
52. On republicans and institutional Judaism, see Leff, *Sacred Bonds*.


54. Wolfram Kaiser, “Clericalism—That is our Enemy!": European Anticlericalism and the Culture Wars,” in *Culture Wars*, 47–76.


59. This approach is closest to what Kocka and Haupt have called “comparisons in comprehensive arguments”; Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, “Contents: Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspective of Comparative History,” in *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), 9–10.


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3. Leroy-Beaulieu, *Doctrines*, 73.


6. See, for example, the excerpts chosen in A. Leroy-Beaulieu, “Quelques spécimens de l’esprit juif,” *AI* 62 (September 26, 1901), 307–308; and *AI* 62 (October 3, 1901), 316.


12. The notion that rabbinic power was responsible for Jews’ lack of will to convert was, however, central in the early modern literature. See Gerhard Lauer, *Die Rückseite der Haskala: Geschichte einer kleinen Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008), 59.


14. I have also chosen the unequal spelling of antisemitism and anticlericalism on the one hand and anti-Judaism and anti-Catholicism on the other. “Semitism” and “clericalism” are ascribed categories. They were invented only shortly before the terms antisemitism and anticlericalism became popular. “Catholicism” and “Judaism,” on the other hand, were self-descriptions that existed independently of the coining of the terms “anti-Catholicism” and “anti-Judaism.”


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24. Birnbaum, *Jewish Destinies*, 181. It depends on our analytic categories and thus ultimately on heuristics if this should count as anti-Catholic violence. Birnbaum’s account of this anti-immigrant violence disproves his own argument against Leroy-Beaulieu that violence against Catholics was always merely the state defending laws that the majority of citizens had passed; Birnbaum, *La France aux français*, 22.


35. Adam Sutcliffe in *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 85, challenged Elukin’s claim that Basnage’s anti-Catholicism is a central feature of the work. In spite of this disagreement, Elukin’s and Sutcliffe’s positions are quite compatible. Basnage’s anti-Catholicism can be a useful key to the work even if anti-Catholic comparisons were not systematic and merely very frequent.


38. The use of Jews for such a critique has historical precedents. Christopher Oncker, for example, reports about a Corpus Christi play from 1479 in which the Jews denounce the Christians as monkeys who follow their greedy clergy, in spite of being exploited. Christopher Ocker, “Contempt for Friars and Contempt for Jews in Late Medieval Germany,” in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 146. For a completely different use of the form invented by Montesquieu by an enemy of the Enlightenment, see Heinrich Ernst Teuthorn, *Briefe eines reisenden Juden über den gegenwärtigen Zustand des Religionswesens unter den Protestanten und Katholiken, und über die Auferstehung Jesu*, 4th ed. (n.p.: 1781). Teuthorn depicted the Jews as secretly celebrating the divisions between different Christian denominations.


40. Ibid., 283.


44. On the depiction of Catholics, Nicolai’s larger opposition to Catholicism, as well as his rejection of projects for the reunification of Catholicism and Protestantism, see Christopher Spehr, *Aufklärung und Ökumene: Reunionsversuche zwischen Katholiken und Protestanten im deutschsprachigen Raum des späten 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2005), 374–408.


46. Ibid., 3:10.


48. See Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment*, 231–246. Hertzberg notes much of the evidence about positive depictions of Jews in Voltaire but ultimately decided to stress the enlightener’s anti-Judaism over the ambivalence found in his works.


50. The quote is from Voltaire’s *Philosophical Dictionary*, cited in Arkush, “Voltaire,” 239.


53. Protestants were more important as paradigmatic victims. See Voltaire, *Treatise on Tolerance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).


58. On the depiction of Jews as foreign and Asiatic see, for example, Johann Gottfried Herder, “Bekehrung der Juden,” *Adrastea* 4 (1802), 145.


61. Altgeld, *Katholizismus*, is one of the exceptions.


68. On the implications of the rediscovery of both Protestants and Jews by the “generation of 1820” (as Alan Spitzer called this group of thinkers) for Jews, see Leff, *Sacred Bonds*, 81–116.


76. Dagmar Herzog, in *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 53–84, argued that the realignment was motivated by liberals’ opposition to conservative Catholicism and their support for legal equality for liberal religious movements. Brian E. Vick, in *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 83–109, has challenged this claim and argued that the rise of conservative Catholicism motivated only a few radicals in Baden to change their minds about Jewish legal equality.


82. Ibid., 678.

83. Hirscher, “Katholizismus,” *Staats-Lexikon* (1840), 9:226–238. Herzog, in *Intimacy and Exclusion*, describes how Hirscher was part of the conservative Catholic campaign against mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants and opposed
proposals for Jewish equality in 1846. He was, however, in other respects eager to reform Catholic pedagogical practices.

86. Ibid., 318.
89. Ibid., 538.
90. Protestants were even more frequently the victims of Inquisition stories in Germany; only Jewish authors consistently described Jews as the main victims. See Jonathan M. Hess, Middlebrow Literature and the Making of German-Jewish Identity (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 132–135.
92. Gustav Freytag, “Der Streit über das Judenthum in der Musik,” Grenzbote 22 (1869), 321–326, is his reaction to Wagner.
94. Ibid., 526.
98. Eugen Karl Dühring, Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage (Karlsruhe: Reuther, 1881), 107. Sec, for a similar parallel argument, Moritz Busch, Israel und die Gojim: Beiträge zur Beurtheilung der Judenfrage (Leipzig: Grunow, 1880), 309.
100. Ibid., 97.
For a detailed account of the internal conflicts that led to the downfall of German political antisemitism, see Richard S. Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975).


One of the earliest such works is O. Beta, *Darwin, Deutschland und die Juden oder der Juda-Jesuitismus: Dreiausdrössig Thesen nebst einer Nachschrift über einen vergessenen Factor der Volkswirtschaft* (Berlin: Selbst-Verlag. Expedition der Eisenbahn-Zeitung, 1876). See also Healy, *Jesuit Specter*, 126–128, and for an overview that includes Nazism, see Poliakov, *Causalité diabolique*, 53–85.


For this comparative argument see also Johannes Heil, “Antisemitismus, Kulturkampf und Konfession—die antisemitischen ‘Kulturen’ Frankreichs und Deutschlands im Vergleich,” in *Katholischer Antisemitismus im 19. Jahrhundert: Ursachen und Traditionen im internationalen Vergleich* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 2000), 195–228. I do not follow Heil in his distinction between a more religious French and a more racist German antisemitism. As Vicki Caron has shown in a recent article, secular and religious antisemitism could be seamlessly integrated within the Catholic camp; Vicki Caron, “Catholic Political Mobilization and Antisemitic Violence in
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113. Several historians have suggested in this context that we read the Dreyfus affair as a result of republican alliance building and not just antisemitism. See, for example, Robert Kaplan, “A Brief Political History of France in the 1890s and a Hypothesis for Future Investigation,” in *L’antisémitisme éclairé*, 295–312.

114. There were some notable exceptions to this pattern among Jewish Orthodoxy.

Chapter Two

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3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.