

JEW SÜSS OPPENHEIMER
THE GREAT FINANCIER, GALLANT,
AND ADVENTURER OF THE
18TH CENTURY

**A STUDY BASED ON VARIOUS DOCUMENTS,
PRIVATE PAPERS AND TRADITIONS**

By
Dr. CURT ELWENSPOEK

**WITH NUMEROUS REPRODUCTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY
ILLUSTRATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS**

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(L)=Württembergisches Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart.

(St)=Württ. Staatsarchiv, Stuttgart.

(K)=Staatliche Kupferstichskabinett, Stuttgart.

(U)=Universitäts-Bibliothek, Tübingen.

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FOREWORD

THIS present attempt to range historical facts alongside expressions of personal and critical opinion in such a way as to breathe life into the personality of Joseph Süß Oppenheimer is based, for the first time, on an entirely unlimited use of the legal documents to which, in the past, historians have had only restricted access. Even the late Kirchenrat Dr. Kroner, who, at the instance of the Emperor William II, was given access to the whole of the documentary material—viz. 115 bulky bundles of legal papers on Jew Süß alone, in addition to the documents of Remchingen, Metz, Bühler, Hallwachs, and several volumes of papers relating to the defence of Jew Süß at his trial—was obliged to submit his extensive extracts to the Censor, and to cut out the major part ; his work is nevertheless the most authoritative work on Süß. But now the restrictions and considerations are swept away which two decades ago were insurmountable ; I am, indeed, deeply indebted to the

Directorate of the Württemberg Staatsarchiv, Herr Geheimrat Dr. Winterlin and Herr Regierungsrat Dr. Hefele, for the liberal way in which they have afforded me every facility. I am also deeply grateful to the Württem. Landesbibliothek for providing and procuring for me very valuable literary and pictorial material, to the authorities of the University Library at Tübingen, who placed at my disposal the documents of Süß's defence, to the Director of the staatliche Kupferstichskabinett—Dr. Graf Baudissin—for his active collaboration in the choice and arrangement of the plates, to Herr Archivdirektor a.D. Dr. Eugen Schneider, Geheimer Archivrat a.D. Dr. R. Krauss, Prof. Belschner (Ludwigsburg), Stadtrabbiner Dr. Rieger, and Obersekretär Gerster of the Landesbibliothek, for their advice and for many helpful suggestions.

The more detailed estimation of Oppenheimer's economic importance must be left to Fräulein Dr. Selma Stern's book of technical research, which is shortly to be published. The present work is simply an attempt to sketch the personality of Oppenheimer, with all his virtues and his weaknesses.

Such an essay presupposes a certain sympathy for the man whom it is our intention to depict. The chronicler must therefore run the risk of turning

advocate, in so far as our instinct always ranges itself on the side of the loser. But since, despite the embarrassing wealth of documentary material, many essential points must remain for ever undetermined, the reader will, I trust, permit me to apply the axiom which will hold good so long as Law exists : *In dubito pro reo*. (The defendant has the benefit of the doubt.)

DR. CURT ELWENSPOEK.

JEW SÜSS OPPENHEIMER

“**T**HE Duke is dead ! The Duke is dead !” the Master of Ceremonies announced in a despairing cry to the already half-filled ball-room of the ducal palace at Ludwigsburg. “An apoplexy ! An apoplexy has brought death to His Serene Highness. He had been feverish all day, and being in that state he lost his temper !” There was universal turmoil. The Duke lay on his couch, his left foot pushed under the pillow, his right hand tightly clenched, his left raised to his throat. His face was horribly distorted and bloated, black and blue and livid in patches ; his tongue lolled out and his eyes were open and protuberant. He was clad in a short green hunting-coat, yellow breeches, and shoes. A doctor was hurriedly summoned and set to opening an artery, and although the blood still flowed he could not revive His Highness. That night at ten o’clock the news came to Stuttgart ; the place was sunk in deathly stillness ; not a light was to be seen, for there was an extreme anxiety, a

fear of that which was to come. The word was whispered timidly abroad, and those who heard it knocked up their neighbours from their beds. Lights began to show in the windows, the night was turned to day ; friends and foes embraced indiscriminately. Only the sick stayed within doors that fateful night. Then suddenly the rumour spread that the Duke had been brought round and lived again. Calamity of calamities, what horror was this? The lamps were doused and the crowds slipped unobtrusively back to their homes. But dawn confirmed the news of the death, and now the joyful cry rang out : “ The Duke is dead ! ” Plane and file, awl and shears were laid aside, and the day was turned into a public holiday. The pastry-cook and haberdasher of that time, Benz, who lived in am Zwinger, the outer city wall, made a transparency and displayed it in his window depicting a devil flying through the air above a church with two spires and bearing off a man. Under it ran the legend,

“ See how old Nicholas in person
Carries off the scoundrel for his cash.”

“ Schaut, wie den Renegat ums Gold
Leibhaftig hier der Teufel holt.”



THE DUKE CARL ALEXANDER VON WÜRTTEMBERG

A centenarian named Anton Weberous, "whom Providence preserved for more than a century" (he lived from 1701 to 1803), thus describes the scene on the evening of March 12th, 1737, the date of the death of the Duke Carl Alexander of Württemberg.

At the beginning of the year 1737 the political situation in the Duchy of Württemberg was in a state of extreme tension. Carl Alexander was preparing for a great *coup d'état*, namely to introduce the Roman Catholic faith into Württemberg and to abrogate the constitution. He was just about to set out from Ludwigsburg to leave the execution of the coup to those officers he could trust, and then, hurriedly recalled, to return and to set himself up as an even more absolute monarch on the strength of the *fait accompli*—*accompli* to his knowledge and in accordance with his wishes, even if without his active co-operation. This had been sensed and suspected and known for months past. The country was on the threshold of civil war, when, at the eleventh hour, Death stepped in as the *Deus ex machina*. He did not intervene as the herald of Peace, but he cut short the imminent subversion. The whole of the brooding storm, military, religious, and social, burst in one flash to destroy, not one of

the two hostile parties, but an almost unrelated third person.

There was then a revolution? If "Revolution," reduced to its simplest terms, merely means that the military, judicial, and fiscal functions that A has hitherto exercised to the dissatisfaction of B, are now exercised by B to the dissatisfaction of A, then the sudden death of the Duke Carl Alexander was in fact the signal for a revolution, and the arrest of Treasury Privy Councillor, Lord High Steward and Military Agent, Keeper of the Privy Purse and Master of the Mint, Joseph Süß Oppenheimer, was a revolutionary act.

Revolution means a reversal, the overthrow and denigration of the highest of the old order, and vice versa. It is in the nature of things that the subversive powers aim firstly at the apex of the old order, that it may be made the lowest point of the new. And in the domestic revolution of Württemberg in 1737 this variable factor is represented by the elegant and charming Herr Joseph Süß Oppenheimer. He was the cause and the object of this topsy-turvy, dictated by that prudence which characterizes the Swabian.

Nor indeed is this all. He was, too, something in the nature of a scapegoat of the patient Württembergers.

A contemporary writer says, "Although a Swabian is slow to anger, yet, when once his habitual phlegm is stirred, he is all the harder to appease." The fellow knew his men. The key to Joseph Süß Oppenheimer's fate lies in that sentence. Süß had only been resident in Swabia for two and a half years. And although in that time he had shown himself to be industrious to a degree, yet such a short period could not suffice to stem the flood of bitter hatred that broke over the head of this unhappy financier. Circumstances were rather such that the reign of Carl August von Württemberg, and more especially Oppenheimer's activities, may be said to have provided the drops that were needed to make brim over the already brimming cup of Swabian discontent. To explain this discontent it will be necessary to devote a few words to the régime of Carl Alexander's predecessor, Duke Eberhard Ludwig.

Eberhard Ludwig, who ascended to the Ducal throne of Württemberg in 1677 as a child of one year old, and did not take up the reins of government till 1693, was in no sense of the word a shining light, although he acquired the County of Mömpelgard and set about the building of Ludwigsburg. Good-tempered, indolent, self-willed, and weak, too

ineffectual to be hated, too indifferent to be loved, he reigned, more or less, beside his sour wife ; he was not in a position to do any considerable amount of harm to his country. For long before the other German States had even thought of such a thing, thanks to the Treaty of Tübingen the Duchy of Swabia possessed a constitution that allowed the estates an extraordinarily wide range of powers and quite considerably limited the power of the Prince. If Eberhard Ludwig tried to kick against the pricks of the constitution, the reason was purely and simply that which is most pressing for any show-loving and self-indulgent prince : a lack of funds, or a capacity for expenditure to which his revenues were not equal. Indeed Eberhard Ludwig was not more unrestrainedly extravagant in his personal expenditure than was customary at the time. But Eberhard Ludwig permitted himself the luxury of a distinguished and exacting mistress. The chosen of his heart was one Countess of Graevenitz, an extremely shrewd woman, as ambitious as she was intriguing, whom he later promoted to the title of Countess Würben by a mock marriage to a decrepit Imperial Count, and appointed governess to the Ducal Household. Her relations with the Duke extended over a period of more than thirty years,

during which time she relegated the legal wife and Duchess steadily more and more to the background. One would be tempted to respect the ties which bound Eberhard Ludwig to the Countess Graevenitz, on account of the long duration and the intensity of this liaison, if it were not for the fact that with her hold this grasping and ambitious woman had pinioned the country and nearly strangled it. The Countess was by no means satisfied with ousting her legitimate rival from the Prince's heart and the social life of the State, but aimed, too, at ruling over the people herself. To this end she first of all pushed her brothers, and then more distant relatives, into all the most influential offices at the Court and in the administration, and thus soon had all the strings in her hands with which to control the Duke, the administration, and the very members of the Estates. The Duke had an unlimited foible for her. It was not only that he fell in with her barefaced and shameless desire to play the part of national consort, bedizened with the Ducal trappings and resplendent with Ducal insignia, and to show herself in public with him, a step which permanently estranged his legal wife—but he was also criminally weak in dealing with the woman's insatiable lust for money. The Countess

ran through money in every conceivable way. She spent fantastic sums not only to her own personal ends, on her elegant, her luxurious mode of living, luxurious that is to say even when measured by Ducal standards, but above all for the maintenance and the furtherance of her political influence within the State and without, and finally on safeguarding her somewhat nebulous future. As she and her entourage, the Graevenitz party, did in fact rule the country, she experienced no difficulty in levying new tributes and imposing fresh taxes which flowed into the Ducal treasury—and thus indirectly into her purse. In addition to this she prevailed upon the Duke to institute a regular sale of offices, of which she personally reaped the benefit, and which led to all important and influential posts being assigned to those who had the longest purses, and not to the most capable persons. Nor did the Duke neglect to make her costly presents, and by his indulgence emboldened the impudence of his Ducal mistress to such an extent that from year to year discontent at his misrule spread and gained ground in the whole country. The constitution became more and more a scrap of paper, while in actual fact the Countess carried on an absolute despotism, against which even the highest-placed officials could

not rebel with impunity. It was thus that the Chaplain to the Duke, one Osiander, was summarily relieved of his appointment when he answered the Countess's request that she should be included in the weekly prayers by saying that such had been the case for a long time back, for every Sunday in all the churches they prayed "to be delivered from evil." The country groaned under the yoke of increasing forced labour and vexatious taxes, under the misrule of unintelligent, corrupt, and unscrupulous officials, and even among the Duke's personal following more and more voices began to make themselves heard, calling attention to the perils of the situation, which was rapidly becoming impossible. And so in the end the ruling Prince, who meanwhile had not grown any younger, brought himself to dismiss the Countess Würben, who, no less than he, had not stayed still in age, and to reconcile himself with his wife. The influence of the Graevenitz party, however, was by no means at an end. The people breathed again when a new ruler, Carl Alexander, came into power and promised to do away with these abuses. So much more bitter was their disappointment then and so much more deep their discontent when Carl Alexander turned Eberhard Ludwig's scourges into scorpions and through his

Treasury Privy Councillor Süß oppressed all and sundry with a brutality that would have led to armed insurrection, had not the Duke's sudden death turned the course of events in another direction.

That "Swabian phlegm, once stirred," was not so easily calmed again. All the righteous indignation that had been gathering for the space of a lifetime against the Ducal arrogance and corrupt government, welled up and was directed exclusively against one man—who was not the most guilty party at that—against Carl Alexander's Keeper of the Privy Purse, Private Secretary, and Treasury Privy Councillor, Joseph Süß Oppenheimer.

Exposed to all the merciless glare of the harsh light of history, the picture of this man that has been handed down to us is yet vague and blurred in outline. Who was Joseph Süß Oppenheimer? who was this Jew, so flattered, so loved, and so bitterly hated, whose dim historical figure is not so much obscured by the hatred and the patronage of political parties as concealed by the mask-like impenetrability of his person? This question has not been satisfactorily answered even to this very day, despite the reiterated attempts that have been made.

The period 1737 to 1925 boasts a Jew Süß bibliography, both in books and illustrations, numbering

more than fifty volumes. But all these, from the earliest pamphlets down to Lion Feuchtwanger's novel, leave the central problem of the personality of this in more than one sense extraordinary man still unilluminated.

The present essay is based on a conviction that fragments of anecdote or legend or even wildest gossip cannot be dispensed with in the character study of an outstanding personality, as far as gossip is consistent and given that it is apt to feed continually on the temper of the people. The view held by the generality may often be a sadly distorted one ; nevertheless it is not to be completely dispensed with if one desires to lend a certain depth of colour, a certain chiaroscuro to the depiction of an historical figure. The manner in which our life finds its repercussions in the sphere of the family, society, or the nation as a whole, is an integral part of our personal activity and is proper to the record of the life of one isolated individual. It is the business of intuition, of historical finesse to sift and to evaluate these indeterminate repercussions. It is true, of course, that established documentary matters of fact had to be taken for the foundation of this work. Such material is very barren, psychologically speaking, when one takes into account the overpowering

wealth of bundles of dockets brought into being by the judicial inquiry in the case of Joseph Süß Oppenheimer. These depressing masses of mouldering files have very little to tell us about the man himself, his thoughts and his feelings and his aspirations. This meagre and faintly trickling source is only fed by three groups of written material, (*a*) the minutes of Oppenheimer's trial, (*b*) the written defence, and (*c*) the manuscripts that the former Treasury Councillor has left to posterity. All other sources must be used with the greatest of caution.

Our authorities are on the one hand the voice of Süß himself, and on the other the views of his enemies; and there is too the testimony of the defending counsel assigned to him, a man whom one cannot by any manner of means call his friend. These then are the various definite contributory factors, which must perforce be filled out in order to provide a tolerably clear basis for the construction of a work of imaginative psychology.

What was the origin of this Süß Oppenheimer, how did he make his way, what was his significance to the Court, the State, and the people of Württemberg?

Joseph Süß Oppenheimer was born in Heidelberg, the son of Isachar Süßkind Oppenheimer and his

wife Michal, a daughter of the eminent cantor Salomon (Schmele), of Frankfurt-am-Main, who was held in high esteem as a singer. The year of his birth cannot be assigned with any certainty. The records of the Israelitish community of Heidelberg only go back as far as the beginning of the nineteenth century; the older papers were destroyed by fire, war, or persecution. All the biographies of Süß—of which there was a plethora as early as 1738—give the date of his birth as 1692. Anton Weberous is the only one who mentions the year 1685, in his *Memoirs of a Centenarian*—"Erinnerungen eines Hundertjährigen." Süß himself declared in his statement of May 28th, 1737, that he was thirty-eight or thirty-nine years of age, and so must have been born in 1698 or 1699. But in his lifetime it had already been mooted on several occasions that Süß had declared himself to be ten years younger than he was, on principle. This supposition gains in probability when one takes into account Süß's personal vanity and his excessively varied love-life. He became more and more the elegant courtier, his countless affairs were the constant talk of the country-side, and it is highly probable that a so avowedly amorous man did strive to pass for younger than he really was. Süß may also have put the year

of his birth back to the end of the nineties of the seventeenth century intentionally, to combat a persistent rumour that is officially denied in the documents and may also for internal reasons be disregarded as idle gossip. Namely, one is constantly coming across the statement that Süß was in point of fact the son of his mother Michal, but that he was not descended from her lawful husband Isachar Süsskind, being the offspring of adultery committed by his mother, in the absence of her husband, with Georg Eberhard von Heidersdorf, who was then the officer in command at Heidelberg, Imperial Deputy-Generalissimo (Kaiserlicher Generalfeldmarschall-Leutnant), and Knight of the Teutonic Order (Ritter des Deutschen Ordens). It is credibly reported that Süß's mother was extremely beautiful and did not enjoy one of the best of reputations. The probability of this rumour of his illegitimacy being true is strengthened by the fact that Süß's father was not a tradesman—as the accused deposed at his cross-examination—or at least was not only a tradesman, but was at the same time the leader of a company of Jewish singers and actors which undertook long journeys in the pursuit of their profession, penetrating as far as Holland, so that Isachar Süsskind was often on the road for many months at a

time. Christoph David Bernhard, a baptized Jew, lecturer in Oriental languages at Tübingen, who was repeatedly called in as an expert at Süß's trial, makes the following statement :

“In the year 1712, when I had returned from England and had made my way to Schwallbach, I encountered a large band of poor Jews who were begging an alms for their singing from respectable Christians as well as from Jews. They sing so beautifully, are so well-behaved and well-mannered that they ought to have an audience with Your Serene Highness, and Your Serene Highness really must hear them, at the most gracious command of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel. This Duke was willing to give them a hearing and was so delighted with their singing that he was most graciously pleased to cause the same to be most munificently rewarded. The leading singer is called Süsskind, a magnificent treble singer, a son-in-law of the famous singer R. Schmele Chafans, who had but the one daughter, married to Süsskind, and who has stayed at Frankfurth and has lived there. Now since, according to Süß's deposition, this R. Schmele was his grandfather, therefore of necessity Süß must have been a son of Süsskind's.”

It is very strange that Süß in his deposition makes

no mention of this circumstance and makes out his father to be a mere tradesman. At the same time it must not be forgotten that Süß's mother was still alive and that a law was still extant, even though in actual practice it was no longer in force, which forbade, under the penalty of death, and for both parties at that, all "carnal intercourse" between a Jew and a Christian. Süß then had more than one reason for keeping the date of his birth and the more precise details of his parents in the dark.

Furthermore this study will, as it proceeds, demonstrate that many of the traits of Joseph Süß Oppenheimer's character which would be quite inexplicable without such a presumption as this, may well be explained by his coming of an unfortunately mixed stock.

The unusually severe sentence which was passed on George Eberhard von Heidersdorf in the year 1693 may perhaps be explained by the indignation, not expressed in words but ready to manifest itself at any moment, which the judges felt at a degradation so utter as adulterous connection with a Jewess was regarded as being at that time—and particularly in the eyes of a strictly Roman Catholic nobility. Heidersdorf was in fact accused of having unscrupulously and needlessly surrendered the town of

Heidelberg to the Dauphin of France who was investing it in 1693. In actual fact he put up a valiant defence with a weak garrison and only capitulated after Heidelberg Castle had been heavily bombarded by the French artillery, which had the castle well within range from the neighbouring heights. In spite of this the Court-Martial pronounced him guilty for not having awaited Prince Ludwig of Baden, who had been sent to raise the siege. He was sentenced to death. This sentence is all the more surprising since Heidersdorf had made a great name for himself as a gallant general in the Turkish War. One is tempted to think that sentiments which were quite outside the scope of the true facts of the case contributed to this verdict. The Emperor Leopold reprieved him, it is true, but his fate was so outrageous he bitterly confessed that "I did not ask for such a pardon as this." He was discharged, relieved of all his honours, expelled in disgrace from the Order of Teutonic Knights, and was paraded in a gallows cart driven by the Heilbronn executioner and his assistants in front of the Imperial army drawn up on the banks of the Neckar at Heilbronn. When he was level with the regiment that was called after his name, Heidersdorf, the sentence of death was read—immediately followed

by the pronouncement that the sentence of death had been commuted to one of banishment. He was exiled from Austria and Swabia as “a traitor and a scoundrel.” Then the executioner wrenched his sword away from him, “struck him with the same thrice across the mouth, and broke it.” After that the ill-used and wretched man was placed in a boat, taken across the Neckar, and landed on the other shore, whence he fled to take refuge in the Capuchin monastery at Neckarsulm. He appears to have died in the monastery at Hildesheim in about 1720 as a Capuchin monk.—Incidentally, Heidersdorf seems to have preserved a most admirable bearing throughout the time that this scandalous ill-treatment that accompanied the execution of the sentence was being meted out to him.

But be that as it may, Joseph Süß was brought up as the true son of Jewish parents.

Rumour has woven mysterious legends even about the early days of his life. Thus a tremendous thunderstorm is said to have broken over Heidelberg during his circumcision ; the story also runs that a sow bore a litter in the middle of the road in front of the synagogue. It goes on to affirm that, for some inexplicable reason, a bloody knife fell into the midst of the synagogue during the solemn rites

of circumcision. Quite unscrupulous manufacturers of historical anecdote have even asserted that during the ceremony of circumcision a whole horde of devils appeared on the roof of the Heidelberg synagogue and careered round mounted on pigs.

According to his own testimony Süß had three brothers and a sister. His sister, who inherited their mother's beauty, was married while quite young to a rich Jew of Venice, was soon widowed, and was still living at Neustatt bei Landau at the time of the Süß's imprisonment. Two of his three brothers were baptized ; one of them was agent to the Privy Council at the Darmstadt Court, under the title of Baron Tauffenberger.

The name Oppenheimer was that of a large and widespread Jewish family, which had originally been resident in Oppenheim-am-Rhein and which had scattered to widely separated parts of the country after the destruction of that town by fire. The Viennese branch of the family had been the most successful, exercising a tremendous political and economic influence in their capacity as Bankers to the Imperial Court. The Heidelberg branch only attained to some more considerable position of wealth in Süß and his brother.

There is but little information available about the

first thirty years of Süß's life. He was generally accredited as having been an extremely gifted child. His all-embracing and retentive memory, his keen perception, his rapid, pertinent, and often witty critical sense are noted above all else. At his father's early death, an uncle undertook his education. The quick-witted boy was destined for the study of the Thora, the career of a rabbi. But his markedly mathematical proclivity, his decided talent for languages, and his commercial instinct, combined with an almost feverish restlessness, that itch for activity and excitement that to-day is still characteristic of the mercantile genius, soon drove the eighteen-year-old youth away from home.

Whether Süß studied at Tübingen, as some few authorities maintain, cannot be definitely established. In any case he cannot have made a very long sojourn there.

On the other hand, it is certain that he went first to Frankfurt to extend the scope of his knowledge, then to Amsterdam, then from there to Prague, and finally to Vienna. There were great Jewish business firms in all these cities, and Süß was more or less distantly related to the heads of the firms in each of these towns.

It was there that this unusually quick-witted

young man, distinguished by his pleasant manner, his personal charm, and his good looks, learnt not only foreign languages, the technique of speculation on the large scale, and the many ramifications of trade—among which dealing in precious stones held an especial attraction for him—but he acquired too that self-assurance, that man-of-the-worldliness, which was one day at the Prince's Court to make him the favoured friend of all those who were able or willing to turn a blind eye to his Jewish extraction.

We do not know how long Joseph Süß protracted these years of apprenticeship and travel.

So much is certain, that in spite of his good connections he was not at first a success with the Oppenheimers of Vienna, the Imperial bankers. It is of course possible that during these years he was going through a sort of period of "Sturm und Drang," or "Hurly Burly," and that his interests were not so much practical as aimed at aping the elegant and brilliant man of the world within the limits of his *milieu* and "ragging," and that here as presumably later on in Tübingen he caroused with the *jeunesse dorée* of the aristocracy, gambled, and had his amorous escapades. His entrée to society was all the more assured by the fact that, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, he did not

betray the Jew in his manners or his accent or by his outward appearance.

“He spoke nicely and with much distinction,” a contemporary assures us ; other authorities report that : “Anyone who had not known otherwise would have taken him for a Christian, and a courtier born and bred.” Anyhow, he appears to have had such a bad time, temporarily, after the Vienna period, that, so the documentary evidence of his trial maintains, he worked for some time in Prague (others say in Bavaria) as a barber’s assistant. On this point, however, it is more probable that some amorous escapade led him to play the Figaro for the time being.

How far Süß was in outward appearance and bearing from being a “miserable little Jew,” as innumerable abusive pamphlets describe him, may be gleaned from the following anecdote (which is reproduced in the phrasing and spelling of the year of its publication, 1738, in the original) :

“He came in the year 1734 by the post-chaise to Giessen, in upper Hesse, and there turned into the White Horse Tavern. As he was of good appearance and was accompanied by a lackey in livery, the host received him at the door with

many marks of respect and asked, 'Would your Honour be pleased to take dinner?' As it was then just noon, Süß answered this with Yes and bespoke a private room. As such would first have to be warmed, the host conducted him to the ordinary guest room, where were a whole table full of students taking their midday meal. These latter too took Süß for somebody of importance, and all rose to their feet. He, however, countered this courtesy with the words; 'Pray be seated, gentlemen,' at which the students sat down again. Süß paused with his arm resting on the back of a chair and his eyes fell first on a Jew whom he had not hitherto noticed in the room. 'Where do you come from, Hebrew?' he asked him. 'From Düsseldorf, Your Honour,' the latter replied. Then the host came and claimed him with the words, 'Your Honour, is it your pleasure to mount to the next storey now, up to the room which has been warmed?' Süß mounted, and as he was leaving the room he said to the students, 'Adieu, Messieurs,' but to the host, 'I will not dine, only send me up a bottle of wine to my room.' The host responded with a deep bow and led his guest up the stairs. When he returned he met Süß's lackey in the passage. He asked him with great

earnestness, 'Monsieur, tell me, how does one address your master, Your Honour or Your Excellency?' 'Oh,' the fellow replied, 'He is usually called Your Honour.' 'So, indeed,' the host said, and went to the cellar to draw wine, which he later brought to Süß in his room. Süß ordered him to procure someone who could show his man a certain house where he wished to be announced, but for the Jew from Düsseldorf he gave the message, 'Would he come to his room.' The Jew obeyed, and after discreetly knocking, came in, and asked, 'What might Your Honour want of me?' 'Where are you from, Hebrew?' Süß began again. 'Your Honour, I am from Düsseldorf, as I have already said, and I am lodging here in this house,' the latter replied.

'What is your name?'

'Liebmann.'

'What is your business here?'

'I am engaged in a lawsuit.'

'With whom are you engaged?' asked Süß.

'It has come down from my late father,' and he mentioned the latter by name.

'Oh,' said Süß, 'then you have relatives in Mannheim and in Heidelberg,' and told them off on his fingers.

‘God defend us!’ answered the Jew, ‘Your Honour knows all my relatives.’

Süss laughed at Liebmann being so astonished at him, and offered him a glass to drink his health.

‘I’m not allowed to,’ said the Jew refusing it.

‘Why not?’ asked Süss.

‘Your Honour must know how miserable the Jews are in that respect.’

Süss assumed an innocent expression and went on to ask, ‘How is that?’

‘Well,’ answered Liebmann, ‘Your Honour must know that the Jews are not allowed to drink any but kosher wine.’

‘Stuff and nonsense!’ said Süss. ‘Drink up.’

The Jew shrugged his shoulders and excused himself for not drinking. Then suddenly the whole affair took on a different complexion when Süss offered him the glass with the words, in Yiddish dialect, ‘Look, drink up now! I am just as good a son of Israel as you are yourself.’

The Jew was quite dumbfounded and answered, ‘Your Honour is joking.’ Süss interrupted him with: ‘Catouves is Catouves: But I give you my word that I am a son of Israel.’

‘A son of Israel!’ the Jew asked in utter astonishment.

‘Pisht!’ our man replied, ‘Look now, didn’t you know, I am Süss Oppenheimer.’

The conversation was interrupted by the return of Süss’ lackey whom he had conduct him to the house where he wished to visit; but before he went he ordered the postillion to put in the horses so that he could continue his journey on to Wetzlar as soon as he returned.

Now while Süss was away the Jew Liebmann told the host what had passed between them, himself deeply disapproving of Süss’ treating the Rabbi’s dogma with such scant respect, adding the suggestion that they should tell the Customs-officer about him, because he had presumably passed himself off as a Christian at the gates and so would not have paid his passage-money. Herr K——, for such was the host’s name, an honourable man, but at the same time a sly fellow, could not but laugh at himself for having paid Süss so many honours. But so as to get his own back a little he sent round to the Jewish tavern close by to tell the confraternity of poor guests there that they were all to come round to his house, as there was a rich Jewish stranger there

who wanted to give them alms. This occurred on a Friday afternoon and the taverns were full of poor Jews who had come to celebrate the Sabbath in Giessen. All of these latter gathered before the White Horse and awaited the rich man who was going to give them something. He soon came back, having paid his visit, and recognized his brothers and sisters in the Faith before they recognized him. He asked the host who was standing at the door, 'Where did all those people come from?' The host answered him with as much respect as he could feign, 'Your Honour, as this is an Inn there are always poor people about waiting for an alms from the noble gentlemen that pass through.' 'Yes,' said Süß, 'the poor are always with us,' and presented all the Jews who were present from the oldest to the youngest children with a generous gift; then he paid his host and drove away.

One can tell from this anecdote that he had very little of the Hebrew in his outward looks, and in the same way, that he presumed on many of the articles of his religion. Among which is to be numbered his manner of eating and drinking, wherein he paid but little attention to the rabbinical statutes

and thereby shocked the feelings of all good Jews."

At the end of the twenties of the eighteenth century Joseph Süß returned home. He tried at first to work up a business connection with the Court of Thurn and Thaxis at Frankfurt-am-Main. This first attempt failed. He was, however, successful later on in getting into touch with the governments in Mannheim and Heidelberg.

But he only attained to this end by laborious and circuitous means. Without any thoroughgoing knowledge in juristic matters himself he firstly worked up a sort of business connection with the firm of Graf and Lauz, in Mannheim, and set about resuscitating seemingly hopeless old cases which had been dealt with before, and attempting to bring them to a satisfactory and rapid conclusion with the help of his two business friends and his own energy. He was therefore a kind of agent in litigation for the lawyers Graf and Lauz and entitled to a commission in the event of a successful verdict.

Soon after this he obtained the contract to supply the stamped paper to the Palatinate Court, with payment of an annual rent. When this line of business began to turn out as yielding very little he

managed to transfer his privilege to another business man by the name of Jogni for the not inconsiderable amount of 12,000 gulden.

Simultaneously he was carrying on a very profitable business in precious stones, even if it was of modest size at first ; through it he contrived to get himself appointed to the job of supplying ingot gold and silver to the Darmstadt Mint. He disposed of this privilege as well for the sum of 9000 gulden, and only retained the right to coin kreuzers, thus rendering valuable services to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt in his capacity as private banker.

In these circumstances it was natural for the successful young merchant to be accused of dishonesty. But the Landgrave immediately extended his protection by a decree which empowered Süß to coin and issue six, seven, or eight pieces over and above the contracted number in each batch of silver or gold marks.

His good offices with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt paved the way for him to other princely houses. His agreeable manners in society, his wit, his elegance, his conversational talent made it easy for him to gain a footing in higher spheres.

By the summer of 1732 he was important enough

in the world of German finance for his business colleague, Isaac Simon of Landau, usually known as Isaac Landauer, to present him to the then Governor-General of Serbia and Imperial Field-Marshal Prince Carl Alexander of Württemberg, and his wife Maria Augusta, *née* Princess of Thurn and Thaxis. According to the official report of his cross-examination on June 4th, 1737, Landauer appears to have said: "Here I present the man who has supplanted me." This was a strange confession from Landauer's lips. Landauer was one of the most powerful men in the world of money in Germany, one might say in Europe; he had been for many years banker to the Duke Eberhard Ludwig von Württemberg and—what had perhaps been still more important, the official agent of his mistress, the Countess von Würben.

Süss soon won the Prince's confidence, and did so all the more easily as Carl Alexander, being a fairly showy prince, was in perpetually embarrassed financial straits, and was offended with the hostile refusal he had received from the Württemberg Estates when he had made a somewhat imperative demand for a sum in advance for his personal trappings.

In that same year, 1732, the Prince appointed



THE DUCHESS MARIA AUGUSTA VON WÜRTTEMBERG,
NÉE PRINCESS OF THURN AND TAXIS

him his Court Chamberlain and War Agent and Keeper of the Privy Purse, while his wife, Maria Augusta, made him her agent by virtue of her decree of November 14th, 1732.

Süss immediately advanced the Prince 2000 gulden ready money and pledged himself so to manage his princely master's income that his own income would considerably accrue from the deal.

The post of Court Agent and War-Factor almost amounted to that of a Minister to the Throne. The Factor and Agent combined in one person the offices of Keeper of the Privy Purse, Banker, and Private Secretary. One can hardly conceive a relationship by which a reigning prince could be more dependent on a private individual not a member of the administrative or the executive. In practically all the German courts, from the Imperial Court at Vienna downwards, where there were Oppenheimers, Jews were to be found in these positions of responsibility and influence. It was therefore not surprising in itself that Carl Alexander too procured a "Court Jew" for himself.

But from the outset there is a strange trait to be noticed in the relationship between these two men.

Yet what a tremendous gulf yawned between these two personalities. Carl Alexander, Prince of Württemberg, was one of the leading aristocrats of the realm. His military renown, especially after the battle of Peterwardein, in which the Prince's personal bravery and intervention had been the decisive factor, was almost as great as that of Prince Eugene of Savoy, "the noble knight" ("der edle Ritter"), and idol of the army, the people, and the Court. The Württemberger was dubbed "the new Siegfried," "the German Alexander," and "Achilles"; he was one of the most brilliant generals of his century and beloved of high and low alike by virtue of his kind heart, his affability, and his bluff, brisk, racy manner.

A picture showing him at the head of his 700 halberdiers at the storming of Belgrade, had a wide circulation. The Württembergers were so partial to this handsome, noble, affable Prince, this terrible hero, this lion in battle, that even his conversion to Catholicism was hardly taken amiss by the staunch Protestant population. He was more loved than the reigning Duke Eberhard Ludwig, who had grown old and indifferent, and whom they could not forgive for the monstrous oppression he had exercised over the Duchy at the hands of his mistress and the

Graevenitz party. Even the Heir-Apparent, Prince Friedrich Ludwig, born on December 14th, 1698, played little or no part in the minds of the Württembergers. The Prince did not, however, enjoy the best of health, and from 1729 fell into a serious decline, to die of consumption on November 23rd, 1731—shortly before that, namely on June 24th, 1731, Eberhard Ludwig celebrated at Teinach a solemn reconciliation with his wife Sophia Amalia, *née* Princess of Baden-Durlach, after the Countess Würben had been expelled from the country. A few weeks later it was made known that the Duchess was pregnant and public prayers were said in the churches for her safe delivery ; but although these intercessions were protracted over a period of more than eleven months, hopes of a Protestant heir to the throne proved to be without foundation. Carl Alexander found himself in the position of having a fair chance of a reversion to the throne. He had drawn up in November a memorial to the Estates in which he affirmed his rights in the event of the demise of his cousin, the reigning Duke. There was always the possibility that Eberhard Ludwig might yet beget a son, a possibility that could not be denied. There was an end to this hope when on February 14th, 1733, Eberhard Ludwig appointed

his cousin Carl Alexander to be his sole heir, and the Estates acknowledged him as Heir-Apparent on February 28th, 1733, at Winnental, after the Catholic Prince had guaranteed in definite and binding terms that he would afford his protection to members of the Protestant faith and to the liberties of the Duchy. Although the thought of a Catholic ruler seemed an impossibility in the minds of the majority of the inhabitants of Württemberg, yet Carl Alexander remained the brightest star in the Swabian firmament.

And now Prince Carl Alexander, this brilliant knight, suddenly enters into close connection with a Jewish financier, an upstart, to whom after an acquaintance of a few months he accords a position of trust with an opportunity for influence which grows from month to month and is not seriously menaced by any crisis.

There is documentary evidence to show—and Süß himself repeatedly admitted—that the Prince “on many an occasion raged at him,” that is to say he threw him out, and that the latter, like the famous guest who was flung out of the Black Whale at Askalon, came in again at the next door. It was in fact his speciality, as he himself expressed it, “to entertain noblemen and to associate with them,”

and he never took Carl Alexander's moods too seriously.

The Prince obviously found Süß indispensable from the very first day of their acquaintance, and continued to do so when the whole universe was breaking in storms about his favourite's head. Doubtless there were very good and pertinent reasons for his actions ; but that alone would hardly have sufficed with such a violent, choleric, brusque, and autocratic man as Carl Alexander, if there had not been some personal and instinctive tie between them. On the one side the noble lord may have felt that nobody had such a fine understanding for his political ambitions as this shrewd Oppenheimer with his keen perception, and that not one of his entourage had the least particle of that reckless audacity which characterized Carl Alexander, and which was at the same time the most conspicuous quality of Jew Süß. On this point, in the matter of adventure and daring, in the tense excitement of their ambitions, however different their objects were, they were at one.

But the indissolubility of the tie that bound Carl Alexander to Süß does not appear to be fully explained by the affinity of one definite and common trait of character—one feels this to be so clearly

enough, and often against one's will—and anyone who reviews the period of their lives that these two passed together is forced to acknowledge the similarity of the mystic tie that bound Wallenstein to Octavio in Schiller's work. Some sort of astrological belief and some superstition seem to have played their part. And even if tradition lacks a foundation of authenticated documentary evidence, yet the rumour still cannot be gainsaid credence to the effect that at the outset of their acquaintance in 1732, at a time when the succession to the throne was by no means decided, Süß laid before the Prince a cabalistic horoscope prophesying that the Ducal crown of Württemberg would come to the Prince. If this cabalistic prediction was really taken into consideration—as is frequently asserted—must it not have bound the Prince to the prophet of his good fortune with a strong tie? For this was the time of superstition in astrology and alchemy, the century of the mysterious rites of Freemasonry, the period that produced Casanova, Cagliostro, and Saint Germain. Considering Carl Alexander's violent and unscrupulous nature, this or some other such queer tie does seem to present the most satisfactory explanation for his boundless confidence in, nay, his dependence on, Süß.

It is true that Süß by his never-failing willingness to serve his master, saw to it that all the Prince's political, financial, private—and it must be added, his very personal—wishes were fulfilled, and thus had made himself indispensable. The Jew was all the more convenient a go-between in questionable dealings as, if need be, he could at any time be punished for dishonesty and be dismissed. High politics have not at any time or in any circumstances been able to dispense with irresponsible third parties who act half as spy and half as *chargé d'affaires*, whose work is taking soundings in their capacity as agents, or incitement or preparation, and whose arrangements can be regarded at will as officially binding or as non-existent and deniable. The political agent is beyond the reach of all formal responsibility. But as only the most skilled, shrewd, and finely perceptive men can be used, the course of history shows us time and again that the real power is centred in the hands of these unofficial wire-pullers, spies and general stage-managers. Especially in the age of government by cabinets, in the century of Richelieu and of Machiavelli, fortune smiled on such ambitious adventurers, and many a decision of world-wide importance was reached in those days not by those who had great names and

filled great offices, but by their private secretaries and their factors and agents.

Little wonder that such an alert, far-seeing, and daring man as Jew Süß Oppenheimer decided upon this career of what one might call private politics.

At the Court of Thurn and Thaxis he had not successfully established a footing. But Carl Alexander was the first to offer him an opportunity to set his foot on the bottom rung of the ladder of fame. Whether Süß himself believed in the Prince's horoscope, or whether he was not rather too well aware of the state of Duke Eberhard Ludwig's health to think that he would live much longer or that he could yet beget a son, and knew the prophecy to be more probable of fulfilment than Carl Alexander himself, this is a question on which we are not able to express an opinion. The Governor-General of Serbia, son-in-law of the wealthy Prince of Thurn and Thaxis, offered political opportunities enough to bring him to consideration as a stepping-off point for an ambitious man. The amount of money, time, and work that he had determined to devote to the service of Carl Alexander would bear its interest in due course even if the Prince never came to the throne of Württemberg. A Court Chamberlain and Agent for War of an Imperial

Field-Marshal, an Agent of the Princess Württemberg, *née* Princess of Thurn and Thaxis, these offices could command a credit, both socially and financially, that was not to be despised.

The personality of Carl Alexander, too, was a first-rate investment in the far-seeing eyes of Süß. The financial genius with his sure intuition felt that here was a far-sighted and enterprising politician on whom he could rely.

Economically and financially Süß was without a doubt a hundred, or perhaps two hundred, years before his time. At that early period he had already realized that the key to real power lay in the collection and co-ordination of the scattered and inefficient natural resources of a country. His whole financial policy was based on that principle and the supreme superiority with which later he handled Privy Councillors, Ministers and Delegates, did not have its root in "Jewish arrogance" but in a far-sightedness that entitled him, purely economically speaking, to be regarded as the finest financial politician of his time. Carl Alexander was the means by which he was enabled to translate his ideas into facts. And he would perhaps have succeeded in benefiting his country if his febrile activity, one is tempted to call it his American hustle, which was so completely

out of keeping with his time, had not led him to commit excesses which in the end cut away the ground from under his feet.

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The horoscope which Süß is said to have made for Prince Carl Alexander was to see its fulfilment in an amazingly short time. In the spring of 1733 Eberhard Ludwig contracted an inflammation of the lungs, which recurred more seriously in the autumn of that year and led to his death on October 31st, 1733.

On the same day at nine o'clock in the forenoon the Government and Court Councillor Neuffer attended the session of the Ducal Privy Councillors' College and presented a Memorandum from Carl Alexander, headed Belgrade, October 12th, 1729, which laid down the form of government which should hold good until his arrival in Stuttgart or in Ludwigsburg. The Prince, by the mediation of Privy Councillors Forstner and Neuffer, had assured himself of a party which would look to his interests in the country and especially would unmask and render powerless the political intrigues that certain staunch Protestant circles were trying to hatch with Carl Alexander's younger and still Protestant

brother, Heinrich Friedrich. Carl Alexander's gratitude was not to be in doubt until after his accession, for Forstner was appointed President of the Privy Council and Neuffer was made a Privy Councillor.

On December 16th, 1733, the new Duke made his triumphal entry into Stuttgart, after having made an alliance with the Emperor while on his way through Vienna ; by the alliance he undertook to put into the field against France a considerable contingent of troops in the War of the Polish Succession, which had just broken out, and he was simultaneously appointed Field-Marshal of the Swabian Imperial District and raised to the rank of Imperial Field-Marshal. On the very next day, December 17th, he made another proclamation guaranteeing with deep solemnity all the liberties and the faith of the country. Mistrust of the Catholic ruler was considerably reduced by this step and the Duke found agreement and support forthcoming from the Estates for the military measures which were immediately necessary. He raised troops to the number of 12,000 men, enlarged the fortresses of Asperg, Neuffen and Urach, and erected a series of redoubts at Lauffen, Vaihingen and in the Black Forest to safeguard the country against the imminent French invasion.

Carl Alexander ascended the throne with a boldly outlined political scheme. He had been a soldier since his eleventh year. And nothing is more natural than that he should have intended to follow a military policy. His aim was to enlarge Württemberg first inside and then outside her boundaries. He therefore demanded a strong armed force and prescribed levies which sorely tried the rural population, for not only the best horses but also the marriageable young men were called to the colours, thus preventing the early marriages which were a prime necessity for the prosperity of the peasant class. Such a strong armed force also meant a great financial strain on the land. The Duke himself, even though he did declare that he intended to make drastic retrenchments in his household and at Court, and with all his sincere desire "to be the ruler himself, to right all wrongs, to lend an ear to his people, and to help them," was nevertheless a sovereign on a grand scale who loved ostentation and enjoyed fêtes and trappings, a sumptuous table, beautiful women and, above all, precious stones. He was, moreover, as all successful soldiers, little given to counting the cost and much inclined to live and let live in the grand manner. And he who had been accustomed all his life to command and

who had suffered everything save contradiction, must have found the constitution of Württemberg, which gave the Estates far-reaching privileges, all the more irksome, and in fact towards the end he found it odious since as the Heir-Apparent he had already had occasion to suffer from the narrow-mindedness of the Estates. Your burgher, your good paterfamilias, your honest steward, must have been an abomination, and when they crossed his path, *canaille*, in the eyes of the soldier, the general, the conqueror. The Swabian Duke had lost all his Swabianism in the course of his military career. With his fiery temperament he felt the prudent and sluggish nature of the Swabians, ever more inclined to refusal than assent, acting everywhere like a brake on his activity. He felt that he was not understood by his Evangelical entourage and it was not merely as an act of gratitude but because of a deep-seated and personal need that he nominated Joseph Süß Oppenheimer to be his Agent for War and Keeper of the Privy Purse, and on January 9th, 1734, to be Resident Minister and Cabinet Agent to the Duchy of Württemberg. He needed money and political collaboration. He thought to get both from Süß. Süß had accompanied Carl Alexander to Belgrade, not all the way but just as it so suited, being more

or less engaged in managing affairs in Frankfurt and Mannheim.

Süss was by no means the miserable shopkeeper that most of the pamphlets of 1738 and the records of the Court of Inquiry make him out to be. He kept up an establishment in Mannheim that alone cost him 15,600 gulden a year, and one at Frankfurt-am-Main, acknowledged his debts with promptitude, and was able to command credit up to 100,000 gulden even at that time.

Other governments too laid a high value on his collaboration. In that same year, 1734, the Electoral Prince of the Palatinate appointed him Principal Agent for War to the Palatinate Court and entrusted him with the organization of the Palatinate Mint. Similarly, in that year, he became the Agent for the Prince Bishop of Cologne.

The business of minting offered the enterprising merchant of that time the greatest scope, and it was a line of business that Süss had had an excellent opportunity of getting to know when he was in Darmstadt. The speculative desire of the high financiers began to turn towards the issue of coinage with an intensity comparable to the interest that has been evinced in recent times towards film undertakings. The Electoral State of Bavaria had been

the first, and its coinage was the dominant one in a great part of the South German market, although the money issued by Eberhard Ludwig was sound and moreover four per cent better than the Bavarian. The minor and the smallest states followed this lead, and beside the Electoral Palatinate and Darmstadt, petty territories such as Baden-Durlach, Ansbach, Waldeck, Fulda, Hechingen, Monfort, also issued currencies. It is very nearly justifiable to refer to it as an epidemic of coining which had infected Germany and from which the princely exchequers and the organizers, for the most part Jewish business men, made considerable profits.

Indicative of the widespread influence of this coining fever and economically speaking of interest, is the fact that Spain, Portugal and Holland stopped, or at least greatly decreased their output of jewellery because the sale of gold and silver bullion to Germany was more profitable.

Although at the time of the accession of Carl Alexander Württemberg was by no means in a bad way financially, since the Exchequer, or the Estates, had an appreciable fund of bullion at their disposal, yet the Duke did not see fit to renounce the idea of the additional income from a currency system organized on a profitable basis. He needed large sums

of money for military and personal purposes and in addition in order to put into execution his far-seeing political ideas.

To this end he commissioned Privy Councillor von Waldenbuch on January 30th, 1734, with the compilation of a memorandum on the current state of the Württemberg Mint, and sent him to Frankfurt that he might obtain the opinion of his Cabinet Factor, Joseph Süss Oppenheimer. After detailed negotiations the Duke concluded his contract with his former purveyors of gold and silver, and on March 12th, 1734, transferred his contract to Süss, who in the first instance only undertook to give deliveries till July 1st of that year. In the functioning of the Mint there was a reorganization, presumably initiated by Süss, but which to the public eye appeared to be rendered difficult with much red-tape. Apparently the whole affair did not get into its swing as the Duke desired, so that he took over the whole Mint again from Süss by the Heilbronn Contract of June 5th, 1734, to take effect from July 1st. The Duke made a bad deal. Süss had undertaken to make him annual payments of 92,800 gulden in quarterly instalments. He gave a security of 20,000 gulden in the shape of a mortgage on his fortune and received as primary working capital the sum of 75,000 gulden,

of which he was to repay a tenth every quarter. Süß was to have to appoint and to pay all assistants and workmen, with the exception of five higher officials. His duties were to coin 1000 marks of silver and 200 marks of gold per week. That amounted to 9600 Alexandres d'or (at five gulden) and 32,667 half-gulden pieces.

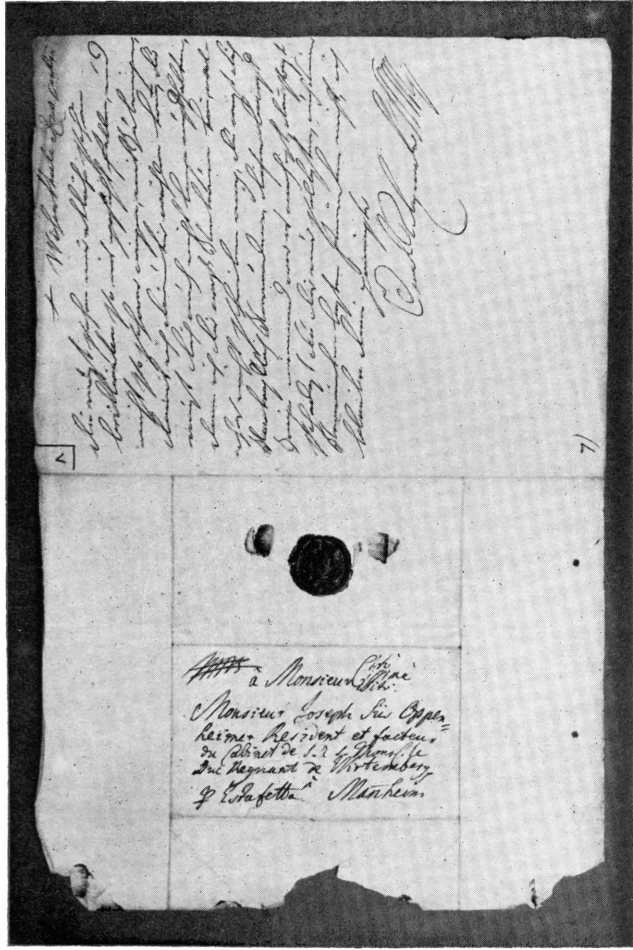
This was the first business coup on a big scale that Süß successfully handled. And it was more than a purely business success for Süß, it meant too a great rise in social status, for the new Director of the Mint was not only exempt from all customs and other duties but also that a ducal mounted guard in livery accompanied him and that a carriage and four was put at his disposal—at the Duke's expense. Süß showed himself worthy of the trust reposed in him. Within the first nine months he coined eleven tons of gold, that is eleven million marks, while the terms of his contract had only demanded that he should deliver 7200 gold marks. This is a quantity hitherto absolutely unheard of, which offered the most brilliant testimony to Oppenheimer's business acumen and his talent for organization.

A fact that necessarily bore even more weight with Carl Alexander was that the profit that went to the Ducal Exchequer was correspondingly enlarged

by this astounding productiveness. The service that Süß had thus rendered to the Duke was appreciated all the more highly by Carl Alexander, as the Franco-Polish War of Succession was causing him increased expenditure.

Süß made the most part of his profit by favourable buying of the crude metal and by his classifying of the material for coining. His personal takings amounted in two and a half years to 85,262 gulden 44½ kreuzers, an amount which was by no means excessive, taking all things into consideration. But at the same time the Duke's protection opened a whole series of fresh sources of income for him.

We have already mentioned that the Duke was fond of jewels and precious stones above all else, and was an enthusiastic collector. Süß had an extensive knowledge in those matters and was in touch with the necessary channels, by virtue of his dealings in the gold and silver market, through which he could keep the Duke continually supplied with precious stones that the show-loving Prince acquired at a favourable price on the whole, but not without a certain amount of haggling. Süß also used to good purpose in obtaining other goods the exemption from customs and excise granted to him



MS. LETTER FROM CARL ALEXANDER TO SÜSS

Facsimile.

You must see to it that you bring back with you some good brilliants, striking ones, and not weighing too much, so that I can choose from among them ; nor must you stay long for I have something for your private ear that I may not trust to writing. You'll be mighty surprised. Do not show this letter to anyone whatsoever, you will be harming only yourself, not even those whom you deem your best friends, I remain your affectionate Carl Alexander.

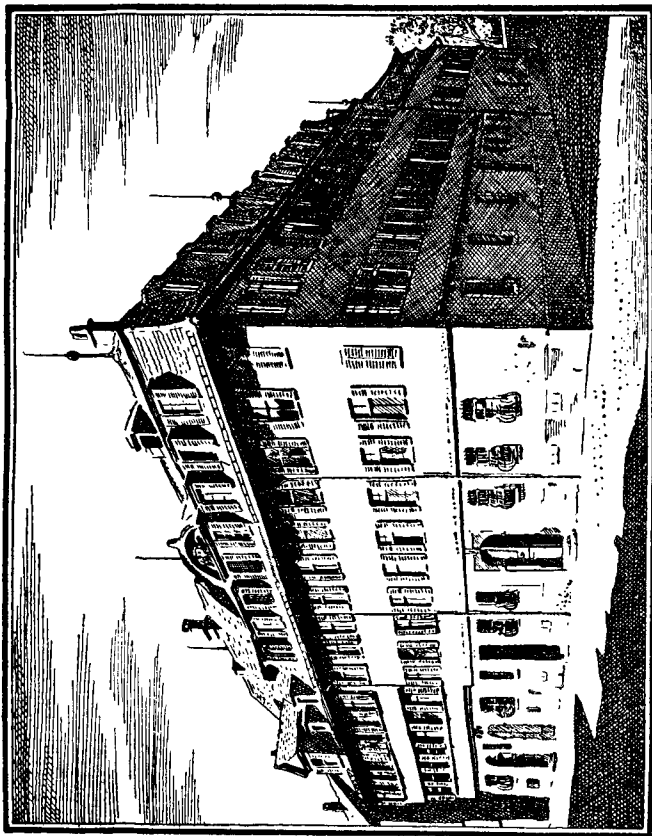
personally. He dealt—or caused his agents to deal—in choice wines, special cloths, and thoroughbred horses. And made a particularly good business out of his dealings purely as a banker.

Although the productivity of the new Mint was so astoundingly large, yet a considerable and inconvenient lack of small change soon began to make itself felt, especially among the lower classes and among the soldiers on active service. Sometimes it happened that only gold was available to pay the troops and there was absolutely no change to be had, no kreuzers and half-guldens which the ordinary man needed for buying the smaller necessities of life. So Süß made a start in this direction. He sent numerous agents over the country-side and into the camps to give small change for gold currency at an exchange discount of from twenty to thirty kreuzers per Alexandre d'or. This meant a profit of six per cent, which made a pretty tidy sum when it was a case of 12,000 soldiers, and it laid the principal foundations to Süß's private fortune.

Süß appears to have lived in Ludwigsburg at first and to have been in Frankfurt and Mannheim very frequently. It was not till the winter of 1736 that he acquired his palace at Stuttgart, a house that still stands in Friedrichstrasse, on the corner of

Schlossstrasse (which was at that time Seestrasse), which he had of course rented and occupied before ; the house in more recent times has served the more gentle and more innocuous purpose of the education of girls, as the Altes Katharinenstift.

It was only to be expected that this fabulous rise of a foreign Jew should create a sensation and some annoyance in Württemberg. A Court Jew, as such, was indeed no novelty now, but privileges were heaped into Süß's lap in too great a profusion for him to escape jealousy. Did he not draw a princely salary as Director of the Mint, and not satisfied with that, did he not make enormous sums in his private capacity as a banker and moneylender ? But the last straw was that the Duke made him, so to speak, eligible for society. Süß rode in the Ducal carriage, his servants wore livery, he inhabited a princely dwelling, was always near the person of the ruler, who consulted his opinion on every point, always turning a willing ear to his wishes, and invariably gave more consideration to the Jewish financier's opinion than he did to that of his official advisers. Perhaps they would have grudged him his great profits and his house and even his influence with the ruler less if he had not in his appearance bespoken his aims and ambitions ; a capacity in which the



Jew Süss's house in the then Seestrasse.

Duke accepted him, namely to be the elegant, the man of the world, the gentleman of the Court. They could not forgive the Jew, in whose soul aristocratic instincts doubtless inherited from his father played a great part, for being not only richer and more influential but also more far-sighted, wittier and more refined than the Swabian nobility. People began to remember that it was contrary to the Constitution for a Jew to take up residence in the country outside of the three towns specially set aside for the purpose; bigoted Christians even thought to see an alliance with the Devil in the Duke's friendly relations with Süß.

All this conspired to raise an outcry against Süß. He was suspected of serious irregularities at the Mint, and was denounced to the Duke on those grounds. On May 27th, 1735, the Duke ordered a thorough investigation. But not the faintest suspicion could be attached to Süß. On the contrary, he was in a position to point out that the Württemberg coinage that he had minted was the most current and most sought-after money in the Reich, and even that Leining, Agent of the Mint in Frankfurt, had complained that Süß's money was too rich in content: "The half-gulden pieces are turned out so heavy that there is hardly any profit

in them.” And Privy Councillor von Schütz, although a member of the Committee of Inquiry and not among Süß’s friends, was forced to concur in that opinion. Then the storm was not merely averted, it was on the contrary turned into a victory for Süß, a victory that the Duke in his open-handed way consolidated by a special demonstration of his favour. By a Decree of October 22nd, 1735, he created Süß Privy Councillor of the Exchequer. In addition to that his Mint contract was renewed and, by Süß’s express desire, it was altered in several points in his favour.

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It seems that the longer Carl Alexander occupied the throne of Württemberg the more he estranged his Swabian subjects. There is no doubt but that the Prince was filled with the best intentions when he took over the reins of government. He doubtless meant it from the bottom of his heart when he caused an announcement to be made from every pulpit in the land to the effect that “it was his desire that all dealings should be conducted without trickery, artifice, or complications, with our traditional good faith and honesty ; he would bestow his favour according to each man’s personal deserts,

punishing ill-doing with the lawful penalties, and rewarding good with fatherly favours." In the first few weeks he had already made a clean sweep of the Graevenitz policy. The people began to have confidence; but the good relations were only to be short-lived. The Duke, as the Imperial Field-Marshal, was soon ordered to the war, he needed money, he needed soldiers. The spirit of war soon began to make itself felt by the ordinances of the Civil government. As soon as the levies no longer provided the requisite number of troops they began to press the younger men, those under the age of twenty-five, into war service. When discontent began to spread, a harsh decree forbidding all disobedience and expressions of dissatisfaction under penalty of death was promulgated.

The faith that the Duke had justly inspired in the breasts of his partisans in Württemberg waned simultaneously. He began to mistrust even the most devoted supporters of his cause, von Forstner and Neuffer. Jesuit influences appear to have caused this friction between a Catholic Duke and his staunch Protestant entourage. Carl Alexander had been intimate with the Company of Jesus when he was only Crown Prince and he remained constantly in touch with the directing powers through the

medium of his friend, General Franz von Remchingen, whom he had brought with him from Vienna. A conviction gradually grew up in the Duke's mind that Forstner and Neuffer had betrayed him insomuch as they had altered the final draft of the "Reversalien" from the original rough copy, the "Reversalien" being the deed by which he had ratified his acknowledgment of the constitutional rights granted by him to the Estates. The resentment he felt against the Estates for having refused to make him a grant in advance for his own personal use, and against the members who had intrigued with his younger brother, Heinrich Friedrich, still a Protestant, against their Catholic ruler, did not die down but was ready to burst into flame again at the most trivial resistance that was offered him. He therefore determined first of all to carry out a thoroughgoing change in the personnel of the highest positions at Court. The Duke desired firstly to fill the Court Chaplain's office and some other few important appointments in the household with foreigners, and with Catholics it may well be presumed. The execution of this dangerous plan was prevented by Süß—a significant token of his great political acumen, which revealed to him only too vividly the dangers of such a taunting challenge to

the will of the people. Nevertheless it is questionable whether the advice with which Süß countered the Duke's intentions was at all preferable. The men whom Carl Alexander subsequently summoned were, it is true, Württembergers, but proved themselves in course of the next few years to be dangerous enemies of the State. One is probably justified in designating the new Chancellor Scheffer as one of Süß's creatures, and one is certainly justified in so doing in the cases of Transport Councillors Hallwachs, Metz, Bühler, Lauz, Thill, Lampprechts, and Requettenmeister (*Maître des Requêtes*) Knab. They were creatures by whom he formed a party of his own and intended to create a counter-balance to the tradition-weighted circles of Civil Servants. It was assuredly his right to try to do that, and all the more since he was the defendant. If the new officials' moral qualifications were very questionable—well, Süß bore no official responsibility for their nominations. He was the irresponsible private councillor of Carl Alexander, who alone was the one to consider the suitability of appointments. And Süß had gauged the Duke's wishes well and had chosen rightly—if Carl Alexander was looking for accommodating tools instead of advisers conscious of and faithful to their responsibilities. And that such

was his will is extremely probable. What a miserable opinion Süß had of creatures is expressed in his often-quoted epigram : " To make a Swabian anything higher than a Transport Councillor is to make him too much "—an opinion that clearly reflects the way his master felt towards the honest but sluggish Württembergers.

It is quite definite that Carl Alexander set about beginning the execution of his ambitious political plans in 1735, after the end of the Franco-Polish War of Succession, and that he needed Oppenheimer's collaboration in this matter. The aim of these plans was to sweep away the constitution and the privileges of the Protestant faith, to raise himself to the position of an absolute ruler, to introduce Catholicism as an established religion on an equal footing with Protestantism, and in due course to extend the territorial limits of Württemberg.

Carl Alexander was assured of the support of the Jesuits and the Imperial Court in these aims. The projects were hatched at the Archiepiscopal Court at Würzburg and were deliberated in the house of Joseph Süß Oppenheimer in Seestrassé. The liaison officers were the Würzburg Privy Councillor Fichtel, Court Councillor Raab, also from Würzburg, whom the Duke took into the service of Württemberg,

and the Ducal General Franz von Remchingen. It cannot be proved that Oppenheimer took any active part in the political plot, but there is not a shred of doubt but that he was aware of its existence.

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Carl Alexander was quite free from prejudices—although not quite free of the superstitions that dominated his time. Above all else he did not share in the sullen Anti-Semitism of his entourage. It even appears probable that he took a special delight in flouting the Anti-Semitic prejudice that was rife by overwhelming Oppenheimer with his favours and with honours at the Court. He could not possibly have turned the morose, honest and correct Swabians to his purposes, but neither could he rely absolutely on the representatives of the Jesuit party who had an eye only for the interests of the Church, or rather of their order. But Süß was somehow in the position of being above parties. He was neither a Württemberger, nor a Protestant, nor a Jesuit ; he was a neutral in every respect and attached only to the person of Carl Alexander, more firmly attached than any of his generals or his councillors. His vital interests were bound up with those of the Duke for better or for worse. Thus Carl Alexander

Shuckert Union

21

mein Herr hat mich befohlen die
Zu. Gabe des Geldes zu bewilligen
und den den Nutzen des Geldes
für den Staat zu verwenden. Ich habe
dies mit dem besten Willen
gethan und in der Hoffnung
dass die Gabe des Geldes
für den Staat zu verwenden
ist.

Augusta

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Cloniscus his openheim

А. С. Мухоморов.

MS. LETTER FROM THE DUCHESS MARIA AUGUSTA TO SÜSS
Facsimile.

had in him someone to whom he could unhesitatingly lay bare his soul, on whom he could rely for wholehearted support, and if need be, for inviolable secrecy. He held the foreign Jew in the very palm of his hand.

Vox populi: vox Dei. Perhaps the instinctive feeling of the Württembergers that in Süß they beheld the satanic seducer of the Duke, was in a certain sense right. Perhaps it is true Süß did point the way for the Duke to attain his political aims; a way that he forthwith followed with ruthless brutality.

The extortionate fiscal policy that Süß advised, and which the Duke put into practice, cannot possibly be explained by a mere personal lust for money on both their parts. As we shall show later in more detail, it was a policy so monstrous, so provocative and so defiant, and frequently so clumsy and so insulting that such a shrewd and intelligent man as Süß would never have stood for it had it not been simply the means to an end.

There was only one way for Carl Alexander to attain his political goal, and that was the *coup d'état*. An opportunity to pick a quarrel for that purpose was not easily found. What then more desirable than to provoke the enemy, in this case the Provincial Estates and the people? Their aim must be

to anger the people to such a pitch that they would let themselves be carried away to commit acts of overt rebellion. Then there would be a convenient excuse for abrogating the Constitution and introducing an absolute Monarchy. But what is the most effective way of rousing a country? By taxes, by as many and as oppressive and as unjustifiable taxes as are possible; the purse is man's most vulnerable organ. For a financial genius like Süß there was no great difficulty in constantly inventing fresh and more effective channels of taxation; he literally drew them out of a bag. Not, be it said, without realizing in many cases the seriousness of his proposals. The train of thought that took place in the Duke's mind, along with this systematic plundering of the country and this cunning corrosion of national prosperity, was something like this: the Exchequer was overflowing with money, the people were poor, wretched, and hostile, the spirit of revolution would raise its head, and—the Government would not be to blame for anything, nor would the Duke, but a newly arrived Jew was responsible for everything.

Thus the mine was laid. Whether overt rebellion or an arbitrary *coup d'état* would set the quick match to the train and set it off was immaterial—the Duke

had all the political trump cards in his hand. He only needed to ease off some of the thumb-screws that were torturing the miserable and ill-used populace to appear in the rôle of the saviour of the groaning people in the hour of need, leading his beloved subjects on to better times. And as the people were already inclined to see in the Jew the person of the father of all evil, it would only be necessary to let his Jewish Excellency fall from power, and then just banish him from the Duchy, and Carl Alexander would have won over the Württembergers' hearts at one blow.

Up with toleration in religion, down with the Constitution ; if the people had time to breathe again, live, eat their fill, well, they would take the abrogation of the Constitution and the introduction of Catholicism in with the rest of the bargain, if the pill was sugared over a bit and skilfully administered. Thus the house was to be fired so that, when the flames were licking round the rafters, he could intervene as the saviour of their lives, putting out the flames with an earnest mien and earning the thanks of those whose goods and chattels he was taking this opportunity of acquiring.

It is such a plan as this that may have been in the mind of the Duke and of Remchingen. Süß, for

his part, must have had before him the advantages that were awaiting him at the side of an absolute monarch. The hatred of the people would matter even less then than it did now. Nevertheless it was worth while managing so that they could not in any circumstances have a legal hold on him—not even in the improbable event of failure. To this end he never signed an official document, he stayed away from the administrative conferences, and insisted categorically on carrying out only Ducal commands, took absolutely no risks in any one of his dealings that concerned the common weal, and finally with this end in view he willingly subordinated his own interest to that of the Ducal Exchequer. It was only later that Süß realized that his secret enemy, Remchingen, and then Scheffer, and finally even the Duke himself, believed that he was playing a vastly different rôle in this political intrigue—and when he did realize it, it was too late.

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The fiscal measures, which in part Süß evolved at the Duke's instigation and which in part he sponsored or organized, began as early as the spring of 1735 with an indirect tax, viz. the introduction of stamped playing-cards. These officially stamped

cards were a monopoly and all others were excluded, their importation and usage being threatened with heavy penalties. The Ducal Decree was dated February 25th, 1735. The sale of these officially stamped playing-cards was farmed out on an annual contract to the firm of Moses Drach and Partners. Simultaneously the introduction of stamped paper was brought under review—an institution that still remains, as in Holland for example, and enforces on people the use of expensive stamped paper for all sorts of official communications. It is not certain whether Süß proposed these indirect taxes himself or merely expressed his opinion on them as proposals; and it is even more questionable that he reaped any personal benefit out of the taxes by some sort of business agreement with Moses Drach. But even then people were only too ready to lay all the unpopular governmental measures at Süß's door. The extent to which he got himself into bad odour even by the beginning of 1735, that is after about six months of activity in the country, is shown by an anonymous lampoon dealing with the stamp tax on playing-cards and paper. It runs as follows:

“ Spielst du mit uns auf alle Arten,
Verdammt, ausgesuchter Dieb,
So mauschelst du auch mit den Charten,

Ich dacht, sie wären dir zu lieb,
Du kanst sie als ein Spitzbub mischen,
Und mittelst dessen unser Geld
Uns aus dem armen Beutel fischen,
Dass keiner nichts zum Brod behält.
So stemple dann Papier und Charten,
Wir spielen dannoch lustig fort,
Wir können wohl die Zeit erwarten,
Da dich an einem andern Orth
Der Hencker einst an Händ und Füßen,
Mit einem Rad wird stempeln müssen."

Which might be translated as :

"With us in every sort of way
Damned deep-dyed thief you play,
And now you play the dirty Jew
With playing-cards too ;
I'd thought you had the cards too lief,
You handle them like any thief
And sneak the money with their aid
From our lean purses, so that bread
Is out of reach of any man.
On card and paper stamp away,
We still can go on gaming gay ;
We well can wait the fatal day
When somewhere else the hangman's man
Will hail you, seizing wrist and heel
And stamp you on the wheel."

At Carnival times Süß also organized, at the Duke's wish, in the "pleasure pavilions" of that time—of which the remains are still preserved in our pleasure-grounds—carnival balls in which games of chance and lotteries of every kind constituted the special attractions. Süß saw to the provision of expensive costumes for these semi-official institutions, and the profit he made was all the larger and all the more certain since not a single person of the Court circles or the aristocracy of the Civil Service who wished to bear any weight with the Duke could afford to be absent from these festivities; the Civil Servants were even commanded to have their "marriageable daughters" present at the fêtes—those who failed to do this were to expect a fine amounting to a quarter of their annual income! Although these perennially recurring institutions only served to lighten the purses of the people of rank in favour of the Duke and of Süß, yet they aroused considerable adverse feeling, for in this case social responsibility was utilized to a great extent just for the purpose of making money. Many a poorer Civil Servant who had to make do on a meagre salary, and yet had to make some sort of a show socially so as not to be totally overlooked in his career, must have ground his teeth and made

bitter sacrifices in order to attend these costly fêtes.

The following poem must have arisen out of such bitterness as that :

“ Was ist denn Jud dein Carneval
Mit deinen Lottereyen ?
Es ist ein sehr verschreyter Ball
Von deinen Bübereyen ;
O wärest du ein Theil davon,
Der Hencker müste ziehen,
Er kriegte dich gewiss zum Lohn,
Du zahltest sein Bemühen.

Man sagt der Teuffel sinne drauf,
Von lauter raren Sachen,
Die sonsten nirgend nicht zu Kauff,
Ein Cabinet zu machen.
Hör Jud ! das erste Stück darein,
Dasselbe auszuzieren,
Soll einstens deine Seele seyn,
Die er dahin wird führen.

Sonst legt dir niemand nichts dazu,
Als guten rath und Willen,
Und hangst du einst in guter Ruh,
So hat man das Erfüllen.

Halt Lotterie und Carneval
Auf Belials-Redouten,
Wir loben G o t t bey deinem Fall
Und Abnahm dieser Ruthen."

Which is literally this :

"What Jew is then your carnival
With your lotteries ?
It is a ball of great ill-fame
Thanks to your knaveries ;
Oh if you were only part of it
The hangman would draw you,
He'd certainly get you for your pains—
You'd repay him his trouble.

They say the devil is thinking
Of starting a collection
Of very rare commodities
That can't be bought elsewhere.
Listen, Jew ! The first specimen
To deck his collection
Is going to be your soul,
That he'll come and fetch away.

Otherwise no one has anything to give—
Except good advice and their wishes ;
And when you're strung up at last in peace
Their wishes will be fulfilled.

Run lotteries and carnivals
On Beelzebub's redoubts ;
We shall praise God for your fall
And a riddance of this plague."

In addition to these Carnival affairs Süß arranged, at the Duke's express command, lotteries in which the prize was money or articles of value. For all these lotteries Süß paid the Duke a sum of 3000 gulden annually, but the net profit went into his pocket.

At the beginning of 1736 there arose a financial crisis that threatened to be dangerous to Süß. There was a veritable outcry against the Württemberg currency ; the rumour was spread abroad that it was under weight. One cannot go far wrong in ascribing these rumours to the machinations of the agents of foreign mints who were no longer able to compete with the sound money that Süß was confessedly coining. All the same grave doubts arose. Travelling merchants were unable to dispose of their Württemberg money while on the road, and got into most serious difficulties. This in turn naturally reacted on the whole of trade and had a paralysing effect. When Süß was on a business visit to Frankfurt the storm broke. The Duke's attention was called to the unhealthy state of the money

market, and Süß was publicly accused of fraud. In Frankfurt Süß quickly got wind of this underhand attack by various channels, among which was a slip of paper that was stuck up on his front door in Frankfurt ; the inscription read :

“ Süß, wait, there’s a bad time coming very soon,
For your Duke will summon you back to the gallows.”

Without a moment’s hesitation he hurried to Ludwigsburg and called on the Duke, without being summoned, immediately after his arrival. His action so angered the Duke that he stormed and raged at Süß and talked of the Headsman’s sword, the gallows, and the wheel. Süß, however, remained perfectly composed, and smilingly pointed out that he had made no dishonest profits from the Mint, and that, on the contrary, the Mint—or rather the Duke, was still indebted to him. But he did give vent to very forcible language about the “ devilish calumnies,” and apostrophized his libellers as bare-faced liars and malicious slanderers, against whom the Duke would be so good as to give him protection. A fresh inquiry was arranged, of which the findings on every point were in Süß’s favour. Although the complete investigation was protracted until the summer of 1736, the Duke immediately put all the

slanderers into disfavour and paid a fresh honour to his Treasury Privy Councillor ; on January 30th, 1736, he appointed him to be his " Cabinettsfiskal," or Member of the Cabinet for the Exchequer, and so made a public acknowledgment of his confidence in Süß. This issue occasioned universal surprise, but it warned Oppenheimer's enemies that they must tread warily. But that Süß had not won over his opponents is testified by this threatening quatrain, sent to him at his home :

" The bigger the scoundrel the higher he goes,
Experience shews so with scoundrelly Süß ;
This time it is true he's escaped from the noose
But it's certain he'll finish up on the gallows."

The German version of which is—

" Je gröser der Schelm, je besser das Glück,
Das zeigt die Erfahrung am schelmischen Süßen.
Er ist zwar jetzo entgangen dem Strick ;
Doch wird er gewisslich an Galgen noch müsen."

Süß was now more firmly established in the Duke's favour than ever before. Now, as before, he held no official rank, occupied no position in the Civil Service, and consequently had still to continue to refuse to sign any sort of official document. He

was essentially only a private employee of the Duke's; but he could exercise his great influence all the more freely on that score.

In proportion as Süß felt himself more secure, the more radical were the measures of taxation he laid before the Duke, and these cut at the very core of the nation's vitality. An edict of the Duke's, dating from November 1736, by which "the Finance Privy Councillor Süß was graciously permitted to have a number of Jews take up residence in the Duchy," with the additional provision "that no other Jews were to come to the country unless these same made such action lawful by an especial written permission," had aroused ill-feeling, one might even say, considerable anger, against Süß and against all Jews indiscriminately; up till then they had only been permitted to live in Gochsheim, Aldingen, and Freudenthal, but now they began to make an appearance in the capital towns. These subsequent fiscal measures were thus rendered all the more provocative and hazardous.

At the beginning of 1736 a fresh law of Chancery had begun to regulate administration in questions of inheritance, widowhood, and orphanhood; this was followed in the December of the same year by the creation of a College, the Tutelary Board, which

was designed in place of the Tutelary Council Deputation to see that the appropriate ordinances were strictly observed in cases of marriage, death, and other distributions of estates. But the activities of this College were not only confined to estimating the fees for taking inventories and parcelling out fortunes, they also included the levying of a tax determined in its percentage by the size of the estate dealt with. The College was, moreover, charged with investigating the previous ratings and parcellings and inventories and seeing to it that these had been made in accordance with the statutes—and that was the cloven hoof hidden in this seemingly harmless institution. The sequel was a flood of denunciations, for as experience has taught us, one party always considers itself injured in questions of inheritance. And so the testamentary dispositions, not only of living persons but also of their parents and grandparents, were probed about in the most distasteful way, the majority of the well-to-do families were ruined by taxes and fees, discord was set up in many homes, and a plethora of endless lawsuits were set on foot. A protégé of Süß, by name one Salomon Mayer, had conceived this cut-purse measure, Transport Councillor Hallwachs had sponsored the project and recommended

its introduction. The fortunes of orphans and minors were also affected by the new ordinance. Their money was taxed at four per cent to be paid after attaining majority, but only after deduction of interest on each quarter. In addition a so-called Chancery Tax was instituted and all readings of wills, making of inventories, and distribution of fortunes were taxed with heavy fees which accrued to the Ducal Exchequer. The funds of all religious institutions were also united in one common pool and the rate of taxation reduced to three per cent ! In this fashion alone three million gulden were taken by the fiscal administration controlled by Süß, a sum which permitted of financial operations on a grand scale being carried out to the benefit of the Ducal Chest, operations which were extraordinarily far-sighted if regarded in the light of pure fiscal policy, and which cannot but be called truly productive for that time, and which were extremely lucrative for Süß by virtue of the commission he reaped and other similar rights he held.

A still more important institution is to be noticed in the so-called "National Commissions," which had come into existence in Eberhard Ludwig's time as a sort of supervisory authority for Civil Servants, but which now functioned in such a way as could

not but arouse discontent. It had been the custom for some time previously for officials who were afraid of criminal proceedings being taken against them on the grounds of irregularities to offer payment of blood-money or compensation. In such cases the proceedings were allowed to drop, with the consent of the Monarch, and the blood-monies were paid over to the Ministers. Now it was arranged that the Privy Purse should profit by these payments, and Scheffer and Metz and Hallwachs saw to it that there was never any lack of awkward proceedings against Civil Service officials.

When Süß was made Cabinettsfiskal it fell to him to supervise the unified administration of the Privy Purse, and thus in the cases we have just mentioned he was to collect the monies due. So as to get such transactions dealt with as moderately as possible, the guilty parties applied to Süß and asked his intercession on their behalf and for his trouble paid him, with the Duke's knowledge and consent, so-called "douceurs." This was especially the case when anyone was applying for an appointment.

If previously, in the time of Countess Würben, one might say that a regular trafficking in offices had sprung into being, now it could be said to be systematically organized with the assistance of the

National Commissions. Acting on the Duke's orders, Süß and Knab, with the collaboration of Lamprecht, Bühler, and Hallwachs, set up a so-called Ministry of Donations of which the purpose was to sell all offices to the highest bidders at the highest price obtainable. Appointments great and small, ranging from Transport Councillor to Baths Overseer, were sold for ready cash ; and, moreover, new positions and fresh titles were created especially to provide further trading possibilities. Although the purchase price of many offices exceeded their respective annual incomes, yet the demand was uncommonly good. The offices were, so to speak, put up for auction, a procedure in which, in Süß's own words of a later date, the bidders forced each other up, and if the Duke had no especial inclination towards any one person, then the appointment was handed over to the highest bidder. This sale of offices was even extended to parochial appointments, to which nomination did not constitutionally belong to the Duke but to the cities or the rural parishes. The Duke had reserved to himself the final decision on the person to be appointed and the amount of the "Gratuity Money" to be paid, in accordance with the principle he laid down to Süß in a Note of August 19th, 1735, that he "would not be bounden

in any one specific affair, but in all his dealings he would decide according to his own personal discernment." But as Süß was the executive member, the whole odium of this discreditable higgling for office was laid at his door. The amounts that accrued to the Ducal Exchequer in this manner were of considerable size. For example, one Vogt, i.e. a rural official, Zeller, of Balingen, had to pay "20,000 gulden for a pardon," and Treasury Councillor Wolff 13,000 gulden for the same reason.

The extortion that was so successfully practised against Civil Servants, with the help of the National Commissions and the "Ministry of Donations," came near to being extended to private persons too. The Fiscal Ministry that had been instituted at Süß's suggestion offered the handle for such an action. There was a custom that anyone accused of a crime could throw himself on the mercy of his ruler and avoid trial by payment of a monetary fine. This usage was utilized as a means of tapping on a large scale by Süß and his accomplices. Spies were sent into the country to nose out the richest people and to fix up a criminal charge on some sort of pretext against these people of fortune. To avoid the scandal and the dangers of such a happening the persons who were so accused were only too glad

to seize the opportunity of buying themselves out of a case by means of a voluntary payment. Court Chancellor Scheffer was the Chairman of this College. The College itself was composed of mere creatures of Süß, like Lampprechts, Metz, Hallwachs, Thill, and Lauz. The Duke charged Süß—perhaps not without some *arrière-pensée*—to look to the Ducal interests on this Board, by a special rescript, “in virtue of his (Süß’s) skill and experience gained in such affairs, also by virtue of the other good qualities residing in him as are sufficiently well known to Us and of his special capability proven to Us.” Süß declined absolutely to undertake this post and never gave his signature to Exchequer documents, although the Duke explained to him that his duty was simply to lay the Ducal commands before the College. Süß still avoided ever attending a Session of the Fiscal Ministry. He was too wise to accept any sort of responsible position in that much-hated institution. He himself expressed the opinion that he “had withdrawn from the business in good order,” and it would appear from this that he was not vastly inclined to feel favourably towards the blood-sucking methods of this Fiscal Ministry, which “was not far removed from a tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition.”

One must be quite clear about the devastating

effects of this institution if one is to understand the boundless fury of the people which was let loose against Süß and his accomplices, and not against the Duke, and which for that very reason was all the more violent. It was indeed soon realized that Süß could not be held solely responsible for this scandalous state of affairs even if he had profited by it in the form of "douceurs." But these latter were expressly guaranteed to him by the Ducal Rescript, and Süß was, according to its terms, "to be responsible to no one for such dealings in graft as these." It was felt by some few people that Württemberg officials, such as Court Chancellor Scheffer or Councillors Metz, Bühler, Hallwachs, and others, were guilty of much more unscrupulous and frivolous dealings than was the foreign Jew.

"He was in no way bounden to the country,
He acted as is usual for a scoundrel and a Jew,"

as a lampoon of later date has it, and which goes on thus :

"What did the Jew know of our customs ?
You, you made sharp the arrow for him
With which to wound the country's heart,
He only made it sharper still.

You were the ones who with your shameful projects
Set fire to our home's thatch
As far as lay within your power ;
In your brains solely was it hatched.
To bring a country low by villainy,
One's country and one's nation too, at that,
Such is indeed a diabolical invention
And yet you deemed it not a sin."

"Er war dem Land in nichts verbunden,
Er tat wie Schelm und Jude pflegt,
Was wusst der Jud von unseren Sachen,
Ihr, ihr habt ihm die Pfeil geschnitzt,
Das Herz des Landes wund zu machen,
Die hat er nachmals zugespitzt.
Ihr seid es, die mit Schandprojekten,
So viel in euren Kräften war,
Den Brand in unsere Dächer steckten,
Von eurem Geist kommt's ganz und gar.
Ein Land durch Schelmerey zu fällen,
Und zwar sein eigen Volk und Land,
Ist ja ein Anschlag aus der Höllen,
Doch hieltet ihr's vor keinen Schand."

Nor did the Duke consider this plundering of his country to be a disgrace, indeed he was all the less inclined to do so since the takings of the Finance

and Donations Ministry amounted to some 650,000 gulden.

In addition to these more spectacular turns there were a whole series of minor, more or less underhand, institutions designed to bring in money to the Ducal Purse and to influence the country's temper. To make the Ministry of Donations still more productive they had to resort to the method of deducting five per cent from salaries when they were paid, while a quarter of the year's salary was deducted in advance and diverted to the Ducal Exchequer when an office was first taken over. In order to extend the trade in offices even further the territorial districts under official positions and the boundaries of cities which had previously existed were abolished and a new and frequently completely irrational arrangement was set up. For the most part the new arrangement ran contrary to the administrative and judicial interests of the different units in the most atrocious way, simply because some far-distant official post was appropriate for them. If the territorial divisions petitioned to have the old order of things reinstated, their wishes were willingly acceded to—on condition that they expressed their readiness to make payment of a frequently very large sum of money.

In the middle of 1736 a new direct tax was announced above and beyond all previous impositions, to take the form of a general tax on inherited and personal fortune. This tax applied to all residents in the country ; foreign capital invested in the country was no exception to the rule. Turnpike-money and bridge-tolls which had up till then gone to Corporation and Ministerial funds, were now diverted to the National Exchequer. A vexatious tax was imposed on ecclesiastical property, town clerks, and official secretaries, in the form of a contribution to the Exchequer. Other special fees were to be paid for the privilege of running a coffee-house, the upkeep and hire of *poste-chaises*, trading in tobacco, groceries, and leather, licences to deal in wines (with retrospective application over the preceding three years), the sale of calendars and school-books, the sale of salt, the confirmation of new appointments of Civil Servants in their offices. Further sources of income were to be found in the introduction of an official weekly paper, the *Weekly Advertiser*, as it was called, or to give it its official title : *Weekly Advertiser of News, local as well as national*, a paper which all Civil Servants had to take in at an inordinately high subscription rate. And then there was the respectable profit that was made

out of the game that had been tended and protected for centuries and which was becoming a really serious nuisance to the country-side. This profit was made by enacting that anyone who, for example, killed a wild boar, had not only to deliver up the meat but was bound to pay a fine of 1 gulden 30 kreuzers for offending against the game laws, a fine of great severity even for that period ; the punishment was inflicted even if the offender were only trying to protect his tilled fields against damage. The whole of the knackers' yards in the State were ceded to the Mannheim executioner in perpetuity for the sum of 10,000 gulden.

Despite all this, there were people in the Civil Service who had face enough to have a memorandum circulated among the landed proprietors of Württemberg in which it was forcibly suggested to them that a special contribution should be paid to the Ducal Purse in return for the protection they enjoyed under the gracious rule of their sovereign, and suggestions were asked for as to what amount the proposed tax should be ! A lampoon refers to this point and runs as follows :

“ So muss man dann auch Schutz-Geldt geben.
Ja Jud, nunmehr ist es Noth,
Wir gebtens gern als lang wir leben.

G o t t ! schütz nur unser täglich Brodt.
G o t t ! schütze Fürsten Land und Leute.
Diss einzig dingen wir mit ein :
Gib uns dem Juden nicht zur Beute,
Wir wollen lieber Schutzloss seyn.”

“ So now there's defence-tax to give.
Yes, Jew, we do need it indeed,
We'll gladly pay it as long as we live.
Oh, Lord, defend our daily bread.
Oh, Lord, save Prince and people too.
This alone do we pray thee :
Deliver us not to the Jew,
For we'd rather defenceless be.”

But a tax that was laid on chimney-sweeping was the one that evoked an especially violent protest. The chimneys were to be swept twice yearly by official orders—in order to diminish the risk of fire—and a rate out of all proportion in severity was to be levied on all house-owners. Another lampoon is directed against this, which was very popular and shows that hostile feeling towards Süß had assumed serious proportions :

Unterthäniges Dancksagungs-Compliment sämtlicher
Hexen und Unholden
An seine Jüdische Hexelentz,

Jud, Joseph Süß Oppenheimer,
Über die gemachte Lob-würdige Anstalten, die Camine und
Rauchfang sauber zu halten ;
Zu Bezeugung höchsten Respects und Danckbarkeit
Im Namen aller aufgesetzt und überreicht
Von
gesamter Nacht-liebender Societät
Ur-Gross-Mutter
Die Zigeunerin von Endor.

I

“ Liebhaber von der Reinigkeit,
Schnee-weisser Jud und Meister !
Wie sehr verbindst du dieser Zeit
Die Hexen, Höll und Geister !
Schau, deine kluge Anstalt macht,
Dass uns das Herz im Leibe lacht,
Wir können nun im Fahren
Mehr Weissen-Zeugs erspahren.

2

Die räuchigt russige Camin,
Die werden nun gefeget,
Wir können jetzt durch selbe zieh'n,
Wie man zur Hochzeit pfleget.
Die Krause steht nun eins so gut,
Weil ihr der Rauch nichts weiter thut.
Nun können wir recht prangen,
Es bleibt kein Russ behangen.

3

Man hat uns bisher nicht gegönnt,
Recht säuberlich zu reisen,
Wer jetzund deine Anstalt kennt,
Muss sie als Jüdisch preisen,
Die Sache nutzt uns und dir :
Der Bauer hat den Russ dafür,
Du hast den Feger-Batzen,
Den Vorteil wir und Katzen.

4

Die lassen sich vor diesem Ritt
Nun desto minder grauen,
Man höret jetzo keines nit
Aus Widerwillen mauen.
Nunmehr schwärtzt kein Bock den Bart,
Die Gabeln bleiben in der Art,
Man kan sie von dem Rauchen
Nun ungehindert brauchen.

5

O ! Süß, wir wollen in Zukunfft,
Es soll kein Wörtlein fehlen,
Dich in der gantzen Hexen-Zunfft,
Zum Haupt und Meister wehlen.
Der alte Bock der mitten steht,
So bald der Circkel-Tanz angeht,
Hält keinen vor gerechter,
Er hält sich selbst vor schlechter.

6

Alt eine Hex, jung eine Hur,
Ist sonst ein Wort der Alten,
Du, lieber Süß, du weisst die Cur,
Beyd' Zünfften zu erhalten,
Wird einst zur Hex dein lieber Schatz,
Bleibts auf dem Blocksberg nimmer Platz,
Wir müssen uns zertrennen,
Dass wir recht tanzen können.

7

Sorg fernerhin vor unsre Fahrt,
Und mache sie bequemer,
Wir halten dich von solcher Art,
Das keiner angenehmer :
Und wann es dir an Salben fehlt,
So halt den Mangel unverhehlt,
Wir werden uns piquiren,
Dich völlig zu beschmieren.

8

Wir dienen alle dir zu Hauff,
Auf deiner letzten Strassen,
Du darffst dich sicherlich darauff,
Geliebter Jud, verlassen :
Der hält auf eine Katze viel,
Die andre auf den Beesem-Stiel,
Die hält mit Böck und Zangen,
Die mit der Schwartz-Wäsch-Stangen.

9

Die alle halten sich parat,
Wann man dich aus wird führen,
Um deine letzte Lieger-Stadt,
Mit solchen auszuzieren :
Wir bauen drauff ein neu Camin,
Dass sich die Dünste von dir ziehn,
Das wird von unsertwegen
Der Teufel jährlich fegen.

10

Indessen ist dein grosser Nahm,
Der es so hoch getrieben,
Sammt deinem Portrait in der Rahm,
Ins Rauch-Loch eingeschrieben,
Wo Lucifer sonst ausse fährt,
Und Schelm und Hex zu ihm kehrt,
Da wird man dein Verfahren
In ew'gem Russ verwahren.

11

So oft der holde Tag erscheint,
Daran du abmarschieret,
Wir haben uns dazu vereint,
So wie es sich gebühret ;
So soll bey deinem Leichen-Mahl
Ein Heer von Katzen ohne Zahl
Sich alle Jahr versammeln,
Und dir zu Ehren rammeln."

JEW SÜSS OPPENHEIMER

The Dutiful Expression of Gratitude
 of all and sundry
 Witches and Evil Spirits
 Which is addressed to His Jewish Excellency,
 Jew, Joseph Süß Oppenheimer,
 For the praiseworthy Institution of Cleansing Chimneys
 and Flues
 As a testimony of Deep Respect and Gratitude
 Drawn up and presented in the Name of
 All the Night-Loving society
 by
 Their Great Grand-Mother
 The Witch of Endor.

I

“ Lover of cleanliness
 Snow-white Jew and Master,
 How deeply you attach the witches,
 Hell, and all the spirits to this era.
 See how your ordination wise
 Warms the cockles of our heart,
 Now in our travels we can economise
 Our white linen for the most part.

2

The smoky sooty chimneys
 Now are a-cleaning,

Now we can pass through them
As if out for a wedding.
Our frills now last so well
Because the smoke doesn't ruin 'em
Now we can really be swell ;
For there's no more soot left in 'em.

3

We've not been allowed till the present
To travel really cleanly,
But all who now meet your arrangement
Must praise it as Jewish ;
All of us by it get profit
The peasant gets his soot off it
You get the sweep's batz¹
And the advantages come to us and the cats.

4

They no more dread this ride
Now all the less they fear it ;
The erstwhile and unwilling miaouw
None evermore may hear it.
No more the he-goat soils his beard ;
And broomsticks stay the fashion,
For smoke is now by no means feared,
They may be used unhindered.

¹ Batz=a small obsolete German coin. (Trans.)

5

O ! Süß, in the time to come
There shan't be a single vote lacking
To elect you to Master and Head
Of the whole of the Guild of the Witches.
The old billy-goat who stands in the midst
As soon as the roundabout dance begins,
Thinks you are far the fittest,
And he himself not worthy.

6

Witches when old are harlots when maids,
As indeed the ancients say,
You, dear Süß, you know the way
To keep up both the trades ;
If she turns a witch, your little sweetheart,
On the Brocken there's ne'er more a place ;
And so we really must part
To dance with proper grace.

7

Henceforward care for our welfare,
Making it more easy,
We esteem you higher far
Than any other person ;
If you are ever short of salve
Don't give up in despair,
We'll make it our especial task
To keep you salved and greasy.

8

We all will serve you in a mob
When on your long last road,
You may dear Jew with certainty
Rely on us for that ;
One of us sets much store by cat,
Another on the broomstick,
Another one on goats and nips,
Last on the black-wash clothes-props.

9

All these do hold themselves prepared
For when you'll be conducted
Out to your lasting resting-place
That they may come and deck it ;
We'll build thereon a chimney-stack
To carry off the vapours,
And the Devil can clean it out each year
Acting upon our orders.

10

And on a plate we'll put your name,
You who have done such wonders,
And hang your portrait in a frame
To ornament the chimney
That Nick makes use of generally
As witch and scoundrels' entrance,
There we'll preserve your history
Written in sooty figures.

II

When roseate dawn appears,
Heralds the day you quitted,
We'll be already gathered there
As only will befit it ;
So annually your funeral-feast
A numberless horde of cat and beast,
Assembling in a festive way,
Will celebrate with bawdy play."

Despite the way the country was bled and the ample way in which it yielded, the Ducal Exchequer was very short of ready money, so that salaries were paid—if at all—unpunctually and incompletely. The central funds and the Ducal Purse were indeed well stocked with money, but the lesser funds were at a very low ebb, and had had to remain at a low ebb since the central financial administration attracted nearly all monies to itself. To counteract this the Duke decreed that these lesser funds were to take up the necessary amounts from Privy Treasury Councillor Süß. The profit that Süß thus made was extraordinarily large. For each gulden he lent he received one groschen, which, moreover, was to be paid not by the National Exchequer but by the appropriate debtor. This "Jew's groschen," as the levy was immediately

dubbed in the vernacular, annoyed the population more than all the extortionate measures that had gone before. But anyone who can read between the lines will be able to feel clearly enough in these bad verses quoted below the hatred that was felt for the Duke; they hit the Jew, but they were aimed at the Duke :

“ Ist alle Liebe dann erloschen ?
Wie ? Mauschel, kan es möglich seyn ?
Von jedem Gulden einen Groschen ?
Es sey Geld, Früchten oder Wein ?
Doch halt ! Wir sind gar wohl zu trösten,
Es komme, wo es wolle, her,
So thut man es zu unserm Besten,
Und hinfort klagt kein Diener mehr.

Nun wird die Gage richtig lauffen,
Ein Jud, ein Jud zahlt selber aus :
Wer wollt nicht zehen Dienst erkauffen ?
Laufft alle in Jud Süssen Haus !
Versteht euch nur zur Groschen-Steuer,
Davor nehmt lauter Gulden ein.
Denckt, merckt ihr etwa Ungeheuer,
Der Jud wird ja kein Schelm nicht seyn.

Sie säen sonsten nur mit Löffeln,
Und passen auf die rechte Zeit,
Dann erndten sie mit vollen Schöffeln,
Ihr Schinden heisst Ergötzlichkeit.

Bey Leib, hie hat man nichts zu klagen,
 Man siht ja sein mitleidend Hertz,
 Ja, wie die Baur'n die Spiesse tragen
 Nach ihrer Mode hinterwärts.

Zieh Groschen ein, du Höllen-Groschen,
 Auf dem des Teuffels Bildniss steht,
 Biss deiner Geitzgen Vielfrass-Goschen
 Der Schwefel-Strohm in Rachen geht,
 Hier lassen wir uns nimmer kippen,
 Dort aber werden dich zu Lohn,
 Die Schmiede-Knecht des Plutons wippen,
 Da geht kein Groschen nicht davon."

. . .

"Is love quite dead then ?
 What ? Ikey, is it possible ?
 One groschen for each gulden ?
 Whether it's fruit or gold or wine ?
 But wait ; we are easily solaced
 Let it come from wherever it may
 As long as it's used for our advantage
 Henceforth not a lackey will grouse.

Now salaries will be all right
 A Jew, a Jew himself is paying !
 Who wouldn't make use of this offer,
 All run to Jew Süss's house.

Make up your minds to the groschen-tax,
And get your ready gulden.
Just think if you find it a little monstrous,
The Jew is surely not a rogue.

They used to sow with little trowels
And bide until the proper season ;
And then they reaped with piled-up shovels,
Their toiling was simply enjoyment.
In faith there's nothing to grumble at,
His compassionate heart is open to view,
He wears it as the peasants do
Their lances, on their back.

Make many groschen you groschen of Hell,
There's Satan's image stamped on it,
Until your money grabbing and voracious maw
Is swallowed in the yawning sulphurous pit ;
Here we'll not have our coinage clipped,
But down below you'll be paid for your pains
And Pluto's smithy-boys will work
On every groschen of your gains."

This "Jew's groschen" was in fact nothing more nor less than an enormous business of usury for Süß ; nevertheless he was the only man who could raise the money and be of assistance. But other plans were of public utility and were by no means

instituted by Süß "to get the power of the country into his own hands," as the bill of indictment has it. Such was his constitution of an Official Banking Organization, a sort of National Bank which would offer credit against deposit of securities, an institution which has now long come to be recognized as a necessary and a perfectly normal factor in present economic life. He also started a national pawn-house, a thing that no one would hold up as a crime against him to-day. But at that time feeling had already run too high and mistrust of Süß had gained too firm a hold for anyone to do justice to his enterprises.

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The fiscal oppression of the State was a means that had only a slow effect, but one which Carl Alexander could not renounce on account of the pecuniary gain; it was, however, one that did not satisfy his personal urge to action and his fiery temperament. He therefore put on pressure simultaneously in another direction, supported and advised by Remchingen. Apart from the fact that the welfare of the Army was particularly dear to his heart as an old soldier, he needed a large and well-equipped body of troops, ready for action at a



CARICATURE OF JEW SÜSS

moment's notice, for the *coup d'état* he was planning.

Immediately after his accession the Estates had not turned a blind eye to the need for military equipment in view of the danger from France. But when peace was restored they began to jib at the inordinately large size of the standing army, and, moreover, poured a relentless storm of criticism on the governmental measures and most especially on the pernicious policy of taxation. It was therefore the Duke's next step to bring the Estates to see reason, at any cost. The real executive organ of the Estates was the select sub-committee, as it was called, which was constantly in session and which for certain definite purposes became the General Committee. Eight members sat in this College, among them the Mayors of the three capital cities of Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, and Tübingen, and two prelates, one of them being Philipp Heinrich Weissensee of Hirsau. The real functionaries of the Estates were the Secretary and two Councillors. One of them was Neuffer, and was a brother-in-law of Councillor Bühler, whom Süß had caused to be appointed. Weissensee, who played an extremely important part in the Jesuit plot, for he was a Protestant minister, also belonged to Süß's party.

It was in Süß's house that he frequently held conferences with the Capuchins from Weilderstadt and the Würzburg Jesuits. By means of Weissensee on the one hand, and by Neuffer via Bühler on the other, Süß, and through him the Duke, were kept absolutely *au courant* with all the transactions and deliberations and tendencies in the Estates. They therefore knew that they could reckon upon violent opposition in every direction in the full assembly of the Estates. But the moment had not yet come when they might simply ignore the Estates. They therefore hit upon the following way out of the difficulty: the Duke summoned the General Committee of the Landtag or legislative assembly, which in any case was under his constant control, together with an arbitrarily chosen number of other members of the Estates who appeared to be especially suited to his purpose, to meet him at Ludwigsburg where they had to deliberate and make their resolutions in the Duke's castle and under his own supervision. In this way, to all intents and purposes, appearances were kept up, while the Duke could dictate whatever he thought fit to the delegates from behind the muskets of the Ducal bodyguard.

An even more drastic attack on Parliamentary liberty was made by an ordinance that laid down

that the Estates were to inform the Cabinet which way every delegate had voted, and who had made remarks of a critical nature about the Duke and his régime in the debates. An even more obvious proposal was one which Süß appears to have suggested to the Duke, namely, that a Privy Councillor should from time to time attend the discussions of the Committee and introduce and regulate the motions moved and report which delegates were in opposition to them. Their opposition was to be sounded, it is true, but if it were found not to be specific, the delegates concerned were to be placed under arrest and detained in a fortress. Thus there was to be not merely a breach, but a veritable insult to the constitution of the Estates. This illegal Rump Parliament, with its hands scandalously tied, was compelled in May 1736 to give its consent to a standing army of thirteen thousand men, a double annual tax and the thirtieth part of all the produce of the land. These thirteen thousand men were billeted in the country, and under brutal and almost exclusively Catholic officers, were used to intimidate the population. When the Estates still persisted in protesting against Süß manipulating the taxes and the military oppression of the country, they did so in a truly Swabian manner, in a tone

and in a form that could not but serve to annoy the Duke instead of bringing him round. Carl Alexander wanted to have the delegate who drew up the protest executed, but Court Chancellor Scheffer, who was at the same time the Minister of Justice, did not dare act in such a high-handed fashion.

Süss too did his part in egging on the Estates, and found active support in the Würzburg Councillors and go-betweens, Privy Councillors Fichtel and Raab, who were usually to be found visiting at his house. They went so far to talking the Duke round that the Estates began to have designs on his life ; the Duke feared that an attempt would be made to poison him and so ordered special attention to be paid "so that nothing untoward could happen in the kitchen." His anxiety was so great that he thought of "making a definite attack on the Estates, and sending them, as his cousin had done, a company of grenadiers, and having the blood of a part or some of them since he was their true lord and the Estates, as they themselves wrote, were His Serene Highness's faithful and most obedient subjects." But first he made one more essay at keeping up the appearance of law. He demanded that the Würzburg lawyer Fichtel should submit him a legal opinion which would justify him

in disregarding the rights of the Estates. As the answer was delayed Carl Alexander had Remchingen remind Fichtel of the opinion he awaited ; and when again that had no result he had another reminder sent. The reply, which was intercepted and later used in the proceedings against Remchingen, throws considerable light on the Duke's state of mind and his intentions. It runs as follows :

“ Have no doubt but that Your Honour will receive my duly-presented and faithful Reply before many days are past, for which I have most obediently sought opinions in the Highest Quarters, so that I hourly await the various reports to my quæstio before my imminent departure. In the meantime a fresh and I may say most important Phenomenon has come to light, on which I have recently had to take a verbal Opinion. I know not quo fato except it be to eclipse from the Firmament of the world the certainly very great esteem of the Reputation of my Most Excellent and Illustrious Carl Alexander, perfect glorios post Nestoreos annos, aimed therewith to immortalise itself, but on which His Serene Highness's whole Future Safety and at the same time his rule and his prophets are dependent. It is known to all the World to what surprising Proclamations Serenissimus Meus by the Faithlessness and

the Lack of Sense of Duty on the part of his Godless Ministers has nolens volens been misled, from the inception of his stern Rule and his clamorous Babylon, and by urgentibus Procerum unacum Ministorum Diabolicis machinationibus, which at the same time were not well to be avoided, and to which He has been forced because he found himself robbed of all help not only from his only brother Prince Friedrich, now with God, with whom the Estates were in most Intimate Connection and whom they were already plotting to set up as their Regent, and criticised as Orthodoxæ fidei addictum, but He was also without monies or following ; Therefore there was nothing remaining for him but ex duobus malis minus eligere, but he took this Wise Resolution when he so did. (Sunt verba Serenissimi :) ‘ I have let the falsity of my Ministers and infidelity of the Estates go forward ad excessum usque for the reason ut lapsu graviore ruant, so that in consequence in its time their gigantic misdeeds may be the more insidious to All, and that they may be manifest absque quovis scandalo seu strepitu judiciali, and that I, cuilibet imperii principi, striving either in instrumentis pacis or constitutionibus Imperii, and vindicating thus the jura they have Godlessly and furtively acquired, may condigne punish them for

this heinous Act of my perfidious counsellors and their subjects in loyalty.' And this would appear to be the Gordian Knot which is to be cut in twain with Alexander's sabre for the sake of future peace and the well-being *Serenissimæ Domus*, but principally that Posterity may be persuaded of the most famous deeds of this brave Captain and great Prince. Wherefore I the more clearly perceive every day that this Edifice of Perfidy daily grows the deeper based *ex ipsissimo fundamento* ; but meanwhile my Lord can rely no longer on any one trustworthy man to serve him in the whole country, and *si hoc in viride, quid in arido* ? But how and in what manner this Project is to be put into effect there remains no other way but to seek refuge in the Great Oracle of the World, you, Most Gracious Master, who moreover have the interests of the Serene House of Württemberg so near to his heart and in all these squalls to make a calm, and have so declared yourself. Your Honour will favour me with your Illustrious thoughts in this matter, what Your Sublimity deems advisable in these matters, and especially if it is in tempore at this moment to take this bull by the horns. It seems to me that if, to shew forth your merits, one were to lay the ministers promptly by the heels, it would provoke such a

revolution as would put one in a still better position to render our Hydra, the Estates, hors de combat. In the event of Your Honour not being in a position to make an answer to my quæstio by the next despatch then such merits a special Hussar, and one could make application for such an one to the Württemberg Adjutant-General, Captain Gerard, who will be at the Court and in touch with your Serenity in my absence and who already has his orders to place immediate ad manus of your Serenity the despatch which will be coming from Würzburg addressed to me."

Meanwhile the conversion of the country to Catholicism had been systematically pursued. The constitution did, however, protect the citizen against these advances for the time being. But the Estates had no say in the Ducal Household and the administration of the Army. The chapel of Ludwigsburg Castle was first of all turned over to Catholic services; and the person to supply the necessary utensils and vestments for the celebration of Mass was none other than Jew Süß; half the expenses were borne by the public revenue and half by the Protestant Ecclesiastical funds. In the Army, Catholic military padres were already reading Mass everywhere. The non-commissioned officers did as

a matter of fact raise an objection to an ordinance which commanded them to force their almost exclusively Protestant troops to attend Catholic service, as they feared that their lives would no longer be safe if they did so. One proposal of Remchingen went even further, but it was not carried out. It was to the effect that the country was to be divided into twelve military prefectures, of which the prefects, Catholic officers specially trusted by the Duke, should be constantly assembled near the Duke's person, whilst a Catholic staff officer was to administrate all affairs on the spot, and the civil officials of the Crown were to be subordinate to the Catholic Staff officers. In this way a purely military administration was to be introduced all over the country and any disturbance could be nipped in the bud by an immediate use of the troops.

It is sufficiently clear that two political plans intersected in this—namely, that the provocation exercised in the country by Süß's fiscal policy was to be strengthened from without by military oppression, and above all the process was to be expedited. It was not in Süß's nature to be interested in religious questions. And he was not initiated into Remchingen's plan of campaign—nor obviously was

it intended that he should be. It cannot of course be doubted that privately he was kept fully informed of all that went on, through the widespread espionage system he ran. But officially it was intended that he should be kept out of it. When on one occasion he cautiously sounded the Duke, in the course of conversation, about Remchingen's plans, he was met by the very ungracious answer that "he should hold his tongue and not meddle with the business any more : if he were told then he'd know ; but what was to happen would happen." This must have been said sometime about January 1737. The Jew had done his part of the bargain, he had put up the taxes enormously, he had pumped gold into the Ducal Exchequer as if by magic. He was not needed in the final stages, the military wanted to have it all to themselves.

Remchingen had collaborated with Süß for just as long as he served his purpose. At the bottom the Catholic aristocrat despised this Jewish upstart and was working secretly together with the Burggraf von Roder, and towards the end with Court Chancellor Scheffer, for the downfall of the Privy Treasury Councillor.

Süss's fiscal policy will rightly be blamed from a social and from a moral point of view as extortionate and ruinous. But regarded as purely a matter of political finance, the way that Oppenheimer contrived again and again to tap fresh sources of money shows a talent nothing short of genius—as in fact his whole personality has its touch of genius. When one bears in mind what a wealth of mental work Süss dealt with, the way he licked projects into shape, worked out the possibilities of technical financial suggestions, gave the Duke synopses of the most varied subjects in the shape of short lectures, and when one takes into account, alongside that, his extensive private business interests and the management of his financial transactions, his directorate of the Mint, the conduct of business connections with the whole of the mercantile world of Europe and a large number of Courts, and to that end the carrying on of voluminous correspondence in all the European languages, including Hebraic, and that at the same time he figured largely in social life, and pursued his literary interests—he had a choice collection of books—then one cannot but respect him as an exceptional man who was a clear forerunner of the type of your modern well-educated and cultured “man of affairs.” Except

for Chief Cashier Firncranz, his secretaries, Levi and Heess, and some clerks, he had no one to assist him in his work. He must have been a first-class worker for speed and quantity, possessed by a febrile ambition, but possessed too by a fever for work which is oddly assorted with those leisurely times, and one which distinguishes so many representatives of his race. Even though Süß made little parade of the Jewish faith in which he had been brought up and in which he persisted right up to his death—although rumour had it even during his lifetime that he had gone over secretly to Christianity and, significantly enough, to Roman Catholicism—and even though he treated the dietetic proscriptions of his faith with scant ceremony and described himself as a “Devotee of all Religions,” who “was of course born a Jew but held the religion of a decent man,” yet withal he was a century or two ahead of his time by his broad-minded lack of prejudice, and the Jewish element of Germany, which looked on him while he lived with a certain mistrust—it may be mentioned *en passant* that the Frankfurt community is reported to have excluded him from their ranks—has every reason to respect his memory as an early champion of the cause of Jewish emancipation. Süß was the first Jew in Germany to have the right

to be presented at Court, to be presentable at Court, and to hold his own socially. The slanderous publications of the clumsier kind sought to describe his relations with the Duke that it would appear as if he had only played the rôle of the Jewish Court buffoon and scapegoat ; certainly the Duke saw to it that there was no lack of coarse jokes, but the primary reason that the Duke appointed him was undoubtedly based on esteem. The numerous letters of Carl Alexander begin variously, "Monsieur," "Very Dear Herr Resident," "My Dear Süß." Considerable light is thrown on the Duke's opinion of Süß by the postscript of a letter written to Court Chancellor Scheffer dated October 21st, 1736, which runs as follows : "I am deeply grieved that Süß's sentiments are Christian while those of my Ministers are for the most part impassioned, interested, and Jewish." By his Rescript of June 30th, 1736, he had already allowed Süß "free access to our person at all times," after decreeing before that, on February 6th, that the civil officials should treat Süß respectfully and permit him to present himself for the purpose of making a report at all times when he so desired.

As early as December 1735 the Duke had begun to push forward the business of raising his Privy

Financial Councillor to the nobility. In his despatch on this subject to Privy Councillor Keller in Vienna, who was to bring the question before the Imperial Court and to negotiate it, and whom he empowered in this connection to pay a thousand ducats into the Habsburg Imperial Purse, the Duke expresses himself in a manner not lacking a certain friendliness and warmth. He writes: "I cannot and moreover do not desire to dismiss him since I am capable of accomplishing far more with him at my side than with my other advisors and executives, and I have also observed that it is far preferable to use him than others in view of his promptitude to action and the vast superiority of his genius and skill." Süß himself also made use of his Viennese connections to hasten on his elevation to the nobility. He had it in his mind at that time to marry. The lady in question, obviously a lady of the aristocracy, whose identity and nationality cannot definitely be established, it may have been Portuguese or English, could not, however, "make up her mind on account of Süß's bourgeois origin." It is clear that the Duke put no serious obstacle in the way of this proposed marriage for otherwise he would not have supported Süß's ennoblement. But nevertheless he was not exactly enthusiastic about Oppenheimer's idea, for

he gave him the somewhat flippant hint via Remchingen, of "What did he want to marry for? He allowed him to keep mistresses enough in all conscience." In point of fact a wife of Privy Finance Councillor von Oppenheimer as mistress in the house in Seestrassé would be most inconvenient for the Duke, for Süß did not only procure jewels and gold and wines and horses for his master, but he was, too, the companion on whom he most relied in their hunts for feminine quarry. Süß frequently enough played the procurer for Carl Alexander, and the bachelor establishment in the Seestrassé with its princely appointments provided a most convenient hunting-ground, well-suited in every respect, and where one could be far freer than in the ancestral home of the sovereign. These libidinous *fêtes d'amour* promised to be rudely disturbed, and in fact prohibited by the presence of a legitimate wife. The Duke was therefore not displeased to see Süß's proposals turned down by the Cabinet in Vienna and to know that Oppenheimer's matrimonial desires were thus frustrated. Yet later on Süß still persisted in entertaining thoughts of matrimony.

Friendships of boyhood are sealed by pranks played in common, friendships of manhood by working in common, but courtiers' friendships are capped

by amorous adventures together. In that period love, especially in Court circles, was a sport. As a hunter boasts the number of hares he has caught, so did the cavalier boast of his bag of virgins overcome; and just as the huntsman decks the walls of his house with does' heads and deer's antlers, so did your gallant man of the world collect in his never-failing memory the score of the horns of cuckoldry of the husbands he had deceived. In this direction too Süß had distinctly grand ideas; and he did not shrink from competing with his gracious lord and master on occasion. A memorandum from the documents of Süß's defence shows only too terribly clearly how the women of the country, given that they were young and pretty, were regarded as fair game for the gentlemen of the Court. It appears that Süß was accused, among other things, of having had intercourse with a miller's daughter from Löwenstein. The person concerned was doubtless remarkably beautiful and of unusual attractions. For a higher Ducal official, the local magistrate (Vogt) of Bottwar—according to the documents—appears to have "recommended" her to Court Chancellor Scheffer as well as to Süß, and is even alleged to have "abducted" her for Süß's sake at Ludwigsburg. Süß himself did not make use of her,

but the Honourable Court Chancellor did, paying her two hundred Imperial thalers—not out of his own pocket but out of the Privy Purse!—for the privilege. Thus officials held it to be their duty to keep their eyes open for any appetising wenches and to offer them to the gentlemen of the Court, where they were passed from hand to hand as occasion demanded. Thus there is also a statement in the documents to the effect that the child of a sewing-woman from Calw, by the name of Pfannzelt, with whom Süß had had occasional intercourse, “was not Süß’s child but that of the High Marshal to the Household, von Schilling.”

We possess descriptions enough by eye-witnesses and contemporaries to permit us to form a really quite clear idea of the amorous adventures that were enacted in Oppenheimer’s house in the then Seestrasse. During the two years and a half from the autumn of 1734 till the beginning of 1737 Süß was, next to the Duke, indisputably the most brilliant star in the social firmament of the Court, the most elegant cavalier in the country, and the most influential man in the State. The condition of things was in effect such that if Oppenheimer did not wish it so, access to the Duke was quite impossible, and in questions of administration and higher politics

nothing was undertaken without seeking Süß's advice. He was almost all-powerful. And he was fully conscious of his power. Generally speaking he was studiously polite and obliging in his dealings with people, even with the lower classes ; yet he could break out into a violent temper, if he came upon passive or active resistance. There were still people to be found who made it their business to give the foreign Jew as bad a time as possible. In cases such as these his temperament—his paternal aristocratic descent?—ran away with him and such phrases as : " His Serene Highness does and must do whatever he thinks, but he has no command whatever in the Mint," or threats of " executions by Hussars, drawing and quartering, whipping, burial under the gallows," which he occasionally flung in the teeth of even higher officials, are explained by such an irritation as would result ; they show, moreover, how firmly established he felt himself to be in the good graces of his master. He was copiously accused of having qualified the Swabian peasants as " pig-faces," and people were very much more sensitive towards the Jew than towards Remchingen, for example, to whom the civil population were merely " quill-drivers," and the bourgeois were " canaille." But it was of far more weight against

Süss that he took an interest in scandalous extortions for the sake of the Fiscal Ministry, such as Metz and Hallwachs, for example, practised on Exchequer Councillor Siglin, whose fortune they tapped by close confinement and oppressive billeting of troops on his household ; or that he said, when speaking of President of the Exchequer, Councillor von Gemmingen, “The hunch-backed hound would have to clear out of his way even if he had a hundred thousand devils in his hump.” And the District Magistrate of Wildbad did not forget that he had been called “Tausendsakramentshundeseel” and “Tausendsakramentskanaille”—because a Frau von Hochberg had had to complain to him of the cocks and the quail that disturbed their beauty-sleep of a morning.

But however much good patriots groaned and said : Under the previous Duke it was a whore who reigned and now it was a Jew, however much they cursed as the Finance Councillor’s coach rolled by and shook their fists and gnashed their teeth at the princely appointments of the Jew’s establishment—yet the Duke’s strong hand still upheld him and supported him. The ruler thus wrote to him on July 16th, 1735 : “I do moreover hope that you will not by any manner of means allow yourself to

pay attention to various threats to the favour which has up till now been steadfastly maintained and assured towards you, nor to let them inconvenience you in your daily conduct, for nobody has yet died of threats, and thus you will live long unharmed in My Country ; meanwhile I will not cause anything to be despatched nor to be taken in hand before your return but will rather await your forthcoming arrival ; I trust, however, that your journey will not last a year, and rather take this opportunity to express my best wishes for its curtailment."

An invitation to dine at the board of the Finance Director was a great distinction, a consummation devoutly to be wished. One dared not absent oneself even from Oppenheimer's public Carnival Festivals, and everyone who wanted to carry any weight at all anywhere rushed to attend his private fêtes. And it was not only his creatures who passed time and again during those years through his imposing gateway and across and up the noble, the ample and inviting staircase of the house of Süß, the foremost and the cleverest personalities of the whole country were numbered among that throng. General von Remchingen, who was afterwards reproached with having been so frequently a guest of Süß, could well ask sneeringly to be shown a single

one among the Councillors and Civil Servants of Württemberg who had not been there at the same time as he and who had not sat down to dine at the same time as he. The men may have attended the Ducal favourite's entertainments partly with repulsion and partly with fear or with calculation ; the women were eager to attend. Süß was absolutely sure of them and many a social and political deal that threatened to founder on the rocks of the honest and upright minds of the Swabians must that skilled charmer Süß have steered to safety by a detour via their wives, *entre poire et fromage*. Süß and his house were an absolute sensation, his fêtes offered conversational matter for months in Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg society. And stories were whispered from one to another . . . such stories !

When on the occasion of one of the great ceremonies Süß's house, a building of palatial magnitude according to the ideas of the time, all the windows were brilliantly lit, when carriage upon carriage drew up before the doors, and sedan-chair after sedan-chair disgorged its fragrant freight, when the liveries of lackeys and pages mingled on the staircase with the lustrous velvets and the shining silks of the ladies' dresses, with the glittering gold and sonorous red of the uniforms, with the sombre black of

academic gowns, or when there was an indiscriminate medley of masks of brilliant green and yellow, violet and pink, jostling through the salons, bathed in the warm delicate light of innumerable candles, then there might be seen standing in the reception-room, with its rare carpets, rich furniture, and choice works of art, the charming smile of the perfect courtier on his strikingly red lips, not the little Ikey from Heidelberg, despised, hated, and cursed by the people, but a brilliant and refined gentleman who did the honours of the occasion in a delightfully matter of course way, bowed and welcomed, kissed his guests' hands, made introductions, and carried on conversations with three different people at the same time, all the time witty, never-faillingly agreeable, always perfectly in command of his words and his gestures. Those who thought to come and meet a ridiculous parvenu were completely dumbfounded. This gentleman of medium height, slim and active, might equally well have been an Imperial Count. Not a trait in his handsome face with its regular-cut features betrayed the Jew. His nose was finely shaped, rather Greek, his mouth fully moulded and sensuous but small, his hands well cared for and shapely, almost feminine. His complexion was so notably pale that it threw into relief the redness of

his lips, so violently that it seemed as if he had made use of lip-salve. His face, not exactly narrow, but rather more long than round, was dominated by extraordinary large and lustrous eyes of hazel colour. These eyes must have been possessed of wonderful power; an eye-witness apostrophizes them as "flying-eyes," and if one compares the various portraits one realizes that these large and brilliant eyes must indeed always have been on the alert and moving lest anything should escape them, that they might now throw a look of secret understanding here, now one of hidden menace there, and now dart ironically somewhere else! It is easy to understand above all else that these eyes had the power of infatuating. There is something masterly and at the same time tender in this man's glance, the mixture that women love because it is especially dangerous for them. His voice is said to have been soft and pleasing, his speech without any taint of provincial dialect and quite free of the accent of his race. Indeed a deep, soft, ingratiating, suggestive voice belongs properly to these incomparable eyes, which are the more effective by virtue of the whiteness of the wig. His clothes are rich and cut in the very latest height of fashion; his tailor's bill—he had his things made in Strassburg, that is to say in

France—for the period from September 1736 to January 1737 amounted to no less than 551 gulden 44 kreuzers. His favourite wear includes a rich red-brown coat embroidered with gold, a scarlet vest, on which hangs a heavy gold watch-chain, silken striped breeches, frilled cuffs, white silk stockings and shoes, with gold buckles.

On especially ceremonial occasions his favourite wear was a gold-embroidered coat of red taffeta with a green silk vest. When this elegant and almost dainty gentleman bid his guests to table, with all the subtle *savoir-faire* of a reigning Monarch, even the most blasé were surprised. They were not accustomed to such a display as this even at Court banquets. One dined exclusively off silver plate, the table was furnished with the choicest of glass, with the most costly chandeliers, with the finest of table-decorations and masses of flowers; a never-ending series of the choicest and most delicate dishes exquisitely seasoned by rare and expensive wines; and during the banquet the daintiest of music was played. The rooms which adjoined the dining-room were transformed into palm groves and flower gardens where snug arbours were erected for quiet conversation, and in a chosen spot there was placed a glass cabinet resplendent with costly brooches,

bracelets, bangles, and necklaces. After the diners had risen from the table the host led thither his lady guests and begged them to choose a trinket in remembrance of the occasion. And soon the ball would begin. Those who were heated with wine and the dance could seek the cooling shadows of luxuriant arbours. But those who were fired more ardently with the dancing, the wine, and the dalliance could seek out hidden side-rooms with soft couches.

Süss himself possessed a voluptuous bed of state which an English curio-collector attempted to buy later for a very high price, a bed on which the gallant Finance Councillor had celebrated many a triumph of his irresistibility.

Oppenheimer's banquets were more or less *fêtes d'amour*. This was well known and it made them all the more attractive, for that period was anything but prudish, and neither Eberhard Ludwig nor Carl Alexander had offered the Swabians an example by way of chastity in conduct. Nor in all probability did the many dozens of women who passed through Oppenheimer's bedroom deny themselves the luxury of other lovers. But about Süss there hung an especial attraction, the charm of the forbidden, nay, that of the perverse. At that time it was not long

since "fleshly intercourse with a Jew" had been a deadly sin, punishable with burning at the stake; in any case consciousness of this had not yet disappeared. And besides the lure of the forbidden was to be reckoned the novelty of another race, some mysteriously fascinating idea of some sort of unsuspected erotic surprise. The more or less blasé women-folk of that time must have regarded the Jew as a man with the same lascivious repulsion and attraction as that with which to-day the white prostitute regards a negro. Indicative of this conception is the letter, which has been handed down to posterity through more than one channel, of a Frau Andel; it may well be quoted here:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,¹

I offer my respectful thanks once again for all yesterday's honours and courtesies such as I have enjoyed at your hands; the fair taste of all of them lingers to this very hour, and I can with good reason tell the truth that scarcely ever have I enjoyed myself so well as yesterday.

Your dancing delighted me and it is plainly to be perceived from it that you have seen and

¹ Printed thus in the illustrated broadsheet which was widely read, "The Life, Misdeeds, and just Punishment, etc., of one High German." 1738.

known the world. When I but think of the pleasures that I sampled in your arms after the dance was over I hardly know how to contain myself. I would never in my life have thought that a castrated man could have just as much strength and power as one of our own men, and could have so much pleasure of a woman.

My desire now extends no further than that I may soon enjoy these delights again. I am yours to command

and remain

.....”

Popular wit composed a blunt reply, which was passing from hand to hand, as a printed lampoon, as early as 1738. By its form and its content this reply has nothing in common with Oppenheimer's habits of expression, so that this malevolent forgery is self-evident. But as a typical example of the slanderous inventive talent of the period we reproduce it here :

“ FAIR LADY,

It was indeed not necessary for you to have thanked me for yesterday and for the food

and drink, it was all a very great pleasure. A great minister, such as I now am, must occasionally of course make a great show and take no count of the money. For now at last I have enough. My position brings me in enough and to spare. To-day I will again entertain—but only certain ladies and gentlemen who are among my best friends. It would be a very great pleasure if you would care to join them. Of course I cannot doubt that yesterday's delights were to your liking, since you have written to that effect. Rest assured that I will double my strength to-day. But it almost pains me that you called me castrated in your letter, for you should know that there is a vast difference between a circumcised man and a castrated one.¹ The former operation does no harm to love but the latter certainly does, since a castrate is wholly incapable of the works of love. Do come early and somewhat before the others, then you shall plainly know to what extent a circumcised man is potent in love. For if you so come we can be alone. I am sending you herewith a little something as a present ; please accept

¹ The German words which apply here are not dissimilar, namely, "beschnittener" and "verschnittener" for circumcised and castrated. (Trans.)

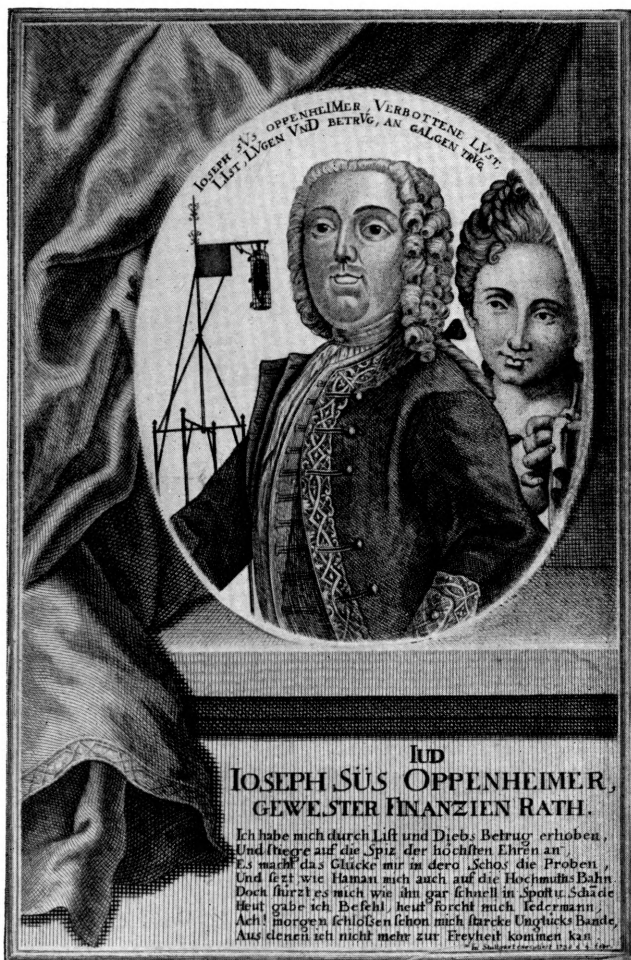
it with my love. Soon something rather better shall follow. If your husband does not seem to take too kindly to our intimacy and falls to jealousy and cursing I will soon stop his mouth with some substantial present or other. Oh, do not delay long, come soon, I am already aching for you and I shall greet you with a great longing.

JOSEPH SÜSS OPPENHEIMER."

The subsequent judicial inquiry into Süß's doings delighted in taking, as we shall see later, an especial interest in the Privy Financial Councillor's fleshly sins. Even if one or two of the twenty-six cases that were then brought up against him were not proven, as for example the wife of Secretary Knab, of whom Süß declared, not without a certain irony, "that she certainly was not to his taste," yet as the old saw has it, "*semper aliquid hæret*," i.e. something always clings, and in this case enough still clings to stamp Süß as a gallant adventurer of the first water in philandering. The fact should not be overlooked that the Commission of Inquiry, or Tribunal, however zealously they probed and poked, had to suppress many cases on family grounds ; at the same time there must have been many that they did not discover. The manner in which the case was later

conducted against Süß makes it necessary at this juncture to examine his love-life. In so doing it will be just for us to keep constantly in our minds the fact that Süß was a fundamentally sensual and temperamental being, that the time in which he lived and the courtly environment in which he moved served to emphasize and to favour everything of an erotic nature; and that finally the luxurious mode of living, the copious and spiced foods, the extravagant consumption of wine, a liking for stimulating perfumes, all these were enormously inclined to increase the normal sex activities.

The records display most clearly of any Oppenheimer's relationships with one Henriette Luciana Fischer who was his official mistress from the winter of 1736 onwards, and as such "annoyed the general public to an extremely high degree." Süß brought her with him from Frankfurt some time in November 1736, where he had met her in the house of the Princess of Nassau-Hadamar. She was then eighteen years of age and obviously must have been very pretty and excessively sensual. Her father was a Court Councillor in the service of the Rhenish Duke at Grünweiler; her mother had died six years before. What precisely her duties were in the house of the Princess of Nassau is not clear. On the other



JEW SÜSS AND A WOMAN
The woman Fischer ?

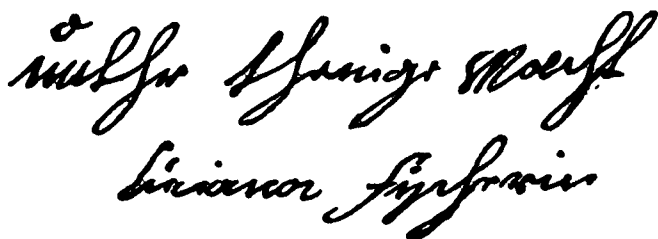
hand it is an established fact that she was already leading a dissolute life, for Süß declares—even if it is perhaps with some exaggeration—that it was well known “that I tried to get the girl out of a brothel and to save her by raising her to a decent station in life.” Süß took her with him without a moment’s hesitation from Frankfurt to Mannheim, where he was to discuss matters with her father ; the latter, however, was prevented from being present by illness, and Süß offered her a post in the Duchess’s household. He then conveyed her to Ludwigsburg, where he first of all occupied the Bamberg house and then a gentleman’s mansion in the Metzgergasse ; subsequently she accompanied him to Stuttgart to his house in Seestrasse. In return, as his side of the bargain, Süß caused the father to be given an official position in the service of Württemberg ; he became a Government Councillor, and he was later reproached with having “been cognizant of, allowed, and so to speak, managed,” this liaison.

Süß had allotted rooms above his bedroom to the woman Fischer, according to his own testimony in the protocol, and “whenever he called to her or knocked on the ceiling or gave any other sort of sign she came to him . . . on which occasions he used

to give her a good talking to, to the effect that if she had fallen to the lot of any other man she might easily have had the misfortune of being made pregnant and turned out as a prostitute."

Süss repeatedly offered to send the girl back to her father and to endow her with a thousand Imperial thalers. The woman Fischer was, however, unwilling to hear of any such thing, always asking him tenderly in return whether it was then that he was tired of her. But such was by no means the case. Süss obviously had some real affection for the girl, even if the thought never entered his head of remaining faithful to her for his part. Precisely for that reason he demanded an even more exclusive faithfulness from the woman Fischer. Their relations were for the time being seriously strained when Süss got to know that on two occasions she had allowed herself to be persuaded by one of the maid-servants to leave the house at twelve midnight to accompany the maid secretly to a carnival dance and to take part in it. He confined himself in point of fact to lecturing Luciana Fischer and to having the house carefully locked up when he went out in the evening ; but according to Fischer, he knocked the maid about unmercifully.

Although the woman Fischer was a very primitive type of person—as is clearly shown by one of her letters which has been preserved—yet Süß, humanly speaking, had a great deal in common with her. Thus it was that he showed her the picture of a certain Jewish Fräulein Caën of Metz, whom he was to marry at the beginning of the year 1737, and



The image shows a facsimile of a handwritten letter in cursive script. The text is written in two lines. The first line reads "Ihrer Gnade" and the second line reads "Luciana Fischer". The handwriting is elegant and fluid, characteristic of 18th-century cursive.

Facsimile of the end of a letter by Luciana Fischer.

"Your humble servant Luciana Fischer."

told her that he had very little inclination towards making this match. And later on, when he was in prison, he was very worried about the woman Fischer's welfare. Perhaps in an especially weak moment he did envisage the possibility—as Luciana insists that he did—of going to Holland and of being baptized there, and of becoming betrothed to her. The woman Fischer too, in her own way, remained faithful to Süß. She did not only keep

Oppenheimer's portrait hidden in her Prayer Book—a portrait that he had forgotten having given her—but she did later on take his part when he was in sore need, and after his death she openly wished that he was still living, and not merely for the reasons that “she might carry on her wicked way of life with him” as the serene Tribunal of the Judicial Inquiry Commission interpreted her wish, with their deeply sensitive feeling of refinement. Subsequently, after Süß's downfall, she was treated with a cruelty studied in its ferocity. When she gave birth to a boy in the House of Correction at Ludwigsburg—to everyone's surprise, for she had contrived to conceal her pregnancy—and when she gave Süß's name as the father of the child, Major Glaser, Oppenheimer's gaoler, gave vent to spiteful remarks in the matter saying that “the young Hebrew was still alive and the woman Fischer was very perturbed about the brat's health”—sneers which are very indicative and typical of the mentality of “the ruling classes” of that day. The abominable lengths to which the virulent hatred of Süß and everything connected with him went are shown by the following lampoon, which dates from the autumn of 1737, appeared in print in 1738, and found wide circulation :

Schuldigste Adresse und Anzeige
An den Welt-verschreyten Satyrum und Huren-Jäger,
Joseph Süß Oppenheimern,
Da seine geheime Finanz-Hof-und Haus-Hur,
Henrietta Luciana Vischerin,
Ganz unvermuthet in dem abgewichenen Augusto, ohne dass
sie schwanger gewesen,
Zu seinem und ihrem ewigen Ruhm
In dem Zucht-Haus zu Ludwigsburg
eines jungen Sohn genesen.
Welches der Erstling von solchem raren Herkommen
In diesem neuen Haus geworden.
Nebst wohlgemeynter Glückwünschung nach dessen voll-
kommenen Meriten.

A very humble address and declaration to that Satyr and
Whore-Hunter, despised throughout the World,
Joseph Süß Oppenheimer,
On the occasion of his Privy Financial-Court-and Domestic-
Whore
Henrietta Luciana Fischer,
Quite unexpectedly, in the past month of August, without
having been pregnant,
To his and to her eternal Fame,
In the House of Correction at Ludwigsburg,
giving birth to a little son
Who is the First Born of such a rare Descent,
In this new lineage.
With well-meant Congratulations on its perfect Merits.

“Was wird man endlich noch erfahren,
Wann sich die Hund mit Ziegen paaren,
Was brüthen sie vor eine Bruth ?
In anderen Gegenden der Welten,
In Africa geschichts nicht selten,
Dass Drach und Schlange solches thut.

Aus solchen Zweyen kommt das Dritte,
In dem vereinen in der Mitte
Sich Gifft und Galle noch so sehr :
Vermischt sich nun in Brunst und Eyffer
Ein Huren-Schaum mit Juden-Gayffer,
Was kommt da vor ein Teuffel her ?

Hat Süß, der Schelm, der Bösewichte,
Auch seine Schelmen-Juden-Früchte,
Der Welt und Nach-Welt angehenckt ?
Soll eine, die ein Christ will heissen,
Solch einen Unflath von sich schmeissen,
Die werth ist, dass man sie ertränckt.

Jedoch, wie nichts umsonst geschiehet,
Und offtermals ein Dorn-Busch blühet,
Wann er hernach verdorren soll ;
So blüht noch Süß aus seiner Metze,
Und lässet uns ein Kind zur Letze,
Das macht sein Maass der Straffe voll.

Sey froh, dass du aus ihren Händen,
Du Zeuge ihrer geilen Lenden,
Frucht, die so scheusslich ist als rar,
Unglücklichs Kind in deine Wiege !
Bock, Satyr, Hündin, geile Ziege,
So heisst dein rares Eltern-Paar.

Du wirst gewiss kein Zeiss'gen werden,
Dann nimmer hegt auf dieser Erden
Die Eule einen Adler aus.
Dein Glück wird nun hierinn bestehen,
Um Früchten deiner Tauff zu sehen,
Bleib in dem Zucht- und Arbeits-Haus.

Süss, dass man doch kein Kind mehr finde !
Sag, dass sich keine unterwinde,
Dass sie dich als den Vater nenn.
Du magst sonst selbst um Herberg schauen,
Wir müssen noch ein Zucht-Haus bauen,
Dass man sie all versorgen könn.

Es kommen ja schon hin und wieder
Die Carnevals-Nacht-Schwestern nieder,
Gedenck doch Lichtmess naht herzu !
Wer will sie allzumahl versorgen,
Zwo kommen heut und drey biss morgen,
Die Hebamm hat ja keine Ruh.

Ach ! Wann sie schon zu Krieges-Heeren,
In deiner Grösse Lemmel wären,
Wir schickten sie ins Ungerland :
Da möchten sie die Gräben füllen.
Dann, giengs nach dein und ihrem Willen,
Sie setzten Land und Leut in Brand.

Einmahl, O Süß ! der dich beschnitten,
Hat keinen Rabbi nicht beditten,
Er hätte dich gar sonst castrirt.
Hätt ich das Messer führen müssen,
Du soltest jetzo minder büssen,
Und manches Kind wär nicht verführt.

Doch Jud ! Verzeyhe mir den Titel,
Man sinnt jetzt auf bewährte Mittel,
Wie man dein Feuer löschen mög,
Es sagen Aertzt von grossem Nahmen,
Dass von dem Hanff so Frucht als Saamen,
Den Jäscht der geilen Geister leg.

Den Saamen braucht man deinen Stutten,
Der füllt mit Milch die geile Dutten,
Dabey er noch vortrefflich kühlt :
Wie manche wird dich noch verfluchen,
Die Kühlung nach der Brunst will suchen,
Doch steten Brand im Herzen fühlt.

Dir braucht man es zu deiner Kehlen,
Da wird es wahrlich gar nicht fehlen,
Wann die Passage ist vermacht :
Durch die du mit pompeusem Leben,
Dem geilen Fleisch hat Safft gegeben,
Dann heisst es — — — gute Nacht.

Dann mögen dich aus Thränen-Flaschen,
Bey Nacht die wüste Huren waschen,
Bey denen du die Brunst erfüllt.
So bald man dir den Hanff wird brauchen,
Wird deine tolle Brunst verrauchen,
Und Sodoms Hitz in dir gestillt."

(Translator's Note.—I am indebted to Mr. John Rice for the appended adaptation of this poem, which loses nothing by the somewhat free treatment accorded to it.)

"The age of miracles' not passed
When dogs and she-goats couple fast ;
What loathly creature will they bring
Forth to the glory of the Spring ?
Dragons and snakes, or so they say,
Conjoin in distant Africay
(Serpents have poisons, dragons gall,
But in their spawn you'll find them all.)
Now when in passion's violent rut
The beastly vapours of a slut
Mingle with that abhorr'd Jew's slaver

JEW SÜSS OPPENHEIMER

What sort of devil will he father ?
And has that scoundrel, rascal Süß,
Passed down his lewd Hebraic juice
On innocent posterity ?
Should one who would a Christian be
Not cast such filth upon the ground
Since she is worthy to be drowned ?
As when a thorn tree, better dead,
Some few remaining flowers will shed,
So Süß continues with his whore
And gives the world one bastard more
His cup of gall thus brimming o'er.
Rejoice that you have spurned their dust
Witness of their degraded lust
Fruit rare yet filthy, of such two
Parents as prostitute and Jew.
(Satyr, lascivious goat and bitch
Such names should make their foul ears itch ;)
To dandyism don't aspire,
For never yet the eagle's fire
Came from the humble nightly owl.
So for the future of your soul
Stay in the workhouse or the prison.
So you shall miss the worst derision.
Spare us more children, Süß, I pray,
Tell me there're no more on the way
Of whom you own paternity
Else you must shelter seek, and we

Another prison build, where watch
Be kept on you and all the batch.
Now Carnival-night lights of love
Already feel their infants move
And as their pangs begin they sigh ;
(Remember Candlemas is nigh !)
The midwife gets but little peace
For bastards come in two's and three's,
E'en now for these we cannot cater
So spare us any others later.
If they were numerous enough
To make an army's thews and stuff
We'd pack them off to Hungary
Where they could all interrèd be,
And suiting to your will and their's
They'd burn the countryside as flares.
He who performed your circumcision
Seems to have lacked the higher vision
And can't be very highly rated
Or else you would have been castrated.
Had I the handling of the knife
Full many a child's now ruined life
I would have—not saved—but prevented
And you would never have repented.
Hark Jew, (if you'll forgive the title)
Doctors are saying that the vital
Course of lascivious blood can be
Allayed by hemp, then we shall see

Your fire well quenched. They'll use the seed
To stay your mare's gross carnal greed
Which fills their bawdy dugs with milk;
It, at the same time, cools like silk.
How many yet may curse your name
Who feel their hearts are still aflame
When after rut repose they seek
And still are left insatiate.
They dose you with it round the throat,
And there it never fails, please note
And if the passage still is free
Through which the life of luxury
You inward drew to render fresh
Your proud imperious lump of flesh
You'll quickly take your final wink
(And it will be good night, I think !)
Then, if your horrid strumpets please
They may from their lachrymatories
Wash you with tears, that you have caused.
For when the hemp to you is brought
All Sodom's heat will turn to naught
And all your frenzied ardour cool.
(Won't that be bright and beautiful.) ”

.

Süss was by no means a fastidious person ; as he himself admits he did “ make use of women of high and low degree,” but he always paid them hand-

somely. At the same time, however, he made distinctions. It is not very remarkable that he occasionally slept with two of his maids. But as a true gourmet he had an aversion to professional prostitutes. He turned out a certain woman Fidler from Wildbad "since he saw that she was a professional prostitute." Of two sisters who were introduced to him in Wildbad by a business friend, and who, as it appeared to him, seemed to be rather related by their trade than by their blood, he considered one to be suffering from a venereal disease, but he allowed himself to be closeted with the other, only, as he expresses it, "soon to break off" when the sport was at its height. The wife of a certain Lieutenant von Kirch, a somewhat adventurous lady whom he invited to his house from Schweinfürt, was rather too easy for his taste; "he discovered when he made advances to her that she was only too complaisant," and he therefore sent her away without having achieved his object with the princely douceur of 100 Imperial thalers which the lady presumably needed to replace her ruined clothing. This wife of Lieutenant von Kirch was probably a complaisant adventuress who had been "recommended" to him just as the woman Müller from Löwenstein had been, either for his own

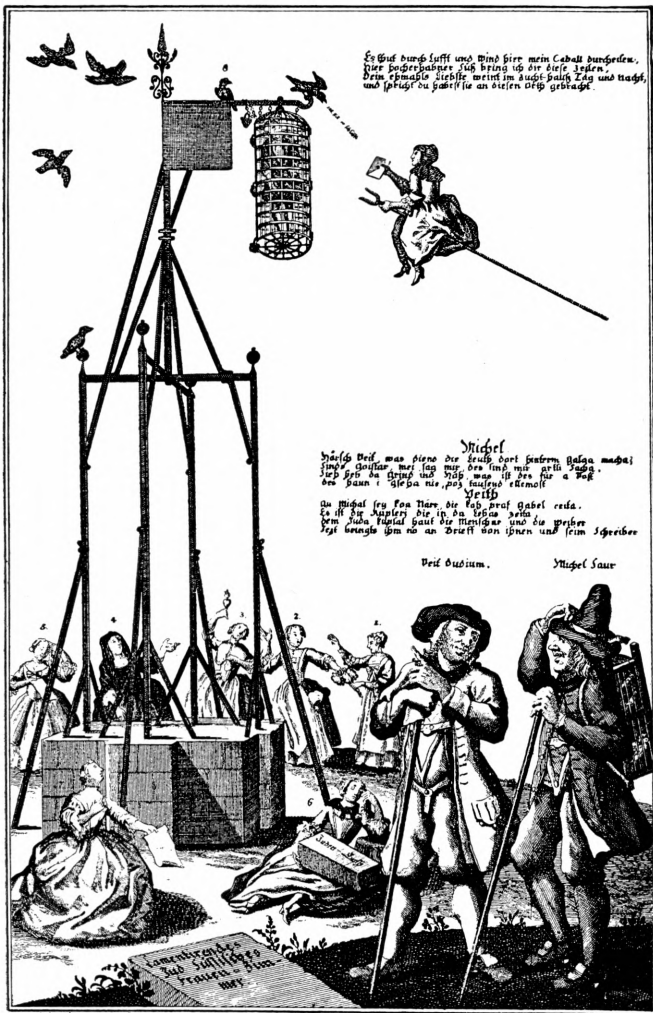
enjoyment or for the amusement of his most gracious master.

His exploits with female petitioners form a special category among erotic adventures. The personal presentation of petitions of all kinds was at that time called "soliciting." It was customary for urgent petitions, especially petitions for favours to be shown towards an accused father, husband, or betrothed, to be personally presented by the appropriate woman, whether it was to the Duke, or to one of his influential dignitaries. Such petitions were mostly successful provided that the petitioner was young, pretty, and acquiescent; Schiller's phrase from "Kabale und Liebe" springs involuntarily to the mind; "The beautiful suppliant's fee and enough." In this some vestige of the *jus primæ noctis* was uppermost, and what was acceptable for the Duke was cheap for his favourites. Thus the word to solicit had a quite definite flavour associated with it.

In view of Oppenheimer's great influence it was natural enough for such petitions to be lodged with him very frequently. These little adventures out of which there developed in many cases a liaison lasting a few weeks or months, pursued the following course, if one makes a synthesis of the various

detailed protocols : the “ beautiful suppliant ” was usually shown by that trusty lackey Albrecht, towards the fall of dusk, into Süß’s study or into the adjoining bedroom ; in many cases they were shown into his bureau at the Mint and given a little refreshment including, of course, a glass of potent sweet wine. After a time His Excellency the Privy Finance Councillor made his appearance and inquired affably as to the young lady’s health and what might be the purpose of her visit. Then when the pitiful request for the advancement of her betrothed or for the release of the suppliant’s father had drawn a tear or two from her, the noble gentleman would comfort the weeping woman with a few gracious words which he made all the more effective by stroking her soft cheeks a little or by placing his arm comfortingly around her pretty waist. In cases of a rebuff the following seems to have been the procedure : if they were very abrupt then His Excellency wrinkles up his forehead and in a deeply thoughtful manner expresses his opinion that the case is an extremely difficult one. The business of tears and consolation is repeated. The noble Privy Councillor observes that the matter is of course not an entirely hopeless one, he strokes the pretty round shoulders, and slips in a compliment on the demoiselle’s

complexion. In the end it happens that the dreaded favourite—who is really a most handsome and elegant man, you know, and the way he looks at you!—remarks just in passing, that he wants to oblige the young lady, of course, but one good turn deserves another, doesn't it? and he is unfortunately compelled to forgo the joys of matrimony, and the demoiselle would not be robbing anybody of anything if she would cheer up his loneliness a little, especially as no one will know anything about it, and isn't her bodice too tightly laced, and wouldn't she care to make it comfortable for a minute and——then one has “solicited” more or less successfully. But if they are really much too stubborn, well, a little force must be used—*vis haud ingrata*—and resistance only adds another charm. But such is hardly ever needed. The skilled charmer has a sure touch and they all, all fall to him, whether they want to or no. And most of them come back twice or three times more—for it had not been possible to discuss their business in peace and complete the arrangements at their first conversation. If the petitioner proved to be sufficiently amusing, or rather, if her petition appeared to be important enough to warrant it, she was then passed on to the person of the Duke and could thus be sure of being



“ONE OF JEW SÜSS’S WOMEN LAMENTING”

Contemporary broadsheet. Süß's former mistresses bewailing Süß's death under the gallows.

received equally graciously by her sovereign, provided that the question did not also need essentially to pass through the hands of the noble Court Chancellor or the noble Lord High Chamberlain.

As for the rest; the patient population must have taken these things into the bargain with a certain equanimity as "divinely willed contingencies." Nearly all the petitioners who had been with Süß made good marriages. The wife of the Naval Captain Keyser, the wife of Schoolmaster Walter, *née* Beck, the wife of Secretary Faber, *née* Haerler, the wife of Secretary Friedland, with whom Süß had had amorous adventures "when she was a spinster," are typical examples of this fact.

But a considerably larger amount of Oppenheimer's love-life is taken up with his relations with the ladies of high society, those elegant flirts and adventuresses who were alluringly equipped with all sorts of falderals and nonsense, with artful mysteries and perils and resistances. At the time when Süß was still Court Agent in Darmstadt he had already entered into intimate relations with a noble lady, in whose letters it is true only the money matters are discussed which Süß was managing for her, but who nevertheless always signs herself as his "friend." His relations with Frau von Schade, a lady who was

a close friend of the Electoral Prince Bishop of Cologne, and with the Countess von Sponeck in Stuttgart, were to some extent founded in the first instance on business matters. One trusted this handsome and clever man whom everybody knew to be extraordinarily efficient in all matters, and whom one knew, moreover, had all the fashionable conventions at his very finger-tips and was unfailingly polite towards ladies. What was more natural than that one should turn to this agreeable financier in all one's difficult affairs, when it was a question of saving a fortune or disposing of a worthless bill of exchange or recouping oneself after a financial debacle. For he was indeed so very charming and spared himself no pains, and could give encouragement so pleasantly and so gracefully that one never failed to leave him without feeling comforted and strengthened. And he was so obliging, as when for instance in the case of the Countess Sponeck, he took into safe custody jewels and cash and bills of exchange which one wanted to have stored away in an especially safe place. And the man to whom a weak woman entrusted her whole fortune, should she not in the end entrust with something more than that ? For the rest, one relied on his discretion on all points, of course ! For really he was just fascinating,

you know. He had some knowledge of music and of literature, he had seen the world, he was always well up in the intrigues and affairs of most of the courts of Europe, and he could chat about daring topics, too, with a delicacy that was not always vouchsafed to German gentlemen of the Court. He was never blunt and he had a most tactful way of giving expensive gifts as if he were just paying an insignificant little compliment.

But one was not advised to choose the channel of commercial consultation if one wanted to get further into the confidence of the Privy Finance Councillor Süß. One could approach him by merely social means too. If Süß took tea with the Countess von Sponeck to-day, and gossiped and flirted—well, he flirted and gossiped to-morrow with Frau von Gumpernas, and the day after with Frau von Klimberg or the wife of Privy Councillor Goetz. Frau von Klimberg, whose children were a source of worry to her, solicited at his hands too, it is true—in a perfectly honourable way, it goes without saying. And Frau von Gumpernas had obviously fallen legitimately in love with him, otherwise the “many notes” that she was continually sending to him would not be so heavily stressed in the legal documents as they are. The wife of Privy Councillor

Pfau, too, had him frequently at her house as a visitor, without many pressing invitations in fact. The lady was attractive enough herself, but Süß also declares that the daughter "did not at all displease" him. In this direction a little scandal was scented in the air. Some maintained that the charming Süß was attracted by the more mature mother and others held that his marriage with the daughter was directly imminent. The matter was so piquant as to reach the ears of his Serene Highness, who then could not resist the temptation of asking Oppenheimer, when a suitable opportunity offered, "whether the mother or the daughter were really his amour." Needless to say, Süß avoided giving him a direct answer by some neat turn of wit.

The things that used to go on by night in the house of the wife of Secretary Wayhen are not clearly established, or as is the case with so much else they were opportunely deleted from the documents. But when one finds that many ladies of the Court circle used to visit at her house late in the evening, and that Süß was also to be found there during the night, one's thoughts do not fly to ideas of clandestine Bible-study classes. And whether Süß only visited the wife of Transport Councillor Haerlin and her daughter because the latter liked to

have a ticket for the carnival and her mother wanted to thwart her, seems to some extent a matter of conjecture.

But the big scandal, a real full-dress affair, a magnificent subject for the gossips of Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, and the whole of Württemberg, was that business with the wife of Privy Councillor Goetz. The very beautiful mother had a still more lovely daughter and a son who had become a Government Councillor at an early age—perhaps thanks to his beautiful mother. Süß was a friend of the family and dropped in to tea or supper without invitation ; and paid his court to mother and daughter simultaneously. Both the ladies had found favour even in the eyes of Carl Alexander and one was inclined to think that the Duke had shared the Privy Councillor's wife's favours with Süß, in which Süß had played pander for his master. Probably some letters to Süß in the Duke's own hand are in connection with this matter ; in the letters there is " a certain business " that will not pursue its course, and Süß is asked to return to Stuttgart to hasten it on. But soon the Duke's interest was directed more towards the daughter, and there is no shred of doubt but that Süß was compelled to play the girl into the Duke's hands. The whole of this unedifying

trafficking is typical of its time. Süß had negotiated for the daughter with Goetz more at the Duke's behest, and evidently wanted to cart the girl off to Ludwigsburg immediately, to deliver her over to Carl Alexander's inordinate lust, which would brook no delay. But the Privy Councillor's wife had "done him down" for this once, as Süß expresses it. In March 1736, however, the deal was closed—Süß sent his lackey with a letter to the Privy Councillor's wife, the daughter came to Ludwigsburg accompanied by a chambermaid and escorted by her brother the Government Councillor (!), where she was accommodated, first of all in the house of Count Barthen, where she was visited twice by Süß. Apparently brother Government Councillor was disposed of by official business as urgent as it was creditable. Süß obviously took a very deep interest in the girl, which was increased by the covetousness of the Duke. Thus, as an old historical authority has it, it was that he "tasted the sweets in advance" of his master, and then, when the wretched girl had to be handed over to the tender mercies of her sovereign as a sacrifice, he drove ostentatiously away from Ludwigsburg. It is in some such way as this that one must interpret the document that may well be quoted here. It concerns a statement by Süß's

lackey, Albrecht, in January 1737: "Albrecht deposes. In March of last year the accused gave him in Ludwigsburg a letter to Frau Privy Councillor Goetz with orders that he should not let her do him down this time, and he, Albrecht, harnessed his coach with four horses and in it conducted the young woman Goetz, her brother the Government Councillor, and the chambermaid Bautzin to Ludwigsburg to the house of Count Friedrich Barthen, where a fine bed had been prepared. Süß and Transport Councillor Neuffer had come thither in *poste-chaises* and both had remained there half an hour and then had gone away again immediately. He, Albrecht, however, had procured something to eat and drink at the inn. The second day they had called again and paid her a visit. Süß had been to Fürth on the third day and the deponent had had orders to take the young woman Goetz to the castle at ten o'clock in the evening and to conduct her to a room indicated by (the valet) Neuffer, from which she had returned a half an hour later, and Neuffer had given her a piece of white material to make a dress. Neuffer had given the deponent 10 gulden and Privy Councillor Goetz's wife had given him 5 gulden."

There are no proofs in the documents and in correspondence to show that Carl Alexander took

very amiss the occasional competition of his Court Jew in matters erotic, in any case he had a sufficiently strong sense of humour to allow him to overlook such trifles. But he appears to have laid emphasis on certain limits. There are slight indications that Süß very possibly may have carried on a little flirtation with the Duchess Maria Augusta, a fact that did not escape the Duke. The Duchess was young, beautiful, rich, spoilt, a capricious and costly little rococo creature of outstanding charm. It is not difficult to imagine that the clever and notable Jew, whom everyone called "charming," would also interest the young Duchess. She appears to have planned a journey to Regensburg in the autumn of 1733 and to have desired to be accompanied on her journey by Süß. The arrangement was eminently displeasing to the Duke. The then Crown Prince adds a postscript in his own hand to a letter dictated on September 1st, 1733, with the definitely brusque remark, "With regard to the trip to Regensburg with my dear wife, the same can just be abandoned." The tone is quite strange and absolutely out of keeping with the otherwise polite and correct letter. One cannot help but think of this as a danger-signal. It is also very striking that the Duchess did not stir a finger in Süß's aid when, after her husband's death,

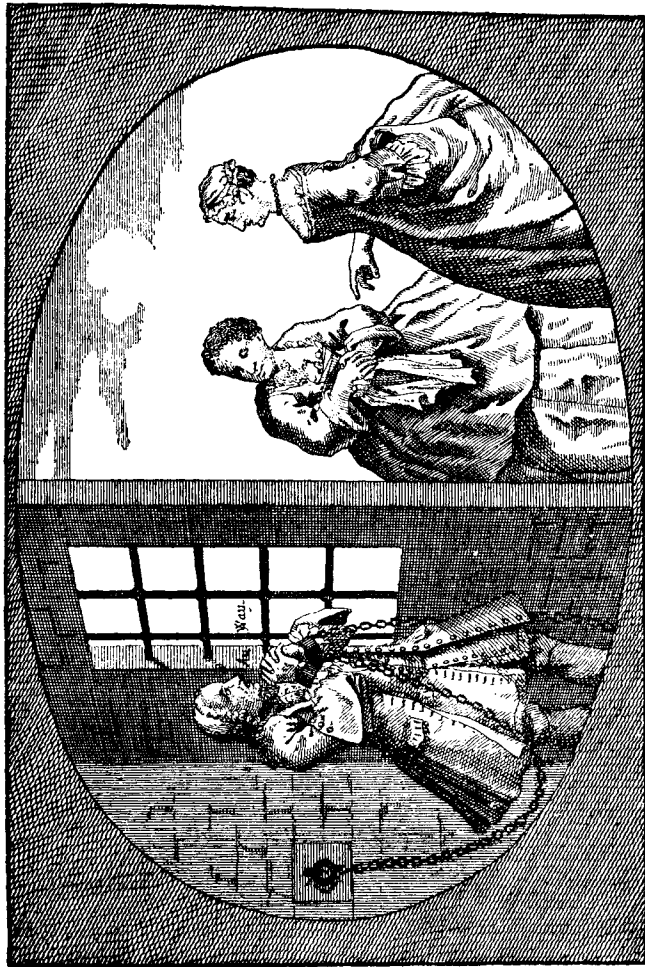
the judicial inquiry had been set on foot against Süß. And Oppenheimer's often repeated and urgent requests from prison to be allowed to speak with the Duchess's father-confessor were not acceded to and were not even answered. And the Princess who had exchanged numerous private notes with Süß a short time before, now, after the arrest of him who had been her favourite, withdrew her favour with an emphasis which is rather too accentuated to appear quite natural and normal. She had the following letter written at the time : " Her Highness desires that, as is right and fitting, She may be kept informed of all that transpires with the Jew Süß and the other criminals, for Her Serenity's better information, and declares that his closer confinement and the Judicial Inquiry set on foot against the same is approved and is well done."

It almost sounds as if the noble lady was afraid of compromising herself by a single word in favour of the accused. Süß himself forbore from making any sort of suggestion in this direction.

Like master like man. Süß's domestic staff obviously trod in the footsteps of their lord and master. Süß himself had his suspicions that his lackey, Albrecht, whom he later cleared out and sent to Maulbron, had on various occasions poached on

his master's preserves. And the rumour ran among the vulgar that the chambermaids at the Court or the ladies'-maids of other employers who were sent on errands to Süss's house, were received with an inordinate warmth not only by the master of the house but by his servants too.

All these amorous adventures, of which we have touched on but a few in these pages and which certainly numbered dozens if all told, took place in the short space of round about three years. And even if they were not vastly different in kind from what went on at many another German Court, yet in this brief span of time Süss obviously made a record as far as numbers go ; and it was thus, on this very score, that the half-forgotten moral standards were gradually resuscitated—all the more rapidly when Süss made himself more and more disliked by his fiscal policy and his all-important paramount influence. In any case the liberties that were permitted to the blue-blooded aristocracy of German nationality were by no manner of means to be permitted a Jew who hailed from foreign parts. For Süss to enjoy the same knightly delights on absolutely identical territory as though he were equally well entitled to them, no, that was going too far—and in addition to that it was a sin ! This idea



Süss in prison, with the allegorical figures of two women.
("The Foreboding Vision.")

is given an especially striking expression in a lampoon dating from 1738 that is addressed "To The Virtuous Woman," and which runs as follows :

"Shun the thief unhung
Be he Jew of many parts,
Do not grace him with your favour,
Do not take him to your hearts.
Let it be Christian whatever you do,
Firmly refuse if the man is a Jew."

"Meidet ungehenckte Diebe,
Ist ein Jude noch so gross,
Würdigt ihn nicht eurer Liebe,
Blösset ihm nicht euren Schooss,
Was geschicht, lasst's christlich sein,
Kommt ein Jude, saget nein."

The poem quoted below, taken from a contemporary publication, is also extremely typical :
"The Sorrowful Farewell Words of the Stuttgart Women-folk on the Departure of Their Dear Süß."
"Betrübte Abschiedsworte des Stuttgarter Frauenzimmers bei dem Abzug ihres lieben Süßen."

"Ach, so müssen wir dann scheiden,
Liebster Süß, hat es ein End ?
Himmel, stöhrstu dann die Freuden,
Die so süß gewesen sind ?
Ach, was hat uns wider hoffen
Vor ein Unglückstrahl betroffen !

Wir genossen tausend Proben
Deiner Lieb und Zärtlichkeit,
Deine Grossmuth war zu loben
Und auch deine Danckbarkeit ;
Ach, wie traurig sind wir Frauen,
Das wir jetzt dich nimmer schauen.

Dann, sobald wir dich nur kannten,
War das Herz dir zugeneigt,
Ringe, Gold und Diamanten
Hastu uns gleich vorgezeigt,
Damit hastu uns bestochen,
Dass wir ja dazu gesprochen.

Fürwiz, der die Jungfern theuer
Und die Frauen untreu macht,
Machte auch, das fremdes Feuer
Ward in unser Herz gebracht,
Und beschnitten Fleisch zu schmecken,
Warstu lieb in unsern Röcken.

Dein Ansehen, so wir forchten,
Triebe uns ins Carneval
Und dass wir dir so gehorchten,
Machte der Praesenten Zahl,
Jedermann war dir ergeben
Und wollt dir zu willen leben.

Deine angenehme Küsse,
Deine zuckersüsse Wort
Brachten uns, herzlichster Süsse,
Oft an einen andern Ort,
Da wir uns zusammen legten
Und der Süssigkeiten pflegten.

Du warst biss daher gefangen
Mit uns an dem Liebestrick,
Jetzo will man Fesseln langen,
Hartes Schicksal, falsches Glück !
Den, der so viel Gold getragen,
Will man jetzt in Eisen schlagen ?

Unsre Männer, die dich ehrten
Und uns selbst zugebracht,
Haben wider dich Beschwerde
Und viel Klagen vorgebracht,
Die dich fast vergöttert hetten,
Wollen dich mit Hörnern tödten.

Dann ihr Männer seid beschwohren
Ob ihr nichts darum gewusst,
Hat es euch jemahls geschoren,
Wann er uns so brav geküsst ?
Haben wir nicht zu dem Süssen
Oft auff euer Orden müssen ?

Eltern, woltet ihr im Lande
Und bei euern Ehren seyn,
Sprachet ihr, es ist nicht Schande,
Tochter, geh zum Süßen ein,
Besser ist's den Kranz verlieren,
Als viel geben und verschmieren."

. . .

"Oh, must we then part,
Dearest Süß, is this the end ?
Heavens, would you end the joys
That have been so sweet ?
Ah ! what a stroke of ill-fortune
Has fallen upon all our hopes.

We enjoyed a thousand proofs
Of your tenderness and love,
Your generous heart drew our praise,
So too did your gratitude ;
Oh, how sad we women are
Never now to see you more.

For, no sooner did we know you
Than our hearts inclined your way,
Rings and gold and diamonds
You produced for us statim,
With them you corrupted us
Wheedling us to give consent.

JEW SÜSS OPPENHEIMER

Curiosity, that makes
Virgins rare and wives unfaithful,
Introduced a novel flame
And it kindled in our hearts ;
So for a taste of circumcised charms
We welcomed you with open arms.

Your reputation, so we feared,
Required us at the Carnivals
And that we should obey you,
That was what made up the guests ;
Everyone was attached to you
And determined to live for your sake.

Your ravishing kisses,
Your sweet honeyed words
Brought us, darling Süß,
Often to another place,
There we would lie together
And practise love's delights.

You were bound before
With the cords of love,
And now they're clamping chains on you ;
Deceiving Fate, ah, harsh your destiny !
He who had borne so much gold
Will they load him now with irons ?

Our husbands hold you in esteem
And brought us to you personally,
Now they've hatched plots
And brought many actions against you,
Those who had almost idolised
Now seek to slay you with cuckoldry's horns.

For you men have testified
That you know nothing about it,
Did it ever trouble your conscience
When he used to kiss us so thoroughly?
Did we not often go to Süß
Because you ordered us to go?

Parents, when you wanted a good name
And a title in the land
Did you not say, 'It's no shame,
Daughter, go and call on Süß,
Better your virginity lost
Than to bribe at enormous cost.' "

.

The throne of the Prince Bishop at Würzburg was occupied at this time by a certain Count von Schönborn, an unusually clever man, as nimble-witted as he was intriguing, a typical product of higher Jesuit culture, who was dubbed (and not without reason), "the Great Oracle of the World"

by General von Remchingen. He was Carl Alexander's adviser, and favoured the Duke moreover with a visit ; it was he who pulled the strings of ecclesiastical intrigue from his seat at Würzburg. In the autumn of 1736 Süß betook himself to Würzburg for a short stay—presumably not without some political missions to execute. The Prince Bishop had won over the Electorate State of Bavaria to Carl Alexander's plans for catholicizing his State. And in his country masses of the population had as a matter of fact already been received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Technically the intention was to proceed in Württemberg more or less as had been done with great success a few years before in the Principality of Pfalz-Neuburg ; there too they had made a beginning with the army. First of all the officers' posts were filled exclusively with Catholics and then only Catholics were promoted to the ranks of non-commissioned officers, only Catholic forms of service were celebrated in the field, and then the same procedure was adopted towards the Civil Servants, who in many cases were confronted with the choice between turning Catholic or sacrificing both their official position and their salary.

But they had to reckon with more obstinate

resistance in the case of Württemberg. They had to take into consideration the Swabian's conservatism, his sluggish nature, which made him all the more mulishly obstinate once he had his teeth into anything ; but even at that time the Swabians would suffer no pranks to be played in matters touching their religion. The most German of the Germanic tribes had been for centuries past the freest and the most independent one. The liberty and the independence that a people had won for themselves at such a great and bloody price in the political as well as in the religious realm were not to be wrested from them again without a violent struggle. The ecclesiastical and political policy had therefore to be backed up by military support. To this end the fortresses of Asperg, Neuffen, Urach, and Tübingen were strengthened and stocked with large stores of ammunition ; also Würzburg and Bavarian troops were drafted circumspectly into the country to strengthen the normal garrisons, but they were introduced only in small groups and were only permitted to march during the night. Such a step was all the more necessary as no reliance could be placed on the Württemberg troops, who were for the most part Protestant, if it came to any sort of action against their compatriots. Limber upon

limber loaded with artillery ammunition arrived in Ludwigsburg and the population thought they contained " thousands of rosaries " destined for forcible distribution among the inhabitants.

Süss, as we have already hinted at another juncture, was given no official information about all these military preparations. They were trying to keep him out and to render him useless. And although the Duke had intervened during the autumn of 1736 with great warmth on behalf of his Privy Finance Councillor, yet at the beginning of 1737 a certain straining of his relations with Süss was clearly to be discerned. There were various reasons for this. At about this time Süss found himself confronted with a competitor in business enterprise who was not to be despised, in the person of the Privy Councillor to the Palatinate Court and General Commercial Manager Don Barthelemy Pancorbo, a Portuguese, to whom the Duke had entrusted the manufacture of tobacco, disregarding Süss's claims. It is not very easy to understand how Süss let the opportunity for this undertaking slip through his fingers. It almost looks as if he had grown weary of the never-ending struggle, the never-relaxed interplay of intrigue and counter-intrigue. The terrible, one might almost say the breath-taking, hatred that had burnt up in

the hearts of the Swabian people "once roused" against Süß, could not in the course of time fail to frighten a man even as bold and in every sense courageous as Süß. How boundless this hatred was appears from the following verses, which are an absolutely typical expression of the popular mood :

" A scum from out Cocytus' gorge,
Beelzebub's excretion from behind,
In whose heart a serpent's nest
Has been, a wolf, a goat, a swine and hound,
The nation's poison and the burgher's pest,
All these in Jew Süß may be found.
Thief, scoundrel, swindler, rogue and liar,
Are titles far too mild for him ;
The gallows, wheel, the sword, the fire,
The vice and horse and noose
For him are far too good to use.
The penalties are all more light
Than his curst heart deserves.
Could he be torn in thousand pieces
Cast into fire and water too
Such still might rank as love and patience.
If he were forced to eat himself
Doing in Hell eternal penitence,
Such were a sojourn far too good
For this, the Devil's own-spawned brood."

“ Ein Ausschaum aus Cocytus Schlünden,
Des Teuffels Auswurff und von Hinden,
In dessen Brust ein Drachen-Nest,
Der Wolff, Bock, Hund, und Schwein gewesst,
Des Landes Gifft, der Bürger Pest,
Ist alles in Jud Süß zu finden.
Schelm, Spitzbub, Filou, Dieb and Schinder,
Sind Titel, die vor ihn zu minder ;
Es ist vor Feuer, Galgen, Rad,
Vor Schwerdt, Strick, Pferd und Zangen schad,
Die man an ihm zu brauchen hat.
Die Straffen alle sind gelinder,
Als sein verfluchtes Herz verschuldt.
Könnt man ihn tausendmahl zerreißen,
Ins Feuer und ins Wasser schmeissen,
Es wär noch Liebe und Gedult.
Wann er sich selbst fressen müsste,
Und ewig in der Höllen büsste,
Wär dieser heisse Auffenthalt
Vor diese Teuffels-Brut zu kalt.”

.

In these circumstances he was perhaps not entirely averse from seeing a new and profitable undertaking being run under some name other than his own. There are also signs to show that he was seriously contemplating leaving the country. In three years he had amassed a stupendous fortune there and may

well have reflected that even under the régime of an absolute ruler, the Duke, his position would be the object of continual strife. The new form of government after the *coup d'état* that had been planned would perforce be of a predominantly military complexion, and thus the military element in the Duke's entourage would also be strengthened ; by this and by the strict ecclesiastical views which would then prevail, the atmosphere would be rendered still more uncongenial to the Jew. Süß was too shrewd to overlook the covert enmity of Remchingen, whom everyone could see to be the coming man. Süß's dealings with the Jewish merchant, Caën of Metz, whose daughter he was to marry, his hints to the woman Fischer about a projected emigration to Holland, these are doubtless connected with this secret depression from which he was suffering. Taking things all round he realized quite clearly that he had been made use of, but that it was not proposed to take him at his face value when it came to sharing out the spoils.

The Duke was also annoyed with him in their personal relations. It is not quite clear from the legal documents who it was who brought this Don Pancorbo to the Württemberg Court. But since he was a Portuguese and so a Catholic, and probably a

Jesuit as well, one cannot go far wrong if one thinks to see in him a figurehead which Remchingen, i.e. the Jesuit party, had brought into the game to keep the Jew in check. Pancorbo was also played off against Süß to the Duke in personal matters. The Portuguese was also well up in dealings in precious stones, and it was he who drew the Duke's attention to the fact that a particularly fine stone for which the Duke had paid Süß 10,000 gulden had fetched a price of 6000 gulden in excess of its market value—or so at least he said ! In any case the Duke believed him and took it in bad part less perhaps on account of the money than because he felt that he had been made to look ridiculous by Süß, in the eyes of Pancorbo, in the capacity of the connoisseur he firmly believed himself to be. To judge by the documents one may well doubt whether Süß would have allowed himself to practise such a gross imposition on the Duke. He certainly seems to have asked a very high price in many of his deals ; but it would be making a very grave mistake to imagine that the Duke blindly accepted whatever price Süß asked of him. He haggled for his jewels with him rather in the way that in our own times a bargain-driving cavalry captain disputes the price of a good horse with a Jewish horse-dealer. Thus frequently the

Duke beat Süss down very considerably in the prices that he offered him. He writes, for example, in the postscript, in his own handwriting, to a letter dated July 16th, 1735, "I have had the stones valued and will not entertain any price higher than 100 ducats per piece."

Such valuations were Ducal commands against which Süss was powerless and it was only natural that he should have put a price somewhat more advantageous to himself on other goods in order to reimburse himself for the losses he had so suffered. All the same one cannot say that Süss gave the Duke exactly privileged prices ; it has later been computed that by his dealings in precious stones—in which the Duke, it is true, was not his only customer—his net profits in these three years attained the figure of 200,000 gulden, which in modern money would be two million marks. However that may be, the Duke was nettled and treated Süss accordingly. Süss therefore tendered his resignation which, however, the Duke refused to accept, and which in fact he had to refuse. Süss had too thorough a knowledge of his political plans for them to be in a position to let him go at this juncture, and moreover they needed him as a scapegoat. Nevertheless Süss succeeded in getting at least his business dealings with

the Duke put on an established basis by a public settlement. This deed of settlement was to apply from March 8th, 1737, and was to have a retrospective application to July 1735. It was recognized, with the exception of one brilliant of which the Duke had no remembrance, two minor discrepancies of price, and two rings which had been given back to Süß, about which a settlement was stipulated.

In spite of this Süß still wanted to be away. As they did not intend to let him get away when he wished he was determined to make use of the first opportunity of escape that offered. An incautious statement to the effect that "if the Duke went out of one door he would immediately make his way out of the other," was reported to the Duke. Süß received his answer: "Just try and get away without my knowledge and you'll see how I'll have you fetched back." That was clear enough, but the Duke was not sparing in the threats he expressed to other people too, that he would pursue him and have him made an outlaw if he made away. All this reached Süß's ears, of course. It was moreover rumoured abroad that a secret warrant for the arrest of Süß was in existence, which was already in Remchingen's hands, and it was also whispered that the Duke had said that he would "take him in such

a way as would surprise everybody greatly." There was no doubt but that Süß's star was distinctly on the wane. Flight was dangerous, for the whole country and all the roads were simply teeming with troops.

In these circumstances there was only one course left for Süß : to win the favour of the Estates for himself in case any extremity arose ; this is another token of his political acumen, which showed him that in spite of all Carl Alexander's preparations, the balance of power was heavily weighted in favour of the Württemberg party. With this course in his mind he gave the Estates secret warning, wrapped in discreet language, of the imminent *coup d'état*. That is the surest proof that he no longer reckoned on Carl Alexander, and certainly that he now at last saw the true significance of the drama of intrigue in which he had been destined from the very beginning to play the part of the scapegoat.

To outward appearances, of course, they could not do anything very startling. They must see to it firstly that the Jew was kept in humour, and they must stop his mouth by showering favours on him. Thus from the middle of February 1737 there begins to be noticeable a distinct rapprochement between Süß and Carl Alexander. They sit together at the

gambling table, they chat and joke again, and Süß receives an earnest of Ducal favours on February 12th, 1737, which puts all the favours he had been shown up to that date completely in the shade.

The Duke promulgated a decree, which was published in the "Stuttgarter Public Advertiser," that we have already had occasion to mention, and which is reproduced here in facsimile. The essential part of it is to the effect that Süß "now and henceforward will not be called upon as responsible for his dutiful and most obedient services rendered to our complete and most Gracious Pleasure, without exception absolutely, in particular moreover as touching the various douceurs and honorariums he has on occasion received as testimonies of gratitude, these *pro præterito et in futurum* shall be free of all claims . . . and no person under pain of our Princely Disfavour and the sure expectation of a heavy penalty shall presume to make him any reproach on this account."

But that Süß pinned very little faith to this Absolutorium is witnessed by the zeal with which, after its promulgation, he proceeded to clear up and to conclude his business dealings with the Duke.

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Nro. 171.

Stuttgart.

den 15. Febr. 1737.

Öffentliche Anzeige von Neuigkeiten, sowohl allhier als auf dem Land.



I. An Rescripten.

Von Gottes Gnaden / Carl Alexander / Herzog zu
Württemberg und Teck, Graf zu Mömpelgardt, Herr
zu Pöpsenheim &c. &c. &c.

Unsern Gruß zuvor, Liebe Getreue!

Euch ist zur Gnade bekannt, wie viele und was für wichtige Dinge und Geschäfte Unser
Geheimer Finanzen Rath Eiß, seither dem derselbe in Unsern Diensten steht, zu
mercklicher Beförderung des Herrschafft. Interesse mit nicht weniger Application und
Treue, als glücklichem Success und erwünschtem Ausschlag zu Unserer besondern Satisfaction
eingerichtet und eingeführt habe. Obmahlen Wir nun, wie billig, solches mit gnädigst dank-
nehmung Gefallen erkennen und ansehen, mithin aus eben dieser Ursache verhoffen hätten, es
würde selbiger dardurch die allgemeine Approbation erwerben, und sich bey jedermannlich beliebt
gemacht haben; So müssen Wir doch zum Theil aus feinen an Uns in Untertänigkeit gebrach-
ten Beschwehungen, Theils sonst auch mißfällig erfahren und wahrnehmen, daß Er statt des-
sen, sich darmit nur eitel ohnverdiente Verfolgung und Sebsüßigkeit zugezogen, und man dasje-
nige Gute, was durch denselben geschehen ist, ganz widerig anzusehen und auszulegen, sofort
aus purem Neid und Mißgunst Ihn nicht allein dem Publico odios zu machen, sondern auch bey
Uns selbst direct oder per indirectum zu verunglimpfen suche. Wir haben derowegen nöthig zu
seyn erachtet, diesem Unwesen, wodurch ein treuer Diener schädte gemacht wird, sein Devoir
zu thun, nachtrücklich zu streuen und Eingangs gemeldten Unsern Geheimen Finanzen Rath ge-
gen die seither einiger Zeit wieder Ihn ausgestreute Beschuldigungen, deren Ungrund Uns am
besten gnädigst bekannt, unt die daraus zu besorgende Suiten, in eine hinlänglich und beständige
Sicherheit zu setzen. Zu dem Ende wollen, declariren und verordnen Wir hiermit gnädigst, daß
sezo und furobin derselbige in Ansehung seiner Uns zu Unserem völligen gnädigen Vermögen
geleisteter unterthänigsten Dienste überhaupt und ohne Ausnahm zu einiger Verantwortung nicht
gezogen werden, insonderheit aber wegen derer von einem oder dem andern, zu Bezeugung sei-
ner Dankbarkeit Jegweilen empfaagener freywilligen Douceurs und Ver. drungen, pro preterito
& in futurum von aller Ansprache frey; mithin das disfalls ebedessen emanirte Generale keines wegs
auf Ihne verhanden, und niemand bey Vermeidung Unserer Fürstl. Ungnade und zu gewar-
ten habender schwehrer Abndung Ihne dieselbigen einigen Vorwurf zu machen sich unterste-
hen solle; Gestalten Wir ihme disfalls zu seiner hinfünftigen Nachachtung und Verhalt ein beson-
deres Legitimations Decret sub dat. hod. in Gnaden ausfertigen und zugehen lassen. Wir gesin-
nen dahero hiemit gnädigst an Euch, Ihr wollet wegen behöriger Publication dieser Unserer Fürst-
lichen Willens-Regnung sowohl bey Hof, als auch bey allen Hallen, und sonst, damit sich
niemand mit der Unwissenheit entschuldigen könne, das Nöthige versenden und besorgen. Wels-
den Wir in Gnaden, womit Wir Euch stets wohl begehren verbleiben. Stuttgart, den 12.
Febr. 1737.

Ex Speciali Rescripto Serenissimi Domini Ducis.

Meanwhile the political tension in Württemberg was growing more acute from day to day. Carl Alexander's plans were leaking out more and more, it was known that the Duke wanted to "make the country Catholic," and consequently popular feeling began to run increasingly higher against him. A "Stuttgart Supplementary Edition" circulated secretly in which the plans of the Jesuit party were described in the following way: "Their main project was, alas, planned thus: that as soon as our sovereign the Duke will have left the country the leading Mayor and Transport Councillor, Böhm, will be removed, while Hallwachs's brother will be appointed in his place. Then it will be the turn of the Prime Minister, and then the Lord High Master of the Horse, Steward, Master of the Hounds, Ranger, Court Chancellor, and his brother, that is the Director of the Chancellory. Certain Prelates and other Lords too would come to their turn and those others who would not be willing to adapt themselves to the projected alterations would be forced to leave the city in twenty-four hours and the country in three days. Privy Councillor Keller and Pfau have not been able to see their way to stomaching that scoundrel Süß, and these two therefore will be taken in chains and detained in

military prisons together with two zealous clerics, while meantime General Remchingen will carry out the execution, and on St. Joseph's Day the local (that is the Stuttgart) Cathedral and church hospital will be converted with the aid of a few regiments into Capuchin monasteries, the Court Chapel and the Orphanage, on the other hand, will be transformed into Roman Catholic churches. The Chaplain of the last-mentioned church will likewise be put into a military prison, and thus the Catholic faith will be introduced."

The execution of the *coup d'état*, fully prepared by this time, was planned so that the Duke should leave the country on the morning of March 13th, under the pretext of inspecting the Imperial fortresses of Kehl and Phillipsburg, which were placed under his command, and then would desire to travel via Würzburg to Danzig to pay a visit to a doctor by the name of Holderup whom he had consulted before about a damaged bone that he suffered from as the result of an old wound. During his absence Remchingen was to bring about the overthrow of the Constitution. A Count Palfy had arrived in Ludwigsburg from the Imperial Court, in whose honour rowdy fêtes were being given, in spite of the quietness of the season, and who it would appear had

been invited to give the sanction of the Imperial Court to the new order of things.

It is indicative of the fantastic and superstitious trait in Carl Alexander's character that he called in an astrologer, whom the Duke had had summoned by the Prince Abbot of Maria-Einsiedeln in Switzerland. Anton Weberous, the centenarian whom we have had occasion to mention earlier in this book, records singular facts about this grey-headed Magus : " He brought all sorts of pedestals and triangles and spy-glass contraptions with him, shut himself up alone in a lonely little room high up in the castle, caused earth to be brought from the cemetery, collected the sweat off the windows at the time of a newly risen moon, cooked peas, burnt aspen-twigs to cinders, and did any number of other such wondrous things. When the stars came out in the heavens he climbed, clad in a white shirt decorated with all sorts of designs, on to the flat roof looking towards the north, kindled a little gleam of light by means of a cord and some dried wood, made a circle round it, stepped into this circle and lay in it till midnight, and then went down to his room, whence sounds soon emerged as if a horse were breaking through the window dragging a heavy carriage behind him. My curiosity impelled me to approach

him, and I felt it to be really very sinister even when a fair distance away from him. This star-gazer had promised to read from the book of the future after the space of seven days what would be the issue of the Ducal plans. Jew Süß laughed at the grey-bearded old weaver of nonsensical tissues to his face and called him an old idiot. ‘My Lord Duke,’ said Süß, pointing to a cannon that was directed over the Castle gardens, ‘these are the best signs of the stars and tokens of the times,’ at which Carl Alexander laughed heartily.”

In the meantime the Protestant citizens’ party had not been idle in the country, and especially in Stuttgart. And the Estates were on their guard and had received news of the political plot by various channels, among which the Duke’s valet Neuffer may safely be presumed not to have been the least ; it is supposed that he was a relative of the Counsellor to the Estates of the same name. People therefore began to provide themselves secretly with arms. The Guild of Butchers and Coopers in Stuttgart had even gone so far as to borrow, with absolute secrecy, fowling-pieces and muskets from their colleagues of the same guild in the free city of Essingen “for the maintenance of the Protestant faith” ; the weapons of the Stuttgart

arsenal had been distributed among the citizens of Stuttgart. No more corn was issued from the State storage granaries ; everything pointed to war. The fears of the population were even more drastically confirmed at the eleventh hour. One of the Duke's messengers, by the name of Billhuber, picked a quarrel one night at Nürtingen with one young Johannes Kraus, the son of a Stuttgart butcher ; in the course of the rough and tumble that followed Kraus abstracted a confidential document from him, from which it appeared that foreign auxiliaries in great numbers—it was said that the number was 19,000—were to advance into the country and that their password was “ attempto.”

Kraus delivered up this letter to the Mayor of Stuttgart, who communicated its contents to the Standing Committee of the Estates. Kraus hastened to betake himself in safety to the Imperial City of Reutlingen. The Estates tried yet again to clear the matter up in good faith. On March 3rd, 1737, a Deputation waited on the Duke but was dismissed with great discourtesy.

And so March 12th approached. The date was looked upon by all superstitious beings as a veritable *dies ater*. Unmistakable ill-omens accumulated. Early in the morning the Duchess terrified her suite

by a shrill shriek of terror because she saw a cat coming towards her with a kitten in its mouth in the corridor of the palace. "Without the sun now shone and now there were hailstorms, it snowed and then it rained, the clouds flew overhead as swift as arrows, and gusts of wind tore open doors and windows so that the window-panes came tinkling and crashing down every moment." At an early hour Carl Alexander left Stuttgart for Ludwigsburg where a courier immediately called on him. Immediately following a large number of written and verbal commands were given ; the garrison of Ludwigsburg, already strengthened by drafts of Würzburg and Bavarian troops, began to move. Orderlies dashed about in all directions. The Duke had hardly finished his business with the courier when a deputation from Stuttgart waited upon His Highness beseeching him once again to give up the *coup d'état* which he envisaged ; it was rudely dismissed by the sovereign, who had not yet breakfasted. Then when the Court Chaplain, the Duke's father-confessor, entered the room the great mirror fell off the wall of the study and was broken into a thousand pieces. At length they brought Carl Alexander the broth he had ordered, but it was so hot that the Duke burnt his mouth and his throat and threw the

bowl against the wall. Just at that moment the fire-bell rang; a fire had broken out in Eglosheim. "In a word, everything was at sixes and sevens," as an eye-witness testifies.

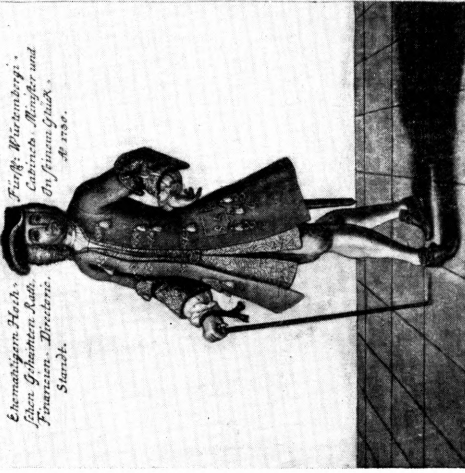
In the evening a ball was given in the Banqueting Hall of Ludwigsburg Castle in honour of the Imperial Count Palffy. The Duke was present, proved to be in good spirits, played cards with Süß and a few others, and presented Süß with his winnings when he went off to his rooms at nine o'clock. But there again a deputation of four gentlemen from Stuttgart was announced, which threw the Duke into a violent rage. The conversation was extremely lively, the Duke was beside himself with anger, words such as "heretic," "murderer," and "traitor," were overheard. This delegation too had to return home without having accomplished their business.

This interruption was all the more inopportune for the Duke as the noble Lord—according to the rumour that ran—was expecting the singer Thérèse to call on him that evening, and he was especially partial to her. For some time now he had fallen into the habit of taking an aphrodisiac when he was awaiting a visit from a lady, a stimulant of which the regular use was not entirely free of some danger.

Eigentliche Abbildung des

JOSEPH SÜS OPPENHEIMERS.

Ehemaligern Hoch-
fürsten Gluchters Rath,
Fürstlichen Dreierle,
Standt.
J. 1780.



Ich war ein reicher Herr, Der Silber Ruffte Münken
Und Tausende auf der Welt nicht wußte mit einem Pricken
Lagungen, gestiegen, Pferd meubelte Linder gnug
Hab ich mir angestalt, was ich begierde, Flug.
Ist brachste die Gewalt durch Land-Comissionen
Wer einen dieß gewollt, der mußte mir vor wehren
Man hieß mich Excellenz, ich war auch in der That
Von einem Grafen Herrn, Fürstlich-schönher Rath.
Ihr Töden die Ihr Euch müßt innewegern schämen,
Behügte ihr Land und kühn und müßt suchten den Stadt, So wärst führt auch auch eine solche That.

Eigentliche Abbildung des.

JOSEPH SÜS OPPENHEIMERS.

in seinem unglücklichen
Verlust und Knecht von
Württembergischen Com.
Verurtheilt wird denn
vorher.
J. 1780.



Jetzt sieht es anders aus, man hat mir abgenommen
Zu mir ist auf der Welt vorher, was gekommen
Ist bin ein armer Dind, denn Württemberg Land
Man mehr Verurtheilt, und in des hundert Hand
Man wird aus Schuldgründ mich mit Schöner-Karren führen
Am Galgen muß ich hier mein Leben heute verleben
Ich werde nach dem ins Okeffig eingekerkert
Auf ich im ersten Kleid sein langer hängen Kan.
Ihr Könige, ich war mir ein gute, so müßt ich nehmen.
So wärst führt auch auch eine solche That.

JEW SÜS BEFORE HIS FALL AND AFTER

(The words round the head of Jew Süß in the left-hand picture are :)

True representation of
JOSEPH SÜß OPPENHEIMER,

Formerly Privy Councillor of the Cabinet of his Serene Highness The Duke of Württemberg, Minister and Director of Finances, In his Prosperity, A.D. 1730.

(Under the left picture reads :)

I was a rich man, having the right to mint,
And shewed myself in the company of a Prince,
Lackeys, carriages, horses and rooms full of furniture,
These I acquired to my heart's desire.
I wielded power through the land Commissions,
He who desired an Office worked through me ;
They called me " Your Excellency " and I was indeed
The Privy Fiscal Councillor to a very great Lord.

(The right-hand picture, round the head reads :)

True representation of
JOSEPH SÜß OPPENHEIMER,

in his adversity, after he had been condemned to death by hanging according to law and the sentence of a Tribunal of the Prince of Württemberg and had been delivered over to the executioner, A.D. 1738.

(Under the right-hand picture reads :)

All is now changed, and I have been cast down,
See what a spectacle I now present the world,
I'm but a wretched Jew, hailing from Württemberg,
Now utterly accursed and in the hangman's hands,
I am to be taken in the gallows-cart from Stuttgart,
Today to lose my life upon the gallows,
And after that I'm to be put into the cage,
So that in my red coat I may hang for many a day.

(Right across the bottom of the picture reads :)

Ye Jews cannot but be ashamed for me,
You may take a real good lesson from me,
If you swindle people in these parts and poke your
nose in affairs of State, This same fate lies in wait for you.

That evening as usual his valet Neuffer had served him with his physic. Shortly afterwards a "choking catarrh" made a sudden end of Carl Alexander's life—it may be that the excitements of that day had put too great a strain on his full-blooded system, or it may be that Neuffer had made a mistake in the dose—for what reason, however, is not clear. It does not appear impossible that an item of 30,000 gulden that is to be seen on the debit side of the Estates' account, without any specific note as to its purpose, may have found its way in part into Neuffer's pocket.

The impression made in Stuttgart by the news of the Duke's death has been described at the beginning of the book.

General and High Burgrave von Röder together with Süß hastened without delay to Stuttgart to break the news of the Duke's death to the Duchess.

After this nocturnal audience Süß was arrested by Major von Reischach as he left Stuttgart Palace and was conducted, under military escort, to his house in the Seestrasse where he was to be kept in custody, confined to his own house. The Standing Committee of the Estates made full use of their opportunity. That same night Councillors Hallwachs, Metz, and Bühler were arrested and thrown into gaol.

In accordance with the Duke's will, Duke Carl Rudolph von Württemberg-Neuenstadt, the Dowager Duchess, and the Prince Bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg were summoned to form a Protectorate for the nine-year-old heir to the throne. Carl Rudolph was immediately empowered to act instead of the Estates and the Privy Council, and he undertook the guardianship but stipulated the express condition that, against Carl Alexander's testamentary decree, he alone should conduct the Regency.

Remchingen felt that he had a free hand. He felt himself to be in a strong position, with the power of the military behind him, and at first refused to shake hands with or even swear allegiance to Carl Rudolph and directed that the troops should not obey the commands either of the Regent or of the Dowager Duchess. The military guard charged with the protection of Süß's house was also under his direct command. The situation was a critical one for Remchingen. Everything depended on the Protestant party which had the support of popular feeling. Nor could Remchingen rely on the Württemberg troops. However much he hated Süß, yet all his interests demanded that he should get Süß, as the possessor of so many compromising secrets,

out of the country as rapidly and as unobtrusively as possible. Doubtless it was Remchingen—i.e. the Jesuit party—who helped Süß to escape after a short period of detention in his house in the Seestrasse. A carriage was waiting and Süß, who was carrying nearly a million in bills of exchange and actual cash in three shirts worn on top of each other and in his doublet, did in fact succeed in getting as far as the vineyards at Kornwestheim. He had already been gone an hour when his flight was discovered. The Commandant of the Stuttgart Civic Guards, one ex-Major Röder, a cousin of the High Burgrave, set out in pursuit with six mounted Civic Guards and caught Süß's carriage on the Kornwestheim hill. He forced Süß to pull up at the point of the pistol, had the carriage turned round and driven back to Stuttgart. The rhyme that is extant to-day arose from this episode :

“ Da sprach der Herr von Röder :
Halt oder stirb entweder.”

“ Then Herr von Röder said :
Halt or I'll shoot you dead.”

Crowds collected, and at the Green Tree Inn, near the Ludwigsburger Tor, somewhere about where the Hôtel Marquardt stands to-day, Süß was

actually set upon by the infuriated mob. He was wrenched out of the carriage, buffeted hither and thither, "hit about the chaps with sows'-tails and sows'-bellies," and a young burgher called Langefass conceived the witty idea of carrying the ill-used man's wig through the crowd on a long flexible pole. Probably Süß would have been lynched if the City Grenadiers had not intervened and taken him to the Herrenhaus (Mansion House).

Thence Süß, together with Bühler and Hallwachs, was removed on March 19th, 1737, to custody in the fortress of Hohenneuffen.

That date was celebrated just as if it had been a fête-day by the much-relieved, much ill-used, and infinitely exasperated populace. Of the poetical effusions called forth by the event the following is reproduced here :

"Hinaus mit dir aus Stuttgarts Mauren,
Verdammter Jud, verfluchter Süß !
Der Teuffel wird nun dich bedauren,
Der dich ins Land, zum Schaden, schmiss.

Fort, fort, vermaledeyter Schinder,
Vampire, Blut-Hund, gifftiges Aas,
Das Freyheit, Leben, Blut und Kinder,
Mit wütgen Tyger-Zähnen fress.



Later picture, unsigned, representing the re-arrest of Oppenheimer by Major von Roeder.

Fort mit dir, fort in Neuffens-Klüffte,
Dort gibts ein Nest von solcher Bruth,
Biss man dich einst in freyer Lüffte,
Zum offenen Schau-Spiel hencken thut.

Gib Acht dort auf der Wolcken Toben,
Und wird dir da die Zeit zu lang,
So wiss, du seyst genug erhoben,
Biss zu dem letzten Laitern-Gang.

Hörst du dort einen Donner knallen,
Denck, dass es lauter Wünsche seyn,
Die dir auf deinen Mord-Kopff fallen,
Von Gross und Kleinen insgemein.

Hörst du der Winde wildes Sausen,
Es sind des Landes Seuffzer-Heer,
Die dir um deine Ohren brausen,
Und dich verfluchen mehr und mehr.

Wirst du dann einen Regen hören,
So wiss in deiner Wildrers-Krufft,
Es seyn der Pupillen Zähren,
Durch die das Land um Rache rufft.

Und siehst du selbst die Sonne blitzen,
So denck, sie trockne Holz und Stroh
Zu deinem Tod, sie zu erhitzen,
Dergleichen Brut gehört es so.

Hörst du bey ruhigem Gewitter,
Der Raben grässlichen Gesang,
Denck es sind deine Leichen-Bitter,
Und deiner Todten-Glocken Klang.

Wann sie dir nach den Augen fliegen,
Schau ob das Schutz-Geld helfen kann ?
Wann sie bey der Nasen kriegen,
So weise sie beim Banco an.

Will einer dir das Fell bezwacken,
So sag, es sey veradmodirt,
Und will er dir die Haut behacken,
So sprich, das Stück ist schon taxirt.

Will man mit dir die Wacht bestellen,
Dass keiner an den Galgen laufft :
So schiebs auf andere Gesellen,
Und sag du habst den Dienst verkauft.

Besteckt dir was in deiner Goschen,
Und will es nicht den Hals hinab,
So denck es sind Besoldungs-Groschen,
Die man dir eingepfeffert hab.

Hörst du dann deine Ketten klingen,
So schau obs keine Münzen seyn,
Kanst du sie nicht in Tiegel bringen,
So schmelz sie in dein Fleisch hinein.

Willst du etwa vor Durst verrecken,
So schicke nach verbottnem Wein,
Und will dir keine Speck-Supp schmecken,
Thu ausgewogen Saltz darein.

Behangt dir was an deiner Nasen,
Wovor dir etwa selber graut,
So flieh auf einen Schinder-Wasen,
Und schlupff in einer Esels-Haut.

Erschrecken dich Strick, Zangen, Räder,
So halt dich an die Gerber-Herrn,
Erworg an einim Stücklein Leder,
Sie gebens dir von Hertzens gern.

Dein Urtheil milder abzufassen,
So bring gestempeltes Papier,
Will Meister Hans dich greiffen lassen,
So nimm stracks eine Masque für.

Wird dir ein Bauer dann begegnen,
Der dir nur ein Sau-Rüssel war,
So kanst du dich nicht besser seegnen,
Als werd ein Eber ganz und gar.

Um in der Lufft nicht zu erkalten,
So rauch verpachteten Taback ;
Da gönnt man dir von Jung und Alten,
Des Höllen-Schwefels Vorgeschmack.

Meng deine Karten mit dem Teuffel,
Und überwindet er etwa dich,
So tröste dich, dann ohne Zweifel
Bleibt da die Sau im letzten Stich.

Will dich dein Satyrs-Kitzel reiten,
Des Teuffels Mutter steht parat,
Die dich von deiner Kindheit Zeiten
Mit Hirsch-Brunst auferzogen hat.

Das gantze Land wird sich bequemen,
Dir in dem Tod bedient zu seyn,
Und kanst du sonst nichts anders nehmen,
So gib man dir Bodaschen ein.

Ist dieses dir zu ungeheuer,
Nimm, deiner Juden-Seel zu gut,
Ein Stück von der Vermögen-Steuer,
Vielleicht sie dran zerborsten thut.

Sonst ist dir anders nichts zu rathen,
Dann wann dich dein Gewissen plagt,
Such Hülff bey deinen Judas-Thaten,
Die du so lange Zeit gewagt.

Der Hencker wird sein Recht bestreiten,
Crepire, wie dirs nun fällt ein,
Die Hunde sollen dich begleiten,
Und deines Grabsteins Künstler seyn."

“ Away with you from Stuttgart’s ramparts
Cursed Süß and damnèd Jew,
The Devil moans, the Jew departs,
Whom first he sent to plague us all.

Out, out, accursed oppressor,
Vampire, blood-sucking carrion foul,
Who gnawed with raging tiger’s teeth
Our life and freedom, blood and children.

Out with you, out to Neuffer’s gorge
Where such a brood has nesting-place,
Until they hang you high and dry
A show-piece for the populace.

Take care there in the boisterous clouds,
And should you find that time drags on,
Know you are risen high enough
When stepping on the topmost rung.

If there you hear a thunder-burst
Fancy it’s just the voice
Of those who your fell head have cursed,
Of both high class and low.

If there you hear the wind’s wild roar
That is the horde of sighs,
Moaning and groaning round your ears,
Cursing you more and more.

Then if you hear a rain-storm pour,
Know in your poacher's den
It is the tears of our wide eyes
Calling revenge the whole land o'er.

And if you see the bright sun's glare
Then know it's drying wood and straw
To make them burn and make them flare
For death that's fitting such as you.

If you hear in peaceful weather
Ravens' ghastly croaking song,
Think they are your funeral bidders
And your death-bell's slow ding-dong.

If they come and peck your eyes
See if defence-tax serves you then.
If they take you by the nose
'Try the Bank' you might advise.

If one of them has his eye on your hide
Then say it's out of fashion ;
And if he wants your carcase flayed
Then tell him tax has just been paid.

If they want to make you guard
The gallows 'gainst sightseers
Then push it off on someone else
And say you've sold the duty.

JEW SÜSS OPPENHEIMER

Lay something by inside your snout
And if it won't go down your guzzle
Fancy it's groschen taken out
Of pay, and used for flavour.

And if you hear your fetters clink
Then look in case they're gulden ;
If you have not a melting-pot
Your blood can make them molten.

And if you feel like pipping of thirst
Ask for forbidden wine or malt,
And if you don't like bacon-soup
Tip in some governmental salt.

If something seems to loom ahead
That frightens even you,
Then flee into a knacker's yard
And don a donkey's pelt.

If wheel or noose or pincers shock
Then try the guild of tanners,
A bit of leather suffocates,
They'll provide it with excellent manners.

To make your sentence rather milder
For paper with a stamp I'd ask ;
If Meister Hans wants to pinion you
Try putting on a masque.

If then you meet a peasant, who
Was one of your ' pig-faces,'
You'd find the perfect greeting to
Call the ' Whole hog ' at him.

Not to be chilled when up in the air
Smoke some farmed-out tobacco ;
None of us grudge you a foretaste there
Of Hell's foul fumes and vapours.

Shuffle your cards up with Old Nick
And if he rather beats you,
Console yourself, in the last trick
Will doubtless be the trollope.

If you need to air your satyr's itch
The Devil's mother's ready,
She brought you up, the nursing witch,
To stag's impassioned rutting.¹

The whole of the land is willing
To be in at the killing ;
And if you can't take anything else
Then try a little bitter ashes.

¹ The original may also mean " mushroom spawn," but the satirist is not altogether lucid in his demonology. (Trans.)

If this is far too much for you
Place to the soul of a Jew
A little tax on hard-earned cash,
Perhaps with that it'll burst with a crash.

There's nothing further left to advise
For when your conscience goes all wrong,
Try thinking of the treacheries
You have practised for so long.

The hangman will insist on his dues
So kick the bucket as you choose,
The dogs will see you're not alone
Erecting your last funereal stone."

In the fortress of Hohenneuffen Süss was treated humanely at first. On March 23rd, 1737, the first hearing of the case was held there. The whole of his domestic staff in Stuttgart, including the woman Fischer, had been arrested on the evening of his imprisonment and had been interrogated immediately afterwards, but the interrogation did not reveal anything at all derogatory to Süss. All his employees, from his chief cashier down to the cook, do not appear to have known anything, or at least they maintained that they knew nothing: a testimony that Süss had contrived to win the affection of

his household. The Judicial Tribune, which consisted of Privy Councillor von Gaisberg, Government Councillor von Pflug, Professor Dr. Harpprecht, Prelate and Professor Dr. Schöpf and Government Councillors Faber, Dann, Renz, and Dr. Jäger, remained at the fortress of Hohenneuffen till April 11th; during the whole of that time they had not by their investigations succeeded in bringing anything on which a charge against Süß could be substantiated. The tone which Süß adopted during this interrogation and in the majority of the subsequent cross-examinations varied between annoyance, politeness, and a contemptuous irony. Try how they might, they could not extort from him anything or at least not what they wanted to have him say.

Süß was worried, and he had good reason for being so. The whole popular frenzy was directed against him, while Remchingen was still at liberty, and Court Chancellor von Scheffer likewise. The Government was taking its time over the prosecution of Metz, Bühler, and Hallwachs. On the Tribunal the members were purely personal enemies of Süß with the sole exception of Professor Harpprecht, who was not only the foremost jurist of the country but also a thoroughly upright and honest

man with very broad-minded ideas. Süß put up a defence at first by hunger-striking, he refused all food. They therefore ordered that he should be given barley water and be whipped to force him to eat if he refused the barley water. The whole of his private papers were confiscated and his papers were fetched from Frankfurt ; a former Rabbi by the name of Bernhard, who had gone over to Christianity and who had become lector of Oriental languages at the University of Tübingen, was brought in to translate all the business letters, as they were written in Hebrew. At the same time a decree was promulgated requiring all subjects to lay their complaints against Süß's abuses before the Duke-Administrator.

Thus they eventually succeeded in formulating the charge, which contained ten points and was concerned with his private as well as his public life. The principal accusation made against him was High Treason, that is to say hostile enterprise against the State, the sovereign, and the Constitution, further *lèse-majesté*, fraud, the surreptitious acquisition of office, counterfeiting coinage, simony (the sale of offices), and harlotry. On May 28th Süß was again interrogated at the fortress of Hohen-neuffen and shortly afterwards transferred to the

fortress of Hohenasperg. Apparently the garrison of Hohenneuffen was not entirely to be trusted. Süss still had friends and adherents, and bribery was feared, to be followed by a fresh attempt to escape. It was one more reason why Süss's private fortune was subjected to a private trusteeship on April 13th.

In Hohenasperg Süss was indeed in surer safe-custody. Major Glaser was in command there, a rough fellow of the farmer type of whom they could be sure that he would neither spoil "the Hebrew, the brute," nor let him escape. At the outset Süss had been given a decent room in the fortress, just as Metz, Bühler, and Hallwachs had been, and Remchingen and Scheffer committed to custody in the meantime. But as they could not wring the necessary confessions from Süss while there, his conditions were made less agreeable. He was confined in a damp, unheated, and cramped cell and put into chains. In addition to this there was to be an officer in with him day and night, apart from the sentry at the door. Süss was not allowed to receive any visitors nor any letters, and was granted neither books nor writing material. He now refused to take any but the dishes prescribed by his own faith and so fed almost exclusively on eggs, white bread, tea,

and sugar. Two or three days a week he fasted completely.

It was about this time that they thought of providing Süß with a defending counsel. The accused very naturally wanted to have a lawyer who was not from Württemberg. His wish was no more acceded to than was his constant and earnest request for an Imperial and inter-confessional Judicial Tribune and a public trial. In the end the Tübingen jurist Michael Andreas Mögling was appointed *ex officio* defending counsel. Mögling refused to act for the hated national enemy and made repeated appeals to be spared from his task. He was offered a remuneration, princely according to the standards of that time, of three Imperial thalers per diem together with board and lodging. They could afford to be all the more liberal since the whole of the expenses of the trial were defrayed out of Süß's property, amounting to some 457,000 gulden, according to the records, in Stuttgart alone. And the members of the Tribune made a small fortune, too, out of their official daily allowance. As Mögling persisted in his excuses he was curtly ordered to undertake the defence. It is not difficult to imagine how a counsel pressed into service in this manner conducted his client's cause. Mögling was, it is true,

a thoroughly honourable and straightforward man. But he did not entertain much more sympathy for Süß than did his accusers themselves. In addition to this he had been given clearly enough to understand that his defence was purely a matter of form. And they hardly took the trouble to read through his "judicial presentation of the defence." He was moreover hindered in drawing it up by the fact that important eye-witnesses were withheld from him, and he was contemptuously told that nevertheless he had full permission to proceed with his written defence.

Yet Süß still clung to Mögling, though he gradually began to realize that his case was in a bad way and that neither the friendly courts of Darmstadt or Cologne, nor even the Emperor himself, nor yet the Dowager Duchess, were taking any steps at all to help him. Nor was he allowed to talk to Mögling alone, and once his defending counsel had given him a thorough cross-examination, he had had to beg for pen and ink for weeks on end, until at length Major Glaser allowed him to have writing material and gave him permission to write to Mögling. These letters went through the channel of the Tribunal, and in one case it was a month before Süß knew if Mögling had even received his

communication. It is impossible to read these letters from Oppenheimer to Mögling without feeling some emotion. "With you, Herr Doktor, it is a case of out of sight out of mind," he begins his first letter to Mögling, in which he complains of the hardships of his imprisonment. Another time he complains that they are trying to extort confessions from him by means of "corporals, executioners, and bailiffs," and that he has been "so intimidated" that hardly dare say even the barest necessities. He repeatedly mentions Mögling to Glaser; thus on November 2nd, "the Doktor is an honourable man but a Württemberger and is afraid of people, so he won't be of any use to me." "He is a good Doktor," he says another time, "he writes a good hand, but that doesn't help." Then again he says of Mögling that he is "an honest fellow but an extraordinarily bad Doctor of Law." Mögling was refused permission for a personal interview with Süß after the first hearing of the case. As Süß could not well have put certain questions to Mögling in the presence of the officers he smuggled slips of paper to him on which he had scribbled in pencil, of which his defending counsel has preserved two among the documents of the trial; they are reproduced in facsimile and speak more clearly than volumes of

Sir, herewith I enclose for you a copy of the
minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors
in regard to the proposed new law
of the 17th of June 1937. I am, Sir,
Yours very truly,
Joseph P. Kamp

Conclusion of a letter from Oppenheimer to his defending counsel (facsimile).

explanatory notes for the unjustifiable harshness with which the accused was treated. The defence was above all rendered difficult by Süß having a certainly very fine handwriting, full of character, which was not however exactly legible, and by Mögling surpassing him in this particular if that were possible. It does not need much imagination for one to picture the heartfelt torment that this entailed for Süß.

Physically too things were going worse for him. The winter had turned so severe that even the officers who were on duty in his cell grumbled to Major Glaser about the unbearably low temperature in the cell. But Glaser cruelly remarked that he did not know who would pay for the requisite wood. The following postscript to a letter from Glaser dated September 28th, 1737, is indicative of the state of Oppenheimer's health: "When he was grumbling yesterday and wanted to show how he was losing flesh by his harsh imprisonment he drew the handcuffs from off his hands, he pretended as a matter of fact that it was difficult to do so, but I am quite sure that it could be done with the greatest of ease, for at least at night he has made use of the fact as he can free his arms of the bands round them in the same way I wanted to put him into tighter

1) } Muss sagen für
 der mit der Tribunal an
 für 100

2) 500 Ducats
 falls für Case Leben der Herr König

3) sagen für mich
 mich Gottes
 willer if mein
 das 1000
 auf 16 Leben

PENCIL NOTE SMUGGLED BY SÜSS TO HIS PROTECTOR
 WHILE IN PRISON

Facsimile.

1. What are the Tribunal up to with Fischer ?
2. You shall have 500 ducats extra for your pains.
3. For God's sake tell me, is my life really in danger in the case ?

handcuffs to-day but found I had none ; so I therefore ask herewith whether this shall be done or whether a special pair of manacles shall be made. At the beginning they were certainly alright, but now and as he has wasted away so much they have become distinctly too large."

As early as October Süß began to consider his situation to be serious, or even hopeless. On the twenty-ninth day of that month Glaser reported to the Tribunal: "The Jew made a strange speech to the officer of the guard, in the course of which he said the following: He, the Jew, felt quite clearly that they were out for his blood and that his head would be cut off, although this would be done in a room and in privacy would the officer not see to it for him that the latter was the case? But if it were to be done in public he intended to speak so that the whole world would be astounded." And yet he had by no means lost all hope and his courage was not broken. As was his nature, he had widely varying moods. He had days when he could only wail and moan and curse, but then he would have others on which he would treat Glaser high-handedly and scornfully or even quite obviously make fun of him, a fact which Glaser did not always quite realize, as for instance when he offered to help on

Glaser's promotion to a colonelship after his release and said that he intended to that very end to equip four regiments at his own expense for the Emperor. Incidentally he obviously felt it a necessity to annoy Glaser. Thus he would often deny all that he had admitted the day before or he would philosophize to him about his predicament. Glaser has recorded in one respect a conversation in which Süß told him a parable, which runs : A certain peasant was told that there was a monstrous creature on his farm. This monstrous creature turned out to be a gold watch that had fallen out of the pocket of a passer-by and had caught on a plough-share, where it was hanging. The peasant then called together the inhabitants of the whole village ; they fell on this monster of a gold watch with cudgels and scythes and manure-forks and broke it to pieces, and each of them pocketed as many pieces of the watch as he could get. When later on the passer-by returned looking for his property they none of them would confess to knowing anything at all about it. And the gold monster was in fact his (Süß's) fortune ; the peasants were the members of the Tribunal. On the twenty-third Glaser was still complaining that : " That accursed Jew had grown so insolent and refractory . . . he was worse than all his

Tribunal. . . . He wanted to show them the meaning of the proverb : ‘ He who wants to have something to do, let him start on a whore, a parson, or Jew.’ He was the Jew—there were whores enough in Stuttgart . . . !” Meanwhile at intervals Süß would again relapse into profound depression when he would say nothing, eat nothing, and appear to be completely distrait. He began to entertain ideas of suicide. As he did not succeed in obtaining poison for himself he bit off his finger-nails and swallowed the bits, believing them to be poisonous. Glaser writes on November 22nd, “ A few days ago the Hebrew gave me a thorough fright, the brute lay in bed one morning as if he were dead and then when he was hit he stood up . . . so that I still have a hope of sending him to the gallows alive. He wants to write again, but says he is afraid of angering me by troubling me so often. . . .”

Süß’s clothes, his shoes, and his slippers were all in tatters and he felt more and more ill. He begged to be transferred to Ludwigsburg or to Stuttgart so that he would be able to look after himself and recuperate somewhat in custody in his own home. He was continually engaged in conducting his current financial and mercantile affairs. Glaser consoled him

mockingly by saying that he too was sure that he would soon be taken to Stuttgart.

Major Glaser's letters rank among the most interesting of the documents relating to Süß, so that it might be worth while printing *in extenso* one of his especially characteristic reports—Glaser is writing privately to his brother-in-law :

“ MOST NOBLE AND ESTEEMED,
MOST HONOURED BROTHER-IN-LAW,

I have no doubt but that the business of the Tribunal will be pursued in Stuttgart. The Jew does not know how matters stand : the day before yesterday I gave him the tea-kettle that had been sent on from Stuttgart, but it was not suitable for him, it was too big. When I went in to him then, and twitted him a little, especially about his not eating any meat, I said : why did he not want to eat any Christian man's meat since in the past he had had such a liking for the flesh of Christian women, and he answered : My dear Sir, I have been permitted whoring and you yourself haven't been backward at it, I'll be bound. I had to be content with saying that he had a deuced sharp tongue, and then I added that he could hold his tongue, his chattering would not

help him as far as I was concerned, and he said, he was quite aware of that, it was just like talking to a blank wall, and everywhere it was the same, but he did want to talk and to be heard and to know how things were faring with him. I continued and asked him whether he would like the tea-kettle and something to eat and why he had told the Tribunal that he was not given any wine, then eventually he asked for the tea-kettle and the tea canister. Also for a bottle of Coutterotti. Yesterday he asked the officer to tell me that he would like to have a Protestant and a Catholic priest sent to him, but foreigners, because those from our country were not allowed to talk with him, and he did not want to discuss anything private with them and so anyone who liked could be present : I scarcely think anything will come of it but I have reported it to Herr von Pflug. That is a nice business with the young woman Fischer having given birth to a boy by the Jew, I have forbidden all the officers to say anything at all about it to the Jew because the brutes have such a way of denying it, but the day before yesterday he told me that he had taken advantage of women of the higher as well as the lower classes but that he had paid them liberally.

Please give my kindest regards to the Kornsch family, and to Government Councillor Faber likewise, I noticed the stick immediately after leaving but I did not know who it belonged to and so told the butler to keep it in safe keeping, if it has not been brought to you yet, it will be sent to-day, I have sent my orderly for it. Government Councillor Beutel seems to me to be the right Governor for Tübingen, he is well known and a good fellow and has a very pleasant wife, if she has not altered. I hope to hear something soon from him to whom my wife and I send their compliments, and I remain

Your Most Noble and Esteemed

Most Honoured Brother-in-law's

Very Obedient Servant

GLASER, Major.

Hohen Asperg

the seventeenth September 1737.

The Jew said : Pflug was one of the country's vampires, he wanted to suck his, the Jew's, blood."

Through Glaser we know, too, "about the very rich reward that there was for helping to bring the

1
Gottlieb der Confrontation
Lini 20 in Augsburg
der Lini Maffig
gott hat ist
mir contrain

Man legen
für / in gott
Lini 500 ducats

PENCIL NOTE SMUGGLED BY SÜSS TO HIS PROTECTOR
WHILE IN PRISON

Facsimile.

1. Will the confrontation take place here or in Stuttgart? The Governor there is hostile to me.

You can certainly depend on getting 500 ducats.

Jew to the gallows. How several Government Councillors had already been appointed for that and that I was permitted to congratulate such titles. The purse is well lined, now there is only the rest to wait for."

When Süß made his request for a Catholic and a Protestant priest he did not do so because he wanted to be converted but rather because he sought two respectable agents above suspicion to obtain an audience for him with the Duke-Administrator or to arrange with him that Süß might be allowed to leave the country, even if he had to leave his money behind, or at least that his trial should be curtailed. The Tribunal, purposely or by mistake, misunderstood his request and on December 4th sent him Pastor Rieger of Saint Leonard's Church in Stuttgart. Süß was very disappointed and hastened to explain to Rieger that he had expected some priest to be sent to him who would have easy access to the Prince and great influence with him. Pastor Rieger declared that he was prepared to undertake any mediation possible but he wanted first of all to convert Süß. Oppenheimer, however, refused both Rieger's offer of mediation and his attempts to convert him. He could be of no service to him as he was in the hands of the Tribunal, and he, Süß,

was reconciled with his God. On the other hand he complained bitterly of the unjust treatment that was meted out to him. The interview lasted an hour and a half. Süß answered Rieger's reiterated attempts to convert him with the fine manly phrase : "It is for a free man to change his faith, but such a step ill becomes a prisoner." Rieger, obviously a man of tact and perception, parted from him with the words : "I commend your soul to the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob," to which Süß replied, "Yes, He is also my God."

Meanwhile the Tribunal, who had no incentive to hasten on the trial in view of the liberal perquisites arising from Süß's fortune, had charged Transport Councillor Chategnier to investigate the conduct of the Mint. Chategnier reported on forty-one points and declared that no criminal charge could be laid against Süß. He could not be blamed on the score of having over-issued or of having debased the currency, as Württemberg money was still better than all the others. The Tribunal could not do anything on the strength of that verdict. They therefore commissioned Accountant Schall to check the result. The latter at first reached the result that there was a deficit, but

had to cancel his calculations after the supplementary reports of November 23rd, December 3rd and 13th, and testified that Süß had not embezzled anything in his own favour. On January 4th, therefore, the Recorder of the Exchequer, Obrech, was commissioned again to compute the amount of the State's claims on Süß ; but here again the Commissaries could not arrive at any definite result. Thus no crime with regard to the currency could be established against Süß.

Süß himself made it his defence on all scores, and rightly so, that he had done nothing without the Duke's knowledge or command, as is irrefutably to be proved by the documents and from the witnesses' depositions. None of his proposals had been put into execution without the consent of the Colleges or Deputations prescribed by the Constitution. He had never wittingly offended against equity or law and had not had to bear the responsibility for the measures that had been put into execution officially, since he was a private individual and in spite of his title was not a Civil Servant, and was moreover protected by the Absolutorium that had been granted him on February 12th. Yet he was prepared to replace every loss or damage that had been caused to anyone by his collaboration

in the Fiscal Ministry and the Ministry of Donations.

On December 13th, 1737, nevertheless, the Tribunal reached the conclusion that Süß should be sentenced to death by hanging; they were unanimous on this method of execution "as a penalty which to a certain extent held the balance between the customary quartering of offenders against the Sovereign and the punishment of burning alive inflicted on counterfeiters and the rather more honourable execution by the sword," and this penalty "was awarded to him all the more fittingly as such was moreover the usual one to be meted out in various of the crimes committed by the accused." One need not be amazed that such far-sighted and beneficial institutions as the collection and utilization to good purpose of the monies of wards in chancery, the credit bank, the public pawn-shop, all these institutions which economically speaking were extremely valuable to the nation, and even his other countless unexecuted projects, among which the most important was a plan for the manufacture of porcelain at Ludwigsburg, were counted as crimes committed by the accused. The whole trial of Süß was no more and no less than a most unpleasant farce. On the grounds of law he could not

be attacked, every single member of the Tribunal was clear on that point. But the only one who had backbone enough to say so openly was Professor Johann Heinrich Harpprecht of Tübingen who alone voted against the sentence. His verdict ran as follows : " According to the law of the German Empire and the country of Württemberg as at present constituted, the accused cannot be sentenced to death ; the proceeds of his thefts, as far as they have been proved, should be confiscated and he should be banished from the Duchy."

In point of fact no sort of proof had been made on any of the charges laid against Süß. Even if one allows that Süß had conspired with Würzburg against the Constitution, yet there was absolutely no proof of it, and in addition there was no formal legal premise for the sentence ; Süß was not a national of Württemberg and so could not be held culpable of high treason. Only a small proportion of the witnesses' depositions made any charge against the accused. It is a remarkable fact that nearly the whole of these depositions were made by Jews who, terrorized by the proceedings against Süß, feared for their own safety and said whatever the Tribunal put into their mouths. Nor did this striking fact escape the notice of the defending

counsel Mögling. On November 11th, 1737, he wrote an exhaustive letter from Tübingen to the Tribunal, casting considerable doubt on the credibility of the Jewish witnesses' depositions. These witnesses had purposely deposed unfavourably to Süß "which is all the more readily credible as the same are hostile to the members of the Tribunal, but each and everyone of them is known, and experience shows every day how deep such enmities are wont to go with these Jews."

There was only one legal loophole by which they might arrive at a death-sentence, and that was his carnal intercourse with Christian women. At the outset Süß had flatly denied all his sexual connections, but later, under the pressure of a harsher confinement and after a number of his lovers had been forced to make confessions, he admitted several cases. Nevertheless while doing so he drew the line between persons of low social standing and ladies of the aristocracy; he screened these latter, and especially the married women, until the last—more chivalrously than his judges. The law which held the penalty of death for both parties to sexual connection between a Jew and a Christian woman was still in existence, as we have already mentioned, even if it had dropped into desuetude. If they had

based the charge on this, then certainly they could have taken Süß's life, but they would have been compelled to send all his partners to the scaffold with him. This would have meant a wholesale massacre which would have brought ignominy and mourning to a considerable proportion of the most eminent families. And so the charge had to be dropped. The written defence of Mögling therefore touches very lightly on this point, "Finally and tenthly the accused is called to account for his private life and the fornication he has practised. It is by no means denied that he had sexual intercourse with the women Fischer, Wucherer, Fidler, a person in Wildbad, the wife of Secretary Faber, the wife of Captain Keyser when she was still a spinster, as well as Pfannzelt, a seamstress von Calw, the daughter of Schoolmaster Becken of Steinheim, and two of his maidservants. But the accused hopes the rather that he will be sentenced to a light penalty since (a) in the cases of the persons before-mentioned he did not complete the *delictum per immissionem seminis* with some and with others, on the other hand, he only sometimes completed the crime, and especially (b) the worshipful members of the Tribunal have been assured by the honourable the General von Remchingen that His Honour allowed

him mistresses and enough. Whereby the same, as a man unversed in the laws, is of the full persuasion that he cannot be punished with a penalty imposed in Ludwigsburg."

The death penalty cannot be regarded as a sentence of judicial murder passed on Süß, for such a sentence presumes in the universal use of the expression that the Court was acting in good faith. In this case there was no question of that. Süß's condemnation and his execution rather partook of the nature of a political murder in which justice was used as a convenient tool. The victorious party was compelled to make some sort of sacrifice to the people harassed almost to a state of madness. Even if the native Civil Servants, bound to the State by oath, such as Scheffer, Metz, Bühler and Hallwachs, were more guilty than Süß, yet they were related to and hand in glove with the party now in power. They had to be protected. The rage of the people had to be deflected from them and directed against a hated foreigner. If they offered up this sacrifice—guilty or innocent, he was only a Jew after all—with the necessary aplomb, then internal peace was assured, and along with it the position of the new party of the Government. "The Jew must hang," they had been definite about that from the very

beginning and the whole trial had as its purpose not to determine guilt or innocence but to afford a convenient and apparently legitimate device for putting the Father of All Evil out of the way.

Politically this arrangement was a sound one. Hatred for Süß was universal. He had touched the population on their most vulnerable points: the purse and the nuptial bed. And they forgave him the former even less than they did the latter. When one realizes that a complete system of nepotism was practised in the Württemberg Civil Service, already overcrowded at that time, a system it is hard to conceive to-day, and when one realizes that among Süß's judges there was hardly a single one who was not compelled by family reasons to see to it that the presumptuous seducer was put out of the way, one cannot but be amazed that the Tribunal was strengthened at the very last by the inclusion of Government Councillor Goetz, the brother of that same young woman Goetz whom Süß had procured for the Duke.

The activities of this Tribunal take on an extremely unpleasant complexion when one considers the pleasure that the members took—especially Dr. F. Jäger—in indulging their taste for probing among unpleasant facts, sadistically and lasciviously

pumping and cross-questioning both Süß and the women who were accused with him. They literally wallowed in filth. As the servants' depositions were not full enough for them they cross-examined a large number of sedan-chair porters—or as we should say nowadays : taxi-drivers—about the nocturnal visits that Süß had made or had received. After Süß had confessed to his intercourse with the women Fischer and Wucherer and some others, he was instructed on August 2nd, 1737, to indicate with full details : “ when, where, and how often he had had intercourse with the same, who his procurer had been, and what did he mean when he said that with this or that woman he had not committed the crime in its entirety ? ”

These inquisitive gentlemen glutted themselves especially over the woman Fischer. After she had once been cross-examined in every detail about her relations with Süß, a commission of three doctors and two midwives was set up to determine by means of an *inspectio ventris*, that is to say by an examination of her womb, whether she was pregnant. After a thorough cross-questioning about the most intimate things there followed a real investigation in which it was established that “ in the past she might well have practised *exercitium veneris*, if not

frequently then at least on several occasions,"— and four months later Fischer gave birth to a son ! And yet a third time Government Councillor Jäger pumped the unfortunate woman, who meanwhile had been kept in harsh imprisonment with only bread and water and in that miserable state had borne a child after she had been "exhibited as a public spectacle (on the pillory) for all the people of the country and all foreigners as a punishment for her extensive prostitution." "In what manner had Süß brought her to give her consent ? Had she not frequently spent whole nights with him ? And why then had she given the Authorities cause to take the step they had been forced to take against her (i.e. strict confinement), a step by which she had not only shamefully deceived their most Honorable Lordships but had also done serious harm to the child she was carrying under her heart ? "

Government Councillor Jäger also extorted, to his secret satisfaction, all that he could from the wives of Secretary Faber and Schoolmaster Walter. By harassing cross-examination he wrung from the weeping women descriptions of their association with Süß which go into such details that even a research worker hardened in the reading of documents literally cannot but recoil on reading them.

It is quite impossible to reproduce even the rough outlines of these protocols.

Although the verdict had been determined Süß did not hear the faintest hint of how matters stood with him. There was a delay in the execution of the sentence because Oppenheimer's Principal Secretary, Isaac Samuel Levi, disappeared from custody taking with him bills of exchange amounting to a sum of more than one hundred thousand thalers, and the Chief Cashier and Controller of the Counting House, Johann Andreas Firncranz, had escaped arrest by a timely disappearance. A warrant of arrest issued for them both, and made public in Frankfurt-am-Main on January 25th, 1738, gave a warning against negotiating the bills of exchange and requested the arrest of the fugitives—of course, without any good result.

On the same day, January 25th, the Duke-Administrator, Carl Rudolph, signed the death-warrant after much hesitation. He did so under pressure from his advisors. The manner in which they were getting rid of the hated Jew was very much against the grain of his straightforward and soldierly way of thinking. He signed, and said while doing so, "It is a rare thing for a Jew to pay the piper for Christian scoundrels."

If one may attach any belief to tradition, it would appear that the Jews of Germany had not been idle in the meantime. Süß's mother had gone to Stuttgart ; she seems still to have been beautiful and was noted for the same dazzlingly white, clear skin that was so striking a characteristic of Süß. She did not see her son again. Perhaps in view of the catastrophe she complained that her Joseph meant nothing for her but worries and troubles. It is open to anyone who chooses to believe it that she only came to Stuttgart to dun her son for money. Eminent Jews are said to have made representations to Carl Rudolph and to have offered a ransom of 50,000 gulden for Süß (half a million marks in present currency). Their appeal was refused, as was the sum of money for the release of the corpse.

A definite change had taken place with Süß himself during this period of great suffering, a change both outwardly and inwardly. A crass injustice was being done to him. Nobody knew that better than he did. And it fanned his violent temperament continually and right to the very end to a wild rebellion and to curses and imprecations. But it laid bare too the soul of the man, which was by no means as perverted as the wretched, ill-treated and provoked populace thought it to be. He meditated

upon himself, his past life, and his rise to fame, and a religious spirit, which is a genuine one, is instinct in his letters to Mögling. He appeals to God time and again, the master of all power. And his decision, unwavering to the very end, that now above all he "would remain a Jew and not turn Christian even if he could become Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire," is as touching as the chivalrous discretion he showed towards the women he had compromised. The approach of death always summons memories of childhood. And the nearer Süß felt himself to be to death the more obstinately did he cling to the religious principles and prayers of his youth.

Outwardly indeed he was hardly recognizable. The pictures show clearly that Süß had put on a certain amount of fat in his last few years and had acquired a certain embonpoint, in prison he had grown shrivelled up and spare, his face was haggard and sunken and framed in a blackish curly beard. Just as he had inwardly again returned to the faith of his forefathers, so did he outwardly begin gradually to bespeak the Jew as he had never done before. The pictures of him in his last days speak volumes.

On January 30th, 1738, Major Glaser announced to Süß that he was to be removed to Stuttgart. Süß took on a fresh lease of life when he heard the

news. He began to hope again. Glaser made harsh jokes about that too. He sent Süß a coat of red taffeta with gold embroidery and a green velvet vest, a wig and a three-cornered velvet hat. Süß had hardly finished dressing when Glaser, who was playing with him as a cat with a mouse, dashed all his hopes to the ground. He had orders, he said, to lock him up. Süß started and his agitation was increased when Glaser sent four grenadiers with fixed bayonets to sit in the carriage with him.

In the middle of the day, between twelve and one o'clock, Süß entered Stuttgart, met by the jeers of the mob, and was not taken to his palace in the See-strasse as he still dared to hope, but to the condemned cell in the Mansion House. There he was left till the following afternoon. On Friday, January 31st, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he was at last brought before the Court; Government Councillor Faber with four judges lateral announced to him that he was to prepare himself for execution in the course of the next four days. The manner of his death was not mentioned. If he had anything left to say he was to say it soon, and he should bethink himself of the salvation of his soul and let himself be baptized. Süß flew into a frenzy of rage against the unjust verdict and said,

“ I will die a Jew. I am wronged and injustice is being done to me. I have not yet been properly cross-examined and no external counsel has been brought to defend¹ me. I am to be offered up as the sacrifice for the whole of Württemberg to the private interests of a few families. I appeal to my judges before the judgment-seat of God. In all my deeds I have only sought to promote the well-being of the Fatherland.”

Süss was led back to the condemned cell. But the Tribunal in their zeal to convert him allowed him no peace. That same evening at eight o'clock Deacon Christoph Konrad Heller of St. Leonard's, accompanied by Vicar Hoffmann, visited him to convert him but were forced to leave him without having achieved their object. After that the Lector Christoph Bernhard of Tübingen, whom we have mentioned, in company with the Jew Nathan Schloss and Secretary Pregitzer, were sent to him. When Süss found that the converted Jew was trying to convert him to Christianity, he cried aloud seven times, “ Schma Isroel! Adonai elohenu, Adonai echod, Adonai hu hoelohim!” but refused to discuss the matter. Between-whiles he raged against

¹ As has been done in fact in the cases of Metz, Bühler, and Hallwachs.

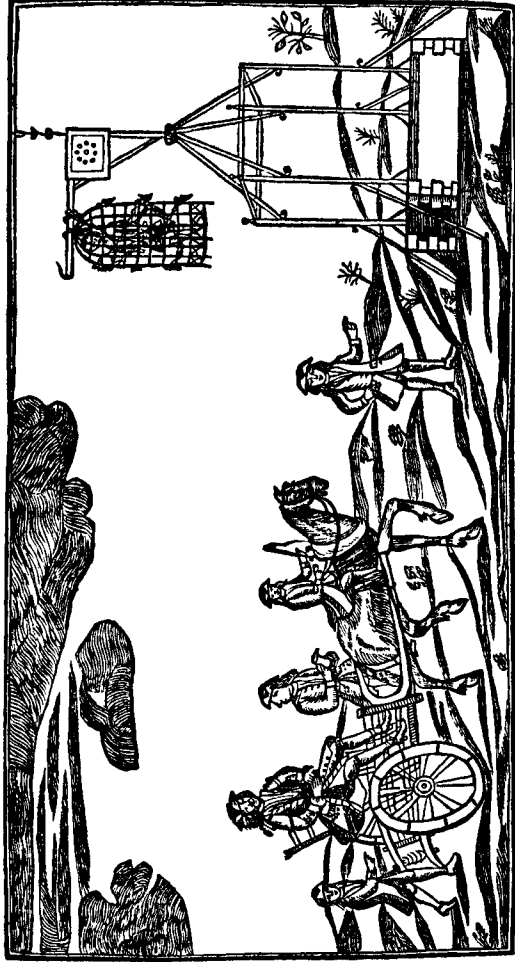
the Tribunal and demanded that a Revisory Commission should be set up composed of three Württembergers and three Catholics, three Lutherans, and three members of the Reformed Church from other German States. Bernhard sought to pacify him, and put it to him that his death had been determined upon long since. Süß ate a little and declared his readiness to go through the service for the sick praying for recovery. This prayer runs thus, according to the transcription by the Lector Bernhard :

“O Lord my God and God of my Fathers, I confess to Thee my sins and my transgressions and my wrongdoings. I beseech Thee do not let me die of this sickness but restore me to health completely. But should I not recover let my death be an expiation for all my sins. Amen.” Afterwards, when Bernhard wanted him to say the full Jewish confession, he pushed the book away from him when they came to the place where he should confess that he had been dishonest, and cried out : “I hold at nought the great wealth which I have possessed and by virtue of which I have fed Princes and Counts and Noblemen at my table and have laden the table with the choicest of foods and the rarest of wines. I hold at nought my reason and my wisdom since

none but great lords have made use of my counsels. I will therefore count as nought the agony of death that I must bear ; but I cannot suffer them to call me a rogue and a fornicator and a swindler of the people. What ? A rogue ? Have I then ever taken anything from anyone ? What ? A fornicator ? It is true and I admit it. I have had one, two, or three women, but twenty, fifty, eighty, is absolutely false. And I know that there is a penalty of twenty gulden for it ; take twenty thousand gulden and then leave me in peace. They call me a swindler of the people and yet I have never stolen anything from anybody, I have helped many men, clergy as well as laymen, to earn their bread."

On Saturday, February 1st, Deacon Heller put in another appearance. Süß besought him on his knees to let him be in peace, and the priest was again obliged to retire without any success. Süß prayed throughout the whole night and recited the full confession of sins. On the morning of February 2nd, Vicar Hoffmann paid him another visit acting on the orders of the Tribunal. A similar scene to that enacted with Heller took place. But the pious zeal of the Tribunal could not be allowed to drop. At their command Hoffman had to repeat his visit in the morning of Monday, February 3rd. Süß

der Hinausführung und Hinrichtung des Erp. Betrügers **Eigentliche Abbildung** Jud Süß Oppenheimers.



Jew Süß in the gallows-cart. (Early woodcut.)

besought him in God's name to let him be in peace and not to drive away the peace of mind that he had found by his prayers. Eventually he wrapped his head in his fur-cloak and made no reply to anything further that was said, so that his pious tormentor had to leave him, which he did with the words, "Well, you want to be cursed and it will strike you now, you do not want a blessing and so you will not get one."

On the afternoon of Monday Lector Bernhard paid another call on Süß with the Jews Nathan and Seligmann. It was his father's birthday. Süß repeated the Jewish profession of faith, after which Nathan and Seligmann pronounced in unison the solemn absolution.

As it grew dusk an announcement, accompanied by a roll of drums, was made in the streets that on Tuesday, February 4th, in the forenoon, the execution would take place; every householder was to see that at least one person was left at home so that the town would not be left deserted.

At eight o'clock on the morning of February 4th, 1738, the Judicial Tribunal assembled in the Mansion House. The market-place was kept clear by twelve hundred soldiers. The passing-bell was tolled. Süß was brought in, and threw himself on his knees

beseeking them to have mercy on him. A city militiaman dragged him to his feet, and the death-warrant was read out. It runs as follows :

Whereas His Serene Highness deems himself in duty bounden to discharge the force of Justice entrusted to Him by Almighty God and to shew, as much in the eyes of all citizens of Foreign Powers as of those of His Duchy and of this country, with what righteous zeal His Highness will visit punishment upon the person of the Jew Joseph Süß Oppenheimer for the abominable misdeeds done against the Sovereign and the land, know that it is His Highness' well-considered and irrevocable will and pleasure that the Jew Joseph Süß Oppenheimer arraigned on a capital charge for his well-merited penalty and as a terrible example to each and every person shall be done to death by the halter on the high iron gallows, as His Serene Highness has already caused the Criminal Tribune set up in this case to be informed in further detail as also with regard to the manner in which the sentence shall be carried out.

Decreed at Stuttgart
this 25th. January. 1738.

CARL RUDOLPH.

While the warrant was being read out Süß cried, "Violence and injustice are being done to me." One of the city men-at-arms attempted to put his hand over Süß's mouth, but Süß struck him a blow on the head and continued to shout, "I am no corrupter of the country, I have done no harm to any one. Gross injustice is being done to me, let me go, I am only trying to defend my life." According to the testimony of one eye-witness he then appears to have broken into frightful oaths and to have shouted, "You butchers, you servants of Baal and judges of Sodom ! May your limbs rot like the parched pastures by the banks of the Kidron ! May you suffer decay in your living bodies, may the limbs of your children and your children's children fester, every day bring you grief, and agony drive sleep from your eyes, may bad neighbours disturb your quietness, may your first-born be a disgrace to you, your memory be accursed, and your city burned up with fire from above, because you do not chastise with the same rod those who have sinned the same as I have ! May there be no bread for your hunger, no drink for your thirst ; may your claims find no ear to hearken, your anguish no Zoar, may there be strangers to reap your crops, no reward for the sweat of your brow, no grateful heirs for the labour of

S Reichwile Serenissimus sich in Dero Gewissen verbunden erachteten, der von Gott Ihnen anvertrauten Justiz eine Genüge zu thun, und so wohl vor den Augen der Auswärtigen, als dieses ganzen Herrzogthums und Landen darzulegen, mit welsch gerechtem Eyfer höchst Diefesse, die an Derten und Leuten verübte verdammitliche Mißhandlungen, an des Juden / Joseph Süß Oppenheimers, Person abzustraffen; als ist höchst Dero selbst ernstlich und unabänderlicher Will und Meynung, daß peinlich beflagter Inquisir, Jud Joseph Süß Oppenheimer, thme zur wohlverdienten Straff, jedermänniglich aber zum abscheulichen Exempel, an den obern eisernen Galgen, mit dem Strang vom Leben zum Tod gebracht werden solle, wie dann Serenissimus dem in causa verordneten Judicio Criminali, hterunter, wie auch quoad modum exequendi, das weitere bereits per Rescriptum intimiren lassen. Decretum Stuttgart, den 25. Januarii 1738.

Carl Rinow

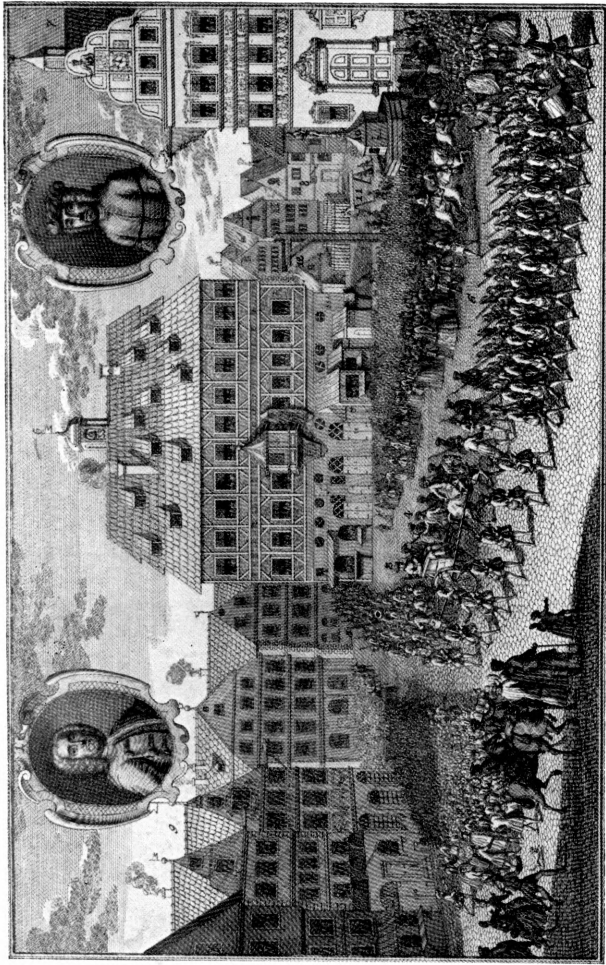
The death-warrant.

your hands, and may your own tongues blaspheme your God ! ” The stave was broken and thrown at the feet of the condemned man. The executioner pinioned his arms to his sides and had him led back to the condemned cell by the hangman’s assistants. There the last meal was waiting for him, but he did not touch it.

At Oppenheimer’s request Jews from Stuttgart and Freudenthal, Nathan Schloss, Hayum, Seligmann, and Rabbi Loew, were assembled in the cell. Süß fell weeping on Nathan Schloss’s neck and then drew up his last will. He apportioned 3000 gulden partly to the priests who had interested themselves on his behalf, partly to synagogues so that rabbis might pray for his soul, study the Thora, and keep a light burning for his soul during a whole year. He also provided for his mother, his brother, and his brother-in-law.

Then Vicar Hoffmann again entered to offer him “ the wounds of the Saviour wherein by the grace of God he might seek refuge.” Süß said to him, “ God alone is eternal ! I leave 2000 gulden to you and to Deacon Heller for the pains you have taken with me, but see to it that you give some to the local poor. I will die as a martyr for my religion.”

Shortly after ten o’clock they led Süß down the



THE PROCESSION LEAVING THE OLD "HERRENHAUS" FOR THE EXECUTION

steps. He was completely changed. His red taffeta coat hung loosely about his body. His hair protruded under his wig—like his beard, it had turned pure white. The gallows-cart on which he was placed is said to have been the same cart as one which he had once had built for two fine horses of his that had died so that they should not be removed on the common knacker's van. He wore chains on his wrists and ankles. The executioner sat beside him and kept a hold on him. Grenadiers with fixed bayonets marched beside the cart, and in addition to them one company marched ahead and another company marched in the rear. Süß cried, "So be it then, yet God and the Emperor still live. Oh God, Oh God, Almighty God, violence and injustice are being done to me!" The executioner's assistants, who walked on foot alongside the cart, drawn by a blind horse, carried a pot of wine which they mockingly offered to the wretched man. The mob jeered and began to sing satirical songs. But other voices were not lacking. Anton Weberous, the centenarian whom we have mentioned several times before, describes the scene thus: "Truly, had it been in my power I would have dragged him from out the jeering crowd, not that I felt at all favourably towards him, no, but because I could see

that just as wicked fellows as he, yes, and some worse than the condemned man, were still at liberty and were mocking at him whom they had served but not long since as informers and spies. One shabby ragamuffin from Stielen especially raised my bile, one I had already given a piece of my mind in Ludwigsburg on account of his underhand deeds, and who was one of those cowardly rascals who were public informers against Süß. Sir, said I, you may well talk about Süß and the likes of him for you are one of the vilest of the creatures who served the Jew most truly in all his debauches and his evil-doings.—I shall know where to lay my hands on you ! yelled the fellow.—I am here now and you haven't far to look for me ! I answered, and seizing him by the right shoulder and his left spindle of a leg, I lifted him into the air and threw him over the heads of the people standing beside me into the open drawwell that is in front of the Town Hall with the words, Drink your fill, you blackguard. You aren't even worth a halter ! He climbed out unhurt over the edge of the well and disappeared from my sight. No complaint was made against me afterwards."

They passed up the Tunzenhofer Steige to the gallows-hill. There stood the iron gallows, thirty-five feet high, which Duke Freidrich had had erected

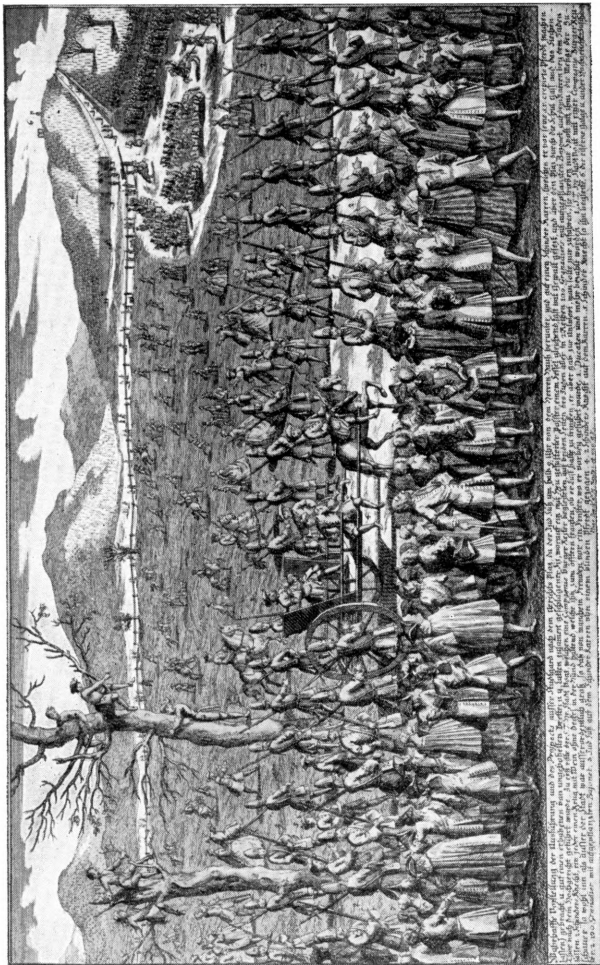
in the year 1596 for a fraudulent alchemist who had professed to be able to turn iron into gold. "For one Georg Honauer, of Olmütz in Moravia, aged four and thirty years, who passed himself off as a Baron, was this iron gallows built for better or for worse and he was hung on it on April the second 1597."

The unbounded hatred of Süß was not to be satisfied by just stringing him up, people wanted to make fun of him in death too and spent a pretty penny on it. Certainly an execution was no longer possible such as a Jew had had to suffer as late as in 1537 in Prague; the Jew had committed adultery with a Christian woman. Then, the guilty woman had been throttled under the eyes of the adulterer on the Moldau bridge and had been thrown into the water in a sack; the delinquent was then led to the Market-place, stripped naked, and dragged to a cask filled with resin, tar, hemp, and sulphur. The wretched man was fastened over the bung-hole with such subtly refined cruelty and in so diabolically cunning a way that when the easily inflammable contents of the cask had been set alight he was compelled to emasculate himself with a blunt jagged knife put to hand for this purpose, in order to escape the unbearable agony of the flames; after he had so

mutilated himself he was torn to pieces by ravenous bloodhounds. Many people would certainly have liked to set about Süß in the same way. But at that more gentle period they were satisfied with alluding to Oppenheimer's carnal sins by hanging him, the fowler, or bird-snarer—referring to the vulgar verb—on the gallows in a bird-cage. This infamous contraption was wrought in heavy iron, opening in sections and fitted with three huge locks. This witty idea was so popular that the whole of the Guild of Locksmiths made a solemn procession with the monstrous construction. Six horses were needed to hoist the unwieldy thing to the gallows, and its construction cost round about two thousand gulden.

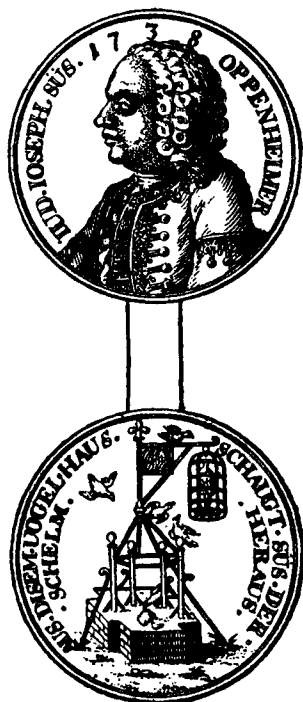
A circular space had been barred off round the foot of the gallows. The stands for the members of the Court were packed to overflowing. Everyone who had legs to walk on thronged to the show. The weather was dull and cold, and the soldiers had lit a fire at which to warm themselves.

Süß, who had prayed aloud for the whole length of the journey, was lifted out of the cart ; his knees threatened to collapse under him. They took off his shoes, his neckerchief, and his fetters and placed a halter round his neck. Deacon Heller and Vicar Hoffmann were on the spot with him and besought



APPROACHING THE GALLOWS

Gedächtniß - Münz von dem
Juden Süß.

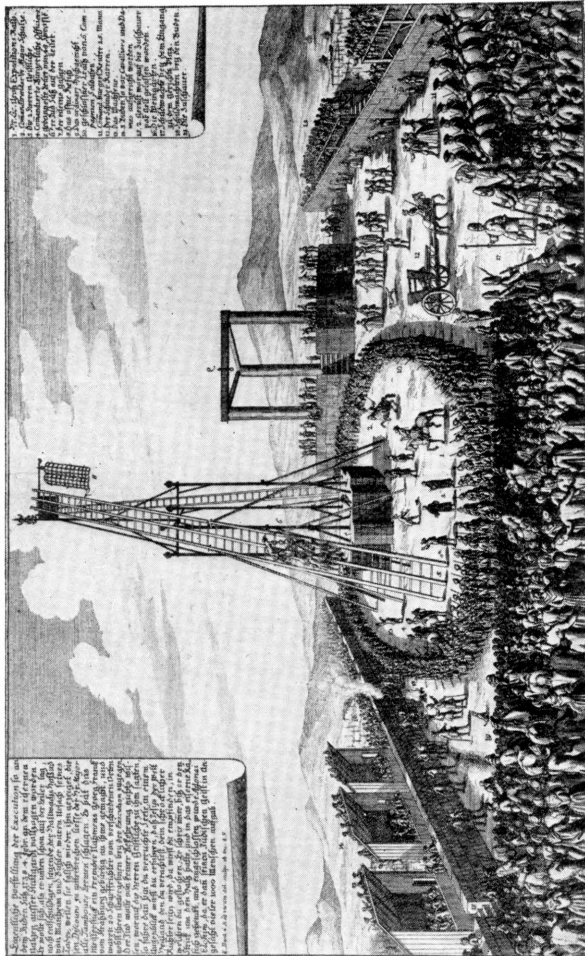


Medallion commemorating the execution of Jew Süß.

him "to have pity on his wretched soul." Süß cried, "The Court Jew of Mannheim (Pancorbo), Hallwachs, and Bühler are responsible for my death ; they have borne false testimony against me." Major Schulze, who was in charge of the troops on duty, had the drummers sound. Süß continued to cry his "Schma Isroel, Adonai elohenu, Adonai echod, Adonai hu hoelohim."

During the time that four executioner's assistants were pushing and pulling Süß up the ladder with its fifty-two rungs he struggled continually to defend himself, so that his wig fell to the ground. The crowd did not understand his words in Hebrew and made his "echod Adonai" into "nicht dahinein" ("not in there") or "Nicht allein" ("not alone"). The sounds of the drums drowned the sobbing of the women. When they had dragged Süß up as high as the cage Vicar Hoffmann, egged on by the crowd and thoroughly annoyed at the failure of his attempts at conversion, shouted after him the not very Christian remark, "Then go your way, you infamous wretch. In a moment you will find that Jesus, the Saviour of the World, whom you so basely despise, is to be your fearful judge. You will see with whom you have to deal."

Süß was forced into the cage, the hempen halter



THE EXECUTION OF JEW SÜSS

that was round his neck was drawn tight. When he had been throttled a chain was placed round his neck and the cage was locked. He was suspended higher than the real gallows because on one occasion during his imprisonment he is said to have made the remark that "They cannot hang me higher than the gallows." On a board were written the words :

"Look, in this bird-cage you may see
A villain, Süß the Jew, is he."

"Schaute, aus diesem Vogelhaus
Sieht Jud Süß, der Schelm, heraus !"

Then the crowd dispersed. Their vengeance had been wrought, the sacrifice had been made.

But justice had been outraged, and it has all the appearances of a retributive destiny that two decades later, in the reign of Duke Carl Eugen, all the crimes for which Süß had been executed were revisited on the people in an aggravated form ; his curse was being fulfilled.

On the evening of the day of the execution there were riotous times at Hohenasperg. Hallwachs and Remchingen had caroused deeply with their gaoler Glaser to celebrate the New Year. And now, on the day of Süß's death, they were again tippling merrily,

and Hallwachs was duly drunk. Their mood was rudely disturbed by the postillion who had driven Süss to his execution at Stuttgart, and had come back drunk. He called up to the prisoners from the courtyard, "They've just strung up one of you, now it's your turn, you blackguard, up there." But nothing of the kind happened. Hallwachs, Metz, and Bühler were set free after protracted detention in the fortress and were sent out of the country, that is to say they made their way to the neighbouring Imperial City of Esslingen. Scheffer even retained his title of Privy Councillor and remained in the country. Remchingen broke his parole and absconded.

This chapter may well be concluded with a lampoon commenting on the idea of the "bird-cage" in a drastic but not obscene manner, and is typical of the temper of the majority :

A Parting Benediction
By Virtue of Merit and Obligation,
For the occasion when that
Rare Bird, Joseph Süss,
On the 4th of February, 1738,
Was conducted out of the Princely Town
And Residency of Stuttgart
To be shut up in his cage.

Geleits-Seegen,
Nach Verdienst und Schuldigkeit,
Als der
Rare Vogel, Joseph Süß,
Den 4en. Febr. 1738
Aus der Fürstlichen Residenz-Stadt Stuttgart
hinaus geführt
Und in sein Kefig eingeschlossen wurde.

I

“Hinaus, ja ewiglich hinaus,
In dien bestelltes Vogel-Haus,
Rab, der du uns bisher bestohlen :
Hinaus ! Das Keffig ist gerüst,
Worinn der Vogel sicher ist,
Da wird ihn keine Katz mehr hohlen.

2

Schlupff, Habicht, in dein eisern Nest,
Raub-Vogel, Land-Dieb, Bürger-Pest,
Du bist nicht nur wohl aufgehoben,
Nein, sondern auch, wie du verdient,
Mit Würtemberg ganz ausgesöhnt,
So bald du in dein Nest geschoben.

3

Falck, Geyer, Schuhuh, Eulenbruth,
Die auch bey Nacht-Zeit mausen thut,

Hältst du dich noch nicht vor gefangen,
So stell doch hier dein Fangen ein,
Wo so viel muntre Fänger seyn,
Mit lauter eisern Leimen-Stangen.

4

Guckuck ! es ist nunmehr vorbey,
Du wirst hinfort kein fremdes Ey
In andrer Vögel Nester legen,
Vergeilter Spatz, hie kühle dich,
Hie wird kein Saltz nicht weiter sich
In deinen geilen Adern regen.

5

Wag, wüster Kautz, den letzten Flug,
Der mit Finessen und Betrug
Sich wie der Kautz, bey Nacht genähret.
Dein Wohn-Haus ist zur Tag und Nacht
Auf eine solche Daur gemacht,
Biss du dich in dir selbst verzehret.

6

Beug, wüster Widhopff, deinen Schopff,
Und sonst so prächtig tollen Kopff,
In dieses Haus, in diesen Rincken,
Dein Lob wird dannoch immerdar,
Wann du verweset gantz und gar,
Biss auf die spathe Nach-Welt stincken.

7

Pfau, der sich selbst nicht gekennt,
Wann dich das Blut am Fersen brennt,
Und du den rechten Fuss wirst zucken,
Dann kommst du etwa erst zu dir,
Und wirst dich, nach verlohrner Zier,
Vor deiner eignen Schande bucken.

8

Fleuch und komm nimmermehr herein,
Dein kefig soll dein Wohn-Hauss seyn,
Dein Sevi wird sich nicht beschwehren,
Und dich so bald die Tour vorbeý,
Als einen raren Papagay
Dem Teufel zum Praesent verehren."

I

" Away, away, for ever now
Into your bird-cage bespoken,
You who have robbed us in the past, you crow.
Away, the cage doth wait
Where the bird is for ever safe
Where no cat will find you act as bait.

2

Glide, oh hawk, to your iron nest,
National thief and bird of prey, burgher's pest,

In your eyrie safely stowed
When once raised up on high,
You've also paid as you deserve
Württemberg all that you owed.

3

Horned-owl, falcon, carrion-fry,
Who also prowl nocturnally,
If you don't deem yourself as caught,
Then here's your capture, realise,
Where with lime-stakes of best iron
So many hunters ply their sport.

4

Cuckoo, 'tis the end to-day,
Henceforth no stranger's egg you'll lay
In other birdie's nest.
Debauched sparrow, take your rest,
For here will no more muriate
Your naughty blood invigorate.

5

Soar up and try your last long flight
Who've fed yourself owl-like by night
By cunning and deceit.
Your dwelling-place by night and day
Is made to outlast and to stay
Till you have rotted quite away.

6

Hide your crest, oh naughty hoopoe,
And your mad but stately head,
In this house and from these bars' solidity
Will your name and fame loud stink
When you are rotten quite and dead,
Down through the later ages of posterity.

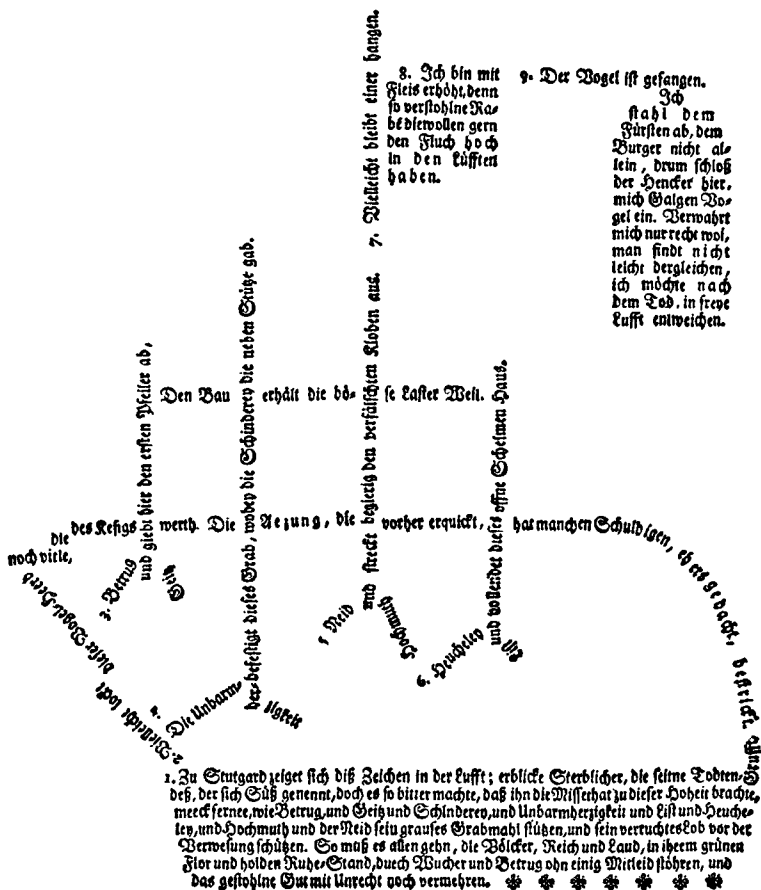
7

Peacock, when your heels grow hot
And your legs twitch in the air,
You, who knew not your true place,
Then you will come to yourself somewhat
Then for your shame will hide your face
And for lost plumage fine and rare.

8

Fly away, here do not come
Your cage shall be your long last home
Your Sevi¹ will not take you on,
And as soon as your trip is done
Will give you to Old Nick in homage
As a bird of curious plumage."

¹ Sabbathai Sevi, a sham Messiah, who caused a great stir, and died in 1676 a prisoner in the fortress of Dulcigno in Bosnia.

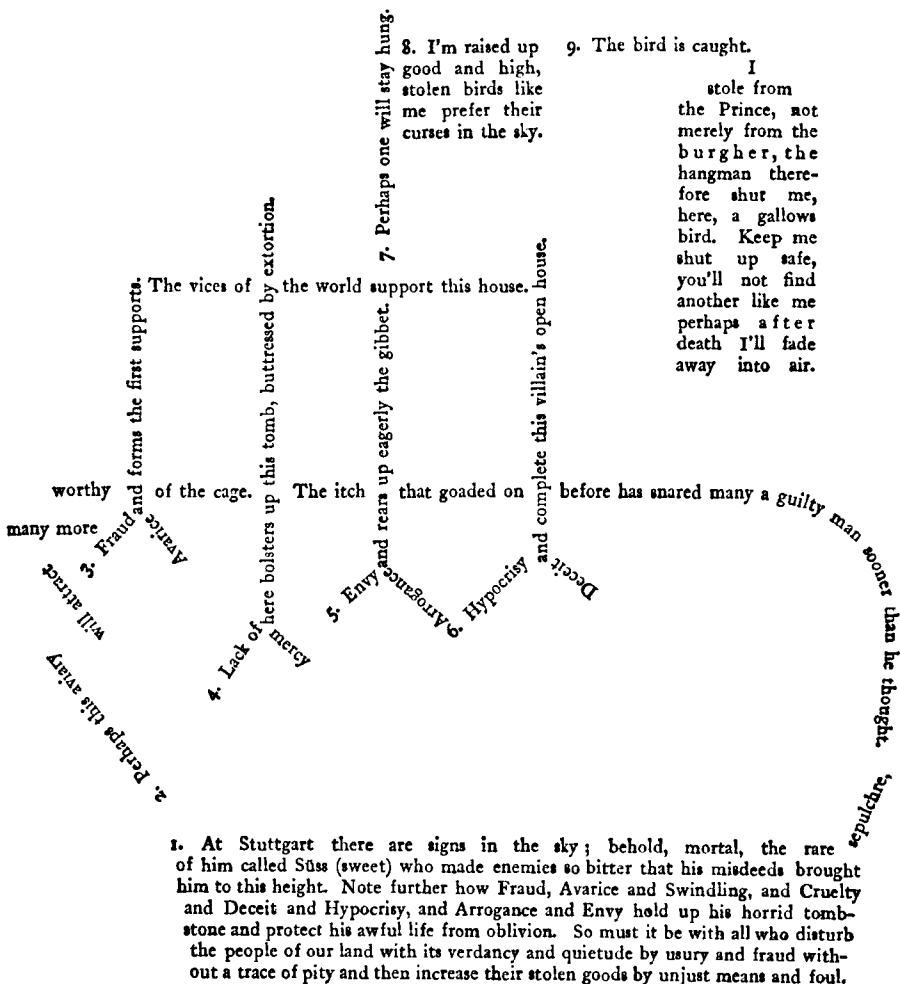


An interesting specimen of printing, 1738.

(The caption reads :)

An interesting specimen of printing, 1738. (Description of the life of Jew Süß, forming the shape of the gallows and the cage.)

(The actual printing reads :)



Jew Süss was dead but his ghost was not to find rest so easily. Lampoons, satires, and stories of his life in verse and in prose sprang up like mushrooms ; Carl Rudolph was in fact compelled to prohibit Deacon Heller from publishing the account of his attempts at converting Süss, after Pastor Rieger and Vicar Hoffmann had already put theirs into print. Fantastically illustrated biographies of Süss even appeared in French ; in them, for instance, one may see Süss being tortured in Hell by a fiend in the shape of a pig, and the picture reproduced in Plate XV, is also to be found with the text in French. Fragments of this book are preserved in the Ludwigsburg Heimatsmuseum. Hand-painted picture-puzzles illustrating Süss's rise and fall, were also a very popular form of amusement.

Süss's ghost was active in his cell in the fortress of Hohenasperg. Lieutenant Saint André insisted that he had heard rustlings in the straw of the dead man's cell and that he had also heard the rattling of chains. The playful officers fed this superstition by secretly concealing a grenadier in the cell and having him make ghostly noises in the night. Thus the dead Jew still provided amusement for the fortress.

But discretion too began to raise its voice. The

phrases with which Mögling prefaced his written defence contain a truth which the right-thinking members of the community could not continue to disregard for long. He had written: "If ever a servant of the Prince has truly served his master with assiduity, with faithfulness and zeal, with the devotion of his property, his goods, and his credit, nay, with his very person and to the full extent of his capacities, then it is surely he who is named as the accused in this case: If, too, on the other hand, a servant has sacrificed himself in this manner to the interest of the Prince and is imputed with crimes partly unfounded, partly unproven, and partly committed by other officials, then, alas, the before-mentioned accused is such an one, for as he has become involved contrary to all his engagements in a far-reaching case of judicial inquiry, then he cannot but perceive to his extreme dismay that he is held responsible not only for all the acts of his now-defunct Serene Highness but also for those done by the Councillors of the Prince and nationals of this country, and in addition he is imputed with fraudulent behaviour elsewhere and of having entered the Duchy as a bankrupt." Even during the course of the case the more honest citizens had hinted that the whole procedure was derogatory to

the country's prestige and that the scandalous way in which people were enriching themselves at the expense of Süß's fortune, could not but have a demoralizing effect in many circles of society. It was felt, with a certain sense of shame, that in Oppenheimer it was not so much the transgressor as the Jew whom they had punished. And the Imperial Counsellor to the Estates, the honourable and honest Jonann Jakob Moser, one of the best men in the country, said that "As many circumcised as uncircumcised, who for the most part are worse scoundrels than Süß, are still at liberty as free men and can go their ways unpunished." Pastor Rieger, a pious and straightforward man who had preached on the subject of the fall of Süß only on the Sunday before the execution, openly admitted that : "this man did not die as an Epicurean, he believed in God and the Holy Ghost, the immortality of the soul, and eternity. Was he not in this far better than many who are numbered among the multitude of Christians? Take heed lest this Jew do not damn you at the Judgment Day, he called on the name of the Lord with every breath until the end."

There is no doubt that Süß had been a bitter scourge to the patient Swabians, and one of which the pain was felt all the more acutely since the

country was still bleeding from the thousand wounds that had been dealt it by Eberhard Ludwig's love of show and his mistress's insatiable desire for money and dominion. Even if he suffered violence, whether he, who had only too willingly allowed himself to be used as a tool against the country, was being done an injustice in a higher sense, may be doubted from the point of view of the pillaged nation. But the Swabians with their incorruptible sense of justice, soon perceived that the victorious party had cast Süß forth as a sop for the devouring in order to divert attention from their own machinations and to consolidate themselves the more firmly in the seat of government. People gradually began to feel a certain shame for the unpleasant trial and the scandalous execution. It almost appears that the numerous lampoons, of which significantly enough, none appeared after 1738, had arisen in such a profusion to drown the voices of men's own guilty consciences.

Incidentally the theatre too seized on this sensational material. As early as 1738 a play had appeared, "The Justified Spirit of Jew Joseph Süß Oppenheimer in the Elysian Fields, or the Poor Scullion whom Fate, through a Cat, Brought to Honest Wealth and High Honours. Presented for

your Innocent Amusement as a Play with Forty Performers. Frankfurt, 1738." In this play Süß, the woman Fischer, and the false Messiah Sevi, appear on the stage loosely connected with the real plot. A manuscript theatre-bill of 1739 is preserved in the University Library at Tübingen which runs as follows :

With the most gracious Permission of a high
Authority, today, Friday the seventh of August,
1739, the High German Saxon Prince of Waldeck's
Privileged

Court Comedians

Present with Living Personages an excellent
Drama of High State, worthy of your attention,
entitled :

Joseph Süß Oppenheimer.

The Jew Joseph Süß Oppenheimer who
mounted the scaffold. How he was hung on the
Fourth of February, 1738, at Stuttgart on an
Iron Gallows in an Iron Cage 6 foot high.

With Jack Pudding and Harlequin.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. A comical Jew. | 1. An Adventurer and
Courier on a Don-
key. |
|-------------------|---|

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. A marvellous Inspector of Cards, Dice, Tobacco, Salt, and Lime. | 2. A long-suffering Con-
niver. |
| 3. A merry Beadle. | 3. A ridiculous Retailer
of Gallantries. |
| | 4. A boastful Execu-
tioner. |
| | 5. A brand-new Singer. |

And the following will be presented as characters :

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Pluto. | 5. Mater Suessa. |
| 2. Cerberus. | 6. Süß. |
| 3. Rhadamanthus. | 7. Harlequin. |
| 4. Proserpine. | |

In the Drama :

1. Süß, as Privy Finance Counsellor.
2. Hallwachs, as Counsellor to Commission.
3. Bieler (Bühler), as a Provincial Secretary.
4. Metz, as a National Commissary.
5. Salomon Isaac Levi, as Cashier.

6. Moses Drache, an Inspector of Cards and Tobacco.
7. Firnecranz, as Süß's Secretary.
8. Mademoiselle Fischer, as a lady of State.
9. Esther, as Süß's mother.
10. Amour, Harlequin's wife, as a Housekeeper.
11. Harlequin.
12. Isaac, a young Jew.
13.)
14. } Three Counsellors to Commission.
15. }
16. A Secretary of Commission.
17. A Captain.
18. Many Supernumeraries and Soldiers.

The Scenes are as follows :

1. The Plutonic Kingdom and the Gods of Hell.
2. Süß on a Sow.
3. A Court.
4. A Prison.
5. An Iron Gallows with a Cage.
6. View over the City of Stuttgart.

Between each act there will be dancing by Our Dancer.

Also for Your Better Delectation
A Tail-Piece composed of an amusing Farce.

The Drama will be presented in the Rooms of the Guild of Cloth Makers and will begin this afternoon punctually at the hour of 5. The Price is: for the Stalls 24 sols, for the Circle 12 sols. For the Gallery 8 sols.

N.B. It is announced that for certain reasons it was not possible to play Yesterday, but Today, friday the 7th. August, this Drama of State will definitely be presented.

.

The Jews, for whom Süß had made liberal provision in the form of benefactions, of fresh opportunities for immigration and settlement, of a kosher kitchen—all without prejudicing the other faiths—issued a queer printed “Manifesto of Canonisation,” by which, it is true, Süß was not pronounced a saint, for this idea is foreign to the Judaic cult, but he was to be included in the number of the Kedschim, that is to say those done to death for the Israelitish faith whose names are entered in the “Book of Memory,” the book of remembrance of

the community, and read out in the synagogue on one special day of remembrance.

This manifesto appears to have been very soon suppressed by Jewish quarters, but it is sufficiently interesting to be reprinted. It ran as follows, according to the translation by the lector Bernhard :

The Story
Of the Passing
Of the Blessed Joseph Süs.

Know that there was a man in the City of Stuttgart, in the country of Württemberg, who had acquired great wealth, wisdom and a high estate according to his heart's desire. His name was called Joseph Süs. He was very powerful with Prince Carl Alexander, his splendour and his power increasing day by day. But on the day that the before-mentioned Lord Duke died the above-mentioned Süs was made prisoner that same night at the Lord's command, and he was bound with iron fetters. He passed 11 months in prison guarded by soldiers in the great fortress of Hohenasperg ; Now his way of life and conduct towards God and man are known to all the world, but his judgment day and the time when he departed this life must firstly be made known to the generality and his name must be announced

that his fame be known to all Jewish communities, the holy man Joseph Süß, son of the R. Isachar Süsskind Oppenheimer, now with his fathers : his soul passed away calling on the Holy Name of God with the words : Echod, that is : One God Alone. His soul shall rest henceforth in the garden of Eden with other pious and penitent souls for all eternity, Amen, Amen. And by reason of his good works, that he died in the fullness of the faith and knew full and heartfelt repentance for the sins he had committed, let neither us nor any other Jews think any ill of him for as long as may be till our Messiah shall come :

Firstly from the New Year 4498 till the great day of his judgment in the fortress of Asperg he only partook of the bread of anguish and a little of the water of tribulation and no other victuals.

Secondly he fasted every day till towards evening and fasted every week for 2 or 3 days ; after Easter he only partook of bread, water, raw turnips and nothing else. But he, being a perfectly upright man, only revealed the reason before his passing, a reason which every reasonable man may imagine for himself ; In prison he conducted himself in such a way as is hard to believe ; on the ninth of February

(Jewish calendar) he was delivered up with an escort of soldiers 200 men strong, with fixed bayonets and rifles cocked, and in the company of an incredible host of people, and brought to the Mansion House in the Market Place, where all malefactors are lodged, and kept in custody with a guard of 20 men together with some officers and ensigns. And his transport to this prison was akin to a partial death, that day he neither asked for food nor for drink, but only for tea. On Friday, or the eve of the Lord's Sabbath, when the chapter Bescalach is read, his death sentence was announced to him and they refused to spare his life ; immediately afterwards three Cumarim, i.e. priests or idolatrous persons, came to his chamber and tried to seduce him from his faith ; Whereupon the blessed and Holy man fell at the feet of the Cumarim with outstretched hands and said with the greatest respect : Gentlemen, I beg of you to spare yourselves to ask that which you perhaps contemplate demanding of me, I will rather beg you that you will be so good as to return to your homes and since I have not much time left in which to reconcile myself with my Living God (Praise to Him and to His Holy Name), that you will not disturb me in my devotions ; which request they henceforth acceded to ; On the

following Sunday he asked for a prayer-book and for other books, which were sent to him, viz. R. Michel's Prayer-book and a book Tiphon Chazoth Lajela, out of which he used the high confession and repeated the prayer to God Praised and Blessed with great compassion, after praying he asked that the Kazin, i.e. R. Mardochai Schloss, and other Jews, might be allowed to attend on him, which request was granted by the gracious Authorities, and so the before-mentioned Kazin R. Mardochai went to him ; As soon as he had made his appearance, Süß fell on his neck, cried and wept copiously and then straightways entered into conversation with this R. Mardochai since time did not allow of him wasting the same in useless mundane words but he would be pleased to think of God and to know repentance for his sins ; And what the two further talked of secretly must remain secret, but I would wish that I might hear part of it from R. Mardochai ; What the two of them said at that time of him who was the prime mover of his death, I am forbidden to speak ; But it is easy to presume and as far as I myself know, I must confess that I know nothing of it. The reason moreover is concealed from me ; I can with honesty say that one could not have ink or pens enough neither to describe his passing from

this world nor to do justice to the anguish of my heart ; It may however be said with truth that for a long time there has not been in this world such a holy man as he. His last will was written down by the Secretary and other people who were present, Officers and all those who were present in the chamber, and the same redounds to his honour ; the reason being that the Holy Man continued, i.e. prayed to an end, and of all his possessions he gave some 3000 Imperial thalers to the Cumarim, i.e. priests, but the most part to the synagogues that Rabbis might learn on his behalf, and that an always burning light might be kept alight for him during a whole year ; in fine, I am not in a position to describe everything for you. His mother, brother and brother-in-law he endowed, being mindful of them ; and he remained completely and unalterably in possession of all his faculties ; He also besought R. Mardochai Schloss to write to all the holy synagogues immediately after his death to ensure that nothing ignominious nor sinful be said about his holy and pure soul but that they might tell all persons that he had died blessing the Name of God. He also feared that further executions might befall the Jews, but everything has gone well by the help of God ; and instead of there being persecution, as

had been thought, the very contrary has ensued and we have enjoyed an unspeakable peace from that time on. In future, God willing, will all be even more blessed. His soul left him with the words on his lips : Schemah Israel, Jehova¹ Elohenu, Jehova Echad ; he had to mount 52 rungs of the ladder leading up to the gallows and on each one he cried : The Lord is God ! Jehovah Hu Elohim ! In short, who can sufficiently recount his fame ; Today Hallwachs is to be delivered up and they say that he will be dealt with sharply. The pious and holy Joseph Süß (whose memory be for ever blessed) ordered before his death that everywhere where there are Jews his death should be announced in order that they might not exercise any undue arrogance and God to whom be praise might grant that all Israel be allowed to live on in peace until the Saviour shall come. Amen.

Rumour further had it that the corpse of Oppenheimer was stolen by Jews from Fürth in the night and was replaced by another body. The executioner, Jakob Christoph Neher, who executed Süß, had, however, to inspect the body on various

¹ This, the most exalted title of God, is never pronounced by pious Jews ; they read and say instead Adonai.

occasions. And the rumour is without any kind of support. In the documents of the Jewish communities at Stuttgart, Freudenthal, and also at Fürth where Süß is said to have been secretly interred, there is not the slightest foundation for the story. The Jews in the country were so intimidated by the execution of Oppenheimer and by the predominant Anti-Semitism, and had such good reason to look to their own welfare, that they certainly would have had more pressing business. The locks of the cage were moreover so solidly constructed that to have made a forcible entry without an oxy-acetylene flame would appear to have been hardly feasible. These stories must quite definitely be relegated to the realm of fiction.

The documents rather tend to show that Süß's remains hung in the cage for fully six years and were taken down from the gallows at the Duke's command by the same executioner, Neher, on May 19th, 1744, and were "buried in the ground and covered up at the foot of the same," in which care was to be taken that "such be accomplished without a great concourse of onlookers." The ironwork of the cage was, however, adapted and made into the railings of the balcony of a patrician's house, and was only broken up at the end of the nineteenth century.

It is strange what trouble the restless ghost of Süß caused even after his death. For the space of a year the executioner Neher had a complaint lodged in Court against a City beadle, one Streicher, who had appropriated the last effects of Süß, clothes, plate, and suchlike. Neher appears to have been content with the first adverse decision—people wanted to be finished with Süß. But not so his wife, Johanna Christina, *née* Grossholtz, who insisted on her bond with a positively astonishing energy and was continually presenting fresh memorials. It is easy to see who wore the trousers in the executioner's household by reading in the course of her last memorial of April 13th, 1739, “. . . A complete expensive bed, covered with green satin and with a green stuff counterpane, a green suit with small galloons, a chest, containing valuable white things and some more clothes that were not too worn. Not to mention various minor things all of which I cannot here enumerate. Which forcible action does not occur anywhere in the whole of Europe and it is held legal that a State or City beadle should appropriate or presume to take at the time of the last imprisonment of a criminal given over to trial on a capital charge, wherever such may be, whatever the malefactor has in the way of

clothes and other things ; all such by virtue of a very ancient practice obtaining from time immemorial, of clear and unmistakable tenor, in accordance with the High Prince's impost on capital crimes, is the property of the public executioner or hangman. And yet I have been and am again forced herewith to complain on account of the non-receipt of my dues, which unjust loss is sustained by me and my children and which I can all the less bear since such a duty is dangerous to life and limb, besides the reason of all kinds of rumours that they were going to steal the Jew in bad weather, and as it was most slippery and most perilous to mount the lofty gallows on various occasions, which had to be climbed and visited between eight and ten times ; nor less because this execution occasioned a great outlay and consumption, in meat alone cost me whole hundredweights, in wine one kilderkin, not to mention bread, suet, salt, butter, vegetables and other groceries, for which expense I had to lay out no little money, to say nothing of the execrably bad pay my husband receives. . . .”

Privy Secretary and Württemberg Councillor Pfau treats the whole business of Süß coolly and shrewdly in his treatise which bears the title, “History of the Allemanic (Württemberg) Court,

drawn up by Procopius Vassadiensis (Pfau von Dessau)," where he says, "It is true that Dulcis (Süss) had deserved this death for a long while ; but it also cannot be denied that in his trial not only obvious illegalities were committed and that he fell into the hands of impassioned enemies rather than of impartial judges, but also that much was done derogatory to the glory and renown of the defunct Orontes (Carl Alexander), which, if they had wished to be reasonable and not malicious, might well have been left undone ; but the genius of the nation is such that the people in this country are scurvily humble in adversity, but when all goes well with them they are presumptuous and unthinking. *Medium non datur.*

It would have been better to have kept Dulcem (Süss) in safe custody in a well-guarded fortress, after all his property had been confiscated, until the young Duke had attained his majority and could have given his verdict in the matter. They could have let him die, for Dulcis sought to achieve this in all sorts of ways ; he tried now to fast to death, and now he bit off his finger-nails to that end, and then made efforts to obtain poison, but in all he had no success. If they had finally cut off his head on Mons Cineris (Asperg), without making too much

fuss about it, it would have been more prudent than to have hung him on those adventurers' gallows in such circumstances of mockery."

The iron gallows that stood close by the most used City gate later became offensive to travellers, who felt the horrid affair offered a disagreeable welcome, and it was demolished in 1788 after numerous complaints had been lodged. Süß was the last criminal to breathe his last on those gallows.

History's backhanded sense of humour has not been behind its time in the case of Joseph Süß Oppenheimer. The Swabians, who wanted to be rid of their Jewish Finance Councillor at all costs, have erected a memorial to him by his trial and his grotesque execution ; they have themselves seen to it that the "Immigrant Jew"—even without Hauff's novel—should slip into an immortal place in the consciousness and the history of his country. Even as late as the second half of the nineteenth century it was known that his ghost was making its appearance in various places. And when a girls' school, the Katharinenstift, filled the notorious house in the Seestrasse with the harmless happy laughter of children, the ghost of Süß, said still to be walking, offered the teachers a welcome bogey and brake for high spirits.

In a few months the fine old house in the Seestrasse that marked the apogee of Süß Oppenheimer's adventurous life will have disappeared from the picturesque sights of Stuttgart—but the memory of this strange man will live long, not because he gave his Prince and master an only too willing service, and was a gambler of genius, a cynical sinner, a dangerous adventurer—but because, by a wealth of happiness and suffering, of willing and waiting and sin and repentance, his lot in life was what may be called in a certain sense of the word : a destiny.

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