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Studies

Geraldine Horan, Felicity Rash
and Daniel Wildmann (eds)

English and German Nationalist
and Anti-Semitic Discourse,
1871–1945

Peter Lang

This volume contains selected papers from an international conference of the same name held at Queen Mary, University of London, on 10–11 November 2010. The contributions from scholars working in the fields of modern political and cultural history, political science, modern European literature and linguistics provide interdisciplinary perspectives on nationalism and anti-Semitism in English- and German-language contexts from the beginning of the German Second Reich (1871) to the end of World War II (1945). Some articles examine critically theoretical constructs used to justify and defend anti-Semitism in Germany, focusing on the realms of science, music, the press and film. Others discuss the role of anti-Semitism in constructing *völkisch*-nationalist notions of ‘German’ identity, as well as discourses of German colonialism. As a counterpart to German perspectives, several articles chart contemporary British reactions to German anti-Semitism and radical nationalism.

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English and German Nationalist and
Anti-Semitic Discourse, 1871–1945

German Linguistic and Cultural Studies

Editor: Peter Rolf Lutzeier

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Introduction

This collection of articles is selected from papers delivered at the international conference 'English and German Nationalist and Anti-Semitic Discourse (1871–1945)', held at Queen Mary, University of London, on 10–11 November 2010. The conference was organized jointly by Felicity Rash, School of Languages, Linguistics and Film (SLLF), Queen Mary, University of London (QMUL); Geraldine Horan, Department of German, University College London; Daniel Wildmann, Deputy Director, Leo Baeck Institute, London; and Stefan Baumgarten, Research Assistant in SLLF, QMUL. Its chief aim was to contribute to and promote the study of nationalism and anti-Semitism in English language and German contexts from the beginning of the German Second Reich (1871) to the end of World War II (1945). Another aim of the conference was to provide an opportunity for interdisciplinary contacts between researchers working in the fields of discourse analysis, political science, historiography and other disciplines.

Several of the articles in this volume deal critically with the theoretical constructs designed to justify and define anti-Semitism in Germany during the period. Felicity Rash establishes a historical, theoretical context for the volume by outlining the ideologies behind nationalism and anti-Semitism and their manifestations in Britain and Germany. Attempts to denigrate Jews at the expense of other races and nations are described by Ulrich Charpa, who traces parallels (as they were perceived in Germany in the nineteenth century) between musical and scientific advance: progress on these two fronts depended on the personal genius of individuals with certain well-defined characteristics, such as inherited personality traits, social isolation and nobility of motive. The Jews were excluded from these generalizations, condemned as epigones driven in their work by largely

materialistic motives. This paper also compares British thinking about scientific and musical advance with this German theory.

Anti-Semitism took several more or less distinct forms in Germany and Austria during the period. Stefan Hüpping contrasts the 'moderate' anti-Semitism promoted by Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski (1873–1936) with the radical, racist, *völkisch* variety of one of his opponents, Adolf Bartels (1862–1945). The 'moderate' version was perhaps no less dangerous than the radical, because the debate between their adherents was very effective in persuading the German population of the centrality of the *Judenfrage*.

Isabelle Engelhardt's paper looks at press coverage of nationalist and anti-Semitic issues in the period. Engelhardt, who is working on the project *Der Sprachgebrauch der Weimarer Republik* at the University of Düsseldorf, examines the treatment of nationalism and the *Judenfrage* in the politically moderate German newspaper *Germania* from 1918 to 1933.

National Socialism as a political creed was based partly on certain historical models and archetypes. Helen Roche's paper examines one of these connections, documenting the admiration in which the militaristic ideals of the Greek city-state of Sparta were held during the Third Reich. Sparta's communal militarism, its enslavement of those it defeated in battle, and constant alertness to the possibility of attack from outside all found a strong echo in the National Socialist mentality of Hitler's Germany. The Reich was even regarded as a kind of reincarnation of Spartan culture, and Spartan blood fancifully detected in German veins.

German nationalistic and anti-Semitic preoccupations found reflection in many other areas of German social and cultural life during the period. Karin Stögner describes the influence of nationalistic discourse on the ideals of the German Youth movement. In general, the philosophy of these organizations, from most of which Jews were excluded, involved a rejection of urban life and cosmopolitanism (both associated with the Jews) in favour of an anti-intellectual, irrational, back-to-nature movement designed to enable the individual, confused by modern urban living, to recover a sense of personal individuality. In response to these tendencies, Walter Benjamin developed his concept of 'cultural Zionism' that aimed to release the spirit from the constraining bonds of *Volk*, nation and race.

Martin Weidinger considers the presentation of national heroes in German cinema of the interwar period. Historical drama was, at a time when the shape of a new Germany was at the forefront of the political agenda, primarily nationalist-conservative and sometimes reactionary. Paying particular attention to the so-called 'Preussenfilme' and Fritz Lang's *Die Nibelungen*, Weidinger shows how historical heroes were used in cinema to perpetuate an idea of 'Germanness' during an era of low national morale. He uses Ernst Lubitsch's *Madame Dubarry* and *Anna Boleyn* to illustrate a more liberal and less overtly politicizing tendency.

Germany had emerged as a colonial power by the beginning of World War I, but had its colonies confiscated in the 1919 settlement. Touching on German colonialist theory, activity and feeling both before and after this traumatic event, Simone Borgstede examines some of the colonialist implications of the racist ideas put forward by Dr Ernst Henrici in the later nineteenth century. Henrici's contempt for the Jews in German society was based on his view that they were essentially unproductive economically. The workers, instead of blaming their ills on capitalism, should blame the financial manipulations of the Jews for keeping them in a state of servitude and poverty. Henrici contrasted the Jews with Africans, who could be made to work and create wealth for their masters under the right circumstances.

The final three papers deal with reactions in Britain to events in Germany in the period. Stephanie Seul shows how coverage in *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Observer* and *The Scotsman* of anti-Semitism in Germany under the Weimar Republic was much influenced by the German press, but tended to see anti-Semitism more as a symptom of political instability in Germany than as a threat to the German Jewish community. Russell M. Wallis, dealing with a much later period, recalls the debate in Britain sparked by Sir Robert Vansittart's 'Black Record' of 1941: Vansittart saw the German attempt to exterminate the Jews as a reflection of the essential German character, though many on the left in Britain (including some Jews) opposed him on the grounds that ordinary Germans would not be a party to genocide. Wallis sees a general tendency in the interwar British press (or at least in the quality press) to soften the view of the nation's enemies. Egbert Klautke's article concentrates on Wilhelm Wundt, remembered today as a founding father of the experimental study

of individual psychology, though his later research was on the psychology of human communities. This later work was initially trans-cultural, but during World War II Wundt started to argue for differential folk psychologies in order to promote a special German social psychology for propagandist purposes.

The editors would like to thank Stefan Baumgarten and Peter Orton for their administrative and editorial assistance in the production of this volume; David Hunter for his proofreading and corrections; and the School of Languages, Linguistics and Film at QMUL for hosting the conference in November 2010.

FELICITY RASH

Contextualizing Nationalism and Anti-Semitism 1871–1945

The articles in this volume share a concern with the use of discourse to disseminate nationalist and anti-Semitic ideologies. The period 1871–1945 has been chosen because it encompasses the Second and Third German Reichs in the years leading up to and including the two world wars. This era saw Germany step onto the world stage as a newly born political unit with national and colonialist ambitions that appeared to threaten British imperial might. The conflict between German and British nationalisms was a major causal factor of both world wars. The age was also one of more or less ‘scientific’ exploration of the nature and origins of the human race, in particular the divergences and similarities between human beings of different ethnic origins. Such research was used to confirm and support anti-Semitic prejudices, although it did not provide an excuse for the conflict between two major branches of the Germanic ‘race’: the Anglo-Saxon and the ‘pure’ German.

For the purposes of this collection, the term ‘discourse’ has been interpreted in its broadest, Foucauldian sense of a social practice, both constituting and constituted by societies, their systems, and the attitudes and behaviour of their members. Discourse production is seen as more than the creation of individual linguistic utterances or texts; it includes all constructs pertaining to social relationships and structures. Discourse analysts are interested in relationships between texts and developments over time within textual genres, as well as in the use of discourse strategies and their linguistic realizations within individual texts. Since discourse, whether written or spoken, shapes and reflects societies and their ideologies, its analysis is practised within all disciplines that are interested in social

categories and processes, such as historians, political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists.

The present volume contains articles on nationalism and anti-Semitism, the latter being regarded as a form of racism used in the service of the nationalist and other patriotic exclusionary ideologies that prevailed during the period 1871–1945. The notion of ‘nationalism’ presupposes the existence of an entity that can be defined as a ‘nation’; racial ‘anti-Semitism’ presupposes that members of the human group referred to as ‘Jews’ belong to a specific, circumscribed and scientifically definable ‘race’.

Anthony Smith defines a nation as the following:

[...] a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.¹

To this we may add that a nation frequently also has a common language. Smith does not suggest that fellow nationals must inhabit one particular nation state, but a national population normally resides within one state.

Modern discourse analysts add a performative aspect to such conceptualizations of the nation: for them, national identity is constructed and reproduced in discourse by a nation’s inhabitants.² Wodak et al. link ‘national identity’ with ‘narrative identity’; they take their definition of ‘narrative’ identity from Paul Ricœur who sees this as an identity of a *‘personage’* that is part of a ‘fable composition which executes the plot’. This narrative operation forms a dynamic concept of identity which is especially significant for nationalist discourse. Like a narrated story, individual or group identity unfolds dialectically and is moulded by the plot so that on the one hand a ‘singular temporal unity’ of a person’s or a nation’s life is conveyed and on the other hand ‘this unity is threatened by unexpected “twists of fate” along the lines of discordance’. Wodak et al. agree with Ricœur that narrative identity accounts for the idea that the ‘Self’ is not an invariant

1 A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 14.

2 R. Wodak, R. de Cillia, M. Reisigl and K. Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 14.

entity but is ever subject to external forces and to internal change. People are figures within their own narratives and create their own identities by drawing on the plots. They convey their own story to others in the form of narratives which they can arrange and interpret.³ An ‘Other’ is also found in a person’s or nation’s narrative identity as an entity with which the Self can be compared and contrasted: in the case of nationalist discourse the comparison is frequently unfavourable to the ‘Other’.

Complementing the notion of narration, Benedict Anderson proposes a definition of the ‘nation’ as ‘an imagined community’ and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.⁴ A nation is considered to be ‘imagined’ because its individual members will never know or meet most of their fellow nationals, but each holds in his or her mind images of communion with them. A nation is experienced by its members as ‘limited’ because even the largest nation has ‘finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations’. Within Anderson’s definition, nations are imagined as communities where ‘deep, horizontal comradeship’ prevails, even where inequalities and injustices (imagined vertically) are rife.⁵

Stuart Hall sees nations as systems of cultural representation and national communities as interpreted through their discourses. People actively participate in the construction of their national identity through their culture. Hall has identified five ‘discursive strategies’ for the narration of national culture and a homogeneous ‘national family’:

1. The narration of the nation, a process in which we see ourselves sharing. A communal identity is constructed in national histories, symbols, literatures, the media, and popular culture;
2. Emphasis on origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness. Within this strategy, national identity is portrayed from an essentialist point of view as primordial: ‘there, in the very nature of things’,

3 R. Wodak et al., *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 14f.

4 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revision of 1983 edition (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

5 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), 7.

sometimes slumbering, but ever ready to be ‘awoken’. The essentials of the ‘national character’ are seen as unchanging over time. Invented traditions make past disasters intelligible and can help convert calamity into good fortune. Nationalists are frequently tempted to try to return to a past ‘lost time’ when the nation was ‘great’;

3. The invention of traditions which may appear to be old yet be quite recent in origin. These may involve symbols or rituals, which in turn inculcate values and behavioural norms by means of repetition. Repetition in its turn implies continuity with the past;
4. Foundational myths or ‘myths of origin’ which locate the foundation of a nation, its people and national characteristics so far in the past that the truth of the story is lost in the mists of time;
5. National identity may also be ‘symbolically grounded on the idea of a pure, original people or “folk”’ [German *Volk*]. It is, according to Hall, rare for this ‘folk’ to survive and exercise power.⁶

These five strategies have been extended by Wodak et al., for whom nationalist identity, particularly that pertaining to Germany and Austria, is seen as expressed in the following discourse features: the idea of a ‘national spirit’ or ‘*Volksgeist*’; the concept of a ‘national body’ or ‘*Volkskörper*’; reference to ‘founding fathers’ or ‘founding events’; and anticipation of future events or situations.⁷

People who see themselves as belonging to a nation incline towards ‘nationalist’ sentiments. This, according to Andrew Heywood, is a vital aspect of national identity. In its politically neutral form, ‘nationalism’ is a basic part of individual and social identity: it ‘tells people who they are’ in relation to the place that they consider their home.⁸ It is thus akin to a

6 S. Hall, ‘The Question of Cultural Identity’. In: S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert and K. Thompson (eds), *Modernity. An Introduction to Modern Societies* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1995), 594–634 (613–615).

7 Wodak et al. 2009, 25f.

8 A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies. An Introduction*, 3rd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 167.

benign patriotism, a sense of which helps create social cohesion and stability within a nation. In a similar vein, Anthony Smith defines the purpose of nationalist ideologies as ‘attaining and maintaining autonomy and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential “nation”’.⁹ According to Heywood, the nation is thus ‘the central principle of political organization’.¹⁰ Heywood espouses the belief, inspired by Rousseau, that national identity depends on political independence and national self-determination; a typical nationalist goal is the foundation of a ‘nation-state’ which has ‘both cultural cohesion and political unity’ and allows government to be carried out ‘either by the people or for the people, in accordance with their “national interest”’.¹¹ He also observes that within an ‘imagined’ or ‘constructed’ community, national identity is an ideological construct which is most commonly harnessed by powerful, fervently nationalist groups.¹²

When nationalist sentiments become extreme, patriotic groups feel the need to enhance and reinforce the aspects of their national identity that they consider positive. They do so by comparing and contrasting these with an image which they create of those internal social groups and foreign nations which they see as different from themselves. Radical nationalists are frequently driven by their own insecurities and fear of the ‘Other’, and they construct (discursively) an ‘Other’ which is inferior to the Self, as alien, and as a potential threat to the wellbeing of the Self. The ‘Other’ is therefore seen by members of in-groups as potentially dangerous and in need of control. In Germany and Austria, Jewish communities were considered by *völkisch* nationalists to be a particular threat to national interests. During the years leading up to and spanning the two world wars, Great Britain was the other major threat to German nationhood. The reverse of this was true for Britain, its colonies and its allies.

9 A. D. Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 73.

10 A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 159.

11 Heywood, 166.

12 *Ibid.*, 164.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, theories of 'scientific racism' were developed and harnessed in the service of nationalism and anti-Semitism across much of the developed world, including the colonial satellites of Europe. According to Desmond and Moore, the xenophobia upon which scientific racism was founded was fairly advanced by the 1840s and involved 'categorizing difference in order to denigrate, control or even enslave'.¹³ The notion that races could be categorized scientifically led to the birth of pseudo-sciences such as phrenology, craniology, physiognomy and pluralist ethnology, all of which are now largely discredited. These erroneous methods were widely used to 'prove' Germanic and, in the case of England and America, Anglo-Saxon superiority over other races.¹⁴ Charles Darwin's theories of natural selection and the common descent of all living things were, on the other hand, based on sound methods and objective premises. This did not, however, prevent widespread misuse of his first major work on evolution, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859), which supported the hypothesis that all human beings belonged to the same species but did not claim overtly that the races of man developed as a result of natural selection or that nature created superior races through selection. Darwin's theories were, however, misunderstood and misappropriated by many nationalists and colonialists, who did not have to proceed past the title in order to see their prejudices justified. Racist views could be more readily justified from a subjective reading of his later work, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871). Future interpreters of this work deduced that Darwin saw certain human races as 'favoured'; and these were the white races. Such favouring was, according to Darwin, based on their ability to fight wars with superior weapons, due to their access to the 'best fitted organization, or [...] intellect' which gave them 'an adaptational edge' he did not believe, as did many of his

13 A. Desmond, A. and J. Moore, *Darwin's Sacred Cause. Race, Slavery and the Quest for Human Origins* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 31.

14 A. Desmond and J. Moore, *Darwin's Sacred Cause* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 132.

contemporaries and later Social Darwinists, that inequality between human races was part of God's design.¹⁵

Within the context of 'scientific' racism, the 'anti-Semitism' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be identified as a specific type of racial intolerance. This phenomenon, particularly prevalent in nationalist discourses, saw racial hierarchy as 'natural' and God-ordained. Ellis Cashmore provides us with a useful broad definition of 'anti-Semitism', stating that it involves 'the adherence to views, attitudes or actions directed against the interests, legal rights, religious practices, or lives of Jews'.¹⁶ For Etienne Balibar, anti-Semitism is Europe's archetypal racism and has functioned in the past to provide every nationalism with 'its special enemy and the representative of *all* its other "hereditary" enemies (in France the "Jew" is a "German", in Germany a "Slav")'.¹⁷ It epitomizes the type of exclusionary nationalism which attempts to keep the authentic 'home' race pure by ostracizing racial groups that appear alien and therefore damaging to the integrity of the national 'body'. Jews exist as a necessary 'Other' through which the 'Self' is defined and 'when the Jew and the Arab do not exist, they are invented'.¹⁸ For this reason, anti-Semitism is taken as a paradigm for the formation and study of prejudices and political instrumentalizations of *Feindbilder* [images of the enemy] that may be applied to any undesirable or threatening 'Other'.¹⁹

Anti-Semitism is a brand of hostility which is particularly associated with the German extremist nationalism of the period 1871–1945, and which reached its height during Hitler's Third Reich. While it was not absent in Britain and the USA, Jews were more readily tolerated in these countries and, indeed, frequently chose the Anglo-Saxon world as a refuge from discrimination on the continent. When the German law

15 Desmond and Moore, 147.

16 E. Cashmore *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic Studies* (London: Routledge, 2004), 30.

17 E. Balibar, 'Paradoxes of Universality' in D. Goldberg (ed.), *Racist Culture, Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell 1992), 283–294 (286).

18 E. Balibar, 'Paradoxes of Universality', 1992), 284.

19 W. Benz, *Was ist Antisemitismus?* (Munich: Beck, 2002), 15.

giving equal constitutional rights to citizens of all religious faiths was passed by the North German League in July 1869, Benjamin Disraeli has already been prime minister of Britain for one year. In Germany, the law exacerbated suspicion of and animosity towards Jews. Looking back from 1907, the German nationalist Ernst Hasse blamed what he called the '*Judenemanzipationsgesetz*' [Law of Jewish emancipation], which does not, in fact, explicitly mention Jews, for an influx of foreign Jews into Germany: without this law, according to Hasse, baptism and emigration would have led to the elimination of Jews from Germany, and the so-called '*Judenfrage*' ['Jewish Question' or 'Jewish Problem'] would have disappeared.²⁰ Distrust of the Jews was further aggravated by a view of them as a paradoxical race of people who caused disruption within societies because, as Balibar asserts, they were, at the time, 'contradictorily thought of as irreducibly inassimilable to others and as cosmopolitical, as people rooted in history and yet uprooted'.²¹

The German term *Antisemitismus* was coined by the journalist Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904) in his political tract of 1879, *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum*.²² In creating this term, Marr did more than simply provide a designation for a phenomenon that already existed; he created a new phenomenon in its own right.²³ Marr's brand of anti-Semitism cultivated the notion that Jews belonged to a biologically distinct race, the existence and nature of which could be 'Ascientifically' proven. Using Jewish financiers as scapegoats for Germany's economic problems, Marr claimed that the peace and prosperity enjoyed by Germans was endangered as a result of increasing 'Judaization' ('*Verjudung der Gesellschaft*').²⁴ Marr formed the *Antisemiten-Liga* [League of Anti-Semites] in 1879, which is believed

20 E. Hasse, *Die Zukunft des deutschen Volkstums* (Munich: J. F. Lehmann Verlag, 1907), 64.

21 Balibar 1992, 286.

22 W. Marr, *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum. Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet*, 8th edn (Bern: Rudolph Costenoble, 1879).

23 C. Geulen, *Wahlverwandte. Rassendiskurs und Nationalismus im späten 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: HIS Verlag, 2004), 197.

24 W. Marr 1879, *Der Sieg des Judenthums* (Bern: Rudolph Costenoble, 1879), 8.

to have had 600 members, and founded its harmlessly titled organ, *Die deutsche Wacht: Monatsschrift für nationale Entwicklung*.²⁵ This type of racial anti-Semitism was increasingly harnessed as a tool for nationalist propaganda.

Many nationalist ideologues of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were influenced by the racial theories of Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau, whose *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853–1855), was translated into German by Ludwig Schemann, founder in 1894 of the *Gobineau-Gesellschaft*.²⁶ Gobineau claimed that mankind had started out in a state of perfection and was now degenerating, largely as a result of racial mixture. He was the first racial theorist to put forward the idea of a physically and mentally superior white or 'Aryan' race which was the creator of civilization and destined to rule over other human beings. Gobineau was also the first racial theorist to see a connection between race and language, and to therefore equate language with culture.²⁷

Gobineau's theories found favour with Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an English amateur historian and racial theorist who adopted German nationality after marrying Richard Wagner's daughter, Eva. In his *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* of 1899,²⁸ Chamberlain defined a race as a group of people which is differentiated from others by its common biological, genetic, physical, mental and emotional characteristics as well as a particular language.²⁹ Like Gobineau, Chamberlain believed that the European races, in particular the Germanic family of races, were superior to others, and that the Germanic peoples were endowed with moral authority

25 W. Benz, *Was ist Antisemitismus?* (Munich: Beck, 2004), 102.

26 J. A. Comte de Gobineau, *Versuch über die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen*, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1899–1901). A complete translation into English was not published until 1915.

27 J. A. Comte de Gobineau, *Versuch über die Ungleichheit*, volume I, 282.

28 H. S. Chamberlain, *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 14th edn (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1922).

29 A. Lobenstein-Reichmann, 'Sprache und Rasse bei Houston Stewart Chamberlain', in D. Busse, T. Niehr and M. Wengeler (eds), *Brisante Semantik. Neuere Konzepte und Forschungsergebnisse einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Linguistik* (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005), 189–208.

through their languages and cognitive capacities.³⁰ Chamberlain's racial ideology was, however, more optimistic than Gobineau's, and he saw racial mixture as a positive process which could be harnessed and managed to improve races. His authoritative style and intellectual tone was admired by contemporary anti-Semites and led him to become one of the most notorious racial anti-Semites of all time, his influence stretching into the future and helping to mould the ideologies of more dangerous racists.

Heinrich Claß was one of the nationalist propagandists to be influenced by Chamberlain and to inspire the National Socialists later on. Originally published in 1912 under the pseudonym Daniel Fryman, Claß's *Wenn ich der Kaiser wär* portrays the Jews as the foremost enemy of 'Germanness', with the Poles, many of whom were Jews, closely following. While admitting that he is including the minority of innocent Jews in the ranks of the guilty, Claß claims that the entire German population will be infected with the 'poison' of inferior Jews if the race as a whole is not prevented from spreading within the German Reich:

Eine Gesundung unseres Volkslebens, und zwar aller seiner Gebiete, kulturell, moralisch, politisch, wirtschaftlich, und die Erhaltung der wieder gewonnenen Gesundheit ist *nur möglich, wenn der jüdische Einfluß entweder ganz ausgeschaltet oder auf das Maß des Erträglichen, Ungefährlichen zurückgeschraubt wird.*

[The restoration of our life as a people, in all of its domains, cultural, moral, political, and economic, as well as this restored health, can only be conserved *if Jewish influence is either completely eliminated* (literally 'switched off') *or reduced* (literally 'screwed back') *to a tolerable, harmless amount.*]³¹

In Claß's view, even the 'better' class of Jew has, out of a sense of racial solidarity, been guilty of encouraging the entry into Germany of Slavic Jews.³² The Jews who have received German citizenship and the right to vote must

30 A. Lobenstein-Reichmann 2005, 'Sprache und Rasse' (2005), 197.

31 H. Claß (pseudonym Daniel Frymann), *Wenn ich der Kaiser wär: Politische Wahrheiten und Notwendigkeiten*, 4th edn (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Buchhandlung 1913), 72.

32 H. Claß, *Wenn ich der Kaiser wär* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Buchhandlung 1913), 74.

now have their rights curtailed: ‘die landansässigen Juden werden unter Fremdenrecht gestellt’ [Jews with the right of residence will subject to an alien statute]; the entry of further Jews must be prevented.³³

Claß considered that the influence exerted by Jews upon the press and, to a lesser extent, the theatre and the Arts, was responsible for many of Germany’s social and political problems. He was by no means alone among his contemporaries in classing the popular press as the Jews’ strongest weapon (‘die stärkste Waffe des Judentums’) against the German nation,³⁴ He called for a return of the press to the service of Germans: ‘eine Presse von Deutschen für Deutsche in deutschem Geist geschrieben’³⁵ [a press belonging to Germans for Germans and written in the German spirit].³⁶ Claß provided discursive models for the likes of Houston Stewart Chamberlain who later, under wartime censorship, had to refer to Jewish activities more obliquely. In one of the earlier war essays, for example, Chamberlain claims that he is *not* going to mention the negative influence of Jews upon English political and economic affairs, but states that: ‘Man werfe nicht den Einfluß der Juden ein, der zwar gerade in der am Ruder befindlichen Regierung Englands besonders groß ist.’ [We won’t add to this the influence of the Jews which is, in fact, particularly pronounced as far as the government which is steering England is concerned.]³⁷

He then declares that Jews hide behind English names in order to head the ‘Verleumdungs-Feldzug’ [campaign of defamation] against Germany through the newspapers that they own. In England, according to Chamberlain, Jews join in with any shameful deed (‘alles Schändliche’) that the English may instigate; indeed their activities are more dishonourable than those of their German brothers and cousins, who at least act like Germans on the battle front (‘tun ihre Pflicht als Deutsche vor dem

33 H. Claß, 75.

34 Ibid., 72.

35 Claß’s emphasis.

36 Ibid., 72.

37 H. S. Chamberlain, ‘England’, in *Kriegsaufsätze* (München: F. Bruckmann, 1914a), 44–67, (46).

Feinde oder daheim' [do their duty as Germans both in facing the enemy and at home]].³⁸

From 1915 onwards, Chamberlain's readers had to look more carefully for anti-Semitic messages in his nationalist propaganda, in which the new primary enemy of Germanness was Britain and its allies. At the beginning of the *Neue Kriegsaufsätze* we read that he who can read between the lines ('wer zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen versteht') will find the message he is looking for.³⁹ In the essay 'Grundstimmungen in England und Frankreich', Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail*⁴⁰ is accused of oversimplifying the current situation and darkening the mood of honest people ('die Stimmung des ehrlichen Volkes [...] nur zeitweilig verdunkelt durch die Preßkanaille').⁴¹ The *Times*, also owned by Northcliffe, is deemed to control the *Matin* and the *Nowoje Wremja*; all three are, according to Chamberlain, more interested in financial gain than providing news; and nine tenths of Paris journalists come from Frankfurt-am-Main (a barely hidden message that they are Jewish).⁴² Similarly alluding to the 'Jewish-led' press based in Frankfurt, Chamberlain claims in *Die Zuversicht*⁴³ that the English Anti-German League is led by 'frisch getaufte(r) und frisch umgetaufte(r) "Angelsachsen" von den Ufern des schönen deutschen Mains' [freshly baptised and renamed 'Anglo-Saxons' from the banks of the beautiful German Main].⁴⁴

Finally, in an essay of 1916, Chamberlain rebukes Edward VII, not for the first time in the war essays, for his greed and for helping the wealthy opponents of Germany, who have, in turn, imported journalists from Cologne and Frankfurt 'zur Verführung und Aufhetzung des Volkes' [to

38 H. Chamberlain, 'England', 1914a, 46.

39 H. S. Chamberlain, 'Grundstimmungen in England und Frankreich', in *Neue Kriegsaufsätze* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915a), 7–29 (3).

40 The Jewish Lord Northcliffe (Alfred Harmsworth) appears in the 1914 essays but is not named. His 'unenglische Abstammung' [un-English lineage] is mentioned (1914a, 11) and the newspapers which he owns are negatively assessed.

41 H. S. Chamberlain, 'Deutscher Friede', in *Neue Kriegsaufsätze* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915b), 86–102 (21).

42 H. S. Chamberlain 1915a, 27.

43 H. S. Chamberlain, *Die Zuversicht* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915c).

44 H. S. Chamberlain, *Die Zuversicht*, 10.

seduce and incite the people].⁴⁵ While this is not a direct statement that the British King supports Jewish interests for his own financial benefit, the implication is clear. Chamberlain also refers in this essay to the persistence of British greed for world power as a major reason for its war-mongering: '[...] die heutigen Machthaber kennen nur ein Lebensziel: durch Gewalt Gold.' [Those who are currently in power have only one aim in life: to get money by using force].⁴⁶

German nationalists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw British greed for power and economic benefit as embodied in imperialism. They considered the British as jealously and unjustly trying to exclude Germany from an equal position on the world stage. British financial greed was claimed by nationalists such as Paul Rohrbach to be a major causal factor of military conflict between Britain and Germany.⁴⁷ Colonialism entails taking and retaining lands and resources for exploitation. Its less obvious objective is to highlight the self-image of the colonizer as belonging to the civilized centre and power hub of the world. Rohrbach saw Germany's relative failure as a colonizer as damaging to its self-image, although he largely blamed German lack of national pride and internal solidarity for this failure. For Rohrbach, victory in the 1914–18 war would invigorate Germans' '*Nationalgefühl*' [national spirit] and reinforce their innate positive qualities, such as *Tüchtigkeit* [efficiency], *Aufrichtigkeit* [integrity] and *Friedensliebe* [love of peace].⁴⁸ Courage and self-sacrifice would form the basis of a national regeneration through war,⁴⁹ Germany needed to become a '*Weltvolk*' [world power (literally 'world people')] in order to develop a positive self-image, without which it could not survive as a nation.⁵⁰

45 H. S. Chamberlain, 'Des Weltkriegs letzte Phase', in *Hammer oder Amboss. Dritte Reihe der Kriegsaufsätze*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1916), 38–48 (44).

46 H. S. Chamberlain, 'Des Weltkriegs letzte Phase', 44f.

47 Cf. in particular: P. Rohrbach, *Zum Weltvolk hindurch!* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn's Nachf., 1915).

48 P. Rohrbach, *Zum Weltvolk hindurch!* (1915), 42.

49 Rohrbach (1915), 71.

50 Ibid., 72.

The essays reproduced in this volume analyse examples of nationalist and anti-Semitic discourse in order to shed light on notions of racial and cultural superiority, particularly in relation to Germany during the period 1871–1945. They focus on particular manifestations of these discourses by examining prominent theorists as well as political and cultural figures in Germany and Britain, and also discourse media, including film and the press. The nationalism and anti-Semitism described in this introduction were strengthened by the marginalization and denigration (in discourse as well as in practice) of groups which were different from and in some way disturbing to either the German or the British Self. Nationalism requires a positive self-image and this is best constructed in discourse by means of a contrast with other images regarded as negative. In this respect, anti-Semitism can be considered a paradigm for exclusionary nationalism, especially within a German context. During the two world wars, Britain and Germany were each other's 'enemy Other', and British anti-German propaganda, particularly during the second of these, saw anti-Semitism as a major aspect of German otherness. While the emphasis in this collection is upon German nationalism and anti-Semitism, discourse promoting the British Self in contrast to a negatively portrayed 'Other' and, to a lesser extent, British anti-Semitic discourse, did exist between 1871 and 1945, and future research into these would be greatly welcomed.

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