Chapter 6

Toward a Transnational History of Racism: Wilhelm Marr and the Interrelationships between Colonial Racism and German Anti-Semitism

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For obvious reasons, research on racism in Germany has traditionally focused on anti-Semitism in general and the Holocaust in particular. Historians tended to explain German anti-Semitism as part of the country's separate path, or *sonderweg*, toward nationhood in the nineteenth century.[1] According to Christian Geulen, anti-Semitism in Germany represented a central "medium in the process of bourgeois-national self-understanding."[2] Despite a few attempts to go beyond this nation-centered perspective by comparing racist atrocities in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the German public as well as German historians tended to be skeptical of such endeavors. Above all, critics charged that historical comparisons harbored the danger of calling into question the "uniqueness" of and thus trivialize the Holocaust.[3] The last two decades have witnessed attempts to internationalize the Holocaust, however—a development that introduced new comparative and transnational perspectives to the historical analysis of racism. Nevertheless, this new scholarship continues to examine anti-Semitism in isolation, neglecting other forms of racist ideologies and practices.[4]

Although historians have recently begun to examine possible connections between anti-Semitism and colonial racism, they continue to focus on the Holocaust and tend to confine their research to ideological (usually linear) continuities between white colonial racism and "radical" (eliminatory) anti-Semitism.[5] This new line of interpretation aroused considerable opposition among German historians. Jürgen Zimmerer's theses concerning the continuities between the colonial crimes of the German Empire in Southwest Africa and the Nazi war of extermination in Eastern Europe[6]

have been subject to particularly harsh criticism.[7] Jeffrey Herf, for instance, argued that "radical anti-Semitism" could not be compared with anti-black racism, since in each case the perpetrators' aims, declared intentions, and ideological–pathological personality traits differed considerably.[8] Even though Herf rightly emphasizes certain unique aspects of the Holocaust, privileging the Shoah and the murderous intent of the perpetrators that led to it, he appears to diminish the deadly consequences of centuries of capitalist exploitation of black slaves.[9] Such a concentration on the uniqueness of the Holocaust tends to obscure our view of "the dynamic historical relations between the Holocaust and preceding genocides"[10] as Dirk Moses has pointed out, and, more importantly, of the various connections, interrelationships and transnational interactions between different racist discourses such as colonial and anti-Semitic racisms.

The debates about the connections between colonial racism and anti-Semitism reflect a long-established dichotomy between anti-black racism and racial anti-Semitism in the historiography of racism. Incidentally, this is true not only for German scholars, but also for U.S. historians, who tend to neglect anti-Semitism or consider it marginal. Influenced by these binaries, scholars of colonialism and anti-Semitism saw no need to develop a comparative and interdiscursive approach because of the general assumption that the two forms of racism, which were believed to differ fundamentally, were not suitable for comparison.

As Neil MacMaster and Robert Miles have pointed out, however, both anti-black racism and anti-Semitism are generally regarded as forms of racism, and should therefore be included in any conceptual framework that aims to analyze the development of modern racism.[11] MacMaster is highly critical of the argument of George Mosse and others that these two forms of racism were distinct from one another and geographically unconnected. Mosse argues that anti-black racism emerged only in Western European societies that came into contact with Africans within the context of imperial colonialism, while anti-Semitism was confined to Central and Eastern Europe, where Jews constituted a larger proportion of the population.[12] According to MacMaster, Mosse's analytic division of Europe into two zones of racial discrimination is flawed, since there was little empirical evidence for a correlation between societies' contact with minorities and the emergence of certain forms of racism in those societies. In Britain and France, for instance, powerful anti-Semitic movements emerged in the late nineteenth century, even though Jews constituted less than 1 percent of the two countries' populations. Similarly, racialized, anti-black stereotypes perme-

ated public discourse in Central and Eastern European societies, which had little or no part in colonial ventures.[13]

As suggested by MacMaster, comparative and transnational perspectives promise to shed new light on the complexities of the history of racist ideologies and practices in Europe. Of course, comparing colonial and anti-Jewish racism harbors certain dangers, including the likelihood of being confronted with debates about hierarchies of suffering and competing notions of victimhood among blacks and Jews. Ultimately, however, historians will have to transcend questions of "uniqueness" to fully comprehend the history of this phenomenon. Future research ought to explore how the threads of colonial racism spread throughout Europe, how they were adopted and transformed within different national and regional settings and constellations, and whether and how they were interrelated with early anti-Jewish discourses in the period 1700–1900. Clearly, such approaches must go beyond comparisons and analyze transfers, network constellations, and intersectionalities.[14] Conceptually, this transfer-centered perspective would have to distinguish between a *trans-European* dimension (transfers between European countries and their colonies), a *transnational* dimension (transfers within Europe), and an *interdiscursive* dimension (cross-fertilization of various racist discourses). Rather than narrowly focusing on the exchange of ideas, economic networks, or political institutional interdependence, this approach would have to explore the complex interplay of all these dimensions.

The following paragraphs seek to put this approach into practice, focusing on Wilhelm Marr, the "founding father" of German racial anti-Semitism. Marr's story suggests that transfers of colonial racism into anti-Jewish discourses played a significant role in the development of German anti-Semitism. Until now, scholars of anti-Semitism have failed to consider the significance of Marr's travels in former colonial countries in North and South America. A close reading of his papers reveals that his experience with slavery, racial segregation, and indentured servitude contributed to the transformation of Marr's beliefs about race and politics. In fact, Marr's "colonial experience" became a decisive factor in his metamorphosis from a radical democrat and religious anti-Judaist to a racial anti-Semite.[15]

Wilhelm Marr was born in 1819 in Magdeburg and died in 1904 in Hamburg, having been a citizen of the German Reich for about a generation. A trained merchant, journalist, and political activist, Marr was not only one of the central founding figures of modern anti-Semitism in Ger-

many, but he was also a radical democrat and revolutionary of 1848. Like Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Börne, he was part of the revolutionary "Young Germany" movement, which advocated Republican ideas resembling those of the French Revolution. Despite being an adherent of the cult of individualism, Marr frequently corresponded with Wilhelm Weitling, one of the fathers of German Socialism, and used communist idioms when addressing such issues as class and property.[16] His book *Young Germany in Switzerland: The History of Secret Associations in Our Days*, which was published in 1846, became a bestseller and made Marr a well-known personality in Germany and Europe.[17] In 1852, disappointed with the failure of the 1848 revolution, Marr migrated to Central America, where he lived, with only a short interruption, until 1860.[18]

A few years after his return to Germany, Wilhelm Marr publicly renounced his democratic ideals and presented himself to a surprised public as a radical anti-Semite. Looking back, he rightly called himself the "patriarch of anti-Semitism," having coined the term that later became the sine qua non of international vocabulary. Interestingly, the neologism "Antisemitismus" (anti-Semitism) first appeared on 2 September 1879, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des deutschen Judentums* (General Newspaper of German Jewry), which mentioned an advertisement published by Marr for an "anti-Semitic weekly."[19] Even though he has been considered the creator of the term anti-Semitism ever since, Marr had actually announced the publication of a "social policy" or "anti-Jewish" weekly, not an "anti-Semitic" one. It was apparently the newspaper's editors who switched the terms. At the end of September 1879, Marr, having adopted the term, called for the founding of an "*Antisemiten-Liga*" (League of Anti-Semites). This organization contributed significantly to the popularity of the term anti-Semitism, which was used in countless pamphlets and became a staple of public discourse.[20]

Two main factors appear to have contributed to Marr's evolution into an anti-Semitic racist. On the one hand, Marr was influenced by various late-nineteenth-century philosophers that sought to undermine Christianity, Christian society, and the conservative social order, the most prominent of whom were materialist philosopher Ludwig A. Feuerbach and German theologian Bruno Bauer. Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), for instance, attacked Judaism along with Christianity. He demanded that both religions, which he regarded as backward, be abandoned in the name of emancipation.[21] Feuerbach maintained that materialism and egoism were the main flaws of Judaism, a critique that would play a critical role in Marr's anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic writings.

On the other hand, Marr was influenced by his travels in North and South America, which contributed to the fusion of religious anti-Semitism and colonial racism in his modern anti-Semitic ideology. Biographers of Marr, including Moshe Zimmermann and Paul Lawrence Rose, largely ignore this formative period or downplay its significance later in his life.[22]

By contrast, Marr's contemporaries acknowledged these connections from the very beginning. Each time he published a new anti-Jewish pamphlet, for instance, he was officially accused of having been engaged in slave trading. In reality, Marr, having resumed his merchant career, brought German indentured servants to Costa Rica. These immigrants, who planned to settle permanently in the country, were first committed by contract to work ten hours per day for a period of two years. However, the conditions offered by Costa Rica, a country that had gained independence only five years earlier and sought white workers from Europe, were apparently criticized by the *Berlin Central Society for Colonialization*. This criticism led to the later accusation of Marr being a "slave trader," charges he repeatedly denied.[23]

In 1863 Marr published his two-volume *Journey to Central America* (*Reise nach Central-America*) as part of his memoirs dealing with the years of 1852–1860. Marr's travelogue is written in the typical form of a chronological report based on personal experience, which, as the author implies to his reader, is derived from a letter to a prematurely departed friend, a narrative strategy used to attest to the impartiality, naturalness, and authenticity of the narrated impressions.[24]

A presentation of his first encounter with the African-American population in New York is followed by the detailed description of the voyage. Marr's text fits the common pattern in numerous popular cultural texts on the role and social status of the black population, which gives an overriding impression of America.[25] "Seeing black men for the first time," African-American writer James Baldwin observed, can be considered a primordial scene of trans-cultural contact, which is subject to a kind of cultural adaptation already in the travelogues by constructing a relation between "the self" and "the other."[26] The portrayal of blacks in travel literature is thus directly related to the "self-reflexive description of a new [own] identity."[27] Codifications of "the self" and "the other" are embedded in a process of narrative negotiation, which often undergoes changes, shifts and re-codifications within the individual texts. This is also true with regard to Marr's work, which compares Germany's white lower classes with African-Americans:

Fare well, poor compatriot! But here, there is a class of people whose fate is not preferable to yours ... They are the coloured. With moral indignation I read the words 'coloured people admitted' on a carriage of Harlem-Rail-Road. For I have learned by heart the 'Déclaration des droits de l'homme' during confirmation classes, and the thermometer of my admiration for the freest people on Earth decreased by some degree when I read the caste-like etiquette stated on the rail car.[28]

Marr viewed the "coloured" as being on a par with the white proletarians in Germany. He integrated them into his previous worldview as equals within the context of his socialist fight for the liberation of the working class. Noticing the strict segregation of "races" in public transportation, Marr changed his view of American society, which from then on appeared as the radical other. Having formerly perceived the North Americans as the "freest people on Earth," he now shows his disappointment about the openly practiced violation of African-Americans' civil rights (*droits de citoyen*).[29] In his narrative, Marr emphasized his commitment to different ideals, which, according to him, were a consequence of his German socialist background: "I had learned from books that there is a clear borderline between the coloured and the white in the South, in Louisiana and other states, but here, in enlightened New York, that every Negro is a free person even if he is not allowed to be a free person: such conventions directly violate the droits de citoyen—I had not expected this!"[30]

In order to prove his commitment to full equality, Marr describes how he enters the railroad carriage reserved for "coloured ladies and gentlemen." He responds to the disapproving look of the driver by calling out the revolutionary slogan of fraternity. At the same time, Marr questions his own act of civil disobedience, later dismissing the ideals of fraternity as being pure "philosophizing" and finally calling the initiative a "false investment." Marr's ideals appear to be shattered in the face of what he perceives as insurmountable physical disparities. He ascribes the smell "of ten muskrats" to the "Blacks" sitting opposite him, a situation that resolves the author to "stay put in this philanthropic situation only until the next street corner" and, in the end, to walk the rest of the way on foot. "If you love your fellow human beings," Marr explains his decision, "it does not mean that you have to smell them; my heart beats for everyone, but my nose is my property, despite Proudhon."[31] Later, however, "With the fresh air," his "philanthropism returned, of course," and Marr prepared a speech "on the equality of all human beings" that he presented to friends on the same day.[32]

Some four or five months later, Marr traveled to Central America. By the time he arrived in Nicaragua, his emphatic support of equality and fraternity had given way to an ideology that drew radical distinction between various groups of people and relied on "racial" lineages to classify them. For example, Marr described people whose ancestry was equally divided between Native American and African-American in an extremely negative way, exclusively characterizing them with animal analogies: "One third tiger, one third monkey and the last third pig formed the deformed human shape of the Nicaraguan Zambo."[33] His initial fear of these people first evolves into curiousness before giving way to a feeling of disgust. Marr now explicitly questions "the fraternal elective affinity [*Wahlverwandtschaft*] put forward by our European ideologists."[34] Abjuring his socialist ideals, Marr concludes in his narrative: "It would really be a pity … if it were true that *all human beings are brothers*."[35] Obviously Marr's narrating alter ego has undergone a fundamental change, which is directly linked with his immersion in a racialized society and categories of colonial hierarchical formation.[36]

The necessity of finding one's own position in this social context clearly contributed to a modification of Marr's former democratic and egalitarian attitude. The reader can observe the German immigrant's integration into American society particularly on account of his disregard and debasement of the Afro-American (and "mixed") population, as Toni Morrison and others have stated. This contributed to the creation and the perpetuation of a racist hierarchy as a consensus of society as a whole, not only in America but also in the country to which Marr brought his experiences: Germany of the 1860s. Contact with the system of colonial racist discourse contributed greatly to Marr's transformation from a radical democrat to a racial anti-Semite.[37]

In order to understand fully the evolution of Marr's thinking, however, we need to consider the processes of adaptation that fused racist and religious anti-Jewish discourses. Marr's first anti-Jewish pamphlet, which appeared before his memoirs, was not published by himself but by a former friend and fellow democrat, Friedrich August Hobelmann, a supporter of Jewish emancipation. Hobelmann sought Marr's support for a law that would have granted equal rights to the Jews of Bremen, but Marr's response of 4 June 1862 dashed Hobelmann's hopes. Apparently, Marr anticipated a strong reaction, and the text suggests that he deliberately provoked it, since he mentioned at the very beginning of his letter that he would not object to Hobelmann using or even publishing his remarks to spark a debate "among honest men."[38] Hobelmann was indeed outraged and published Marr's response only nine days later. It appeared in the form of an open let-

ter in the supplement of the German newspaper *Courier an der Weser* and marked the beginning of Marr's career as an anti-Semitic ideologue.

In his letter, Marr's anticlerical approach reveals implicit anti-Jewish dimensions. Marr claimed that as long as the Church was not separated from the state, Jewish emancipation would only be a component of the distorted and unenlightened system of church–state relations.[39] This view appears to have been influenced by Bruno Bauer, who wrote in one of his essays: "We must be free ourselves before we think of inviting others [Jews] also to take part in freedom."[40] But Marr faced a dilemma. His attacks on religion did not provide sufficient justification for his increasingly radical distinctions between Jews and non-Jews in his writings.[41] Marr, in the words of Zimmerman, therefore used "a better method for distinguishing between being a Jew and non-Jew, a method relating to *race*."[42] He began to fuse his anticlerical approach with racial categories. For the first time, Marr invoked racial arguments to deny that Jews were capable of integration: "I believe that Judaism, because of its racial particularity [*Stammeseigentümlichkeit*], is incompatible with our political and social life. It must, because of its inner nature, seek to build a state within a state."[43]

From the outset Marr's racializing of the Jews is interwoven with anti-black categories. One quite obvious example can be found in his comparison of the granting of rights to the Jews in Bremen to the granting of rights to apes: "You would not permit ten thousand monkeys to settle in Bremen," Marr claimed in the letter to Hobelmann. Categories of colonial racism were thus adopted and transferred into a (newly created) discourse of modern anti-Semitism. Tellingly, in the same letter no other pair of opposites seems to express the radicalism of the chasm between "orientalized" Jews and his own racial group better than the contrast between black and white: "The oriental element [of Judaism] is politically and socially incompatible with ours, just as black and white will never produce a color other than gray."[44]

In the aftermath of the public outcry that his letter had provoked in Germany, Marr elaborated on his anti-Jewish ideas in *Der Judenspiegel* (The Mirror of the Jews).[45] In this hastily written book, which was published in June 1862, he drew an even more explicit connection between "Jews" and "Blacks," claiming that "Negro blood" could also be found within the Jewish body.[46] This argument extended the strong European tradition, dating back to the Middle Ages or even Hellenistic times, that Jews were "black" or at least swarthy[47]—while simultaneously indicating a significant shift from the color of the (outer) skin to the color of the inner nature: the

blood.[48] "Inner blackness" is a construction that appears to have made the invisible differences of the (highly integrated) German Jews more plausible. According to MacMaster, "Blacks" functioned as the "basic model of the inferior racial Other," which was used to "blacken" and racialize the Jews from 1860 onwards[49]—not unlike and interrelated with the "essentializing" strategies of gender describing the Jews as effeminate. The formation of anti-Semitic discourse was thereby not only accompanied by a growing tendency to define national identity in racial terms[50] (in which the Jews were defined as the internal Other), but also—as MacMaster pointed out—by a simultaneous shift within the colonial anti-black discourse, which followed the violent partition of the "Dark Continent" at the end of the nineteenth century and the American Civil War.[51]

Marr's long article "Toward an understanding of the Events in North America"[52] also addressed the issue of "Blacks," this time with reference to slavery. The text appeared in the newspaper *Freischütz* in February 1863, a few months after the publication of *Der Judenspiegel*, and after the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861. Marr's interpretation of U.S. society was understood by the German public as a defense of slavery. According to Jacob Audorf, an activist of the international labor movement, Marr claimed that "the Negroes are closer to beasts than to human beings."[53] Following an almost identical structure of composition, Marr also ascribed inferior physical characteristics to Jews and quoted from *The Jews and the German State* (1859), a book written by the well-known anti-Semitic author Heinrich Naudh (a.k.a. Heinrich Nordmann).[54]

The ways in which Marr addressed the "racial issue" led his critics to compare him to white supremacists in the American South. One anonymous liberal stated: "Marr despises the 'race' of the Jews … just as a pure-blooded Southern Yankee despises the colored race, and any person in whose veins flows even one drop of African blood."[55] As a self-confident liberal, he asserted that "Marr's attempt to find supporters for the American South's Yankeeism here, in Germany, is doomed to failure … [and that] we have already gone beyond the stage of fine distinctions between humans on the basis of 'races' and 'religions.'"[56] Marr finally lost the respect he had enjoyed among the democratic-radical community in his adopted home Hamburg and gave up his political posts.[57]

This complex shift toward racial anti-Semitism becomes condensed in the figure of the "black" Jew, who stands for the system of racial hierarchy itself. For Marr, Jews now not only became something akin to "primitive black tribes" and primates; he also criticized them as the inventors of slav-

ery and mass executions (a reference to the Old Testament), in order to legitimate depriving them of their civil rights in a new (non-religious) manner: "That race which under Joseph's ministry introduced slavery, which under Mordechai's ministry committed mass slaughter of men, which even to this day celebrates the memory of these horrors in the political Purim festival, is not entitled … as Jews to equal civil rights."[58]

In his early anti-Semitic texts Marr's arguments made reference to several other discourses, including religious, biological, and cultural ones.[59] The simultaneous "racialization" and combination of traditionally religious, ethnological, and politico-economical critical strands of argumentation reveals the multilayered process of construction of racial anti-Semitism *in nuce*. Consequently, Marr's texts should not be read as confused and contradictory, but can be regarded as an obvious effort to unite and transform diverse discursive strands into one single anti-Semitic discourse. It is above all this process of transformation that makes Marr's work so instructive for studying the shift toward racial anti-Semitism. In these texts he inscribes both the "racial knowledge" he acquired overseas and the virulently anti-Semitic discourses of his immediate environment.

This becomes evident when we examine Marr's justification for his resistance to Jews in Bremen. He cites traditionally religious arguments, while refuting them at the same time.[60] Then he goes on to claim that Jews are simply a social rather than a religious group, only to remark later that Jews were a type of "tribe" (*Stamm*) with specific traits, which he describes earlier in the text as "racial" characteristics. But when Marr claims that "the Jews" are solely interested in maximizing their own profits, he uses religious, social, *and* political arguments. He regards religion as both cultural product and social (racial) nature, inextricably intertwined in the political realm, a combination that Marr regarded as extremely dangerous: "Religiously they are commanded to do so, socially this is their nature, politically this is a consequence of both."[61]

Of course, one did not have to travel to America in order to encounter colonial racism and racial theories. In other parts of Europe, people also worked intensively on similar processes of adapting colonial racism to different discursive and social fields. For example, the British race theorist Robert Knox claimed that the concept of "race" should not only be seen as connected to "Negroes, Hottentots, Red Indians and savages," but as detached from the colonial setting and thus part of inner-European contexts.[62] Racial differences between European nations were, according to Knox, just as important as colonial race distinctions.[63]

Categories of colonial racisms were thus increasingly transferred into inner-European processes of group formation, be it the nation as a whole or other social and ethnic groups inside the nation such as workers, anti-socials, homosexuals, or Jews. The real difference distinguishing the time after 1860 from the preceding period is not biologization, even if it became much more dominant, but the trend toward the multiplication of *one* European race into numerous inner-white racisms. To analyze the relationships between these different forms of race discourses (each with their complex net of intertwined patterns of legitimization) remains a future task for further academic research to tackle.

Notes

1. See Jürgen Kocka, "Asymmetric Historical Comparison: The Case of the German Sonderweg," *History and Theory* 38 (1999): 40–50.

2. Christian Geulen, *Geschichte des Rassismus* (Munich, 2007), 88.

3. See Rudolf Augstein, ed., *Historikerstreit: Die Dokumentation der Kontroverse um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistischen Judenvernichtung* (München, Zürich, 1987); Dan Diner, ed., *Ist der Nationalsozialismus Geschichte? Zu Historisierung und Historikerstreit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987).

4. For a review of the comparative research on Fascism during the last 15 years, see Roger Griffin and Matthew Feldman, *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, 5 vols. (London and New York, 2004); Aristotle A. Kallis, ed., *The Fascism Reader* (London and New York, 2003). See also Sven Reichardt's recent essay "Neue Wege der vergleichenden Faschismusforschung," *Mittelweg* 36, no. 1 (2007): 9–25, which traces the "third wave" of comparative research on fascism that emerged in the early 1990s in Great Britain and the United States but has only recently enriched discussions in Germany.

5. The study of German colonial history began around the same time. Formerly this episode of German history was considered largely irrelevant and inconsequential, a view that has fundamentally changed in the past decade. This change resulted from a growing impact of Anglo-American postcolonial studies and confrontation with the issues of globalization, which encouraged the academic study of the subject and awakened public interest in the topic. See Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, eds., *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt, 2002). In the context of dealing with the German colonial past, anti-black (or -white) racism also became the focus of attention. An increasing number of studies on colonial racist discourses and practices have been published in the past few years, focusing specifically on the period of the German Kaiserreich and the first half of the twentieth century. See

Frank Becker, *Rassenmischehen–Mischlinge–Rassentrennung: Zur Politik der Rasse im deutschen Kolonialreich* (Stuttgart, 2004); Anette Dietrich, *Weiße Weiblichkeiten: Konstruktion von 'Rasse' und Geschlecht im deutschen Kolonialismus* (Bielefeld, 2007); Sara Friedrichsmayer et al., eds., *Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and its Legacy* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998); Pascal Grosse, *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850–1918* (Frankfurt, 2000); Gudrun Hentges, *Die Schattenseiten der Aufklärung: Die Darstellung von Juden und "Wilden" in den philosophischen Schriften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Schwalbach/Ts., 1999); Birthe Kundrus, ed., *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt, 2003); Frank Oliver Sobich, *"Schwarze Bestien, rote Gefahr:" Rassismus und Antisozialismus im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006). In the meantime, the first results of substantial research on the history of Afro-Germans and "blacks" in Germany and Europe have become available. See Fatima El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche: Der Diskurs um "Rasse" und nationale Identität, 1890–1933* (Frankfurt, 2001). Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewusstsein der Deutschen* (Hamburg, 2001); Sandra Maß, *Weiße Helden, schwarze Krieger: Zur Geschichte kolonialer Männlichkeit in Deutschland, 1918–1964* (Köln, 2006).

6. Jürgen Zimmerer, "Die Geburt des 'Ostlandes' aus dem Geiste des Kolonialismus. Die nationalsozialistische Eroberungs- und Beherrschungspolitik in (post-)kolonialer Perspektive," *Sozial.Geschichte* 19, no. 1 (February 2004); Jürgen Zimmerer, "Holocaust und Kolonialismus: Beitrag zu einer Archäologie des genozidalen Gedankens," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003): 1098–119; see also Philipp Ther, "Imperial Instead of National History: Positioning Modern German History on the Map of European Empires," in *Imperial Rule*, edited by Alexei Miller and Alfred Rieber (Budapest, 2004): 47–68; David Blackbourn, "Das Kaiserreich transnational: Eine Skizze," in *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871–1914*, edited by Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel (Göttingen, 2004), 302–24; Janntje Böhlke-Itzen, *Kolonialschuld und Entschädigung: Der deutsche Völkermord an den Hereros, 1904–1907* (Frankfurt, 2004).

7. See Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski, "Der Holocaust als „kolonialer Genozid"? Europäische Kolonialgewalt und nationalsozialistischer Vernichtungskrieg," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 33 (2007): 439–66; Pascal Grosse, "What Does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism? A Conceptual Framework," in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, edited by Eric Ames et al. (Lincoln, 2005): 115–34; Birthe Kundrus, "Kontinuitäten, Parallelen, Rezeptionen: Überlegungen zur 'Kolonialisierung' des Nationalsozialismus," *Werkstattgeschichte* 43 (2006): 45–62; Birthe Kundrus, "Von den Herero zum Holocaust? Einige Bemerkungen zur aktuellen Debatte," *Mittelweg* (2005): 82–91; Birthe Kundrus, "Von Windhoek nach Nürnberg? Koloniale 'Mischehenverbote' und die nationalsozialistische Rassengesetzbebung," in *"Phantasiereiche": Der deutsche Kolonialismus aus kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, edited by Birthe Kundrus (Frankfurt, 2003), 110–

31; Gesine Krüger, "Coming to Terms with the Past," *GHI Bulletin* 37 (2005): 45–49; Gesine Krüger, *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewusstsein: Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des deutschen Kolonialkrieges in Namibia, 1904–1907* (Göttingen, 1999): 62–69.

8. In the one case, according to Herf, we find the "mere" will to exploit, and in the other, a "paranoid" will to exterminate. Jeffrey Herf, "Comparative Perspectives on Anti-Semitism: Radical Anti-Semitism in the Holocaust and American White Racism," *Journal of Genocide Research* 9, no. 4 (2007): 575–600.

9. See Dirk Moses, "The Fate of Blacks and Jews: A Response to Jeffrey Herf," *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 2 (2008): 1–19.

10. Dirk Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," *Patterns of Prejudice* 36, no. 4 (2002): 19.

11. Neil MacMaster, *Racism in Europe, 1870–2000* (Houndmills, 2001): 1–12; Neil MacMaster, "'Black Jew–White Negro': Anti-Semitism and the Construction of Cross-Racial Stereotypes," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 6, no. 4 (2000): 65–82; Robert Miles, *Race after "Race Relations"* (London, 1993); Robert Miles, "Explaining Racism in Contemporary Europe," in *Racism: Modernity and Identity on the Western Front*, edited by Ali Rattansi and Sally Westwood (Cambridge, 1993), 189–221; See also Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, 1996): 205–23; Bryan Cheyette, "White Skin, Black Masks: Jews and Jewishness in the Writings of George Eliot and Frantz Fanon," in *Cultural Readings of Imperialism: Edward Said and the Gravity of History*, edited by Keith Ansell-Pearson, Benita Parry, Judith Squires (London, 1997), 106–9.

12. George Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (London, 1978), 56, 70; MacMaster, *Racism in Europe*, 5.

13. MacMaster, *Racism in Europe*, 5.

14. For examples of this type of scholarship, see Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad ,and Oliver Janz, eds., *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen, 2006); Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt, 1871–1914* (Göttingen, 2004); Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–99; Elsa Dorlin, *La matrice de la race: Généalogie sexuelle et coloniale de la nation française* (Paris, 2006); Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, "Die Geschichte Europas als vergleichende Geschichtsschreibung," *Comparativ* 14, no. 3 (2004): 83–97; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Geschichte und Vergleich: Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung* (Frankfurt, 1996); Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., *Vergleich und Transfer: Komparatistik in den Geschichts-, Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt, 2003); Michael Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 547–65; Cornelia Klinger and

Gudrun-Axeli Knapp, "Achsen der Ungleichheit–Achsen der Differenz: Verhältnisbestimmungen von Klasse, Geschlecht, 'Rasse'/Ethnizität," *Transit. Europäische Revue* 29 (2005): 72–96; Matthias Middell, "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik: Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis," *Comparativ* 10 (2000): 7–41; Francesca Miller "Feminisms and Transnationalism," *Gender & History* 10 (1998): 569–80; Jürgen Osterhammel, "Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Erweiterung oder Alternative?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27 (2001): 464–79; Kiran Klaus Patel, *Nach der Nationalfixiertheit. Perspektiven einer transnationalen Geschichte* (Berlin, 2004); Philipp Ther, "Beyond the Nation: The Relation Basis of a Comparative History of Germany and Europe," *Central European History* 36 (2003): 45–73. For a review of relevant previous work, see Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, eds., *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2003), 181–97; Peter Mandler, *History and National Life* (London, 2002); Donald R. Kelly, "Grounds for Comparison," *Storia della Storiografia* 39 (2001): 3–16.

15. See Susanne Zantop, *Kolonialphantasien im vorkolonialen Deutschland (1770–1870)* (Berlin, 1999).

16. Moshe Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1986), 15; Paul Lawrence Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany From Kant To Wagner* (Princeton, 1990), 278.

17. Wilhelm Marr, *Das Junge Deutschland in der Schweiz: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geheimen Verbindungen unserer Tage* (Leipzig, 1846).

18. A Germany with a monarch such as Frederick William IV, the Prussian king, would be, according to Marr, a monarchical-barbaric Germany, which led him to temporary particularism; a republic not embracing all Germany would be preferable to a Germany without a republic. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 27.

19. When exactly the catchphrase "anti-Semite" arose remains controversial. While the majority of scholars attribute the popularization of the term to Wilhelm Marr or his circle (See Werner Bergmann, *Geschichte des Antisemitismus*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 2006), 6; Peter G.J. Pulzer, *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich, 1867–1914* (Göttingen, 2004), 19; Sven Brömsel, "Antisemitismus," in *Nietzsche Handbuch. Leben–Werk–Wirkung*, edited by Henning Ottmann (Stuttgart, 2000), 184; Annette Hein, *"Es ist viel 'Hitler' in Wagner": Rassismus und antisemitische Deutschtumsideologie in den Bayreuther Blättern (1878–1938)* (Tübingen, 1996), 123; Otto Ladendorf, *Historisches Schlagwörterbuch: Ein Versuch* (Strasbourg and Berlin, 1906), 7.), Cornelia Schmitz-Berning dates the first appearance of the word "Antisemit" to the year 1822 and Hein to 1860, while the *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* (1913–1988) dates it to 1875. The word "antisemitisch" could be found in the 1865 *Staatslexikon* by Rotteck and Welcker. This was an isolated instance, however, which had no lasting impact, much like the appearance of the word "unsemitisch" that same year in the *Staatswörterbuch* by Bluntschli and Berater. The Jewish scholar Moritz Steinschneider had already called the French historian and philologist Ernest Renan to task for his "anti-Se-

mitic prejudices" in 1860. Also see Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany*, 288; Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, X.

20. The young Berlin secondary school teacher Ernst Henrici, in turn, was the first politician to popularize Marr's racially orientated propaganda and the "Anti-semiten-Liga." Together with Bernhard Förster, a fellow teacher and Nietzsche's brother-in-law, and Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, he organized the *Anti-semiten-Petition*, which was submitted to Otto von Bismarck in April 1882 and bore two hundred and twenty-five thousand signatures, mainly from northern and eastern Prussia. See Pulzer, *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich*,140–41.

21. Ludwig A. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipzig 1841), new ed. by Erich Thies. Feuerbach's collected writings in 6 vols.; vol. 4 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1971) (English: The Essence of Christianity, 1855).

22. Both Zimmermann and Rose extensively discuss Marr's political conflicts with liberal Jews but only briefly mention his stay in Costa Rica and ignore the connections between Marr's time spent abroad and his turn toward racism. See Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*; Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany*. See also Pulzer, *Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland und Österreich*,105–6. He cites "economic conditions and the political climate" as the central reasons for Marr's rebirth as an anti-Semite. In addition, Marr's decision "to shift the fight against the Jews from the religious to the racial field" was, as Pulzer elucidates, a "clever move: ... [G]iven the growing indifference towards religion among the middle and working classes, an appeal to rally in defense of Christianity was unlikely to evoke an enthusiastic reaction. The element of the pseudo-scientific, the topical and seemingly objective and dialectical sides of this tinpot Darwin rendered this new approach attractive to those who believed they had outgrown the childish trappings of traditional Christianity. Marr deliberately rejected all motifs of religious intolerance." Zimmermann, apart from his otherwise lucid political contextualization of Marr's biography, prefers speculating on the role played by Jewish and "half-Jewish" women in forming Marr's immense hatred of the Jews. According to Zimmermann, Marr drew from one of his marriages, which ended in divorce in 1877, "the insurmountable central point of his racism: that pure racial characteristics (his second wife) were preferable to mixed race (his first and third wives)." See Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 46, 70–73, quote on 71.

23. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 35.

24. The report avoids specific dates but, according to the author, it refers mainly to Marr's experiences during the first year of his stay in America in the early 1850s.

25. Heike Paul, *Kulturkontakt und Racial Presences: Afro-Amerikaner und die deutsche Amerika-Literatur, 1815–1914* (Heidelberg, 2005), 30.

26. Ibid., 2.

27. Ibid., 8; Ulla Haselstein, *Die Gabe der Zivilisation: Kultureller Austausch und literarische Textpraxis in Amerika, 1682–1861* (Munich, 2000), 19.

28. Wilhelm Marr, *Reise nach Central-America*, vol 1., 2nd ed. (1863; Hamburg, 1870): 117.

29. The motto chosen for his 1846 book *Young Germany in Switzerland* was "Freiheit, Gleichheit, Humanität!" (Freedom, Equality, Humanity!).

30. Ibid., 118.

31. Ibid., 118.

32. Ibid., 119.

33. Ibid., 168.

34. Ibid., 168. Whilst communicating with the "colored population," identified by the narrator as "Jamaican Mulattos" and "Haitian Negroes," political conversations arose in which the narrator finds that the "colored" talked "reasonably about the politics of their countries." However, the apparent closeness between the black people's bloody fight for liberation and Marr's political revolutionary past in Germany is not underlined. In fact, in the next moment, the narrator believes he has found proof of a general disability to "actually autonomously produce ideas," a thought directly connected to Euro-American discourses on race and gender.

35. Marr, *Reise nach Central-Amerika*, vol. 1, 169.

36. In the second volume of his travelog we can also read: "As it is, in these countries reason forces thoughts into my mind that I would have condemned only six months ago. *Species* and *degeneration*, *autonomy* and *reflection*[.]" Marr, *Reise nach Central-Amerika*, vol. 1, 47.

37. Toni Morrison, "On the Backs of Blacks," in *Arguing Immigration*, edited by Nicholaus Mills (New York, 1994), 97–100; Paul, *Kulturkontakt und Racial Presences*, 2.

38. Wilhelm Marr to [Friedrich August?] Hobelmann, 4 June 1862, published by Hobelmann in the Supplement of the *Courier an der Weser* 161 (13 June 1862) reprinted and trans. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 116–18.

39. Ibid., 118.

40. Bruno Bauer, *Die Judenfrage* (Braunschweig, 1843), trans. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 44.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Emphasis added. Marr to Hobelmann, reprinted and trans. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 117; Moshe Zimmermann, "Gabriel Riesser und Wilhelm Marr im Meinungsstreit: Die Judenfrage als Gegenstand der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Liberalen und Radikalen in Hamburg (1848–1862)," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 61 (1975): 59–84; Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany*, 282.

44. Marr to Hobelmann, reprinted and trans. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 117.

45. The letter caused an enormous debate in Hamburg and a fierce attack on Marr. The Berlin satirist Julius Stettenheim, Marr's former disciple, wrote a manifesto, which represented Marr as a "Jew-eater [*Judenfresser*]." A play was also performed in which Marr was portrayed as the evil Haman. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 46.

46. Wilhelm Marr, *Der Judenspiegel* (Hamburg, 1862), 51.

47. "Since Satan was identified as black and the Jews were perceived as his allies, they were also depicted as black. ... As early as Hellenistic times," anti-Jewish literature "maintained that the Jews were lepers (having defective skin) who were expelled from Egypt (which made them black)." See Abraham Melamed, *The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other* (London, 2002), 31. In contrast to Melamed, Neil MacMaster points out that the earlier negative marker was "not a form of racism in the modern sense," but a common symbol in "an almost universal system of meanings through which the symbolism of blackness denoted all that was most feared (the devil, Hell, the night, pollution, magic, etc.)." MacMaster "Black Jew–White Negro," 67. See also Jana Husmann-Kastein, "Schwarz–Weiß. Farb- und Geschlechtssymbolik in den Anfängen der Rassenkonstruktionen," in *Weiß-Weiß-sein-Whiteness*, edited by Martina Tißberger et al. (Frankfurt, 2006), 43–60. For a psychoanalytic perspective on the "black Jew," see Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca, 1985); Sander Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton, 1993), 19–22, 158–59, 163–64.

48. This resembled the structural development of white racism in the United States after the Civil War, which manifested itself in the "one-drop rule."

49. The image of the "black Jew" symbolized not only a "synthesis of two projections of Otherness within the same code," as Sander Gilman put it, but signified, according to MacMaster, a peculiar change in the mid-nineteenth century, when Jews were not only described as "black," but were specifically racialized as "black Negroes," "black Africans," or even as "white Negroes." MacMaster, "Black Jew–White Negro," 67; Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*, 31.

50. While the Jew was "Africanized," the very idea of Western culture with its roots in Greek civilization was "whitened," not least through the systematic denegation of Afro-Asiatic cultures as being the sources of Greek learning. Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation* (London, 1991).

51. MacMaster, "Black Jew–White Negro," 71.

52. Wilhelm Marr, "Zum Verständnis der Nordamerikanischen Wirren," *Der Freischütz. Politik, Unterhaltung, Lokal-Zeitung* (Hamburg, 1863).

53. Jacob Audorf, *Herr Marr und die Arbeiterfrage, nebst einem Wort an Deutschlands Arbeiter* (Hamburg, 1863), 14.

54. H[einrich] Naudh, *Die Juden und der Deutsche Staat*, 3rd rev. ed. (Berlin, 1861).

55. Quoted in Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 49.

56. Ibid.

57. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 49.

58. Marr to Hobelmann, reprinted and trans. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 117.

59. See the work of Colin Kidd, which shows how strongly racial and religious discourses were intertwined, and how the racial discourse began as a theological construct. Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge, UK, 2006).

60. He notes, for example, "You would not permit [them] to settle in Bremen. Not for religious reasons, oh no! But because monasticism endangers the common weal." Marr to Hobelmann, reprinted and trans. Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr*, 117 .

61. Ibid.

62. Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (1850; Miami, 1969), 39.

63. Ibid., 24–35.