

Madison Barben

Cross Versus Cross:

The *Kirchenkampf* and the Holocaust

The Martin Luther Memorial Church in Mariendorf, Berlin resembles many other early twentieth-century churches. From the cross on the steeple to the lofty ceilings and ornate organ, the church is not distinct. However, not everything in the Martin Luther Memorial Church is as it seems. The baptismal font is adorned with Jesus accompanied by a Nazi SA officer and the pulpit portrays Christ alongside a *Wehrmacht* soldier. The Martin Luther Memorial Church was built in October 1933 following the National Socialist seizure of power and is symbolic of the complex relationship between the church and Nazi state during the early 1930s.¹ To grow and consolidate power, the Nazi party began a policy of *Gleichschaltung* or the Nazification of German society and began to look at religion as another outlet to promote their ideology.² The assimilation of the Protestant church under the party was met with both compliance and resistance by different German Protestant denominations. The struggle for control of religion between the Protestant churches and the Nazi state became known as the *Kirchenkampf* or “church struggle,” and lasted from 1932-1945.³ One aspect of the Nazi ideology that proved controversial and divided Protestants was the “Jewish question.” The German Protestant church failed to provide a unified response against the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust due to the church struggle between the Protestant church and National Socialism and the internal struggle within the Protestant denominations.

¹ Kyle Jantzen, “Church-Building in Hitler’s Germany: Germany: *Berlin’s Martin-Luther-Gedächtniskirche* as a Reflection of Church-State Relations,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 27, no. 2 (2014): 329, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24329833>.

² Mary M. Solberg, *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015) 20.

³ Franklin H. Littell, *The Crucifixion of the Jews*, (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986) 45.

The *Kirchenkampf* and the Holocaust have been explored by many different historians. Franklin H. Littell analyzed the Christian churches' abilities to resist the Third Reich. He believed that ultimately the churches did nothing to help the Jews except on an individual, case-by-case basis.⁴ Doris L. Bergen specifically investigates the "German Christians" who complied with the Nazi state. According to Bergen, the German Christian movement was able to gain and maintain the support of the German people because their core ideas of anti-Semitism and German Nationalism were already embedded in the culture.⁵ Victoria J. Barnett focuses on the opposition groups like the Confessing Church. She identifies three main factors that contributed to the churches' behavior: traditional theological anti-Semitism, the churches' role in creating and maintaining Christian culture, and their institutional role in Germany.⁶

The church struggle can be broken down into five different stages. In the first stage (spring 1932 – fall 1933), Hitler began to incorporate the church under the National Socialist regime and the first pro-Nazi and anti-Nazi religious groups formed. The second stage (fall 1933 – fall 1934), is characterized as the full assimilation of the church under the Nazi party and the two church extremes, those who opposed, and those who supported the Nazis, increased drastically because of the state gaining more control. In the third stage (fall 1934 – winter 1937), the Nazi state began targeting and restricting opposing churches. The fourth stage (winter 1937 – 1939), was characterized by increased restriction towards resistance movements. Finally, the fifth stage (1939-1945) was the most dramatic stage in which the resisting churches and major theologians were imprisoned and executed.⁷

⁴ Franklin H. Littell, "Church Struggle and the Holocaust," in *The German Church Struggle and the Holocaust*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974), 14-18.

⁵ Doris L. Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 220.

⁶ Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁷ Erwin L. Lueker et. al, "*Kirchenkampf*," Christian Cyclopedia. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000).

Before his rise to power, Hitler was not religious. He was raised Catholic but did not hold a positive view of religion and was “indifferent to the beliefs and practices of the churches.”⁸ During the *Gleichschaltung*, Nazi ideology was viewed almost like a religion with Hitler as a prophet. Despite his negative view of religion, he recognized its importance in the German citizens’ daily lives and attempted to portray himself as a supporter of religion. Hitler believed that control over the Protestant church could be attained through the formation of a centralized National Socialist *Reichskirche*. His dream was answered in the summer of 1932 when pro-Hitler German politicians, pastors, and lay citizens met in Berlin to discuss how Germany’s Protestant churches would align themselves with National Socialism. The attendees formed a group named the *Deutsche Christen*.⁹ In the *Original Guidelines of the German Christian Faith Movement*, the group outlined their initial beliefs and reasons for aligning with the Nazi party. The document stated that the movement began to “achieve an integration of the twenty-nine constituent churches of the “German Evangelical Association” into one National Protestant Church [*evangelische Reichskirche*].”¹⁰ This statement aimed to corroborate Hitler’s desire for a centralized Nazi *Reichskirche*. The German Christians held their first national assembly in Berlin from April 3-5, 1933. Prominent Nazi party members like Hermann Göring, Wilhelm Frick, and Wilhelm Kube attended. At the meeting Kube stated, “The church is, for a German, a communion of believers that is duty bound to battle for a Christian Germany. The goal of the German Christian Faith Movement is one Evangelical German church. The state of Adolf Hitler

⁸ Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 123.

⁹ Rittner et al. *The Holocaust and the Christian World*, 17.

¹⁰ Joachim Hossenfelder, *The Original Guidelines of the German Christian Faith Movement*. 1932, in *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, trans. Mary M. Solberg, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 48.

calls for such a church; the church must hear that call.”¹¹ Kube designated the German Christians to head the unification of the Reich church. The desire of the German Christians to align with the Nazi party and Hitler was not coerced. The theologians implemented Nazi ideology into church doctrine on their own account labeling themselves as the “storm troopers of Christ.”¹² That year, Ludwig Müller, the Army District Chaplain and an associate of Hitler, became the leader of the German Christians and was elected *Reichsbishop*.¹³

Later in 1933, relations between the Protestant churches and the Nazi state became more complicated when the government passed the “Restoration of the Professional Civil Service” on April 7. The new legislation included the Aryan Paragraph, which stated, “civil servants of non-Aryan descent are to be retired; honorary officials are to be removed from official status.”¹⁴ The Aryan Paragraph further increased the rift in the Protestant church because it caused the churches to decide to concede with or oppose the legislation. The German Christians began to assimilate the anti-Semitic ideas of the Aryan Paragraph into their churches. They created their own Aryan Paragraph which stated “those of non-Aryan descent or married to someone of non-Aryan descent may not be called as clergy or officials in the general church administration ... correspondingly, shall apply also to members of the church bodies as well as those in volunteer church positions.”¹⁵ The German Christians’ declaration was the first to deny non-Aryans, specifically Jews, from Protestant church offices and congregations in the Third Reich.

¹¹ Wilhelm Niemöller, *Kampf und Zeugnis*, (Bielefeld: Bechauf, 1948), 35-37, quoted in Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 133.

¹² Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 7.

¹³ Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler*, 143.

¹⁴ *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service* (April 7, 1933) in *United States Chief Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Volume III*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1946, Document 1397-PS, 981-986.

¹⁵ The Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, *The Aryan Paragraph in the Church*, quoted in Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 147.

Not all Protestant theologians and pastors agreed with Nazification of the German Protestant Church. In response to the increasing threat of the German Christian Movement, theologian Karl Barth, wrote *Theological Existence Today!* to explain his reasoning behind rejecting their beliefs.¹⁶ Barth was also one of the first Protestant theologians to speak out against the persecution of Jews. He wrote, “The community of those who belong to the church is not determined by blood and so also not by race, but rather by the Holy Spirit and by baptism. If the German Protestant church were to exclude Jewish Christians or treat them as second-class Christians, it would have ceased to be a Christian church.”¹⁷ While he spoke for the inclusion and improved treatment of Jews in society, he recognized “Jewish Christians,” those that converted to Christianity from Judaism, but not all Jews. According to theologians like Barth, Jewish Christians were distinguished separately from Jews because they were baptized into the church. Under church doctrine, the Jewish Christians were protected because of their baptism and conversion while other Jews were not. Another Protestant theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, published essays opposing the Nazi state and the German Christian Movement. Bonhoeffer published “The Church and the Jewish Question.” In his essay, Bonhoeffer called for the Protestant church to take action against the legal discrimination of Jews.¹⁸ While Bonhoeffer spoke out about the persecution of Jews, he also focused solely on Jewish Christians instead of the entire Jewish population.

The consolidation of the German Christians, Aryan Paragraph, and the election of a *Reichbishop* contributed to the formation of a resistance group: the Pastors’ Emergency League.

¹⁶ Solberg, *A Church Undone*, 81.

¹⁷ Karl Barth, *Theological Existence Today!* 1943, in *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, trans. by Mary M. Solberg, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 91.

¹⁸ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “The Church and the Jewish Question,” 1933, in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Berlin 1932-1933*, ed. Carsten Nicolaisen and Ernst-Albert Scharffenorth, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 368.

The organization was founded September 1933 by Protestant theologian Martin Niemöller and Bonhoeffer and sought to assist the pastors and church officials that were fired because of the Aryan Paragraph.¹⁹ The league aided the Jewish Christians that were affected by the legislation but not all Jews.²⁰ The *Bekennende Kirche* or “Confessing Church” was the league’s successor. The church was formed in response to the creation of a national Reich church headed by the German Christians. The church was established through the Barmen Declaration written by Karl Barth and other members of the Confessing Church. The document defined clear boundaries between the Protestant church and the Nazi state that should not be crossed.²¹ The Barmen Declaration stated, “We reject the false doctrine, as though the State, over and beyond its special commission, should and could become the single and totalitarian order of human life, thus fulfilling the Church’s vocation as well.”²² According to the declaration, the church denied the Nazi state’s ability to control all aspects of life because it is the role of the church to give meaning and order to life. The declaration proclaimed that the church would not alter its doctrine or beliefs to support any political party.²³

One issue that the Barmen Declaration did not address was the Jewish community. The Jewish question and the Aryan Paragraph caused disagreements within the Confessing Church. Bonhoeffer believed that the church should use the Barmen Declaration as an official stance against the persecution of Jewish Christians and possibly for all Jews. However, while some leaders supported his ideas, an increasing majority did not. Many Confessing Church leaders instead focused on organizational and legal matters rather than the inclusion of non-Aryan

¹⁹ Robert P. Ericksen and Susan Heschel, eds, *Betrayal: German Churches and the Holocaust*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 96.

²⁰ Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People*, 35.

²¹ Ericksen and Heschel, eds, *Betrayal*, 97.

²² Karl Barth, *Barmen Declaration, 1934*, in *The Church’s Confession Under Hitler*, by Arthur C. Cochrane, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 237-242.

²³ Barnett, *For the Soul of the People*, 54.

Christians.²⁴ In addition, while many theologians and pastors opposed the Nazi party and the German Christians, it did not guarantee that they were willing to defend German Jews. Due to the disagreement, the Aryan paragraph and the Jewish question were no longer considered fundamental in the goals of the Confessing Church but instead, a separate and secondary goal.

Members of the Confessing Church began to understand the urgency and importance of the Jewish problem following the passage of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, but even more after witnessing the horrific treatment of German Jews during *Kristallnacht* on November 9-10, 1938.²⁵ The burning of Jewish synagogues, destruction of Jewish businesses, and killing of the Jewish citizens during the November pogrom horrifically demonstrated that there would be no place for the Jews in Germany. Some pastors chose to remain silent after the horrific event in fear of being further targeted by the Nazi regime.²⁶ Yet, others recognized that the events of *Kristallnacht* could lead to more extreme oppression. An opposition group called the Freiburg Circle was created in response to the pogrom and was comprised of Germans from a variety of backgrounds including Catholics and Protestants. The goal of the group was to discuss a variety of topics ranging from social and economic order to the churches' relationship with the Nazi regime.²⁷

The events of *Kristallnacht* not only prompted a reaction by members of the Confessing Church but also the German Christians. The latter group viewed the pogrom as a call to action to “transform the Protestant church into a tool of racial policy.”²⁸ In 1939, German Christian pastor Siegfried Leffler wrote the Godesberg Declaration and stated the German Christians' support for

²⁴ Wolfgang Gerlach, *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews*, trans. by Victoria Barnett, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 75.

²⁵ Barnett, *For the Soul of the People*, 140.

²⁶ Barnett, *For the Soul of the People*, 141.

²⁷ “Civilian Resistance Groups,” Resistance!? Protestant Christians Under the Nazi Regime, accessed December 5, 2019, <https://en.evangelischer-widerstand.de/html/view.php?type=dokument&id=181>.

²⁸ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 24.

Hitler's ideas. The declaration stated, "with all the strength of our faith and our active life we serve the man who has lead our people out of servitude and misery to freedom and true greatness."²⁹ The German Christians viewed Hitler almost as a Messiah and attempted to show their devotion to him. This idea can also be seen in the Nazi theologians' reference to Hitler as the "Führer Jesus" and "God's agent (*beauftragter*) in our day."³⁰ The Godesberg Declaration also announced the creation of the "Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence in German Church Life" in 1939.³¹ Historian Doris L. Bergen labels the founding of the institute and "dejudaizing" of the church as an "ecclesiastical final solution" due to the goal to expel Jews from church congregations.³² According to Bergen, "German Christians had insisted on the exclusion of so-called non-Aryans and of Jewish influences from the German religious community. The goal would be realized by default, through the deportation and systematic murder of those defined as Jews."³³

The Nazi state began deporting Jews and other non-Aryans in autumn of 1941. The state attempted to keep the deportations and the inevitable end for the Jewish population secret from the German public. However, according to German Historian Wolfgang Gerlach, "The deportations could hardly take place in perfect secrecy, and, in any case, Confessing Church pastors and laypeople with close contacts were well informed."³⁴ While not all church members believed that the deportations meant death, many realized the gravity of the situation. The 1941 deportations pushed some members of the Confessing Church to become more hands-on against

²⁹ Siegfried Leffler, "The Godesberg Declaration", 1939, in *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, translated by Mary M. Solberg, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 445.

³⁰ Susannah Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 67.

³¹ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 24.

³² Ericksen and Heschel, *Betrayal*, 50.

³³ Ericksen and Heschel, *Betrayal*, 44.

³⁴ Gerlach, *And The Witnesses Were Silent*, 193.

the persecution of Jews. Pastors and church members began hiding Jews and supplying them with the paperwork and supplies they needed to survive while undercover.³⁵ More resistance groups began various rescue efforts one of which was “Operation 7.” The mission was started by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, Hans von Dohnanyi, and Confessing Church pastors including Bonhoeffer who was Dohnanyi’s brother-in-law.³⁶ The rescue attempt succeeded in smuggling fourteen Jews into Switzerland by using false paperwork. Bonhoeffer’s participation in the operation would later cause him to become targeted and later arrested by the Gestapo.³⁷ Both larger rescue efforts like Operation 7 and smaller efforts like hiding Jews enabled some members of the Confessing Church to directly aid Germany’s Jewish community.

The Freiburg Circle became verbal in their opposition because of the 1941 deportations. In 1942, Bonhoeffer prompted the group to write another memorandum about the Nazi state and Christianity. The document became known as the Freiburg Circle Memorandum and discussed economic and social order, the legal system, and the Jewish question. Appendix five of the memorandum focused on the Jewish question and examined racial thinking in the different churches and the tensions between them.³⁸ The memorandum was a complex document that explored many different aspects of the Jewish problem. It took ideas from the Bible and history to explain Jews and anti-Semitism. The document stated,

According to the teaching of the Holy Scripture, the Christian is obliged to consider his neighbor all those who do not belong to the Christian congregation, and to meet them in the spirit of love... This obligation holds true with regard to people of other races. For the love of one’s own Volk, however, the Christian must keep his eyes open to whether close contact or even a mixing with other races might have damaging effects on body and soul.³⁹

³⁵ Barnett, *For the Soul of the People*, 148.

³⁶ Gerlach, *And the Witnesses Were Silent*, 193.

³⁷ Eric Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy*, (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2010), 388.

³⁸ Gerlach, *And the Witnesses Were Silent*, 211.

³⁹ Constantin von Dietze, “The Freiburg Circle Memorandum,” 1942, in *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews*, by Wolfgang Gerlach, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 211.

Although this quote called for Christians to treat people of other races with love, traditional anti-Semitic prejudices against racial mixing are present. Later, the memorandum discusses the horrific treatment of Jews during the war. The author explained how the Jews were subjected to “innumerable forced evacuation, during which many Jews died; hundreds of thousands of human beings have been killed systematically merely because of their Jewish ancestry.”⁴⁰ The document advised that the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution be granted reparation, restitution, and “severe punishment for the crimes committed against Jews.”⁴¹ While the Freiburg Circle Memorandum recognized the treatment of Jews during the war and the need for reparation, in the end, it still illustrated prejudice views towards Jews and did not solve the Jewish question.

The *Kirchenkampf* ended with the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945. In the Western Allies’ postwar denazification, the Confessing Church and other neutral churches were put in control of reestablishing the German Protestant church.⁴² The collapse of the Nazi regime also saw the collapse of the German Christian Movement. Without the foundations of Nazi ideology and their “Messiah” *Führer*, the group could not stand. The members of the German Protestant church began a process of “de-German-Christianizing.”⁴³ German church officials held hearings for previous German Christian pastors to decide whether the pastors would be allowed to continue preaching. In 1947, the central office of the Protestant church in Germany announced that the German Christian threat was eliminated.⁴⁴ However, although the religious group officially no longer existed, its former members remained. After the war, previous German Christians either upheld or denied their past involvement. For example, pastor Friedrich

⁴⁰ Dietze, “The Freiburg Circle Memorandum,” 212.

⁴¹ Dietze, “The Freiburg Circle Memorandum,” 212.

⁴² Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 207.

⁴³ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 208-209.

⁴⁴ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 210.

Buschöns was vocal against the church's purge of German Christians and never denied his involvement in the group.⁴⁵ On the other hand, other former members denied knowing the treatment of Jews during the Third Reich and their strong view of anti-Jewish Christianity.⁴⁶

After the Protestant churches ceased their fight with the Nazi state over control of the churches, they were forced to come to terms with their past actions, or lack of, during the postwar period. Many German Protestant theologians alleged that they did not fully understand the gravity of Jewish persecution during the Holocaust. After the Second World War and during the Nuremberg trials, many theologians attempted to justify why they did not take a stand on against the treatment of Jews. The Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt was written in 1945 by the German Evangelical Church and was the first official Protestant response to the Holocaust.⁴⁷ The declaration stated, "We accuse ourselves for not standing to our beliefs more courageously, for not praying more faithfully, for not believing more joyously, and for not loving more ardently."⁴⁸ While the German Evangelical Church admitted their guilt in not resisting the Nazi party, they did not give a clear statement on the Holocaust. A 1967 letter from Karl Barth to Eberhard Bethge, a student, close friend, and biographer of Bonhoeffer, revealed how many members of the Confessing Church either were not fully aware of the extent of Jewish suffering during the Holocaust or did not believe that it was a major issue. Although Barth did not focus on the Jewish problem initially, he understood the importance later. Barth wrote, "Even among the churchmen who saw the spiritual treason and murderous direction of Nazi totalitarianism most clearly, there was little enough awareness that the heart of the matter was the Jewish question."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 210-211.

⁴⁶ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 219.

⁴⁷ Rittner et al. *The Holocaust and the Christian World*, 183.

⁴⁸ Hans Asmussen, "Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt," Stuttgart: Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, 1945, Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin, Bestand 2 Nr. 1790, <https://en.evangelischer-widerstand.de/html/view.php?type=dokument&id=370>.

⁴⁹ Littell, *The Crucifixion of the Jews*, 46.

The German Protestant church failed to provide a unified response against the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust due to the *Kirchenkampf* between the Protestant Church and National Socialism and the internal struggle within the Protestant denominations. The power struggle within the Protestant church focused on the alignment or opposition of Nazi ideology and ultimately resulted in the church's inability to resist the state. The German Christians' alignment with the Nazi party led them to promote the state's anti-Semitic policies. Although the Confessing Church opposed Nazi ideology and politics, they only did so when they directly affected the church. Historian Shelley Baranowski wrote, "The Confessing Church supported the National Socialist regime as long as it respected the positions of the institutions that had traditionally buttressed German politics and culture."⁵⁰ Once the state attempted to control religion, the anti-Nazi church reacted. The failure of the German Protestant church to stand against the persecution of Jews was due to the inability of the Confessing Church to realize the importance of aiding the German Jews. While some members of the religious group like Bonhoeffer fought against the persecution of Jews, the response was not unanimous. Some members of the church chose to focus on the distinction between the Jewish Christians and Jews. After the war and the discovery of the extremity of the Holocaust, both groups were forced to remember their past actions. While some members of the Protestant church were able to accept their guilt, others continued to deny their involvement. Due to the tensions between members of the Confessing Church and the German Christians, the German Protestant church as a whole was not able to effectively save six million Jews from persecution and elimination.

⁵⁰ Ericksen and Heschel, *Betrayal*, 81.

Bibliography

Primary

- Asmussen, Hans. "Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt," Stuttgart: Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, 1945, Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin, Bestand 2 Nr. 1790, <https://en.evangelischer-widerstand.de/html/view.php?type=dokument&id=370>.
- Barth, Karl. Barmen Declaration. 1934. In *The Church's Confession Under Hitler*, by Arthur C. Cochrane, (237-242). Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962.
- Barth, Karl. *Theological Existence Today!* 1934, In *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, translated by Mary M. Solberg, (84-99). Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015.
- Bonhoeffer, Dietrich. "The Church and the Jewish Question." 1933, In *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Berlin 1932-1933*, edited by Carsten Nicolaisen and Ernsst-Albert Scharffenorth, (361-368). Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009.
- von Dietze, Constantin. "The Freiburg Circle Memorandum," 1942. In *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews*. by Wolfgang Gerlach, (211-214). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.
- The Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, *The Aryan Paragraph in the Church*, quoted in Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 147.
- Hossenfelder, Joachim. *The Original Guidelines of the German Christian Faith Movement. 1932*. In *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, translated by Mary M. Solberg, (48-51). Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015.
- Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service*, (April 7, 1933) in *United States Chief Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Volume III*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1946, Document 1397-PS, 981-986.
- Leffler, Siegfried. *The Godesberg Declaration*. 1939. In *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, translated by Mary M. Solberg, (445-447), Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015.
- Wilhelm Niemöller, *Kampf und Zeugnis*. Bielefeld: Bechauf, 1948. In Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979.

Secondary

- Barnett, Victoria. *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest Against Hitler*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Bergen, Doris L. *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich*. Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press, 1996.

- “Civilian Resistance Groups.” Resistance!?: Protestant Christians Under the Nazi Regime. Accessed December 5, 2019. <https://en.evangelischer-widerstand.de/html/view.php?type=dokument&id=181>.
- Ericksen, Robert P. and Susannah Heschel. *Betrayal: German Churches and the Holocaust*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999.
- Gerlach, Wolfgang, *And the Witnesses Were Silent: The Confessing Church and the Persecution of the Jews*. Translated by Victoria Barnett. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.
- Helmrich, Ernst Christian. *The German Churches Under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979.
- Heschel, Susannah. *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Jantzen, Kyle. “Church-Building in Hitler’s Germany: Berlin’s *Martin-Luther-Gedächtniskirche* as a Reflection of Church-State Relations,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 27, no. 2 (2014): 324-348, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24329833>.
- Lueker, Erwin L., Luther Poellot, and Paul Jackson, eds. “*Kirchenkampf*,” In *Christian Cyclopaedia*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2000.
- Littell, Franklin H. *The Crucifixion of the Jews*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- Littell, Franklin H. and Hubert G. Locke, eds. *The German Church Struggle and the Holocaust*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974.
- Metaxas, Eric. *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2010.
- Rittner, Carol, Stephen D. Smith, Irena Steinfeldt, eds. *The Holocaust and the Christian World: Reflections on the Past, Challenges for the Future*. New York: Continuum, 2000.
- Solberg, Mary M. *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Faith Movement, 1932-1940*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015.