caution must be used to find a man who does. He needs to be a theoretician and programmer. He needs to develop theoretical models that activity should be based on. He needs to be an organizer that almost works as a psychologist knowing people’s strengths and weaknesses and how to harness these characteristics. Lastly he needs to be a leader. This implies an agitator. He must be able to move the masses.<sup>457</sup> As the movement spreads the central leadership organization needs to retain its supreme authority.<sup>458</sup> He felt that the Nazi Party should not join with any other party and its members must recognize that they must strive for the party’s ideals. He in this way compares it to Christianity that would not negotiate nor compromise any of its principles.<sup>459</sup> Any member not slandered by the Jewish

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<sup>454</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 214.

<sup>455</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, xviii.

<sup>456</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 344-346.

<sup>457</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 580.

<sup>458</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 348.

<sup>459</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 351.

press is suspect. If you are not hated by your enemies you are not worth much as a friend.<sup>460</sup> The first job of the party is to end its obscurity.<sup>461</sup> The concept of folk or volk is at the heart of the Nazi party. “the folkish philosophy finds the importance of mankind in its basic racial elements.”<sup>462</sup> “Thus it by no means believes in an equality of races but along with their differences it recognize their higher or lesser value and feels itself obligated through this knowledge to promote the victory of the better and stronger and demand the subordination of the inferior or weaker in accordance with the eternal will that dominates the universe.”<sup>463</sup> It also believed in the different value of different individuals. As part of this concept it is wrong to take away part of the religious education and fail to replace it with some moral education and if done this would cause grave damage.<sup>464</sup> We need practical political ideas to put good ideas into practice.

As mentioned earlier Hitler claimed to have been in his youth open minded about antisemitism and perhaps even opposed to it but as time passed he developed strong antipathy to the Jews. He then mentions that as he studied the issues more deeply in press, theater, art, and literature that the “This was spiritual pestilence worse than the Black Death of olden times.”<sup>465</sup> He asks “Is this why the Jews are called the “chosen people?””<sup>466</sup> He also based this hate on the Jews relation to prostitution and the white-slave traffic.<sup>467</sup> He then recognized that the Jews were the leaders of the Social Democrats which he abhorred.<sup>468</sup> They also controlled the press for the Social Democrats. “I had at last come to the conclusion that the Jew was no German.”<sup>469</sup> but

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<sup>460</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 363.

<sup>461</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 353.

<sup>462</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 383.

<sup>463</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 383.

<sup>464</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 379.

<sup>465</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 58.

<sup>466</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 58.

<sup>467</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 59.

<sup>468</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 60.

<sup>469</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 61.

rather a seducer of Germans. He then writes “I had ceased to be a weak-kneed cosmopolitan and become an anti-Semite.”<sup>470</sup> The Jewish press puts out the vilest slander on people of better principals.<sup>471</sup> In the electoral process the Jews act as wire pullers (puppeteers)<sup>472</sup> Hitler claims “The Jewish state was never spatially limited in itself, but universally unlimited as to space, though restricted in the sense of embracing but one race. Consequently, this people has always formed a state within states. It is one of the most ingenious tricks that was ever devised, to make the state sail under the flag of “religion,” thus assuring it of the tolerance which the Aryan is always ready to accord a religious creed.”<sup>473</sup> (This of course flies in the face of history when the Jews predominantly lived in Israel. It also ignores the Jewish prayers to be returned to the Jewish homeland in Israel.) Hitler does not hesitate to use sarcasm when he derides Jews. “The English could supply the merchants, the Germans the administrative officials, and the Jews no doubt would have to sacrifice themselves to being the owners, since by their own admission they never make any money, but always “pay,” and besides speak the most languages.”<sup>474</sup> Of the era of World War I Hitler wrote “It would have been the duty of a serious government, now that the German worker has found his way back to his nation, to exterminate (? initiate final solution?) mercilessly the agitators (obviously referring to Jews and Marxists) who were misleading the nation”<sup>475</sup> “All the impediments of military power should have been ruthlessly used for the extermination of this pestilence.”<sup>476</sup> Can there be any doubt that the Final Solution was already Hitler’s objective. About the era of World War I: “The offices were filled with Jews. Nearly

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<sup>470</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 64.

<sup>471</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 86.

<sup>472</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 90.

<sup>473</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 150.

<sup>474</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 157.

<sup>475</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 169.

<sup>476</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 169.



every clerk was a Jew and nearly every Jew was a clerk. I was amazed at this plethora of warriors of the chosen people and could not help but compare them with their rare representatives at the front.”<sup>477</sup> Again Hitler uses sarcasm and doesn’t hesitate to imply phony statistics. He also claims that the war corporations run by Jews were sucking the blood out of the economy.<sup>478</sup> He argues that domestic disputes between Bavaria and Prussia gave the Jews a chance to organize a revolution that smashed both political entities.<sup>479</sup> The Jew appears at new settlements and gradually and insidiously moves into economic roles and settles in certain neighborhoods. Steadily he moves into commerce and charges high interest rates. The Jew then reveals his true character by flattering those whom he needs and bribing princes who are in desperate need of his money and grants the Jews patents and privileges. The Jew makes sure he is in the court of the rulers. Some Jews masquerade as friends of the people and pretends to be a benefactor. Despite the Jews advocating self-sacrifice they never become impoverished. The Jews become liberal and also use the stock market to gain power and for the same reason he tries to tear down racial barriers to gain more power. The Jews use Freemasonry and the press as tools toward their ends. The Jews believe in segregation but sometimes for their own purposes will palm off a women on an unsuspecting Christian. His ultimate goal is the success of democracy or parliamentarianism to gain his ends. The Jew strives to create the false impression that he is insignificant. He need to get rid of craftsmen so all will be part of the proletariat. Jew cause people to do just manual labor for which he has contempt. It is ironic that Hitler refers to the masses with contempt as stupid, yet these are the people he wants to nurture, protect, and be his constituency The Jew falsely attack the international system but in truth his object is the

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<sup>477</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 193.

<sup>478</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 193.

<sup>479</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 194.

destruction of the national economy. With the removal of racial separation he is ready to dominate. The Jew will sacrifice the intellectuals in his race if needed. In addition to the two political alignments that were already mentioned the Jew then turns to communism. He uses trade unionism to recruit for the communist party. The other function of trade unionism is to shatter the national economy. The Jews dominate because of the inner cowardice of upper class, the stupidity of the masses, and state officials hiding in fear of the Jewish press. The Jews want the defeat of the white race and cause its bastardization because it can more easily dominate the other races. At this point in their venture the Jews throw off their democratic cloak and support tyranny. The loss of purity of blood destroys any chance of happiness.<sup>480</sup> In this section Hitler manages to explain the contradictory complaints that the Jew is both a capitalist and a communist. He claims basically that this is a pincer movement to destroy the culture of the world and that the international Jewish conspiracy is just using both sides to destroy world culture and feed off the carcass. Hitler is very clumsy in his approach and puts a letter next to each point but they are not consecutively lettered and are muddled.

The book reviews the dangers of a pandemic which he views as a great threat to the survival of the Aryan race. The pandemic he is referring to is syphilis for which he of course blames the Jews. "This Jewification of our spiritual life and mammonization of our mating instinct will sooner or later destroy our entire offsprings....Love finds its outlet elsewhere".<sup>481</sup> Hitler calls for ruthless measures to stop the scourge. Again he approaches this problem by saying the masses are stupid and therefore they should only be told one part of the program at a time. He call for

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<sup>480</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 308-329.

<sup>481</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 247.

the end of prostitution and for its replacement with early marriage. The sick must be mercilessly segregated.<sup>482</sup>

Hitler had a very strong hatred for Marxists. “Marxism, whose goal is and remains the destruction of all non-Jewish states.”<sup>483</sup> “Kaiser William II was the first German Emperor to hold out a conciliatory hand to the leaders of Marxism without suspecting the scoundrels have no national honor. While they still held the imperial hand in theirs, their other hand was reaching for the dagger. There is no making a pacts with Jews; there can only be the hard either-or.”<sup>484</sup> Hitler felt that the internationalization of German heavy industry including the takeover of the railroads was a step on the road to Marxism.<sup>485</sup> Marxists will march with democracy until they figure out how to overthrow it.<sup>486</sup> (While condemning this practice that is in effect exactly what the Nazis did to gain control of the German government. They used the rules of parliament to become the ruling party. They, however, broke those rules to form a fascist government by passing the Enabling Act. This was accomplished by preventing the communist members of parliament from voting).

The Bourgeois tend to have excuses for everything but no resolve. The Bourgeois have become worthless not from malice but indolence. Their political groups and professional associations only represent their narrow political, financial, and social needs.<sup>487</sup> Their political meetings are too intellectual and boring.

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<sup>482</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 255.

<sup>483</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 168.

<sup>484</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 206.

<sup>485</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 235.

<sup>486</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 376.

<sup>487</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 405-407.

Racial purity was one of the basic tenets of the Nazi Party. He argued basically for inbreeding but what he failed to recognize is that inbreeding creates genetic problems.<sup>488</sup> By inbreeding diseased autosomal recessive traits are more likely to appear on both chromosomes of some individuals with devastating consequences. He used the argument that those genetically pure Germans in the Americas have risen to the top of society.<sup>489</sup> His thought that racial mixing dilutes out the good genetic factors is scientifically flawed. Jews teach bad concept such as pacifism which Germans must overcome.<sup>490</sup> There are 3 groups that interact with culture. 1) The founders of culture, in which only the Aryan are included. 2) The bearers of culture. 3) The destroyers of culture. The Japanese for example have not founded a new culture they simply stole the Aryan culture and put a different face on it.<sup>491</sup> Fate creates an environment where the latent talent of the Aryans come forth.<sup>492</sup> The greatness of the Aryan culture is based on self-sacrifice.<sup>493</sup> Idealism is basically subordination of the individuals need to that of the community.<sup>494</sup> The Jew is the counterpart to the Aryan.<sup>495</sup> The Jew does not believe in self-sacrifice but his solidarity with other Jews is based on instinct and need for herd protection. In truth the Jew is without intellect and without any true culture.<sup>496</sup> The Jew uses foreign culture and twists it creating the impression that he has culture and intelligence.<sup>497</sup> The Aryan may for a short time be a nomad as when he went to the New World but his long term objectives was to settle down, which he did, and develop a community. The Jew on the other hand was never a nomad but

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<sup>488</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 285.

<sup>489</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 286.

<sup>490</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 289.

<sup>491</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 290.

<sup>492</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 294.

<sup>493</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 97.

<sup>494</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 299.

<sup>495</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 300.

<sup>496</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 302.

<sup>497</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 303.

always a parasite.<sup>498</sup> The Jew lies as part of his religion.<sup>499</sup> The Jew are a people (race) not a religion. The Protocols of Zion are not forgeries but authentic.

Hitler gives a brief accounting of the socialist Kurt Eisner's revolution to overthrow the monarchy. Eisner during the war was accused and convicted of treason for organizing during the war the strike of the munitions workers. After his release from prison he organized a revolt to overthrow the monarchy in Bavaria. He then became the first Jewish republican Premier of Bavaria. He was later assassinated by right wing Germans. Showing his paranoia over this event Hitler wrote: "Eisner's death only hastened the development and finally led a dictatorship of the Councils, or better expressed, to a passing rule of the Jews as had been the original aim of the instigators of the whole revolution."<sup>500</sup>

He also discussed his view of domestic politics. One should abstain from politics till the age of 30.<sup>501</sup> He felt the state of Austria which encompassed so many nations inevitably must fail because of the need of one nationality to rule.<sup>502</sup> The need exists for the central government to control all provinces and cities. To have a uniform nation you need 1) uniform language 2) unified central administration 3) a unified self-consciousness created by a school system and this can take centuries to evolve. 4) political direction with strict uniformity.<sup>503</sup> The German State in Austria survived because of a thin majority but that was eroded by the unreliability of the Social Democrats, and the adoption of universal suffrage.<sup>504</sup> He thought parliamentary debate was the height of idiocy.<sup>505</sup> It does not serve the people because no one bears the responsibility and each

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<sup>498</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 304.

<sup>499</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 305.

<sup>500</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 207.

<sup>501</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 66.

<sup>502</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 69.

<sup>503</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 72.

<sup>504</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 76.

<sup>505</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 79.

one in charge acts out of his own political short term interest.<sup>506</sup> These political leaders live for scandal and feed off of it. Hitler's analysis of the democratic process is encapsulated by his statement: "Sooner will a camel pass through a needle's eye than a great man be "discovered" by an election."<sup>507</sup> The deputies in parliament vote on issues that they cannot understand.<sup>508</sup> The Bourgeois Germans were a pacifist group and helped the German nation in good times but in times of trouble leadership needs to appeal to the masses.<sup>509</sup> "As long as millions of the bourgeoisie still piously worship their Jewish democratic press every morning, it very ill becomes these gentlemen to make jokes about the stupidity of the "comrade" who in the last analysis, only swallows down the same garbage, though in a different form. In both cases the manufacturer is one and the same Jew."<sup>510</sup> The pan-Germanic movement could accomplish nothing as it sold its soul to the parliamentarians and soon became morally corrupt.<sup>511</sup> Hitler who was very opposed to the Habsburg Dynasty felt that by the Habsburgs trying to use the Catholic Church for political purposes caused both the Habsburgs and the Church to lose.<sup>512</sup> (We have previously discussed the Habsburgs use in Spain of both the Church and Inquisition to help with their political agenda.) He makes a clear cut distinction of Frederick the Great as truly being the personification of the great German Aryan race and his need to protect the German volk against the evil incompetent Habsburgs.<sup>513</sup> The state must not only support the procreation of the Aryan race but nurture the Aryans after they are born. Education must involve both the mind and the body. The current two hour voluntary gym in school is inadequate. Boxing is an important

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<sup>506</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 79.

<sup>507</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 88.

<sup>508</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 89.

<sup>509</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 102.

<sup>510</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 173-174.

<sup>511</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 104.

<sup>512</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 93.

<sup>513</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 95.

exercise to nurture the body.<sup>514</sup> By training a coward cannot become brave, but a person of potential can be taught to be brave.<sup>515</sup> By building up the body a world of handsome people will be created that will be attracted to each other and grow the Aryan race.<sup>516</sup> Education must emphasize “loyalty, spirit of sacrifice, and discretion.”<sup>517</sup> In a similar fashion whining and bawling must be discouraged. Education must prioritize learning thing of practical application as learning as to how to earn a living and at the time of the writing of *Mein Kampf* this was not emphasized in Germany.<sup>518</sup> Teaching foreign languages is not practical since only 2% benefit. In teaching history, too much emphasis is placed on names and dates and not broad principles and this needs correction.<sup>519</sup> In the folkish state racial history must be taught.<sup>520</sup> The model of German heroes must be taught. Emphasis must be placed on history of German scientist to instill pride. The advantage of the wealthy is that they will spend more on education and have their children reach the limit of their capacity where they really should not be on par with those naturally gifted. The state must protect those naturally gifted and nurture them.<sup>521</sup> Those trained above their talents work like trained poodles and are not innovative.<sup>522</sup> At this point Hitler mentions the waste of lesser races to be over educated. What the Catholic Church does to combat this problem is that by celibacy those more gifted from the masses have a chance to be educated since the clergy lacks off springs and thus the Church relies on talent rather than nepotism as a yardstick for advancement.<sup>523</sup> This brings into conflict the need to populate the world with

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<sup>514</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 409-410.

<sup>515</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 411.

<sup>516</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 412.

<sup>517</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 416.

<sup>518</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 418.

<sup>519</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 421.

<sup>520</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 422.

<sup>521</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 428.

<sup>522</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 430.

<sup>523</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 432.

Aryans with the opposing obligation to avoid nepotism. After compulsory military service is complete the soldier gets two documents. The first is his citizen's diploma giving him the right to enter public activity. The second is a health certificate to get married.<sup>524</sup> Hitler believed that compulsory military service must last at least two years. Soldiers must be trained for a minimum of 4 to 6 months before they can go into combat. Even then unless these younger soldiers are disbursed among more experienced soldiers the younger ones will quickly be lost.<sup>525</sup> The really frightening part of Hitler's writing is that despite his nauseating racism, some of his programs make sense and so a person of good morality may be drawn to some of his programs and fail to recognize the malicious and heinous current that underlies it all.

The Folkish state has many goals and some of them were of lower priorities. Those placed at a lower priority by Hitler include a better balance of income of rich and poor, broader popular influence on the economy, and less of a wage differential between members of the population. These objectives were of less importance to Hitler as for example compared to racial issues.<sup>526</sup>

From a political perspective if you want to appeal to the masses, it is the spoken rather than the written word that can alter people's position.<sup>527</sup> Hitler learned many of his political skills by studying the Allied propaganda effort. He learned that propaganda should be aimed at the masses not the intelligentsia.<sup>528</sup> Posters and art must not be aimed at stimulating the thought process but more at addressing emotions.<sup>529</sup> Despite him constantly proclaiming that his loyalty is to the masses of the German volk, he in no uncertain terms says their receptivity is limited, they suffer from a lack of intelligence and are very forgetful. Therefore when speaking to the masses only

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<sup>524</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 414.

<sup>525</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 540.

<sup>526</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 443.

<sup>527</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 107.

<sup>528</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 179.

<sup>529</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 180.



address very few points at a time and use slogans.<sup>530</sup> Propaganda must be one sided and not try to be evenhanded.<sup>531</sup> It must be repetitive of very few points.<sup>532</sup> He believed the population fall into three classes. 1) By far the largest is the stupid masses that believe everything they are told. 2) A much smaller group believes nothing of which they read. 3) The last group and by far the smallest are those gifted readers who can read and come to intelligent conclusions.<sup>533</sup> It is interesting that Hitler considers his main constituency to be group one whom throughout the work he refers to as people of limited capacity. The masses do not accept abstract concepts and one must appeal to them utilizing emotions rather than reason. It is inappropriate to use half measures and one should resort to force in regards to policy objectives and pressing the agenda.<sup>534</sup> Racial argument must be pure without any equivocation. Raising the level of the masses will take generations.<sup>535</sup> It is imperative to protect the workers as well as employers to protect the nation.<sup>536</sup> It is more important to attract the masses by homogeneity of argument and this he learned from Marxist policies. Hitler's first major position in the Nazi party was to be head of propaganda.

Hitler argues that what is being viewed as an economic collapse in Germany is really only of secondary importance. The really important role falls to politics, ethics morality and purity of blood.<sup>537</sup> (reminiscent of *limpieza* during the Spanish Inquisition.) He further argued that it takes real arrogance on the part of the Jews to argue that the defeat in the First World War was due to military losses when they were the real cause and were traitors from within.<sup>538</sup> The real tragedy

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<sup>530</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 180.

<sup>531</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 182.

<sup>532</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 184.

<sup>533</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 240.

<sup>534</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 337.

<sup>535</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 339.

<sup>536</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 340.

<sup>537</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 227.

<sup>538</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 228.

for Hitler was not the military defeat but the enemies from within and loss of sense of national purpose. He said, unfortunately, the nation started to worship money rather than put the true emphasis on religion.<sup>539</sup> (This is of course ironic in many ways including Hitler's persecution of religion and as the Third Reich was collapsing and as the rats were leaving the ship, the Nazi upper echelon stole and took the art works and other valuables. In a sense again worshipping financial assets which he calls a Jewish ethic.)

The German Catholic Church did not really protect the German people but sided with the Slavic people and the Habsburgs.<sup>540</sup> The Protestant Church protected the rights of the German people better than the Roman Catholic Church but it was worthless against the real enemy the Jews. (It will be discussed later that the Protestants to a large degree accepted the Nazi Bible which created a myth that Jesus was indeed an Aryan. Approximately 200,000 of these bibles were bought in Germany. This alteration of the Bible was never accepted by the Roman Catholic Church.). Hitler's view of the Church is a bit muddled in this book. He wrote: "Verily a man cannot serve two masters. And I consider the foundation or destruction of a religion far greater than the foundation or destruction of a state, let alone a party."<sup>541</sup> In reference to priests he wrote, "but for one such unworthy priest there are a thousand and more honorable one, shepherds most loyally and devoted to their Mission".<sup>542</sup> He said "When Church dignitaries make use of religious doctrines and institutions or doctrines to injure their nation, we must never follow them on this path and fight with the same methods."<sup>543</sup> He discusses the kulturkampf and says the error of the Pan-Germanic movement and specifically Bismarck to take control over the priests

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<sup>539</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 234.

<sup>540</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 109.

<sup>541</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 114.

<sup>542</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 115.

<sup>543</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 116.

and their sermons, the election of bishops, the concept of the infallibility of the pope, and control of the education system was to enter into a fight that stripped the pan-Germanic movement of many of its best people. The Church on the other hand may have lost a few hundred thousand members but these were marginal at best.<sup>544</sup> In this conflict it pitted Bismarck, who most people felt lost against Pope Pius IX and later Leo XIII both of whom stood their ground. (It is perhaps because of lessons learned here that Hitler had a more favorable outcome when he negotiated with Pope Pius XII, but that is for later discussion.)

The Christian Social Party importantly understood the need to mobilize the masses but had two major vulnerabilities. It by believing and accepting that antisemitism was a religious or philosophical problem and not a racial issue, made a grievous error. It therefore succumbed to the thought that a “splash of baptismal water”<sup>545</sup> made a difference. Its second problem was since it wanted to succeed in Vienna it had to shed some of the ideas of nationalism. In contradistinction the major error of the Pan-Germanic movement was to show the masses too many enemies and as already stated the masses are stupid and this complexity confused them.<sup>546</sup> Hitler attacks the opposition by writing: “If in Germany before the war religious life for many had an unpleasant aftertaste, this could be attributed to the abuse of Christianity on the part of a so-called “Christian” party and the shameless way in which they attempted to identify the Catholic faith with a political party.”<sup>547</sup> Unfortunately, the Christian Social Party would later ignore this attack and vote for the Enabling Act.

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<sup>544</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 117.

<sup>545</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 120.

<sup>546</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 118.

<sup>547</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 268.

Hitler felt the alliance of the Reich with Austria and the Habsburg was a mistake because it diluted the power of the Germans and let a lesser race as the Slavs have power.<sup>548</sup> The German population was growing by 900,000 people per year. Hitler foresaw the inability to feed this growing population based on the land area that they occupy. He argued that there are only four solutions to this problem. The first option is to limit population growth as by discouraging procreation. He refers to this as the French solution. The major problem that he identifies with this solution is that soon some other race will invade and because the indigenous population is kept small the invader will succeed. The second solution is to increase the productivity of the land. The problem with this is that over time people increase their standard of living so that they need more and there is a finite amount as to how much productivity can be increased by. It would therefore result that since the indigenous people would have a higher culture they would tend to be more of pacifists and would therefore be subject to conquest. In addition to this Jews plant a false morality among us so that we could easily be defeated.<sup>549</sup> The third solution is to acquire new soil as by conquest. The last solution is to industrialize and sell industrial products to agriculturally productive areas for life sustaining products as food. Hitler advocated the third option of colonize other lands as this will preserve the German peasant class. In this he advocates a model different from England in that he wants to colonize other parts of Europe. Since English colonies, industrial complexes, and navy in no way disturbed his vision of the future of Germany he advocated an alliance with England on a long term basis and the invasion of the Soviet Union. (Why Stalin ignored this clearly stated plan and was totally unprepared for Operation Barbarossa is one of the mysteries of history). The English were smart enough to use mercenaries and only to dip into their own valuable indigenous population when necessary for military purposes. This

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<sup>548</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 129.

<sup>549</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 133-137.

created the false impression in Germany that the Englishman was a cowardly, spectacle wearing, tailor or businessman that was not a true fighter and this myth made Germany underestimate the English which may have caused its defeat in the First World War.<sup>550</sup> It is men not arms that make a nation great but its determination to fight and be victorious and that is a major reason that he wanted England as an ally.<sup>551</sup> English policy since the time of Queen Elizabeth was directly aimed at continental Europe to prevent a rival from developing that would challenge England's supremacy.<sup>552</sup> England at one point viewed Germany as an economic threat because of German industrialization. In addition to this, England pursued alliances which were in her best interest which Hitler considered appropriate. It is the job of diplomacy not to allow heroic people to perish when it can be avoided. France was England's rival but when Germany crushed France as a major continental power this became a problem for England. At the end of World War I with the ascendancy of France it may have been in England's best interest to ally with Germany but the animosity created as a result of the suffering of the English people during the war would prevent any alliance with Germany.<sup>553</sup> France's need to keep Germany weak is a major problem for Germany and the reason Germany and France cannot be allies. It at this time becomes appropriate for Germany and England to form an alliance.<sup>554</sup> Alliances should not be based on affection but on expediency. There are three reasons why Germany would have a difficulty forming alliances. 1) German leadership has shown severe incompetence and no one would ally with them. 2) The general world impression of the masses is that the German people are robbers, vandals, and Huns and they would not support an alliance with us. 3) The Jews would prevent

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<sup>550</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 144.

<sup>551</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 333.

<sup>552</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 613.

<sup>553</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 616.

<sup>554</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 618.

such an alliance. In reference to France Hitler writes: “For this very reason, France is and remains by far the most terrible enemy. This people, which is basically becoming more and more negrified, constitute in its tie with the aims of the Jewish world domination an enduring danger for the existence of the white race in Europe.”<sup>555</sup> The wire pullers (Jews) want an alliance of Germany with France so that they will sabotage any other potential alliance. As the French occupied the Ruhr this may provide an opportunity for Germany and England to ally. With France having so much coal and steel resources she challenges England as a competitor.<sup>556</sup> The French nation, which is slowly dying out not only with regard to population, but with regard to its best racial elements can in the long run retain its position in the world only if Germany is shattered.<sup>557</sup> In an attempt to prevent an English German alliance the Jews in Germany are fighting to make Germany a sea power so that Germany will be in conflict with Great Britain.<sup>558</sup> Hitler argues that the other German parties greatly underestimate Great Britain’s determination; He gives the example of India which he argues that England will not give up India without shedding the last drop of English blood.<sup>559</sup> England in desperation is snatching at an alliance with Japan and this makes no racial sense.<sup>560</sup> Hitler attacks the idea of an alliance between white Europe and the Asian Japanese but ever practical Hitler makes such an alliance when it suites him. (Despite this Hitler was upset over the Singapore victory of the Japanese over the white English.) The Jews he claims are also hostile to the Japanese.<sup>561</sup> Hitler thus seems to be stating that a German English alliance would be beneficial to both sides. Hitler argues that an alliance

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<sup>555</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 624.

<sup>556</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 676.

<sup>557</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 674.

<sup>558</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 626.

<sup>559</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 658.

<sup>560</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 638.

<sup>561</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 639.

with the Habsburg state was a fatal mistake for Germany. The glue that holds the world powers together is their fear of a rebuilt Germany.<sup>562</sup>

For a country to be a world power it must have a land area of over 500,000 square kilometers. If you consider colonies England and France far surpass it. The Soviet Union and the United States are far larger. The Nazi Party must recognize with the current geographic situation Germany cannot become a world power regardless of its military status. To solve this problem Germany must strive to correct the disproportionate ratio of land to population.<sup>563</sup> “And I must sharply attack those folkish pen-pushers who claim to regard such an acquisition of soil as a “breach of sacred human rights” and attack it as such in their scribblings.”<sup>564</sup> (It cannot be overemphasized that those historians who claim that Hitler’s violation of the Non-Aggression treaty and the commencement of Operation Barbarossa was his worst military blunder failed to understand *Mein Kampf* and his long term goals.) The strategic part of World War II where he abandoned his own plans is the time he became entangled in a war with Great Britain (and eventually the United States.). “For it is not in colonial acquisition that we must see the solution of this problem but exclusively in the acquisition of a territory for settlement which will enhance the area of the mother country, and hence not only keep the new settlers in the most intimate community with the land of their origin, but secure for the total area those advantages which lie in a unified magnitude.”<sup>565</sup> (Hitler here is expressing his concern and possible solution to the population loss to areas such as the New World and thus prevent the weakening the motherland. This is not a unique concern as in the presidential palace in Ireland a candle is kept lit so those Irish who left the homeland will find a way back. What is unique and unacceptable is his plan to

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<sup>562</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 650.

<sup>563</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 646.

<sup>564</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 652.

<sup>565</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 653.

vanquish adjoining land areas and enslaving and exterminating its inhabitant to make room for the Aryans. The land involved referred to large portions of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union) “Today it is not princes and princes’ mistress who haggle and bargain over state borders; it is the inexorable Jew who struggles for his domination over nations.”<sup>566</sup> Hitler claims that the Communist revolution has given Germany a unique opportunity. “Here fate itself seems desirous of giving us a sign. By handing Russia to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian nation of that intelligentsia which previously brought about and guaranteed its existence as a state. For the organization of a Russian state formation was not a result of the political ability of the Slavs in Russia but only a wonderful example of the state-forming efficacy of the German elements in an inferior race.”<sup>567</sup> He claims the upper class of Russia had Germanic blood but now the Jews took over. Before Germany could enter a war it would need to industrialize so it could produce mechanized vehicles without which victory would be impossible.<sup>568</sup> Hitler claims that a peace with the Soviets is impossible. “The fight against Jewish world Bolshevization requires a clear attitude toward Soviet Russia. You cannot drive out the Devil with Beelzebub.”<sup>569</sup> It would appear that even in this statement Hitler would for political expediency ignore temporarily his own long term plans. Prior to the Third Reich successes the Germans had accomplished the colonization of Austria, the colonization of the territory east of the Elbe, and the organization by the Hohenzollern of Prussia as a nucleus for Germany.<sup>570</sup> The two major goals for Germany must be acquisition of territory and a unity of purpose for all the national districts.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>566</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 651.

<sup>567</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 654.

<sup>568</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 660.

<sup>569</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 662.

<sup>570</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 647.

<sup>571</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 649.



The importance of a state being created that has citizens who would willingly sacrifice themselves for the greater good is constantly being reiterated in this work. The idea that prior to the First World War that Germany could become a world power by economic domination misses the whole political point. If economics is what is important then the individual would not sacrifice himself for the state and this mimics the Jews. Hitler felt that the state is primarily formed to preserve the race and functions on instinct not like the Jewish race which lives on evil motivation. “Thus the basic realization is: that the state represents no end, but a means. It is, to be sure, the premise for the formation of a higher human culture, but not its cause, which lies exclusively in the existence of a race capable of culture.”<sup>572</sup> “Hence it is an unbelievable offense to represent the Germanic people of the pre-Christian era as “cultureless” as barbarians. That they never were.”<sup>573</sup> The state never creates ability its function is to provide an open road. Nature loves purity of race. “A folkish state must therefore begin by raising marriage from the level of a continuous defilement of the race, and give it the consecration of an institution which is called upon to produce images of the Lord and not monstrosities halfway between man and ape.”<sup>574</sup> “it bespeaks a nobility of highest idealism and the most admirable humanity if the innocently sick, renouncing a child of his own bestows his love and tenderness upon a poor, unknown young scion of his own nationality.”<sup>575</sup> If celibacy is advocated by the Church shouldn't the state develop certain criteria for racial purity?<sup>576</sup> In the folkish state the inhabitants are divided into three groups, citizens, subjects, and foreigners. The subject born of the correct race and having completed his education that also made him racially conscious, enters the military and completes

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<sup>572</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 391.

<sup>573</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 393.

<sup>574</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 402.

<sup>575</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 404.

<sup>576</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 405.

his physical training and intellectual training and swears an oath of loyalty can only then get a certificate of citizenship which is a most valuable document.<sup>577</sup> The folkish state is unlikely to be realized because of the Jews obstructing it and the power the Jews have garnered to rule.<sup>578</sup> Therefore the first part of the fight to create a folkish state is to change the current power structure. It must be remembered that political parties compromise, but philosophies never do.<sup>579</sup> Only the Nationalist Socialist Party can bring success.<sup>580</sup>

The road to success is based exclusively on struggle and aggressive action.<sup>581</sup> “World history is made by minorities when this minority of number embodies the majority of will and determination. What therefore, may appear as difficulty today is in reality the premise for our victory.”<sup>582</sup> If there is a 51% chance of success we must take that gamble as when we do only things that guarantee success Germany will fail.<sup>583</sup> (This philosophy may explain his action in the second part of his invasion of the Soviet Union.)The road of making humans to being superior to the animal starts with an invention. Man must then use the invention to interact with other humans or animals. The human community is charged with the responsibility of supporting these creative forces. Man’s salvation is not in the masses but in the creative individuals. The Aryans are creative whereas the Jews are destructive. Marxism likewise does not spur creativity. In the folkish community politicians won’t vote on issues they don’t understand but will when appropriate act as advisors.<sup>584</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 440.

<sup>578</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 452.

<sup>579</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 455.

<sup>580</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 461.

<sup>581</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 398.

<sup>582</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 399.

<sup>583</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 417.

<sup>584</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 444-451.

Hitler volunteered to serve in a Bavarian unit since he had sung “Deutschland uber Alles” so many times that he felt obligated to prove that this was not a mere idle commitment.<sup>585</sup> Initially he feared he would arrive too late to the battle field and that when he arrived the Entente would already have been victorious. After his arrival at the front this fear turned to horror. His outlook then was: “I was a soldier then, and didn’t want to talk politics. And really it was not the time for it. Even today I harbor the conviction that the humblest wagon-driver performed more valuable services for the fatherland than the foremost among, let us say the “parliamentarians.””<sup>586</sup> Hitler argued that while the German army that was preparing for a final assault that could have been victorious, the wind was taken out of their sails by the general strikes in Germany organized by the Jews.<sup>587</sup> The biggest loss that Germany suffered during World War I was the loss of the brave soldiers who volunteered time and again and accepted risky assignments for the 4 1/2 years of war.<sup>588</sup> As a result of all the volunteers who were lost the slackers then became a larger percentage of the population. These slackers became more important during the revolutions that occurred during the war while the heroes were dying. As the republican government took over its leaders were unwilling to take the survival risks that were needed. Despite the young Germans hating the republican revolution they were once again willing to endanger themselves and carry the arms for their nation.<sup>589</sup> The deserters and cowards had joined the revolution. Laws were needed to keep the dregs of society from deserting so that the volunteers would not feel like fools.<sup>590</sup> The Jewish wire pullers had to take a more moderate

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<sup>585</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 163.

<sup>586</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 166.

<sup>587</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 197.

<sup>588</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 520.

<sup>589</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 523.

<sup>590</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 525.

stand at this time so as not to appear as too liberal.<sup>591</sup> The bourgeois at this point to garner more votes harkened back to the support of the monarchy but didn't really mean it.

The first major rally of the Nazi Party was held February 24, 1920. They scheduled weekly meetings and saw an explosive growth in attendance. The meetings would go on for several hours, the objective being to get the masses to change their perspective. Hitler would often cite the objections to his theories that were held by the attendees and work to tear these theories down.<sup>592</sup> He knew how to incite the indignation of the attendees by mentioning the Treaty of Versailles and letting the emotions of the masses take over.<sup>593</sup> Speaking was more effective than writing and as you get feedback from the audience you can respond to it. Marxism came to power not so much by the written treatise of its intellectuals but by its speeches and Hitler tried to duplicate its approach and success. The time and location of the speech is of major import. The more difficult time to speak is morning and even during the day. At night time people argue less and thus evenings are best time for rallies.<sup>594</sup> The meetings have the advantage of making the supporters feel that they are not alone.<sup>595</sup> The Nazi rallies attracted a lot of participation and emotions including from the opposition that attended. Initially the Communists tried to ignore the Nazi meetings but when that failed they sent disrupters. The Nazis were well informed about the disrupters because the Nazis had spies within these organizations and the wire pullers (the Jews) talk too much and leak out their secrets.<sup>596</sup> The Nazis controlled their meetings and would deal harshly with disrupters. They used a house guard to control disrupters which consisted of

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<sup>591</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 526.

<sup>592</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 467.

<sup>593</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 468.

<sup>594</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 474.

<sup>595</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 478.

<sup>596</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 486.

young men who knew how to control terror with terror.<sup>597</sup> The Monitor Troops which over time numbered in the thousands became two years later known as “Sturm- Abteilung” (SA) or storm troopers. At one meeting the storm troopers were outnumbered by the agitators but the storm troopers were taught never to retreat and at the end of the meeting despite being covered in blood they persevered.<sup>598</sup> The SA was not a secret organization<sup>599</sup> and was ill equipped to become any army. It was only developed for domestic action.<sup>599</sup> For that reason the SA was given no military training but rather trained for handling domestic fights for the party’s functions with boxing and jiu-jitsu.<sup>600</sup> To prevent it from becoming a secret organization they were given highly recognizable uniforms. Its weapons and uniforms did not emulate those in military service.<sup>601</sup> In regard to the revolutions that were arising in Germany at this time Hitler delineates some of the differences between him and the bourgeois parties. The command of the republican government was often not to shoot the revolutionaries. The Nazis would pursue a more aggressive stance. “According to the National Socialist conceptions, however, it is not obedience toward weak superiors that goes into force at such moments, but obedience toward the national community. In such an hour, the duty of personal responsibility toward a whole nation manifests itself.”<sup>602</sup> It would be interesting to contrast this statement with the defense presented by Nazi war criminals as they were standing trial for crimes against humanity who pleaded that they were just following orders. Evidently the Nazi philosophy as expounded upon by Hitler rejects such a defense. The sole weapon of the bourgeois party are words and capitulation on the streets and to

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<sup>597</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 490.

<sup>598</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 505-506.

<sup>599</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 543.

<sup>600</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 546.

<sup>601</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 547.

<sup>602</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 530.

use the force that is required is not allowed.<sup>603</sup> Despite the bourgeois party claiming to be nationalistic, since it could not defeat the communists, it would like to see the communists defeat the Nazis.<sup>604</sup>

There is a difference between a member of the party and a supporter. “A supporter of a movement is one who declares himself to be in agreement with its aims, a member is one who fights for them. The supporter is made amenable to the movement by propaganda. The member is induced by the organization to participate personally in the recruiting of new supporters from whom in turn members can be developed. Since being a supporter requires only a passive recognition of an idea, while membership demands active advocacy and defense, to ten supporters there will at most be one or two members.”<sup>605</sup> Only those who are most capable and aggressive should be made members. Having more supporters is advantageous for a movement but too many members can be a problem. Members must be carefully selected to avoid disunity. The party must keep “cowardly little shopkeepers away from it.”<sup>606</sup> Once a certain critical mass is reached the central organization must block enrollment. Committees are not approved to make decisions since that is the prerogative of the first chairman of the party, but the committee only functions to provide labor.<sup>607</sup> When a committee of know it all started to interfere with the real work it is best to give them real work and they would disappear.<sup>608</sup> The first business manager of the Nazi Party was a man named Schussler who was a comrade in arms of Hitler. As the party grew the physical size of the business office became too small and moved to new quarters. The financial success of the party was demonstrated by the fact that on November 9, 1923 when the

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<sup>603</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 531.

<sup>604</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 537.

<sup>605</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 581.

<sup>606</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 584.

<sup>607</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 589.

<sup>608</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 594-595.

party was forced to dissolve, its net worth was over a hundred and seventy thousand gold marks and four years earlier Hitler did not even have enough funds to buy a rubber stamp.<sup>609</sup> The dissolution of the Nazi Party was ordered, but by November 1926 it reconstituted itself.<sup>610</sup>

As time evolved it became necessary for the Nazi Party to develop answers to new questions and to approach new groups with a method of incorporating their membership as supporters of the party. In regard to labor Unions, Hitler claimed that he recognized their import and needed to continue to function until the owners would recognize the need to protect the workers. He planned that by the time the Nazis came to power that they should already have an organization with appropriate party leaders to run the unions. Ultimately, in a folkish state the owners and the union would work together for the national good. "The National Socialist worker must know that the prosperity of the national economy means his own material happiness. The National Socialist employer must know that the happiness and contentment of his workers is the premise for the existence and development of his own economic greatness. National Socialist workers and National Socialist employers are both servants and guardians of the national community as a whole."<sup>611</sup> After the folkish state is established with time all disputes will be settled by the Chambers of Commerce and the Central Economic Parliament.<sup>612</sup> Here again he describes a utopian state but hidden behind this is his racist, totalitarian beliefs. In its earlier formative years as a relatively small organization the Nazi party saw no need to yet formulate an international political agenda. This changed as the fortune of the party improved. Partisan

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<sup>609</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 595.

<sup>610</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 688.

<sup>611</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 601.

<sup>612</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 602.

humanitarian movement have no place in foreign policy. Even a small strongly motivated portion of the population can be the basis of military preparedness for the whole nation. <sup>613</sup>

Hitler's reasoning for not joining an association of folkish parties include his fear that the parties within the federation would just trash each other and the leaders would fight amongst themselves. Since they all want to reach the same goals by different paths the member organizations would not help each other but rather steal each other's programs. <sup>614</sup>

Allied propaganda aimed at keeping Germany divided during and after the war especially northern from southern Germany. This used anti-Prussian propaganda which equated Prussia with Berlin. The Jews exacerbated this internal conflict especially pitting Bavaria against Prussia. The Jews played one German tribe against the other in the hope of pillaging both. <sup>615</sup> Internal slogans included "Rather die Bavarian than rot Prussian." <sup>616</sup> Hitler claimed credit for putting an end to the internal strife between Bavaria and Prussia. <sup>617</sup> He claimed that a major provocateur of this was the Jews. <sup>618</sup> Hitler claims in line with his racial theories that the different states within Germany do not reflect different tribes but simply political divisions. <sup>619</sup> In 1918 to 1919 antisemitism started to take root and the Nazi party encourage it. In addition to disagreement between different Germanic states the Jew tried to create fights between Catholics and Protestants. "Systemically these black parasites (Jews) of the nation defile our inexperienced young blond girls and thereby destroy something which can no longer be replaced in this world. Both, yes, both Christian denominations look on indifferently at this desecration and destruction

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<sup>613</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 610.

<sup>614</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 508-517.

<sup>615</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 554-556.

<sup>616</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 558.

<sup>617</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 559.

<sup>618</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 560.

<sup>619</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 567.



of a noble and unique living creature, given to the earth by God's grace.”<sup>620</sup> This was again an attempt to revive an old anti-Semitic lie that has been retreaded over the generations. Hitler, in 1923 claimed to have gotten Christians to sit together to discuss this Jewish problem.<sup>621</sup> The concept of a federated state in Germany is really only an instrument of those parties who push it.<sup>622</sup> In the future individual states will be mere cultural departments. The army will stop being organized by the states.<sup>623</sup> The army should be a school for young men to learn about the different Germanic states.<sup>624</sup>

The political bible of the Volk nation must rest on four legs: 1) Not to allow the rise of a second continental powers in Europe. 2) View the formation of any military group on the German border as a threat to Germany. 3) Make sure that the strength of Germany is founded on a European homeland. 4) Germany is only secure if it can provide every Aryan German scion with a parcel of land.<sup>625</sup>

Hitler concludes by saying that what the Versailles Treaty did was it had Germany lay down its arms and in incremental measures it increased the severity of the German loss. If it had all been delineated at the beginning Germany would never have agreed. Yet he advocated this incremental approach, which he just criticized, as the only way to get the German people to accept the safeguards to end the syphilis pandemic. The only saving grace for Germany for the loss of so many sons is that the war was not fought on German territory. The first objective of the French at the conclusion of the war was to disarm the German army. “Clemenceau's utterance

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<sup>620</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 562.

<sup>621</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 564.

<sup>622</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 573.

<sup>623</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 577.

<sup>624</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 577.

<sup>625</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 664.

that for him the peace was only the continuation of the war..."<sup>626</sup> in effect proved many of Hitler's contentions.

A careful reading of his work demonstrates that certain policies that he believed in were already fixed in his mind while he was incarcerated and thus long before he took power. The most important example is that he viewed the Jews, from his early adulthood on, as his enemy and the enemy of the German people and of the Aryan race. There is little doubt from his analysis that the only way to deal with this threat was what was concluded at the Wannsee conference and referred to as the Final Solution. The Madagascar Plan to deport Jews to the French colony of Madagascar would presumably leave the Jews alive and able to pursue their goals and thus for Hitler to defeat the Jews they had to be exterminated and thus the Madagascar plan was an obvious sham. In addition to this Germany lacked the naval resources to transport the Jews to this remote island. He explained that to call the Jews both capitalist and communist was not inherently contradictory because of the Jewish use of both these economic political positions as a form of a pincer movement to destroy the Aryans. Hitler's racist policy against the Jews extended to all those races whom he considered inferior. He may not have planned to execute the other races but rather to let them die of starvation, overwork, and lack of protection from the elements but they were not only expendable but these inferior races were using the resources that needed to be reserved for the Aryans. His racist theory included the concept that only the Aryans are productive and to have the world move forward, the Aryans need to be given the opportunity to grow and innovate. Those that argue that Hitler made a major blunder when invading the Soviet Union did not understand the whole purpose from the Nazi perspective of the war. He needed the massive land area that was at the time occupied by the people of Poland and

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<sup>626</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 673.

the people of the Soviet Union to enhance the Aryan homeland. Hitler also wrote that one must be aggressive and if there is a 51% chance of success one must move forward. It would seem obvious that the War with England was a miscalculation. Time and again he argued that England would be a great ally for Germany. Germany should give up dreams of a strong navy, certain industrial mercantile interest, and distant colonies so that Great Britain would not feel threatened by Germany and accept it as a potential ally. His social welfare program to raise the economic level and give the Aryans the chance to reach their potential, was very specific with well delineated programs. Both in regard to his domestic policy and foreign policy there is no doubt that Hitler believed in a brutal authoritarian regime. Those who stood in his way needed to be eliminated. Democracy was not an efficient form of government and those who believe in it must be eliminated. Monarchy or dictatorship was the preferred form of government. One can only wonder if the powers that existed at that time had taken the time to read Hitler's book would they have been able to derail this evil man?

It is likely that since he was incarcerated and really had nothing to hide at the time this book was written it truly reflected his deep inner thoughts. It is obviously scary that many of his thoughts of racism are hidden among ideas that would seem cogent and reasonable to an objective reader. For example, he argued that all Aryan people regardless of economic means should be given the opportunity to grow to their potential. He also thought that all workers should be respected and given a decent wage. This book is the Nazi bible and while it is likely that many of the Nazi adherent did not really read the book they probably would have agreed with much of its content. While Hitler probably did not view his program to exterminate inferior races as distinct from his goal of incorporating and colonizing Europe especially the eastern part

for the use by Aryans at the expense of the indigenous people, we will shortly see that it may have caused him to fail in both goals.

## Chapter Seven: The Nazi Solution for the Jewish Infestation

It would not be internally contradictory to after proving that the Final Solution was always Hitler's ultimate goal to show that the first stage in the program was to remove the Jews from the German social milieu. The mass executions of Jews began after Hitler violated the Non-Aggression Pact with Stalin, and Hitler initiated Operation Barbarossa and invaded territory occupied by the Soviets. Long before this date, however, the Jewish presence in the Third Reich had all but disappeared except for their presence in the Nazi propaganda. Hitler became chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933. The burning of the Reichstag building, which Hitler blamed on the Communists, gave Hitler a major advantage in the upcoming election and was grounds for suspending many civil liberties. In the March 5, 1933 election the Nazi plurality increased from 33% to 44%.<sup>627</sup> On March 23, 1933 the Enabling Act passed that in effect made Hitler a dictator and removed all checks on his power. Of that period Alon Confino wrote "we often view 1933 as the beginning of a gradual process of discrimination. In fact, it was an avalanche."<sup>628</sup> With the loss of all real democratic processes the Jews could neither count on the courts nor on the police to come to their aid. Hitler further consolidate his power on August 2, 1934 when Hindenburg died and Hitler assumed the office of president in addition to the office

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<sup>627</sup> Alon Confino, *A World without Jews: The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 35.

<sup>628</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 29,

of chancellor which he already occupied.<sup>629</sup> “The Nazi anti-Jewish story had an internal unity and central motif: the idea that the Jews were the creators of an evil modernity that soiled present-day Germany.”<sup>630</sup> In contradistinction to this concept of modernity the Nazis fostered one of racism and an anti-liberal bias. On July 14, 1933 the Nazi Party was declared the only legal party in Germany.<sup>631</sup> Quickly thereafter the Jews were hounded out of their fields in the arts, in academia, in the government and in the professions. By March 12, 1933 the Storm Troopers had ransacked trade union libraries and by April 12, 1933 local libraries were removing books that had a Marxist bent.<sup>632</sup> A pyre of books being burned in front of Heidelberg University provided an opportunity for student leaders to discuss the corrosive Jewish Marxist influence. Similar ceremonies were re-enacted all over Germany in April and May, 1933. These ceremonies created a form of national rituals for the Nazis within the context of German culture. These events were in many ways German cultural events creating carnival like atmosphere. It is likely that most of the participants had never read the books being burned nor understood what they contained.<sup>633</sup> In contradistinction we also don’t know how many Nazis actually read *Mein Kampf*. From the time Hitler became chancellor to August 31, 1939, 1448 legal measures were enacted in Germany with the intent of isolating the Jews.<sup>634</sup> The most hurtful of these were local laws enforced against Jew by their former local friends and neighbors. The burning of books did break some moral taboos. On the other hand when news of the book burning reached Freud he

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<sup>629</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 60.

<sup>630</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 31.

<sup>631</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 36.

<sup>632</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 41.

<sup>633</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 47-48.

<sup>634</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 50.

responded: “Only our books? What a progress! In earlier periods they would have burned us as well”.<sup>635</sup> As of May, 1933 the line had not yet been crossed of burning the Hebrew Bible.

The concept of Heimat or homeland overlaps with the concept of volk. Heimat commingled history, nature, and folklore (kunde). This was done at a local regional and national level with the hope of preserving local custom with a national tradition. Heimat museums were built to emphasize local traditions and folklore. There was a mixing of fact and fiction to build a culture.

Initially those German citizens who did not participate in the physical brutality to the Jews were not punished. The physical brutality to the Jews made such a public spectacle it changed the reality and marginalized the Jews. Eventually those Germans that had not participated in the violence against the Jews were in some ways socially ostracized. Part of the initial violence against the Jews was motivated by bitterness and class envy. The forcible parading and degrading of Jews created a new social reality. In the parades the Jews were depicted in the stereotypical anti-Semitic images. The local communities were the basic foundation points of creating areas without Jews. The truth of the accusations was irrelevant. “From now on it is not up to you to decide whether or not something is true, but whether it is in the interests of the National Socialist Revolution.”<sup>636</sup> The instructions were given by the education minister in 1933 to an assembly of professors in 1933. The purpose of all this was to create in the mind of the masses that Jews posed a real threat and reflected an otherness.

In the early to mid-1930s the public space of Germany was inundated with Jews despite the fact in a country of 65 million people by 1935 there were fewer than 350,000 Jews. From 1933 to 1937 the Jewish population had shrunk by 130,000 as a result of emigration by those who saw the handwriting on the wall. Anti-Semitic posters were placed everywhere often

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<sup>635</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 53.

<sup>636</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 86.

showing the home addresses of the Jews. These signs were often placed by the locals without orders from the Reich. The Nazi program had a 4 part agenda 1) the process of burning books caused the Jews to be removed from the national culture 2) By believing in the concept of race the Jews were removed from national history. 3) Violence removed the Jews from the local life. 4) By seeing Jews everywhere they created a situation that the Jews were visible in no place.<sup>637</sup>

The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 codified the anti-Semitic policies. The improvement in the German economy allowed the Germans to return to work and tour more of their country. The Jews were mistreated as were most African Americans in the United States with more hotels refusing to accommodate Jews. Hitler now also took steps to put Germany on a war footing. He increased military service from one to two years and in the winter of 1937 - 1938 he purged the Wehrmacht of those generals who opposed his policies. Teaching English was forbidden in Jewish schools and Jewish teachers were removed from public schools.<sup>638</sup> Stories from the middle Ages of Jews resurfaced in 1937 as when the Gestapo arrested 8 Jewish men for ritual murder.<sup>639</sup> When Austria in March, 1938 was annexed to Germany (Anschluss) a great deal of violence occurred and even world famous Jews (as Dr. Sigmund Freud) were forced to flee. (Approximately 130,000 human beings fortunately fled)<sup>640</sup> As time passed the treatment of Jews became progressively crueler. "On one Saturday Storm Troopers hauled young Jews from their homes to the local pub. The Jews were made to say "I am a criminal, I have cheated people, so teaches me the Talmud." When three peasants present in the local pub protested against the violence saying "Enough now this goes too far!" they were forced to stand on chairs and shout,

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<sup>637</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 98.

<sup>638</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 101.

<sup>639</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 103.

<sup>640</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 102.

“We are servants of the Jews.””<sup>641</sup> The Jewish emigration from Germany continued with the young moving out in greater proportions. 25% of the Jews that remained were over 65 years of age.<sup>642</sup> This is a very high percentage when one remembers that in the United States 65 was chosen as the retirement age as only 10% of the population ever reached that age. Only 709 out of 3,152 Jewish physicians were allowed to practice and then exclusively on Jews. Similarly only 172 lawyers were allowed to practice and again only for Jewish clients.<sup>643</sup> Jewish veterinarians were only allowed to treat pets owned by Jews whereas the other pets were considered on par with Aryans.<sup>644</sup> Jewish synagogues were demolished so as to remove any confirmation of the long history of the Jews in Germany. The idea was to remove the Jews from history and from any of the thoughts of Jews being an integral part of German history. The Nazis would even publish a bible claiming that Jesus was an Aryan and not a Jew.

On November 7, 1933 A German diplomat Ernst Von Rath, was shot by a Jewish Polish student Herschel Grynszpan. Ernst died on November 9, 1933 and orders went out to all localities from Heinrich Muller, Gestapo Chief, not to interfere with burning of any synagogues, and only to control the blaze if it threatened an Aryan building. The night of November 9th to the 10th became enshrined with the name of The Night of the Broken Glass, or Kristallnacht. Over 1,000 synagogues were burned, 7,500 Jewish owned businesses were ransacked, and 91 innocent people whose only crime was being a Jew in the wrong place, were brutally murdered. What is often not emphasized is that many Jewish books and many Torah scrolls were desecrated and burned. This was an attempt to rewrite history and remove the Jewish origins from Christianity. We have already seen in Iberia hundreds of years earlier that Church officials even then burned

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<sup>641</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 104.

<sup>642</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 106.

<sup>643</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 107.

<sup>644</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 108.



the Hebrew Bible though accepting the Hebrew Bible as part of their theology. A number of German citizens found the destruction during Kristallnacht as abhorrent and could not look upon it. Some clergy stood in opposition to what was done. Priest Julius von Jam called for repentance and a day of mourning for what was done which led to his arrest and trial as a traitor. Prelate Bernard Lichtenberg on November 10, 1933 said “What was yesterday, we know, what will come tomorrow we don’t. But happened today, this we have experience: outside burned the temple—this is also the house of God!”<sup>645</sup> For this and other humanitarian actions the prelate was later murdered by the Nazis. The Nazis at this point could not deny their Christian origins but the Nazi plan was to sever all Christian beginnings from Jewish heritage. The Torah scrolls were not simply burned but desecrated with human excrement and this was an attempt to further distance German origins from Judaism. The Nazis at this point could not disavow Christianity, in fact Hitler never disavowed his Catholic faith, but rather attempted to rewrite history. The Godesberg Declaration probably reflected the true feelings of the Evangelical Church: “What is the relation between Judaism and Christianity? Is Christianity derived from Judaism and has therefore become its continuation and completion, or does Christianity stand in opposition to Judaism? We answer Christianity is in irrevocable opposition to Judaism.”<sup>646</sup> Perhaps a typical response is demonstrated that “In Redensburg one man who watched the Jewish parade commented that in principal he agreed with the expulsion of the Jews from town but “Hirschfield,” meaning Max Hirschfield, the owner of a local business and an acquaintance really did not deserve such treatment.”<sup>647</sup> While some people may have been shocked but these

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<sup>645</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 135.

<sup>646</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 133.

<sup>647</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 140.

acts by breaking taboos made it more acceptable for greater crimes to be socially acceptable in the future.

On November 11, 1938 an edict was passed in Talheim bei Hilbronn warning any Aryan who has social relations with Jews will be beaten. The Jewish presence on the streets was forbidden. This edict was revoked a week later because of a concern that the Jews needed to be able to buy food. This slight humanitarian concern would soon vanish. The Jewish visible presence was on the way out.<sup>648</sup> Jews were often able to buy food only after nightfall from the back doors of shops. Measures passed in November 1938 and in January 1939 caused Jews to be fired from employment without rights to their pension and in addition their businesses, stocks, bonds, and jewelry was confiscated by the state.<sup>649</sup> The laws removed Jew from all social welfare programs. Jews were barred from public places for most hours of the day, and Jews were forbidden to have phone lines. In Berlin Jews were banned from the, cinemas, cabarets, conference halls museum sports facilities etc.<sup>650</sup> Hitler ordered that all damage from the rampage of Kristallnacht should not be billable to insurance and the Jews had to pay for the damage. Heydrich and Goring wanted to restrict what neighborhoods Jews could live in. Because of the Jews fear of appearing in public for all intents and purposes Germany became a land without Jews. Professor of the New Testament, Professor Walter Grundmann explained, “Protestants today had to overcome Judaism just as Luther had to overcome Catholicism, for just as Christians in the sixteenth century could not imagine Christianity without the pope, contemporary Christians could not imagine salvation without the Old Testament. But this task could be achieved: the Bible would be purified and its ultimate truth be reinstated—namely that Jesus sought the destruction of Judaism.”<sup>651</sup> Susanna

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<sup>648</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 142.

<sup>649</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 143.

<sup>650</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 150.

<sup>651</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 146.

Heschel explained that the Nazi portrayed themselves “Nazism is the very fulfillment of Christianity... (and) Christ (as) a prefiguration for Nazi Germany’s fight against Jews.”<sup>652</sup> In January 1939 in front of the Reichstag Hitler said “I want to be a prophet again today: if international finance Jewry in Europe and beyond should succeed once more in plunging the peoples into a world war, then the result will be not the Bolshevization of the earth and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.”<sup>653</sup> (?Again letting us know over 3 years before the Wannsee Conference the true intent of this brutal evil man?)

Extermination of Jews became a topic of discussion even in polite society. Hitler’s accusation that if the world views the Jews as a valuable people why won’t the world accept my offer of a gift to them of the Jews in Germany? By September 1939 the Jews in Germany had shrunk to 115,000. Thus from Kristallnacht till the invasion of Poland 400,000 Jews had left the Third Reich.<sup>654</sup> The Jews from Western Europe faced a somewhat smaller challenge to emigrate than the Jews of Eastern Europe. Anti-Jewish legislation did not peak and stop but continued constantly finding new innovations. For example Jews may not buy flowers, and the cost of clearing the rubble from destroyed synagogues fell on a Jewish community which was forbidden to rebuild it. Newspapers were admonished if mentioning the name of a Jew to automatically mention their middle name as Israel or Sarah.<sup>655</sup> Aryans who went to visit a Jewish home feared that they would be reported and became afraid to go. (Similar stories are told of the West Bank of Israel that Arabs who had Jewish friends would approach the Jewish home in fear and the Jewish neighbors knew if the house was blacked out an Arab family was visiting who were in fear of the Intifada and to respect their privacy.) By the middle of May 1939, Jews were dying of

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<sup>652</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 148.

<sup>653</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 151.

<sup>654</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 156.

<sup>655</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 156.

starvation at the rate of 150 per day and the dead were buried in mass graves during the hours between 1 and 5 A.M.<sup>656</sup>

At 4:45 AM on September 1, 1939 the Wehrmacht invaded Poland and the Allies declared war on Germany but seemed unconcerned about the Soviet invasion of Poland's eastern border. The Polish Jews who came under the Nazi domination were treated even more brutally than the German Jews. Killing of Polish Jews was in some ways new but was acceptable by the precedent of violence against the German Jews. Again synagogues and Torah scrolls were burned. Heydrich ordered on September 21, 1939 that the Jews be concentrated in large cities. Different ghettos were sealed at different times. The Łódź ghetto was established in April, 1940 and sealed May 1, 1940. Starvation was the rule. In September, 1940 a wreath was placed on the monument of a child "To the Children Who Have Died from Hunger—From the Children Who Are Hungry."<sup>657</sup> On November 16, 1940 the Warsaw Ghetto was sealed. The ghettoization was seen as putting an expiration time on Jews but with an unspecified date. Especially in Germany synagogues which had occupied valuable land was bought by the local town but the money was paid to Heydrich.<sup>658</sup> It is pertinent at this point to reiterate Hitler's statement in *Mein Kampf* that the Jews because of their obsession with money corrupted German society. Heydrich saw no inconsistency with taking money from German municipalities when they occupied property that was formerly owned by the Jewish community. The position of the German public at that time can be illustrated by the financial success of two films. *Jew Suss* tells the story of a fictional Jewish financier who exhibits all the stereotypical evil Jewish traits and extorts money and evilly seduces young maidens. Violence is limited in the film and the evil Jew is happily sentenced to

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<sup>656</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 159.

<sup>657</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 167.

<sup>658</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 171.

death. The film was a financial success. On the other hand a film a few months later *The Wandering Jew* which depicted the poor state that the Jews lived in and was extremely violent and despite being backed by Goebbels was a financial disaster. This probably reflects that the Nazis were ready for a much more violent treatment of the Jews than the German public was as at that time ready to see if not to sanction.<sup>659</sup> The Germans may have encouraged emigration of the Jews but between September, 1939 and June, 1941 the German Jews became a people who had run out of time and were terminal. In effect the Jews were segregated, banished, and waiting for their end. There was some thoughts of keeping some synagogues intact as sort of a museum to the past. Similar thoughts were entertained in regards to Gypsies whom Himmler regarded as the group who shared lineage with Aryans and of whom Himmler wanted to preserve a few specimens as some sort of a Jurassic Zoo to show the Aryan origins. Some of the relics from the synagogues were planned to be moved to the Heimat museums. Part of the concept was to alter the Bible. "The Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Church Life published a de judaizer New Testament Entitled *God's Message*." <sup>660</sup> It basically removed Jesus's lineage from the house of David. This was all done to remove the Jews from any connection and origin of the Aryan race and Christianity. We are thus seeing a mixed message as we did in the Inquisition of not being totally clear as whether the Jews were being removed as a race or as a creed.

On June 22, 1941 Hitler violated the Non-Aggression pact and invaded the Soviet Union. By June 27, 1941 Police Battalion 309 entered Bialystok which had a population of 100,000 people half of whom were Jews and the mass murders began. Jews were locked in the synagogue which was set afire and the few Jews who jumped out the window were murdered by machine gun fire.

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<sup>659</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 171-173.

<sup>660</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 178.

From 1933 the value of a Jewish life progressively diminished. Hundreds of thousands of Jews had been killed by policies resulting in starvation, disease, and exhaustion from intolerable living conditions and even individual killing, but we now enter an era of mass murder and genocide. Prior to August, 1941 the mass murders were confined to men, but it quickly extended to women and children. Chaim Grade, the famous Yiddish novelist, autobiographically describes his fleeing from the invading Nazi armies but his mother and wife chose not to escape with him believing that the Nazis would not murder women and children. To his everlasting sorrow they were wrong. The German civilian populations were aware of these crimes from the conversations, letters and photographs that came from these murderers. These murders were accompanied by acts of sadism, mockery, anger, violence, anger, drunkenness, in a carnivalesque atmosphere. Some of the members of the police battalions refused to initially participate but this often also disappeared. The world without Jews was beginning to extend from Germany to the newly captured colonies. By September, 1941 Jews in Germany were forced to wear armbands.<sup>661</sup> By October 23, 1941 the door shut tight and Jewish emigration from the Third Reich was forbidden. Earlier Hitler restricted his anti-Semitic tirades, probably for reasons of international relation and let Goebbels be the speaker. However, in the fall of 1941, Hitler felt free to speak publicly. On November 2, 1941 Hitler wrote in his diary during a visit to the eastern front “Here the Jews crouch among one another, horrible forms to see, not to mention touch....The Jews are the lice of civilized humanity. They have to be exterminated somehow....Only if one proceeds against them with the necessary brutality will we be finished with them.”<sup>662</sup> On December 1, 1941 the minister of propaganda said, “We are now experiencing the implementation of his prophecy....

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<sup>661</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 187.

<sup>662</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 188.

(Jewry) is now suffering a gradual process of extermination.”<sup>663</sup> With the new policy of openly discussing extermination new laws passed restricting Jewish use of public transportation, prohibiting emigration, sending Jews to ghettos, confiscations of valuables including currency, cameras, record players, typewriters, and bicycles. On December 9, 1941 the Wannsee Conference took place that formally recognized the Final Solution. By March, 1942 Jews were being sent to Auschwitz. The accelerating pace and German anxiety of not completing their task needs to be recognized. At the early part of 1942 75% of those that were murdered were still alive. The numbers reversed by the beginning of 1943 and 75% of those murdered were already dead.<sup>664</sup> The brutality of the Holocaust is revealed by the statistic that almost 1/2 of the 6,000,000 Jews murdered were done in face to face contact.<sup>665</sup> “The Nazi established in 1933 that Jews had no place in Germany; in 1938, that Judaism had no place in the Reich and its future empire; in September 1939, that Jews had no place among human beings and were destined to wither away slowly in this or that godforsaken territory; in June 1941 that the mass murder of Jewish civilians was necessary in order to get rid of the Jews faster rather than letting them perish slowly.”<sup>666</sup> The destruction of the Jewish world was not viewed as an ending but rather a Genesis of a Nazi world.<sup>667</sup> On December 11, 1941 Hitler made the fatal mistake of declaring war on the United States. Till that point legally the United States was at war only with Japan. Hitler in his tirade said that the war was caused by Roosevelt who surrounded himself with Jews. These Jews believed that the United States would make Europe another Purim like situation.<sup>668</sup> The Nazis believed that the war was providentially ordained to get rid of evil. The Nazis used the

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<sup>663</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 188.

<sup>664</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 190.

<sup>665</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 190.

<sup>666</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 190-191.

<sup>667</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 192.

<sup>668</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 194.

Jews to represent all in history that was evil. Once the extermination of Jews began in earnest Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels stopped talking about it.<sup>669</sup> Goebbels who was a prolific writer never wrote down details of the extermination possibly because he understood it broke taboos. Goebbels wrote in his diary after speaking to Goring on March 2, 1943 “Goring is completely aware of what would threaten us all, if we were to weaken in this war. He has no illusions in this regard. Especially in the Jewish question, we are so fully committed that there is no escape for us anymore. And that is a good thing. Experience shows that a movement and a people who have burned the bridges behind them fight with much greater determination than those who still have a way back.”<sup>670</sup> Jewish diaries spoke in great detail of what was happening, perhaps in an attempt to preserve a culture that could be in death throes. The Germans wrote less seeing this as the beginning of a creation. Alfred Rosenberg was responsible to the Reich for collection of Jewish artifacts from books to cultural materials for libraries and museums. He worked for the Reichleiter Rosenberg Taskforce (ERR). Torahs were no longer collected but instead they were desecrated and the parchments were used for belts and book bindings.<sup>671</sup> The Nazis planned to use these books to help restructure the history of their origins after the war but the Nazis passed from the scene before they could fabricate new myths. Part of the purpose of confiscating the books was to make the Jews a people without any time left and therefore no need to read. An ancillary benefit to the Germans of deporting Jews from Germany is that it freed up housing for Aryans. The deportation of the Jews became an important event in restructuring local communities and rewriting its history. People higher up in government knew what was happening to the Jews but even the man on the street had a good idea. A craftsmen in Hamburg

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<sup>669</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 197.

<sup>670</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 199.

<sup>671</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 209.



Herman Frielingsdort wrote in his diary in 1942 “In recent weeks the last Jews in Hamburg have been deported where to—no one knows. But lurid stories circulate among the people. The Jews are said to be killed in large groups, including women and children, by mass execution in open graves or in open fields.... One can hardly bear hearing of such horrors....Our deeds cry to heaven.”<sup>672</sup> Diaries show that rumors about Auschwitz and the Warsaw Ghetto freely circulated among the Jews and were often surprisingly accurate.<sup>673</sup> The German population was also well informed about the Holocaust and discussing it became a punishable offense. (Secrecy may have had value here as it did in the Inquisition.) Circulating rumors changed from what Jews were doing to the indigenous population to what the authorities were doing to the Jews. Concern started to be voiced among the Germans that if the Jews survive and we lose what will they do to us? Nazi decrees in 1943 and 1944 had two basic instructions to the press. Firstly they must continue to relentlessly discuss the Jewish problem. Secondly that since the Jews were gone from the German scene the regulations against the Jews should not appear in the press.<sup>674</sup> On February 24, 1942 Hitler hinted the war could possibly be lost but important Nazi goals would be reached. “My prophecy will be fulfilled that in this war not the Aryans will be exterminated but the Jews will be eradicated. Whatever the battle will bring, or how long it may last, this will be the ultimate legacy of this war.”<sup>675</sup>

This chapter in history ends with Hitler committing suicide on April 20, 1945 ironically having outlived President Franklin D. Roosevelt by 8 days. From a German colleague who was a youth during the war some in Germany thought that FDR’s death meant Germany would not be defeated.

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<sup>672</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 218.

<sup>673</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 218-219.

<sup>674</sup> Confino, *A World without Jews*, 224.

<sup>675</sup> Quoted in Confino, *A World without Jews*, 228.

## Chapter 8: Conflicting Goals

Hitler may have considered his objective of exterminating European Jewry and providing an enlarged land mass for the Aryan race as a unified goal, but in reality they were two distinct targets and both put demands on the limited resources available. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze if either one of these competing goals caused the failure to achieve the other goal? The resources that will be the major focus of this analysis will be the loss by the Wehrmacht of assets focusing on rail transportation for personnel, armored units, horses and trucks, the loss of the use of military personnel for engagement with the enemy rather than incarcerating and murdering Jews, and the loss of workers both skilled and unskilled by the murder of Jews rather than their use as slaves for the maintenance of the war economy. This analysis will focus on some battles on which the war pivoted and whose outcome was in doubt till the end of the engagement and in which the Wehrmacht did not receive the needed added supplies and lost battles. These could have been turning points of the war. By the very nature of such an analysis we are dealing with speculation which is always fraught with danger. We lack the ability to say what would have been. We can only say given these circumstances what might have been. It is, however, by analyzing historical events that we can bring a more logical approach to future actions.

To move large military supplies over land in the first half of the twentieth century railroads were required. Germany had more trains in 1914 than in 1939 resulting in Germany's need to quickly expand its railroad capabilities. With the exception of the Soviet Union all of Europe used the same gauge tracks. It is likely that the Soviet Union elected to have a different gauge to make an invasion of its territories more difficult. Albert Speer became ministers of

armament in 1942 and took the first steps in 1942 to investigate train movements with respect to contribution to the war effort.<sup>676</sup> Horses were essential for short range transportation especially in the muddy area of the Soviet Union where roads were poor and often were impossible for mechanized vehicles to traverse during certain seasons. The Wehrmacht started the war by initiating Operation Barbarossa with 600,000 to 750,000 horses and ultimately used 2,750,000 which is just shy of twice the number of horses used in World War I.<sup>677</sup> It is sometimes difficult to remember how recently we transitioned from animal powered transportation to a mechanized form. No accurate records were kept of the number of trains used in the Final Solution, but using the numbers of people transported and assuming that each train contained 3,000 inmates it can be estimated that 3,000 trains were used to transport inmates and 2,000 trains were used to transport the wealth that was stolen from them.<sup>678</sup> If this number of trains had been used exclusively to transport troops it would have moved half a million soldiers fully armed with their gear, horses, and pack animals.<sup>679</sup> For comparison to transport an entire Panzer Division required only 90 trains.<sup>680</sup>

Even in January, 1945 at the very end of the war 37,674 armed German men and 3,508 armed German women were still used to guard the inmates. This could have been reconfigured to 8 German divisions used in the German war effort.<sup>681</sup>

Between October 16, 1941 and December 15, 1941 43 transports of Jews and Gypsies occurred and even that early in the invasion of Russia the German high command already

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<sup>676</sup> Yaron Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht: How Hitler's "Final Solution" Undermined the German War Effort*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 3.

<sup>677</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 4.

<sup>678</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 6.

<sup>679</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 6.

<sup>680</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 5.

<sup>681</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 6.

protested this loss of transport capabilities. Initially the German high command in the person of General Franz Halder chief of the army general staff and commander in chief of the army General Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch seem to have felt that encircling the Soviet army was doable and could be completed in four to six weeks. They may have felt it would be better to prioritize defeating Great Britain before opening another front but had little qualms about the feasibility of destroying the red army before it could retreat deep into Russia.<sup>682</sup> Initially Russian resistance was not well coordinated and each unit acted independently under its own commander. As the German attack met with shocking success the German high command wanted to focus on Moscow where it assumed that the Soviet army would mass and then it would destroy all the opposing Red Army. Hitler on the other hand wanted strengthen the northern and southern armies. The disagreement between the German high command and Hitler gave the Soviets a short respite from July 16 to August 23, 1941 at which time Hoth's panzer division moved to Leningrad. Operation Typhoon began on October 2, 1941 with the objective of capturing of Moscow. To this point German victories had confirmed the invincibility of the German forces. The winter caused severe problems to both armies. German locomotives could operate even at temperatures as low as minus 20 degrees centigrade but even in December the temperature fell to minus 35 degrees centigrade. Motor vehicles became unusable and there were only 1600 trucks to help compensate for the fact that the Soviet railroad tracks used a different gauge. By October 3, 1941 25,000 kilometers of Soviet rails had been changed to European standards but this left 15,000 kilometer still to be changed. When the Wehrmacht troops were shipped to the Soviet Union they only carried a 20 day food supply with them under the assumption that the war would be short lived. After that time the soldiers would forage for food. Hitler told Mussolini in April,

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<sup>682</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 16.

1942 that he was lucky that in the previous winter they had not penetrated deeper into Russia as a result of an early winter because the German supply lines would have been more severely strained.<sup>683</sup>

On August 27, 1941 the offensive resumed but a memorandum among the German command already recognized it would not be able to complete the invasion that year.<sup>684</sup> There is a parallel here with the American Civil War. The Confederacy had an army that was superior to the Union but for every unit the Confederacy destroyed and defeated the Union with an unlimited supply of men could replace that unit. In like fashion the Soviets could replace those divisions destroyed by the Wehrmacht. On October 28, 1941 the German forces crossed the Volga and were only one trench away from entering Moscow and the Russian general had only 240,000 troops consisting of fragments of many divisions, comprised of clerks and many soldiers who lacked military training. The German soldier had been fighting with a ratio of only one German soldier killed for every 20 Red Army soldier killed. Yet it was at this point that the Wehrmacht without any relief troops ground to a halt.<sup>685</sup> The tanks, ammunition and relief troops were available but the question remained how to get it to the front.

Hans Frank Governor General of Occupied Poland testified after the war that the trains used to transport the Jews east were the same trains as transported fresh Wehrmacht troops to the front and exhausted troops back west. Thus at least heading east there were competing demands for the trains. Dr. Carltheo Zeitschel from the German diplomatic staff in Paris, according to Adolf Eichmann planned on transporting the Jews of France east to dispose of them.<sup>686</sup> Goebbels in particular wanted to prioritize the transportation of the 70,000 Jews remaining in

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<sup>683</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 22.

<sup>684</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 27.

<sup>685</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 29.

<sup>686</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 31.

Berlin to the east.<sup>687</sup> While Operation Typhoon was in progress in October and November 1941 30,000 Jews were transported mostly from Germany to the occupied territories.<sup>688</sup> On October 6, 1941 Hitler admitted that the transport east of the Jews was hindered by the lack of adequate, available transportation. Between the months of October to the middle of December 1941 a total of 48 trains were used by the SS to move German Jews east. This would have been the equivalent of moving five or six infantry division equal to approximately 36,000 fresh German troops to the front. In addition to the above 27 trains were used to send east 20,000 armed Germans to murder Jews. This included two brigades of SS troops amounting to 11,000 men. We are thus talking about 56,000 men or ten fresh German division that could have been sent to the Moscow front. During this time the Wehrmacht commander protested on more than one occasion the need for transport for fresh troops and Panzer divisions.<sup>689</sup> In addition to above the wagons and horses that served the army were not supplied with the grain needed to feed the horses. In February 5,000 horses supplying the 17th army died of starvation.<sup>690</sup> It seems reasonable that in such a close battle the change in the environment created by the additional fresh troops plus the heightened morale resulting from their presence would have altered the outcome.

The Germans probably anticipated that when they captured their new colonies in Russia, they would not be able to get food supplies from Russia and specifically the Ukraine for at least a year. The year it was captured the Soviets pursued a scorched earth policy. In addition to that the octane on the oil pumped from the Ukrainian wells was the wrong octane for any German vehicle and that would take time to correct. Hitler was aware of these problems and that the Wehrmacht was placing too many demands on the economy. In consideration of these factors

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<sup>687</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 32.

<sup>688</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 33.

<sup>689</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 37.

<sup>690</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 40.

Hitler ordered the military to simplify the products demanded so that they could be produced with less skilled labor. It only became apparent five months after the initiation of Operation Barbarossa that the Germany resources allocated to the Wehrmacht was insufficient.<sup>691</sup> Stalin's assessment of the economic situation in Germany as he portrayed it to President Roosevelt's envoy Harry Hopkins is relevant. Stalin was in a difficult position and wanted aid from the West without scaring the Americans to the point that they would negotiate a separate peace with the Axis. He therefore probably gave a true assessment of what his intelligence thought was going on. In terms of oil Stalin thought Germany had an adequate supply for the invasion. Stalin needed the Allies to bomb the Romanian oil fields. The scorched earth policy destroyed much of the Ukrainian crops but about 60% remained. Hitler's decision to focus on large weapons, such as tanks, was based on the Wehrmacht being able to confiscate an adequate supply of small arms from the Red Army. In fact at this point Hitler was still so confident of the economy that he still continued domestic projects including the autobahn. It must be remembered from *Mein Kampf* that Hitler felt if you have a 51% chance of success you must proceed. Hitler in a discussion in November 1941 at the height of the invasion proudly mentioned that deportation of German Jews reached its height in November, 1941.<sup>692</sup>

The Reichsbahn which ran and coordinated the rail roads in Germany started as a commercial for profit enterprise and continued as such for the duration of the war.<sup>693</sup> More and more over the course of the war the government would put greater demands for services on the Reichsbahn. Adolph Eichmann, who would in the 1960s be executed in Israel for his crimes against humanity, with his subordinate Franz Novak coordinated railroad activity for the

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<sup>691</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 45.

<sup>692</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 50.

<sup>693</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 50.

transport of Jews. A daily briefing was held by General Halder of the military situation of the Wehrmacht at the eastern front. At the meeting were Walter Bouhle quartermaster and Eduardo Wagner who would be responsible for organizing the men and material needed and having them sent as near to the front as possible by the railroads. Obviously Novak presented demands on the limited resources of the rail road that competed with Bouhle and Wagner.<sup>694</sup> On November 15th and 17th after the muddy roads had frozen so that they could be traversed, the Wehrmacht resumed its attacks on Moscow. On November 14, 1941, four transports carrying Jews left Berlin for Minsk and on November 16, 1941, two other transports left Germany with Jews. The major problem fulfilling Hitler's order on November 19th to surround Moscow was lack of train transport. On December 2, 1941 the Waffen SS Das Reich division was only 15 kilometers from Moscow and had only one military trench between it and the city. In November 1941 the Red Army had only 90,000 troops defending Moscow. On December 3, 1941 General Paulus again complained to General Halder of transport supply problems. At this stage Stalin reinforced his units surrounding Moscow but the Reichsbahn failed to adequately resupply the Wehrmacht around Moscow. The opportunity was recognized as lost when on December 8, 1941 a retreat for the winter was ordered by the Wehrmacht and Hitler took over General Halder's position.<sup>695</sup>

The Germans had an unusual window of opportunity in the spring of 1941. The Soviet Union was not well prepared. In Stalin's great purge in the late 1930s the army lost much of its high command. In 1941 at the onset of the invasion of the Soviet Union 75% of the military leaders held their position for less than a year. Many of the needed engineers were also lost.<sup>696</sup> The Soviets also lacked an up to date air force. In the spring and summer of 1941 the German

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<sup>694</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 52.

<sup>695</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 56.

<sup>696</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 57.



advances were staggering. In addition to this the Soviet communication systems were very inadequate. By October early signs pointed to problems for Germany. The need to capture Moscow was based on the belief that the many munitions factories in and around Moscow were critical to the Soviets. The German command felt that loss of this asset would seriously hamper the Soviet war effort. It has been calculated that 4 more trains a day to transfer 3,000 soldiers or 90,000 a month would take 3 1/2 months to transfer 320,000 reserve soldiers would have made a difference. On December 9, 1941 1,000 soldiers belonging to the 3rd Panzer unit were stuck in Vitebsk. There was a Jewish transport on that day. Instead of fresh troops the Wehrmacht nearest Moscow utilized troops that were otherwise not assigned to combat.<sup>697</sup> Goebbels organized campaigns among the civilian population for donations of winter clothing for the troops. After they were collected the goods could not be transported to the troops because of lack of trains but the Jews were transported.<sup>698</sup> The Wehrmacht was initially very successful and the Soviets had moved 800,000 troops and 700 tanks to guard Moscow in October but by November 1941 only 90,000 remained and this was a great opportunity for the Nazis. Warsaw was a supply depot for the Germans and many of the trains used to transport the Jews from there could have been used to resupply the Wehrmacht. The army group had use of 260 trains and since half the time the trains were in use they were heading back west to resupply they had only 130 trains heading east. The 48 trains used for ideological action (killing Jews) could have made a huge difference. In Ben Franklin's famous poem for want of a nail the battle was lost, the Jews constituted the nail.

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<sup>697</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 69.

<sup>698</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 71.

<sup>699</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 77.

The German army had suffered 1,000,000 casualties and by June, 1941 had replaced only 450,000 soldiers. Before Germany started its 1942 summer offensive it added an additional 750,000 troops. Because of limited resources and transport it was elected by the Wehrmacht to focus on the south. The summer offensive Operation Blue began June 28, 1942. At the onset of the attack the Germans had superiority in number of men and tanks.<sup>700</sup> Rather than transport more troops to the south Germany was sending 5,000 Jews a day to Treblinka. On September 13, 1942 German troops entered the center of Stalingrad and faced hand to hand combat. The Germans lost 862,000 soldiers which were replaced by only 417,792 men. The Germans now had control over 1.8 million square miles German territory and 80 million Soviet citizens. This was also a burden on the German military government. The counteroffensive by the Soviets, Operation Uranus, achieved surprise.<sup>701</sup> At the same time Hitler decided to take over Vichy France and Hitler moved troops into southern France on the same day that Paulus started his final assault on Stalingrad. The Soviet counteroffensive using fresh troops was initiated under the name Operation Uranus on November 19, 1942 and by the 21st General Paulus realized he may be cut off. By the 23rd the Russian 26th Tank Corp completed the encirclement. General Paulus was under orders not to retreat but in any event he lacked the fuel to execute the maneuver.<sup>702</sup> Von Manstein was ordered to relieve Paulus but many of Von Manstein's troops and tanks were in Tunisia.<sup>703</sup> A corridor to the encircled troops was planned. The German troops in Stalingrad were still confident that they would be relieved. Another Russian operation at the time, Operation Mars, was a total failure and in less than a month resulted in the death of 335,000 Soviet soldiers despite the Wehrmacht soldiers being on the edge of exhaustion. During this

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<sup>700</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 108.

<sup>701</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 111.

<sup>702</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 113.

<sup>703</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 114.

effort to salvage the 6th army Paulus's command between 700,000 and 1,000,000 Jews were sent to Treblinka. Paulus had only 60 to 80 tanks. General Hoth who was to relieve him had only 190 tanks. A plan was made to send a Panzer division to relieve Paulus. This would require 90 trains while 92 trains were transporting Jews to Treblinka. If the 6th army met up with the 4th Panzer division the 6th army would be saved. There was only 48 kilometers between the relief Panzers and the 6th army. Another option was to move 3 SS divisions to relieve Paulus. It would have taken 3 months but within 2 days the SS managed to move an equivalent number of people to Treblinka. In short the soldiers who could have relieved Paulus could not be transported quickly because of the trains being used to transfer the Jews to Treblinka. The loss of the 6th army besides being a major military loss destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the Wehrmacht. The myth of the invincibility was a major weapon for the Wehrmacht.

As has already been alluded to the Reichsbahn and the rolling stock were a major military asset that were essential for military successes. It was not until February 1942 that wagon and locomotive production were given the priority that at that time was reserved for military supplies including arms production.<sup>704</sup> 23,951 Jews worked in the railroad production industry that was responsible for the construction of 30 locomotives a week. Adolf Gerteis, President of the Ostbahn wrote letters in the hopes that these workers could be protected and from literally going up in smoke.<sup>705</sup> On September 5, 1942 Field Marshal Keitel who followed Himmler's and SS rulings said all these Jewish workers must be replaced with Polish workers including the trained craftsmen. Making the problem even more complex, partisans and bombings targeted the German railroads making replacement wagons and locomotives more essential. 1,200

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<sup>704</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 132.

<sup>705</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 134.

locomotives were damaged or destroyed a month by enemy bombings.<sup>706</sup> Using trains to transport Jews and killing the Jews who manufacture locomotives was obviously irrational from a military perspective. From 1942 onward Hitler and his advisors never went to the front so that they could not appreciate the problems caused by the lack of adequate supplies and relief columns at the front. This meant that there was no adequate advocate for the plight of the Wehrmacht troops.<sup>707</sup> A letter on December 6, 1942 from a German soldier “We eat 200 grams of bread a day. Two thin slices in the morning and two in the evening, at noon we get a bit of soup with no potatoes. And beyond that we live day and night step by step in the snow and stormy weather. Hopefully we can get out of the “Kessil” before we starve to death or the ammunition will be gone... today was a much better day we ate some horse meat.”<sup>708</sup> It is relevant that the head of manufacturing and arms approached leaders of the Third Reich to no avail asking to be allowed to keep their Jewish workers in Warsaw.<sup>709</sup>

By the summer of 1943 and the beginning of the Battle of Kursk the Germans operated at a numerical disadvantage of 4:1 ratio when facing the Soviets. In addition the Germans were fighting on 3 fronts. Till the end of 1943 the Germans were expending manpower and resources on six extermination camps. At the end of that year the Camps at Treblinka, Chelmno, Belzec, and Sobibor closed.<sup>710</sup> At this time the momentum had swung in favor of the Soviets but the Wehrmacht was still a very formidable enemy that could not be discounted. Some of the German high command felt that victory was a strong possibility or barring that at least a stalemate. On February 5, 1943 Hitler said: “I can say only one thing regarding the campaign. There is no

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<sup>706</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 137.

<sup>707</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 143.

<sup>708</sup> Quoted in Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 144.

<sup>709</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 144.

<sup>710</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 151.

longer any possibility of ending the war in the East by an Offensive. We must realize that clearly.”<sup>711</sup> When Goebbels, the propaganda minister, asked Hitler if it was possible to make peace with either Great Britain or the Soviets, Hitler reasoned that Churchill was too entrenched in his position and Stalin would be unwilling to surrender the territory that Hitler would insist upon.<sup>712</sup> The Kursk offensive was planned to shorten the front that the Germans needed to defended and to blunt any Soviet offensive. In January, 1943 Hitler initiated a total mobilization and by this doubled his production tanks, field guns and mortars and increased war planes construction by 1.7 times compared to 1942. Operation Citadel was the 1943 military campaign to achieve the aims in Southern flank and in some ways was a last attempt much as the Battle of the Bulge. General Von Manstein felt there was a good chance of success if the battle started in April, 1943 before the Soviets could resupply. One of the factors that may have delayed the initiation of Operation Citadel was that the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto staged an uprising commencing the first day of Passover April 19, 1943 and lasted until at least May 16, 1943 and this required the Reich to respond with the use of German troops. There is evidence that bunker resistance may have continued to as late as September, 1943<sup>713</sup> Operation Citadel did not start till July 5, 1943 and was probably delayed by the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.<sup>714</sup> In putting down the uprising evidence indicates that 3,000 German troops were needed as well as heavy military equipment including tanks. In addition to this an army presence was needed to keep the gentile Polish civilians under control. A Polish uprising began in August, 1943. Himmler admitted that the Warsaw Ghetto produced furs clothing and other material needed for the economy.<sup>715</sup> Unlike

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<sup>711</sup> Quoted in Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 154.

<sup>712</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 162.

<sup>713</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 170.

<sup>714</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 176.

<sup>715</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 179.

the situation in Operation Barbarossa the Germans in case in Kursk had no element of surprise and the Soviets used this time to concentrate their forces. At one point in Operation Citadel Von Manstein claimed that if the Panzer grenadier training and reserve Battalion 3, and SS Cavalry reserve division had been available to him in Operation Citadel some aspects of the battle may have turned differently.<sup>716</sup> The Battle of Kursk went heavily in favor of the Germans. At one point the incompetence of a Soviet tank commander had him neglect an antitank ditch dug by the Soviets and between that and German fire the Soviets lost 230 tanks. The new Panzer tanks proved far superior to the Russian T134. With the reinforcement the Soviets did win this battle. From July 1943 to October, 1943 the Germans lost 900,000 men and only replaced them with 411,000 men. In this same time somehow the Reichsbahn was able to transport 438,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz.<sup>717</sup> From March of 1943 to August 1943 the SS used 250 trains<sup>718</sup> for transporting Jews. This number of trains could have transport 6 full German divisions or 5 Panzer Divisions.<sup>719</sup> The biggest advantage that the Germans had at this point was that the Russians often engaged in reckless attacks in which their losses far outstripped, by a factor of five, the German losses.<sup>720</sup> It is also important to remember that the Wehrmacht was a different army from 1941. Initially the Wehrmacht operation used lightning strikes to capture huge territories and surround and destroy enemy armies. By 1943 the German army had a major responsibility of administering and guarding the newly captured territories which was a major burden. There is little doubt that this would have had a significant military impact. Hitler believing the Protocols of the Elders of Zion reflected reality and thought that his only chance to

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<sup>716</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 178.

<sup>717</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 190.

<sup>718</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 201.

<sup>719</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 197.

<sup>720</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 218.

defeat the British was by exterminating the Jews. At a conference in Wolf's Lair Hitler met with Himmler, William Keitel, minister of food and agriculture, and Fritz Sauckel general plenipotentiary for labor deployment at which time Sauckel pledged to get 4 million slave workers for German industry. By that time 4 million Jews had been murdered of which three quarters or 3 million could have been used as slave labor.<sup>721</sup> By August 1944 the German military industrial complex within Germany used 7,651,970 foreign workers as slaves.<sup>722</sup> The Jews who had been transported and murdered would have saved Germany the transport of many of these and if the Jews were not murdered would have provided the additional labor needed.

The Germans may have been able to sustain a partial victory in Operation Citadel if they did not need to withdraw Panzer divisions from the front to reinforce the Sicilian troops which if reinforcements had arrived before the defeat of the Axis on Sicily could have repelled the Allied forces. If the two German divisions had been in Sicily before rather than after the Allies secured a beachhead the Allies could have been forced into the sea. The Germans seemed more intent on transporting Italian Jews rather than reinforcing Sicily. It is also true that the Allies were aided by Lucky Luciano who was a Mafia leader incarcerated in the U.S. and later pardoned. This may have reflected that the need to punish criminal elements by the Allies was subordinated to military needs as opposed to the Nazis who prioritized killing the Jews.

The year 1944 marked another turning point in the war. Hungary, prior to this time, was not a colony of Germany but rather a willing ally. The Jews in Hungary were discriminated against but not to the extreme of annihilation that the Jews under Hitler faced. As the tide of battle turned more against the Germans the Hungarian government decided to explore its options with the Allies. Rather than allow that possibility Hitler occupied Hungary. Admiral Horthy who

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<sup>721</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 219.

<sup>722</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 166.

ruled Hungary was called in for a conference with Hitler at which time Hitler told him that he was aware of Horthy's duplicity and in effect Horthy became mostly a figurehead.<sup>723</sup> Close on the heels of Hitler's army entering Hungary was Eichmann who worked to exterminate the Jews. 438,000 Jews were transported to Auschwitz which further stressed the rail system. It was part of the plan to build a huge aircraft manufacturing plant that was bombproof and underground using in part Hungarian Jewish slave labor.<sup>724</sup> The plans involved 100,000 Jewish slaves. By April 22, 1944 an agreement for the first deportation of Hungarian Jews had been made. Several train routes were considered but the route through Budapest was rejected so as not to create another Warsaw Ghetto type uprising. The Normandy invasion created the need to move Wehrmacht troops stationed in Western Europe to the front. For the most part these were stationery troops that would need rail transportation putting more pressure on this limited resource. The outcome of the invasion hinged on who could get troops to where they were needed. The Wehrmacht had 58 divisions in the west and if they reached Normandy the Normandy invasion would have been imperiled.<sup>725</sup> Further troops were available that would be rotated from the Eastern Front. Troops were rotated to the western areas routinely as a breather for these troops. The railroads from Paris to the Front were in very poor condition after the Allied bombing. The trains often had to drop off soldiers 100 kilometers from the front but that was doable, since the soldiers when in the Russia often marched longer distances, but the Tiger Tanks in numbers arrived at the front before much of the Wehrmacht.<sup>726</sup> Still if the horses had been transported in greater numbers it would have greatly advantaged the Germans. If the trains used to deport those Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz had been used instead to move an army group of 207,000 closer to Normandy the

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<sup>723</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 221.

<sup>724</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 222.

<sup>725</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 215.

<sup>726</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 246.



Allied landing would have likely failed. Even without the transport of additional troops to the Normandy invasion site the number of German troops was greater, more experienced and better armed. It is possible that an Allied failure of this magnitude could have had an unfortunate domino effect. “Hitler had no illusions about winning a military campaign against the Soviet Union, but he was not desperate. He still possessed enormous spaces that enabled the German army to gain time on the Eastern Front and then wait until the strange alignment between Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union fell apart.”<sup>727</sup> A failure at Normandy could have made the Soviet Union lose hope of a second front to relieve their strained position.

In the early parts of 1944 the Germans were far from defeated. The Wehrmacht was still only 467 kilometers from Moscow, plane production in January 1944 was 5,585 compared to 3,995 the previous January and more stocks of synthetic fuel was available.<sup>728</sup> In July, 1944 Germany out produced the Soviet Union in Steel and in the second half of 1944 Germany produced over 17,000 planes and 9,000 heavy tanks.<sup>729</sup> Operation Bagration smashed through the German armies and army Group Central lost 300,000 men. General Zhukov explained to General Eisenhower the Soviet strategy “When we come to a minefield our infantry attacks exactly as if it were not there. The losses we get from personnel mines we consider equal to those we would have gotten from machine guns and artillery had the Germans chosen to defend that particular area with strong troop forces instead of with minefields.”<sup>730</sup>

In summary there were many opportunities where a small troop movement could have changed the outcome of major battles. The first and most blatant case was in the war to capture Moscow. If Moscow had been defeated the Soviets would have lost a major manufacturing

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<sup>727</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 219.

<sup>728</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 230.

<sup>729</sup> Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 260.

<sup>730</sup> Quoted in Pasher, *Holocaust versus Wehrmacht*, 261.

center and the myth of the German unbreakable offensive would not have been shattered. Operation Uranus with the eventual defeat and surrender of General Paulus and the sixth army again badly hurt the Germans. The relief unit was only 48 kilometers away and if relieved General Paulus would have lived to fight another day. Operation Citadel could have at least been a partial victory for the Germans if they didn't need troops for Sicily. Even the Normandy invasion was a close call. The use of the railroads by the SS to transport Jews certainly hurt the Wehrmacht in adequately moving troops and supplies. Historically we can only speculate if certain actions had taken place as to what the consequences would have been. It certainly did not help the German war effort to use railroads to transport Jews. In like fashion to murder these Jews rather than use of them as slaves in a country fighting for its life and desperately short of labor may have turned the tables on the war. The use of transport to move East European people to Germany as slave labor rather than the use of domestic Jews was a burden. Killing skilled Jewish artisans despite the entreaties of their local managers obviously to some degree hurt the war effort. Use of troops to transport, murder, and incarcerate Jews also strained the system.

#### Chapter Nine: Common Players

The only two common actors in both of these eras were the Jews and the Church. The Jews were unwilling victims whose only obligations were to escape both events with the least personal harm, do no harm to others, and many would argue show loyalty to their core beliefs. It is obvious that the Church wanted to escape being responsible for acts of violence in both cases. In the Inquisition the Church left it to the secular leaders to “relax” (execute, murder) those that could not be “saved” and for torture to force confessions it used non clergy. It is not the

responsibility of this paper to say if this gave the Church any moral distance from its acts. The question that arises in the era of the Holocaust is what was the obligation of the Church to prevent wanton murder? It may be argued that the Church as a humanitarian organization that receives financial subsidies from secular governments from actual cash to tax abatements had an obligation and must stand up for what is ethical. This point can be debated. Pope John Paul II weighed in on this question. “God of our fathers, You chose Abraham and his descendants to bring your Name to the Nations: we are deeply saddened by the behavior of those in the course of history have caused these children of yours to suffer and asking your forgiveness we wish to commit ourselves to genuine brotherhood with the people of the Covenant.”<sup>731</sup> What is clearer is that the Church has a responsibility to protect its own flock from secular authorities that would harm them or the organization and the administrators of the Church. Some have argued that Pope Pius XII was chosen to lead the Church, after Pope Pius XI expired, because of Pope Pius’s XII diplomatic skills. It is highly relevant how diplomatically astute and farsighted this leader was after in no uncertain language said to world leaders how evil and duplicitous Hitler was. These points will be reviewed in this chapter.

At the onset of the Second World War the majority of Europeans were still dues paying, baptized members of one of the churches,<sup>732</sup> which includes Hitler who was a baptized if not a practicing Roman Catholic. Ironically during the Inquisition this would have made Hitler subject to relaxation as a heretic. An important principle that has guided the Church is Supersessionism, meaning that the Almighty has revoked his covenant with the Jews and superseded it with one with Christians because of the Jews collective guilt for deicide.<sup>733</sup> It is sad to relate that a people

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<sup>731</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, prepages.

<sup>732</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, xiii.

<sup>733</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 2.

who were the most persecuted in the Roman Empire prior to 312 could when they gained power not learn from their experience and protect those that were then helpless.<sup>734</sup> St. John Chrysostom 347 -407 A.D. preached “The Synagogue is a brothel, a hiding place for unclean beasts...Jews are the most worthless of all men (who) are lecherous, greedy and rapacious...perfidious murderers of Christ and for killing God there is no expiation possible, no indulgence or pardon. Christians may never cease vengeance...Jews must live in servitude forever...God always hated Jews. It is incumbent upon all Christians to hate Jews.”<sup>735</sup> It is relevant and pertinent that the Church is the oldest continuing functioning organization and one of the most powerful in the world.<sup>736</sup> It is a violation of the most basic Jewish laws to commit murder and a separate and distinct violation of Jewish law is to drink blood (that is one of the reasons that kosher meat must be salted). Despite this over the centuries Jews have been accused of murdering innocent young Christians often maidens, to use their blood for Matzah, and for this supposed act major pogroms have been staged. Pope Innocent IV ordered these charges be investigated and his committee reported their results and that showed these the charges were all myths.<sup>737</sup> Despite this blood libel persisted. In one of the worst episodes of this, Ukrainian Catholic Cossacks under the leadership of Bohdan Chmielnitzki based on charges of blood libel murdered approximately 100,000 Jews.<sup>738</sup> When in 1517 Martin Luther issued his 95 theses and posted it on the Church door he basically went to war with the Church. Luther may have been initially sympathetic with the Jews but that rapidly dissipated as the Jews refused to join his movement. He later said “We are at fault in not slaying them.”<sup>739</sup> This paper only glancingly mentions the Roman Inquisition

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<sup>734</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 21.

<sup>735</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 13.

<sup>736</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 17.

<sup>737</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 37.

<sup>738</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 33.

<sup>739</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 41.

initiated in 1542<sup>740</sup> as this inquisition's major target was the Reformation. Pope Paul IV who established in 1557 the Roman Index which listed books banned by the Church. He established the Roman Ghetto of four square blocks. It had only one gate that was locked at night. It would be later expanded to four gates. The gates were knocked down in 1871 when Italy was unified but the Jews would continue to live there voluntarily until October 16, 1943 when 1,007 of the descendants of the original Jews were sent to Auschwitz.<sup>741</sup> The model that was in use prior to Vatican Council II was changed the model to "People of God" and that yielded clericalism views that the clergy "especially the higher clergy as the source of all power and initiative; tends to reduce the laity to a condition of passivity, demanding docility and obedience and to make the lay apostolate a mere appendage of the hierarchical apostolate."<sup>742</sup> Using this model which was in effect during the Holocaust the action of the Church were dictated by its leadership. It should be understood that the Church well into the 19th century accepted forced baptism. Under orders of Pope Pius VII during the years between 1800 and 1823 Papal Police entered the Roman Jewish Ghetto 22 times and seized 17 married women, 3 engaged women, and 27 children and gave the women the choice of being baptized and keeping their children or leaving without them.<sup>743</sup> Perhaps the most notorious case occurred in 1858 of the kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara. Under orders of the Inquisition this 6 year old boy was forcibly taken from the arms of his father because some years earlier his nanny fearing for his health, as he was ill, and without parental permission had him baptized. The Church raised him in a monastery, the Pope adopted him and refused to return him unless the family was baptized. Eventually the boy became a priest.<sup>744</sup> To

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<sup>740</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 42.

<sup>741</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 45.

<sup>742</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 46.

<sup>743</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 51.

<sup>744</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 53-54.

counter the civil press's response in the Mortara case a Catholic newspaper La Civiltà Cattolica thought to be the unofficial voice of the Papacy which was founded in 1850 started a series of 36 anti-Semitic articles in December 1880.<sup>745</sup> In one of these articles it again mentioned the blood libel but for some reason tied it to Purim rather than Passover. In 1867 Pope Pius IX awarded Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux author of "The Jew: Judaism and Judaization of Christian People" the Cross of the Commander of the Papal Order. The book which Pope Pius IX praised again had the assertion of blood libel despite Pope Innocent's IV committee's assertion that it had no validity. Modernism was often tied to Judaism. To be even handed it should be mentioned that Pope Pius IX did speak out in favor of French Captain Alfred Dreyfus who was imprisoned in an unfair trial for treason mostly based on antisemitism.<sup>746</sup> In an attempt to turn back the clock Pope Pius X instituted a rule that all priests must swear an oath known as "Anti-Modernist Oath" demanding blind obedience to Church teachings. Some experts refer to this as mind control and compare it to authoritarian states.<sup>747</sup> Amongst the clergy a group of informants were organized "Sodalitium Pianum" to report those who deviated from the teachings and get these clerics banned from academic institution.<sup>748</sup> *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* purporting to be a Jewish plan for world domination that unequivocally was proven to be a hoax was published in Russia in 1803. It was reprinted in 1805 by Russian Orthodox Priest Sergius Nilus and was distributed by Monsignor Umberto Benignity a member of Pope Pius X Department of State.<sup>749</sup>

In order to see what options were available to the Church in its political disputes with Germany in the 1930s it would be helpful to review the actions Pope Pius IX and Pope Leo XIII

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<sup>745</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 65.

<sup>746</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 33.

<sup>747</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 69.

<sup>748</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 70.

<sup>749</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 71.

took in their dealings with Bismarck. Bismarck tried to control the sermons in Catholic Churches. His justification was that since the state was subsidizing the Church he felt the state had the right to control their political position. He wanted the right to terminate priests, control Catholic religious education, confiscate Church property and withdraw state subsidies when he felt the Church was noncompliant. Pope Pius IX took a strong stand and ordered his flock to resist and threatened excommunication to any priest who did not resist the new laws. Bismarck was also concerned about the newly formed Catholic Center Party. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, was forced to back down and when Pope Pius IX died in February, 1878 Bismarck completed the process and made peace with Pope Pius IX's successor Pope Leo XIII.<sup>750</sup>

It is important to remember that the Russian Revolution 1917 - 1918 that resulted in the Communist takeover had severe repercussions for the Church. All landed property of the Russian Orthodox Church was confiscated, 11 million rubles on deposit with the Ecclesiastical College of the Czarist Regime was confiscated, and church services were forbidden. Since many of the leaders of the revolution were of Jewish ancestry, the Jews and the communists were viewed as a single entity and were considered the greatest threat to the Church and European society.<sup>751</sup> Possibly in reaction to this Pope Benedict XV promulgated a new code that was drafted in part by Eugenio Pacelli (the future Pope Pius XII) centralizing all Church authority in the hands of the Pope.<sup>752</sup>

Perhaps more than any other individual cardinal Eugenio Pacelli the secretary of state under Pope Pius XI and the future Pope Pius XII influenced and navigated the Churches relationship with Germany during the Holocaust. A brief biography would therefore be relevant.

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<sup>750</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 63.

<sup>751</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 78.

<sup>752</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 78.

He was born March 2, 1876 in Rome to a family whose members were very committed to service to the Holy See. His father Filipe Pacelli was an attorney for the Vatican and was a financial advisors to both Pius IX and Leo XIII. His brother was also a Vatican attorney that assisted in negotiating the Lateran treaty of 1929 between the Holy See and Mussolini.<sup>753</sup> He was raised with a strong anti-modernity leaning. He was ordained as a priest in 1899. His seminary studies were heavily concentrated on cannon law. In 1901 with minimal to no pastoral experience he was appointed to the Vatican Secreteriate of State. He served as papal nuncio in Munich and eventually in 1929 was transferred to Berlin. He redrafted much of the Code of Cannon law. In 1929 he was made a cardinal and the following year he became Secretary of State.

The Lateran Treaty between the Vatican and the government of Mussolini changed the Churches political landscape. By this treaty the Church after almost 60 years recognized the government of Italy with Rome as its capital. In return for this the Church was compensated for the loss of papal states by the state of Italy recognizing Catholicism as the official state religion, the state mandated religious high school instructions, Italy repealed anticlerical laws, and recognized the Vatican as a city state.<sup>754</sup> Hitler welcomed this as an important advance. “The fact that the Curia is now making its peace with Fascism shows that the Vatican trusts the new political realities far more than did the former liberal democracy with which it could not come to terms... The fact that the Church has come to an agreement with Fascist Italy proves beyond doubt that the Fascist world of ideas is closer to Christianity than those of Jewish liberalism or even atheistic Marxism, to which the so called Catholic Center Party sees itself so closely bound, to the detriment of Christianity today and our German people.”<sup>755</sup>

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<sup>753</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 46.

<sup>754</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 84.

<sup>755</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 84.



In 1926 an interfaith group was formed in Rome to pray for conversion of Jews and create favorable attitude toward them in the Church. Changes were also suggested in the Good Friday liturgy to remove the term faithless in respect to the Jews. Pope Pius XI reportedly favored it but the conservatives squelched it. The Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, the successor to the Inquisition, dissolved Opus sacerdotale Amici Israel in March, 1928.<sup>756</sup> Cardinal Pacelli had no illusions about Hitler and in 1929 Pacelli said “Hitler is capable of walking on corpses.”<sup>757</sup> In 1937 of the Chancellor of Germany Pacelli said to the American Consul “Hitler is untrustworthy scoundrel and fundamentally wicked person.”<sup>758</sup> In a 1938 report for President Franklin Roosevelt Pacelli wrote, that the Church regarded compromise with Nazi Germany as “out of the question.”<sup>759</sup> In regard to the economic boycott of the Jews as Secretary of State a letter was addressed to him from cardinal-bishop of Munich Michael Von Faulhaber who wrote: “We bishops are being asked why the Catholic Church, as often in its history, does not intervene on behalf of the Jews. This is not possible at this time because the struggle against the Jews would then, at the same time, become a struggle against the Catholics and because the Jews can help themselves, as the sudden end of the boycott shows.”<sup>760</sup>

On the other hand Hitler at least early in his reign paid lip service to protecting the Church. “The Government of the Reich regards Christianity as the unshakeable foundation of the morals and moral code of the nation ... The rights of the churches will not be diminished.”<sup>761</sup> His action proved that this was lip service but perhaps in organizational structure he did admire the Church. “I learned much from the Order of the Jesuits; until now there has never been

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<sup>756</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 85.

<sup>757</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 85.

<sup>758</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 85.

<sup>759</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 86.

<sup>760</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 94.

<sup>761</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 91.

anything more grandiose on the earth than the hierarchical organization of the Catholic Church. I transferred much of this organization into my own party.”<sup>762</sup>

Cardinal Pacelli negotiated several Concordats with the various German States. Article 16 is particularly interesting and significant. “Before bishops take possession of their dioceses they are to take an oath of fealty either to the Reich Representative of the state concerned, or to the President of the Reich according to the following formula: “Before God and on the Holy Gospels, I swear and promise as becomes a bishop, loyalty to the German Reich and to the (regional) state of ... I swear and promise to honor the legally constituted Government and to cause clergy of my diocese to honor it. In the performance of my spiritual office and in my solicitude for the welfare and the interests of the German Reich, I will endeavor to avoid all detrimental acts which might endanger it.”<sup>763</sup> In addition to the above, in July 1933, priests and bishops were required to offer the Seig Heil salute. The Church further agreed not to interfere in politics and banned organized Catholic Parties. This resulted in the demise of the independence of The Center Catholic Party and it in effect made Hitler a dictator by the party supporting the “Enabling Act”. Hitler lacked the votes of getting that legislation passed. He through odious methods did prevent the communists from voting and did have the support of the Catholic Party. For these concessions the Church gained at least by the stipulated terms the right to operate parochial schools without interference. For this in effect made the Church the first state to recognize the German Reich. This destroyed the constitutional protection offered to safeguard the institutions of a republic and a democracy. Cardinal Pacelli was elected to the position of pope presumably because he was “the most experienced and brilliant diplomat available.”<sup>764</sup> He

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<sup>762</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 92.

<sup>763</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 103.

<sup>764</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 69.

was considered “a veritable prince of diplomats.”<sup>765</sup> It is challenging to choose as to whether Stalin showed less foresight when he made a Nonaggression Pact with Hitler after Hitler killed German members of the Reichstag because they were communists and stated bluntly in *Mein Kampf* his plan to capture and colonize a large area in the Soviet Union to provide land for German Aryans or if it was Pope Pius XII who totally ignored his own instincts of the evil that lurked within Hitler and ignored how Pope Pius IX made Bismarck back down by the Church standing tall. The historian has the unfair advantage of the retrospectoscope when judging people of the past but certain decisions by some leaders stagger our ability to understand what those leaders could have been thinking, especially when those leaders were so well trained in diplomacy. In effect Pope Pius XII presided over the death of the last remaining democratic party in Germany the Catholic Center Party.<sup>766</sup> Cardinal-archbishop Faulhaber boasted “At a time when the heads of the major nations in the world faced the new Germany with cool reserve and considerable suspicion, the Catholic Church, the “greatest moral power on earth,” through the Reich Concordat expressed its confidence in the new German government. This was a deed of immeasurable significance for the reputation of the government abroad.”<sup>767</sup>

The story of Edith Stein is particularly disturbing. She was born to an Orthodox Jewish Family. She early on embraced atheism but on January 1, 1922 did an about face and was baptized. In 1922 she entered into the Discalced Carmelite order as a postulant and took the name Sister Teresia Benedicta. She wrote this letter as Cardinal Pacelli was negotiating a Concordat with the Nazis. We know he received it. “Holy Father! As a child of the Jewish people who, by the grace of god, for the past eleven years has also been a child of the Catholic

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<sup>765</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 69.

<sup>766</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 104.

<sup>767</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 94.

Church, I dare to speak to the Father of Christianity about that which oppress millions of Germans. For weeks we have seen deeds perpetuated in Germany which mock any sense of justice and humanity, not to mention love of neighbor. For years the leaders of National Socialism have been preaching hatred of the Jews. Now that they have seized the power of government and armed their followers, among the proven criminal elements, this seed of hatred has germinated. but through boycott measures— by robbing people of their livelihood, civic honor, and fatherland— it drives many to desperation; within the last week, through private reports I was informed of five cases of suicide as a consequence of these hostilities. I am convinced that this is a general condition which will claim many more victims. One may regret that these unhappy people do not have greater inner strength to bear their misfortune. But the responsibility must fall, after all, on those who brought them to this point and it also falls on those who keep silent in the face of such happenings. Everything that happened and continues to happen on a daily basis originates with a government that calls itself “Christian”. For weeks not only Jews but also thousands of faithful Catholics in Germany and, I believe, all over the world, have been waiting and hoping for the Church of Christ to raise its voice to stop this abuse of Christs name... signed Dr. Edith Stein.”<sup>768</sup> She was transferred to the Netherlands by the Church in the vain hope that this would protect her from the Nazis. She ended up in Auschwitz where she was murdered. She was canonized by Pope John Paul II on May 1, 1987. She was granted sainthood on October 11, 1998. Pope Pius XII was canonized November 18, 1965 and declared venerable December 19, 2009 but he has ironically not yet been canonized.

On April 25, 1933 the Church again became complicit in *limpieza* by the law for Preventing Overcrowding in German Schools and Schools of Higher education. In effect by

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<sup>768</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 95-96.

using documentation provided marriage and baptismal papers priests disclosed the purity of blood lines presumably to decide if admission criteria to schools were satisfied.<sup>769</sup> According to Garry Wills a Pulitzer Prize winning author Judaism the Vatican viewed Judaism as a greater threat to Church and European society than Bolshevism.<sup>770</sup>

Hitler reveals, if you've read between the lines of Hitler's statements, where he really stood. "While we destroyed the (Catholic) Center Party we have not only brought thousands of priests back into the Church, but to millions of respectable people we have restored their faith in their religion and in their priests. The union of the Evangelical Church into a single Church for the whole Reich (the Deutsche Christian Church), the Concordat with Catholic Church, these are but milestones on the road which leads to the establishment of a useful relation and a useful cooperation between the Reich and the two Confessions....National Socialism neither opposes the church, nor is it anti-religious, but on the contrary it stands on the grounds of a real Christianity."<sup>771</sup> The Catholic Church did take strong exception when Ernst Bergemann tried to rewrite the Bible with the view approved by Hitler that Christ was not a Jew but rather a Nordic warrior whom the Jews put to death. Some Protestant clergy did embrace this view.<sup>772</sup> Between 1933 and 1936 the Church logged 34 protests for the Reich's violation of the Concordat and Pope Pius XI considered withdrawing from the Concordat but many important Catholic official including Secretary of State Pacelli dissuaded him citing the effect this would have on German Catholics. In 1937 Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical "Mit brennender Sorge ("With Searing Anxiety") which condemned many of the Nazi actions.<sup>773</sup> It mentioned "God given

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<sup>769</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 105.

<sup>770</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 113.

<sup>771</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 102-103.

<sup>772</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 106.

<sup>773</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 108.

rights”. This encyclical may have resulted in increased prosecution of German Catholics. On September 6, 1938 Pope Pius XI told a group of Belgian Pilgrims, “Antisemitism is inadmissible...Mark well that in the Catholic Mass, Abraham is our Patriarch and forefather. Anti-Semitic movement is in compatible with the lofty thought which that fact expresses. It is a movement with which we Christians have nothing to do. No, no, I say to you it is impossible for a Christian to take part in anti-Semitism. It is inadmissible. Through Christ and in Christ we are the spiritual progeny of Abraham. Spiritually we are all Semites.”<sup>774</sup> This declaration was not published in any Catholic publication. In September, 1942 President Roosevelt asked Pope Pius XII to speak out against Nazi war crimes and Pope Pius XII declined.<sup>775</sup> In December the Allies issued the condemnation of Nazi action on “German Policy of Extermination of the Jewish Race.” Pope Pius XII refused to join it despite the fact that 3.2 million Jews had already been murdered.<sup>776</sup> This in no way implies that FDR came into this with clean hands. There were approximately a thousand clergy, Catholic and Protestant, assigned to the Wehrmacht but fewer than ten cases of protest, by mostly priests, were made about the mass murder.<sup>777</sup>

On March 2, 1939 Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli was elected and became Pope Pius XII. Four days later he personally wrote a letter which in part said “To the illustrious Herr Adolf Hitler, Fuhrer and Chancellor of the German Reich! Here at the beginning of our Pontificate We desire to express the wish to remain united by the bonds of profound and benevolent friendship with the German people who are entrusted to your care...We pray that Our great desire for the prosperity of the German people and for their progress in every domain may, with God’s help, come to full

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<sup>774</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 116-117.

<sup>775</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 143.

<sup>776</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 143.

<sup>777</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 130.

realization.”<sup>778</sup> In 1938 just a few months before his passing Pope Pius XI had an encyclical written “*Humani Generis Unitas*” (On the Unity of the Human Race)<sup>779</sup> which called for an end to the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Pope Pius XII decided to bury it and it became known as the “Hidden Encyclical”. Pope Pius XII did take some excerpt from it in his inaugural address. One cannot say if it would have saved a single Jew but one could not say otherwise. Pope Pius XII must be credited with having silenced an anti-Semitic priest in the United States Father Coughlin who had a weekly radio show that was constantly laced with antisemitism. To be cynical Pacelli did it at the urging of President Franklin Roosevelt and there was a political deal.<sup>780</sup> It is also extremely confusing as to how an institution that finds abortion tantamount to murder could negotiate with a nation that inaugurated Euthanasie Programme (Euthanasia Program) to destroy *lebensunwertes leben* (“life unworthy of life”)<sup>781</sup> Life unworthy of life referred to those human beings whom because of mental or physical disability had limited potential.

After the invasion and partition of Poland Pope Pius XII finally issued *Summi Pontificatus* which in part said “The blood of countless human beings, even non-combatants raises a piteous dirge over a nation such as Our dear Poland which for its fidelity to the Church, for its service in defense of Christian civilization written in the indelible characters in the annals of history, has a right to the generous and brother sympathy of the whole world while it awaits, relying on the powerful intercession of Mary, Help of Christians, the hour of resurrection in harmony with the principle of justice and true peace.”<sup>782</sup> No mention in it was made of the Jews.

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<sup>778</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 121.

<sup>779</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 122.

<sup>780</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 58.

<sup>781</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 127.

<sup>782</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 126.

There were a few Churches that measured up to a standard that they could be proud of. Among that small group stand Jehovah's Witnesses and the Danish Lutheran Church. Perhaps Dante set too high a standard when he wrote; "The hottest place in hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality."<sup>783</sup> President of the Polish government-in-exile Wladislaw Racziewicz asked Pope Pius XII to speak out against the atrocities committed by the Nazis to the Jews, but the Pope declined then and into the future.<sup>784</sup> Perhaps one of the severest indictments against Pope Pius came from Bishop Angelo Roncalli of blessed memory who provided baptismal papers and other documents and helped get Jews admitted to Palestine to save possibly thousands of Jew. When the Bishop (who later became Pope St. John XXIII was approached by Hannah Arendt what was to be done about the play "The Deputy", which basically portrayed Pope Pius XII failures to act in the Holocaust replied: "Do against it? What can you do against the truth?"<sup>785</sup>

Complicit after the fact were those clergy who worked for Rat Line. This was a conspiracy to help Nazis escape the justice of being tried by courts as in Nuremburg for crimes against humanity. Archbishop Alois Hudal assisted people like Klaus Barbie the butcher of Lyon, Dr. Franz Stengel, who was commandant of the infamous death camp at Sobibor and at Treblinka, Dr. Josef Mengele who did ruthless experiments on children especially twins, and told defenseless men women and children to walk to the right or left determining if they would be gassed immediately or become slaves, and Adolf Eichmann one of the major architects of the Holocaust. There were German Bishops who came down on different sides, Archbishop Konrad Grober a sponsoring member of the SS claimed that as Jews were guilty of deicide they had a

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<sup>783</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 148.

<sup>784</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 147-148.

<sup>785</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 149.



self-imposed cursed. He also wrote “Catholic theologians have always distinguished between the just and unjust war and have never left it to the judgement of the individual, with all his shortsightedness and emotionalism, to decide the justice of any given war. Instead, the final decision has been left to the legitimate authority.”<sup>786</sup> Bishop Adolf Bertram also demanded respect for the Nazi state. He sent Hitler birthday greetings and upon Hitler’s suicide presided on a solemn requiem mass.<sup>787</sup>

A Roman Catholic priest who was a fascist, Father Jozef Tiso, became head of Slovakia. The Jews were transported to death camps but as a special bonus Tiso’s regime paid a bonus to Germany for every Jew deported. He did however, try to protect Jews who were baptized and who were mainly wealthy and issued 1,100 exemptions.<sup>788</sup>

Three bishops deserve special mention for standing up to Hitler. Bishop Konrad Von Preysing chaired a group opposed to the Reich’s race policy. He also preached the right to life extends to the Jews. Bishop Josef Frings of Cologne cautioned his flock not to violate the rights of others. Bishop of Munster St. Clemens August Graf Von Galen complained directly to Hitler for violations of the Concordat. He opposed the T4 Euthanasia program and preached against the Gestapo and removal of religious property. The Nazis planned to execute him but decided to wait till the end of the war. He was canonized by Pope Benedict on October 9, 2005 for his opposition to the T4 program.

Other clergy stood tall for the rights of man Father Bernhard Lichtenberg who among other things condemned the actions of Kristallnacht and for his speech served 2 year in prison and died on the way to Dachau. A Catholic activist organization, Zegota, at great peril to itself, placed

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<sup>786</sup> Quoted in Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 156.

<sup>787</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 157.

<sup>788</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 178.

over 2,000 Jewish children in the Warsaw area out of harm's way. These courageous people risked themselves and make us proud but alas there were too many who were either silent or complicit.

Pope Pius XII did address these issues to Bishop Konrad Von Preysing: "We give to the pastors who are working at the local level the duty of determining if and to what degree the danger of reprisals and of various forms of oppression occasioned by episcopal church declarations... ad maiora mala vitanda ("to avoid worse")... seem to advise caution. Here lies one of the reasons, why We impose self-restraint on Ourselves in our speeches; the experience, that we made in 1942 with papal addresses, which We authorized to be forwarded to the Believers, justifies our opinion, as far as We see... The Holy See has done whatever was in its power, with charitable, financial and moral assistance. To say nothing of the substantial sums which we spent in American money for the fares of immigrants".<sup>789</sup>

The place of Pope Pius in the Holocaust is not totally clear and there were times he stood up for positive actions. In an encyclical drafted in 1937 by Pope Pius XI and Secretary of State Pacelli the Nuncio in Berlin was ordered to intervene with the government on behalf of the Jews.<sup>790</sup> Pacelli in 1938 did tell the American consul that he "regarded Hitler not only as an untrustworthy scoundrel but as a fundamentally wicked person."<sup>791</sup> Pope Pius XII after hundreds of Jews especially in academia lost their jobs because of anti-Semitic laws enacted in Italy gave some of them positions in the Vatican library. He also helped a number of Jewish academics get emigration papers to America and Palestine.<sup>792</sup> Some sources claim that on October 16, 1943,

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<sup>789</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 163-164.

<sup>790</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 64.

<sup>791</sup> Quoted in Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 65.

<sup>792</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 72.

when Pope Pius XII heard of the roundup and deportation of Jews to Auschwitz he filed a formal protest with Ernst von Weizsacker Germany's ambassador to the Vatican and demanded that the arrests stop. At that time he also ordered churches and monasteries throughout Italy to shelter Jews. Capuchin monk Father Pierre Marie Benoit who diligently worked to save Jews in France and later in Rome by providing escape routes and false documents credits Pope Pius XII with providing financial and moral support to his efforts.<sup>793</sup> Castle Gandolfo which was the summer residence of the Pope was used to shelter many Jews, provide obstetric needs and even kosher food. It is controversial as to whether Pope Pius XII was aware of this use.<sup>794</sup> On orders from Pope Pius XII, Monsignor Angelo Rotta met with heads of the Hungarian government to protest Jewish deportation.<sup>795</sup> It would be reasonable to assume that Pope Pius XII may have elected to say less because he didn't want to put at risk those Jews whom he was hiding. There are also theories that the Nazis seriously considered kidnapping the Pope and Pope Pius XII was aware of this threat which again forced him to keep a low profile.

The International Catholic-Jewish Historical Commission appointed by the Vatican consisted of three Jewish scholars and three Catholic scholars concluded its review having had access to Vatican documents that the Vatican failed to do everything it could to get the Jews out of Europe.<sup>796</sup> While the evidence of Pope Pius's XII activity is controversial and contradictory the strongest evidence against him would include his signing several concordats that allowed the Enabling Act, which allowed Hitler to assume a dictatorial power. This was done despite Pope Pius XI considering Hitler evil and Pope Pius XII being a consummate politician who was aware of Pope Pius IX successful campaign against Bismarck. The other evidence against him includes

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<sup>793</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 90-91.

<sup>794</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 82-93.

<sup>795</sup> Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*. 93.

<sup>796</sup> Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church*, 202.

the statement of Pope John XIII saying that the story portrayed in the Deputy is true and finally the conclusion of The Historic Commission.

## Chapter 10: Conclusions

It is difficult and perhaps presumptuous to try to draw lessons from history. The social scientist may try to use proof of statistical significance to prove a theory but this is much more applicable in fields like economics that can better utilize and convert information into numbers than is often found in history. Unlike the physical sciences where the investigator can use a laboratory and develop an experiment with only one variable and keep all other factors constant, the historian lives in a complex world that has an infinite set of forces all controlling the flow of events. Nevertheless since the dawn of time ideologues have insisted that history is controlled by only one factor and other forces are merely a distraction. In biblical times, those who narrowly interpret the scriptures, believe the only significant player was an almighty creator and humans just acted upon the world that he created. Herodotus's writings imply that the only significant force was those that promoted democracy while Thucydides may have felt that it is economics that was the sole influence of any significance. Galileo a deeply religious and very conflicted individual appeared before the Roman Inquisition recanted his heresy and admitted that the Church doctrine that the earth is a stationary body and all the celestial bodies rotate around it was correct. As he was leaving the chamber of the tribunal he purportedly mumbled in respect to our

blue marble that “still she moves”. Irrespective of whether this story is myth or true it still reflects on our fellow scribbler’s strong acceptance of the power of modernity, whatever its definition, to influence the trajectory of historical events. In more recent history people like Karl Marx said that world history is simply the story of class struggle. Race was obviously the prime mover for Hitler. World history from his perspective is the story of how the Aryan race needed to dominate the world and destroy the evil Jewish race. As has been previously discussed the Inquisition believed in race as a prime mover but also added to it that the only true salvation was provided by the Church. While most open minded observers would accept the premise that many factor influence the flow of history, so as that we can act more rationally it becomes necessary for us to try to tease out from all the influences those that were more directional at different times. Perhaps it is those ideologues who say that there perspective is the only correct one, are those that we must fear most.

It would be productive now to review how both of these regimes dealt with different challenges.

1. The question of caloric intake was a major consideration for the Nazis. The figures probably represent rough estimates but in a purposeful way the Nazis limited the number of calories that would be provided to their inmates. Reputedly in the Warsaw Ghetto the Jews were allotted only 300 calories a day. For that reason the Jewish Gutter Rats would sneak into the gentile section to buy or steal food. In Auschwitz the allotment was 1400 calories a day. The purpose of this was to speed the death of Jews by starvation and exhaustion. As previously mentioned this strongly negatively impacted on the German war effort by removing the slave labor that was so desperately needed for production of war material. The Inquisition also caused starvation of innocent victims. We have previously discussed those young children orphaned by

relaxing their fathers and confiscating the family wealth. In this era a social safety net did not exist and some of these young children died of starvation. In all probability these deaths as differentiated from the case of the Nazis were not a premeditated goal but just a result of negligence.<sup>797</sup>

2. Both groups stole the wealth of their victims and often channeled it into the personal wealth of the members. King Ferdinand insisted that a third of the wealth be given to the crown and members of the Inquisition often looted the treasury of the Inquisition so that in the later term of its existence it lacked the funds that it needed. Hitler's subordinates stole the wealth of many Jews especially the art work and jewelry. The Rat Line as it was fleeing the crumbling Third Reich would use this wealth to bribe officials and provide the escaping Nazis with a high standard of living. Unlike King Ferdinand, Hitler apparently had little interest in personal wealth and would leave this theft to his subordinates.

3. The Nazis took personal pride in the murder of Jews and high officials would willingly participate. The Inquisition would try to distance itself from the physical brutality and assign the murder and torture to civil authorities and if the civil authorities failed to comply the Inquisition would excommunicate these officials. The violent brutality in both cases had their unique aspects. The Inquisition before burning their victims would parade them in an elaborate ceremony and then take them to a distant site by which the clergy would feel they were removed from the murder. In a pathetic comedy the Inquisition would then plead for mercy for the victims from the civil authority. It is pertinent that approximately half of those killed in the Holocaust were killed not in an impersonal gas chamber but by a brutish act of one on one

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<sup>797</sup> Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition: 1478-1614*, 69.

violence. There usually was not a ceremony condemning the Jews here to death as haste for the large number of victims was called for.

4. Pageantry was a major element in both eras and was well planned and executed. Pageantry was used in both Edicts of Mercy and Edicts of Faith to create fear in the hearts of the faithful and to encourage them to confess and to bear witness against their friends, neighbors, and relatives. The Auto de Fe also involved elaborate ceremony. This solidified the community and created unity of action. The locals became so involved in the ceremony that they became so aroused that a law had to be passed barring the locals from stoning those convicted. Inga Clendinnen argues that the purpose for pageantry in the death camps was not so much to torture the Jews as to make the elite soldiers in the backwater of places like Auschwitz feel that they were an important part of the war effort. Thus pageantry was utilized as an important tool by both regimes.

5. Both regimes used incineration of human beings as a means of disposal of their victims. The Inquisition burned people at the stake while usually alive. Most of the people incinerated by the Nazis had already been executed in the gas chambers. There were some exception to this as when the Nazis burned a synagogue with its members being locked in it.

6. Both eras worked as military regimes. The honor of the Hidalgo was tied to his military distinction. Hitler insisted that all citizens, meaning men, were required to give at least two years toward military training.

7. Both groups used spurious records to prove the purity of blood. Bribes were often used by Conversos to get state officials to certify that they had pure blood. An SS candidate, ironically in some cases needed to have a Rabbi certify that he was not Jewish.

8. Despite the official's attempts in both cases to maintain secrecy, the population was aware of what was happening and in many cases gave tacit approval.

9. The acts of violence committed by children and clerics on Holy Week of stoning Jews was a sanctioned act of violence which in an on again off again history led to the violence which was a prelude to the Inquisition and then to the Nazis. Kristallnacht again sanctioned violence against the Jews and had the Jews removed from the public domain in Germany. This made it socially acceptable for Aryans to participate in acts of violence and speak openly about these violent acts in polite company.

10. Meticulous record keeping was important in both eras. This was often done to appease superiors. Torquemada upon seeing that some of the accused were exonerated forced the Inquisitor to retry the accused once or twice more till he was satisfied with the verdict. Eichmann's group similarly broke ranks with the military and took the trains from the military for transport Jews. This was of course well documented.

11. It is likely that the bigoted actions of both regimes negatively impacted on their economic, scientific, and military advancement. The Spanish by constant inspecting and forcing ship to remain in harbor impeded trade. Its mistreatment of foreign sailors made Spain an unpleasant port of call and thus discouraged trade. Its advocacy of only scientific principles and thoughts approved by the Church impeded Spanish advancement. The Nazis may have lost the war by diverting their own railroads and killing potential skilled slave labor. The loss of such illustrious scientist as Albert Einstein could only hurt the Axis. As much as it hurt the Axis it helped the Allies. It is well documented that Einstein wrote two letters to President Franklin Roosevelt which was probably responsible for the initiation of The Manhattan Project.



12. Both sides needed to manipulate the perception of the masses to accomplish their goals. The Catholic masses in Spain had limited understanding of Catholicism and they needed to be educated on Catholic doctrine. While a base of antisemitism existed much of the masses needed to be educated that extreme action was required. This was accomplished during Kristallnacht by a carnival like attitude and allowing antisemitism in polite social conversation.

13. In both eras elite groups functioned independent of more routine authorities. Eichmann functioned independent of many military authorities as did the Gestapo and SS. They diverted railroads away from military use. Inquisitors often ignored ecclesiastic, including the pope and civil authorities.

14. Multiple fascist parties existed simultaneously as the Nazis in Germany, in Italy, The Italian Fascist Party and in Hungary the Arrow Cross Party. Multiple independent Inquisitions also existed simultaneously.

15. It has been argued by Kamen that part of King Ferdinand actions in supporting the Inquisition was to manipulate the Church into helping him form a strong central government. Similarly Hitler tried to manipulate the theology of the Church and create an Aryan Christ.

16. In contrast The Third Reich lasted a little over a decade while the Inquisition survived for many centuries.

17. The regimes at its initiation relied on a single strong man to move forward its agenda. In Egypt it was Pharaoh, in Spain it was King Ferdinand, and in The Third Reich it was Hitler. They all had subordinates that helped them but they were the guiding force without whom the massive destruction would not have followed.

18. The strong anti-Semitic violence existed in Christian Europe since at least the Middle Ages. Why this at certain times was kept within bounds and at other times reached

extremes is a difficult question. Perhaps, it is such leaders as Hitler and Ferdinand and Torquemada that are needed to inflame the passions.

Menachem Begin, former Prime Minister of Israel and son of two parents who were killed in the Holocaust, as he was preparing to destroy the nuclear reactor in Iraq spoke to a group of American tourists. He told them that there are lessons we need to learn from the Holocaust. First, when world leaders say they plan to destroy the Jews believe them. Secondly, if a Jew is in trouble it is the obligation of others to come to his aid. Presumably this was the reason for Israel destroying Iraq's nuclear reactor despite the anticipated world reaction. The world may not like people of good will reactions to the evil statement of world leaders like Hitler, but the need to protect those that cannot protect themselves is not seen frequently enough. President Clinton's intervention in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and then Pope John XXIII, Secretary of State Baker, and President Clinton's actions in Ireland, are the exceptions, not the rule. As mentioned earlier in this paper the Jews mourn the destruction of both Temples which coincides with the expulsion date from Spain on the 9th day of the Hebrew month of Av. What was not mentioned is that in an earlier month on the 10th of the Hebrew month of Tevet the Jews fast for the day the Babylonians lay siege on Jerusalem. Perhaps what is truly being mourned was not the siege but the opportunities lost to prevent the destruction.

What were the warning signs that should have spurred action? As has been mentioned the Holocaust should not have surprised the world leaders. Hitler was blunt and published a book that clearly outlined his plans. It would of course be impossible to react to every store front lunatic's plan but this man was the leader of a major political party and soon became chancellor and then president of a mighty armed nation. Perhaps Neville Chamberlain could hide behind the fact that Hitler stated that the one country he felt would be a good ally for Germany and to whom

he held no animosity was Great Britain. Chamberlain should have been aware, however, that all political alliances are fragile and that a man like Hitler had no scruples and would shift his position. Stalin, however, had no such excuse as Hitler clearly coveted the Soviets land mass and wanted to make it a colony. The options of Jewish leaders and the Jewish people were much more limited as the West clearly did not want to admit especially the Eastern European Jews. Two thirds of the German Jews who were more acceptable to the Western powers as immigrants did leave Germany. A third left before Kristallnacht and another third left between Kristallnacht and the commencement of World War II.

The Jews were much less prepared for the Spanish expulsion in 1492. A minor delay of days for the expulsion was obtained from King Ferdinand but the emigration was a disaster. In many cases the victims were robbed of all their possession, enslaved, drowned, murdered and many returned to Spain penniless. If they had voluntarily left earlier they may have had the opportunity to make safer arrangements. It is always easier for the writer to say you should have left than the victim to just give up their homes, family, community, real estate possessions, and professions but in some cases that was the most viable option. It is a sad response to the victims but in some cases there are only distasteful options. The other option for these Jews was to be baptized but for some that was not an option, but even for some of these they had no choice when during the expulsion they were faced with slavers, murderers, and or pirates.

Another point held in common between both events includes the concept that both perpetrators were ethnocentric in the extreme. The Spanish considered themselves to be the highest level of Catholics. Certainly non-Catholics were below their dignity. Moslems and Jews were offensive groups. This was more than simply a religious philosophical disagreement. Member of these other religions even if baptized were by the nature of the racist prejudices of the perpetrators

suspect. Limpieza which included blood lines were of importance for social standing and economic positioning for many generations. People used all forms of subterfuge to prove that their blood lines were pure. Sanbenito robes that were hung in the church of those people convicted and were left there for many generations were a constant source of embarrassment to their descendants. This in no way reflected on the religious beliefs of the younger generations but it was felt that they were genetically unreliable. This despite the fact that the original Christians were Jews, but bigotry does not have to be logical. As mentioned earlier Professor Netanyahu said anti Judaism was a myth and in truth this was racial antisemitism not unlike the Nazis. The main difference between the Nazis and the Inquisitors was that there was a temporary reprieve by baptism. Hitler in his book made a specific comment on this that sprinkling a little water does not change reality and thus this was a racial prejudice. The Spanish prejudice on racial lines certainly extended to the New World in terms of the indigenous people who were the original inhabitants and the Africans who were brought their by force to provide labor. A person born in the New World even if he had immaculate limpieza was still on a lower level than a person of the same stock born in Spain. As mentioned earlier, prejudices are not compelled to be logical.

The Nazis in a similar fashion were very ethnocentric in terms of protecting the Aryans. Counterintuitively sometimes records from Jewish synagogues and cemeteries were used to prove the purity of some Nazis even extending to member of the SS. It was clearly the purpose of the Nazis to use “lesser races” such as the Polish to provide slave labor until enough people of the Aryan race could replace them. These “lesser races” would be encouraged to die through the stress of overwork, poor living conditions, malnutrition, or violent mistreatment. Presumably the extermination methods used on the Jews would not be systematically visited upon them (maybe?). The Gypsies that were pure bred would be kept as a historic specimen tantamount to a zoo, of

precursors to the more developed Aryan race. The whole thrust of Nazi activities was to provide a larger land area for the Aryans to grow, multiply, and be productive.

Both eras discussed were preceded by governments that in many ways were far more liberal and concerned with human rights than any other in their era. Evil people then arose who despite their promises to protect the minority rights proceeded to dismantle the rights of the minority. When King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella took possession of the last Moslem stronghold they not only pledged to protect the religious rights of the Moslems but even symbolically wore Arab garb. In similar fashion Hitler guaranteed that the “Enabling Act” would only be used in cases of extreme emergency. He said he would protect the democratic institutions. It is self-evident that protest to King Ferdinand, Queen Isabella, or Hitler that they had received assurances to the contrary would not help but rather incite greater retribution. The new rulers proceeded to follow their original plans despite their protestation to the opposite.

Legal processes that existed in the previous regimes were basically ignored. The new regimes made the new legal structures only to give the semblance of legitimacy. The new regimes created a judicial system that only superficially would present the picture of an even handed system. The Inquisition developed a legal system in which you were presumed guilty based on the accusation, you could not confront your accusers, you were unaware of the charges until the verdict was handed down, imprisonment could last for decades before a verdict was rendered, legal counsel was punishable if they offered too vigorous a defense, torture was a valid method of interrogation, even if you were exonerated the charges could be brought up again, and the most onerous part of the punishment was that it not only impacted the accused, but his whole family, and future generations. To prevent appeals to the Crown or to the Vatican those being burned at the stake often found out their fate the day before their execution. Prior to the advent of the Nazis the German system of jurisprudence protected the citizenry. The Nazis when they took

charge did not have to say the length of imprisonment at Dachau and at Auschwitz the only legal system was when Dr. Josef Mengele, the Angel of Death, or other officer, decided your fate by telling to go right or left slavery versus, poison gas. These decisions were made on the spur of the moment without the right to appeal. Thus while a judicial system with appropriate safeguards does protect the citizenry, it has value only if those charged with its administration provide a relentless monitoring of its safeguards.

One recurrent question under the Nazi regime was what could the average person with some level of morality have done? Some people put themselves and their families' lives in danger by helping the intended victims. Is this too much to expect of the man on the street? Certainly those people who did it need to be honored but on the other side those people who lacked the courage to do anything should they be condemned if they were passive? Even some people in the police battalions refused to shoot unarmed defenseless men, women and children but with time some of them lost their resolve. The Inquisition in like form wielded an awesome power. They could condemn not only the accused but also their family and acquaintances. The accused and everyone else was sworn to silence so that even to object, was heresy because you violated the law by discussing the secret proceedings. The secrecy provided the Inquisition with a weapon that was very difficult to overcome. Perhaps then an additional responsibility of those that administer our judicial system is to constantly protect its transparency.

At a ceremony commemorating the completion of a course for Israeli non-commissioned officers on the Holocaust an Israeli admiral addressed the graduates. The graduation was attended not only by members of the Israel Defense Forces but also by a group of American and Canadian Jewish tourists. The graduation took place in Auschwitz on the spot that Mengele, the Angel of Death, chose whether the Jewish victims would either go to their death or to slave

quarters. Mengele would briefly look at people and either say go right or left. In English the Israeli Admiral addressed a few brief words of greetings to the American and Canadian guests. He then turned to the troops and spoke in Hebrew, unaware of the fact that some of the American and Canadian guests were fluent in Hebrew. He said to the troops that we have American and Canadian guests with us. One of the major missions of Israeli Defense Forces is to make sure that these people will never experience what our brethren went through under the Nazis. The presence of a Jewish sovereign state offers a degree of protection for the Jews living in the diaspora. The Jews of Eastern Europe had no place to flee to as most Western countries would not accept them. The existence of the State of Israel provides a haven for them and as we have seen in the Ukraine debacle also to gentiles. Making this relevant to the expulsion in 1492 from Spain the Jews had no place to flee to and many of them died in captivity. If a sovereign Jewish state existed, perhaps the situation would have been better.

The use of violence by individuals such as assassination tends to be self-defeating. Inquisitor Arbues who was assassinated by a Converso plot created a martyr who as mentioned was the only inquisitor to be canonized and this strengthened the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. Then the opposition to the Inquisition in Aragon by the Old Christians seemed to melt away. The assassination of Ernst Von Rath by Herschel Grynszpan only gave the Nazis an excuse to initiate Kristallnacht. In similar fashion, the execution of Reinhard Heydrich caused massive reprisals and probably benefitted none of the Nazis victims.

When a person such as Hitler says that he intends to commit an atrocity it is incumbent upon the rest of the civilized world to pay attention to him especially if the perpetrator is a head of state. The Jews and the rest of the world needed to pay attention to Hitler's book which clearly outlined his evil intent. The failure to take him seriously had devastating repercussions. In like

fashion the failure of the Jews to take seriously the threat of expulsion from Spain cost many lives.

The Jewish people are frequently credited with having a long historical perspective and remember the past. The accuracy of this myth needs to be given at least a cursory review. General Grant on December 12, 1862 instituted standing order number 11, and thus promulgated the most anti-Semitic act ever to become law in the United States. He banished all Jews from his area of martial law and for this he was compared to Haman from the Purim holiday. Haman was alive long prior to the Inquisition and yet they chose this personification of evil to compare to General Grant rather than the more recent Inquisition. Part of the explanation may be that the Jewish people in the diaspora are divided into three groups. The first group which predominated in the United States is Ashkenazi Jews who tie their origins to Eastern Europe, France, Great Britain, and Northern Europe. The second group is Sephardic Jews who trace their heritage to Iberia and the last group is Mizrachi coming from the Middle East. A simple explanation for the use of Haman rather than a member of the Inquisition would be that since the Inquisition involved the Sephardic group and Ashkenazi was more predominant in the United States perhaps the familiarity with Haman was greater than their familiarity with Torquemada. It is more likely that the Inquisition never received the recognition that it deserved. An informal survey by the author reveals that many Ashkenazi Jews including their clergy still do not know enough about the Inquisition. The frightening thing about this is the question as to how much will be remembered in the next generation about the Holocaust? This is perhaps the scariest lesson. If we cannot remember the past to paraphrase George Santayana we have little hope of avoiding the pitfalls. Carl Becker argues that to be relevant historical facts must be in the mind of the



masses and not only in a dusty library.<sup>798</sup> The details of both tragedies are all well recorded but that does little good if no one pays attention. Purim has many Jewish traditions, including reading a megillah, eating special cookies, dressing up in costumes, and having parties and giving gifts. On the other hand, there are few customs regarding commemorating the Inquisition. There is a day that was randomly chosen, Yom Hashoah to commemorate the Holocaust but the only customs attached to that day is burning a yellow candle, and hearing stories from the survivors. The obvious problem with that is that life is finite and the number of survivors are constantly diminishing. To keep the memory alive more traditions need to be instituted. The class of historians who follow the school of New Intellectual History, believe a major influence on the trajectory of history is that repository of history that resided in the minds of the masses. It therefore follows at least according to this school as the memory of the Holocaust fades from the memory of the masses and as the history of the Inquisition was never there, the dangers of repeating these tragedies grows. It thus becomes more important that our civil and spiritual leaders institute traditions that keep these memories alive.

The trajectory of history over the millenniums appears to be moving toward the recognition of the rights of all people. During the Second World War, for example, it was not considered unethical to bomb enemy civilians be they in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, or Dresden. Even more upsetting is that the Allies bombed Allied civilians in Normandy without a protest being created. Today, however, while the bombing by Putin of Ukrainian civilians is still happening it is at least recognized as a crime. To ignore or call the three epochs that this paper refers to as mere blips or aberrations on that path would be to trample on the lives, times, and graves of the victims perhaps in as cruel a fashion as did Pharaoh, the Inquisition, and the Nazis. The preceding rulers

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<sup>798</sup> Carl L. Becker, "What are Historical Facts?" *The Western Political Quarterly*, Volume 8, No. 3, (September, 1955): 327-340.

of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Weimar Republic did with major exceptions do more than just pay lip service in protecting some minorities. These protections even if guaranteed on paper by a constitution are fragile and are always at risk. To view history only through the lens of racism would be narrow minded. To ignore that lens and not give it its due attention would be to fly in the face of all mankind has learned over its existence. The mistress of racism and bigotry is a hungry demanding one that constantly enlarges its targets. The Spanish Inquisition was not satisfied with just targeting the Jews but expanded to Moslems, Protestants, and the indigenous people of the New World and viewed non Spanish Catholics with some degree of suspicion. In like manner, the Nazis expanded their hatred from Jews, to “inferior Eastern Europeans” and would include Asians. Perhaps our greatest protection is that the greed of racists and bigots will be their undoing. Nevertheless, we must always be on guard and vigilant of our rights and those of our fellow man and we must come to the aid of those incapable of protecting themselves. It is for that reason that with pride and gratitude we acknowledge many of the survivors of the Holocaust and their descendants that recognized their obligations as the Chosen People and stood up for the downtrodden during the civil rights crisis in our country and abroad. Sadly, while not being unique it is certainly distinct that despite being the victims for centuries the Church upon gaining the ascendancy joined the ranks of the prosecutors of the defenseless. The title of the Chosen People confers neither the powers nor the benefits of an authoritarian head but rather the obligations and the responsibilities of leading by providing a moral example. “Will you join in our crusade? Who will be strong and stand with me?” (*From Les Miserables*)<sup>799</sup>

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<sup>799</sup> Claude-Michel Schonberg and Alain Boubllil, “Les Miserables”, ( Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, (2012): 54.

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