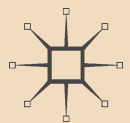




# The ‘Black Horror on the Rhine’

Intersections of Race, Nation, Gender  
and Class in 1920s Germany

Iris Wigger





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*For John Mattis—Johnnie, Ken and my whole family in Germany and  
England  
with all my love*



## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a new, extensively revised, extended, and updated English edition of my German monograph “Die ‘Schwarze Schmach am Rhein’ Rassistische Diskriminierung zwischen Geschlecht, Klasse, Nation und Rasse” (2007).

I had planned this English monograph project for a long time following the very positive reception of my German book and a number of shorter works I have written on the subject. I am very pleased to see it completed now, after it got sidelined for some time due to some other crucial commitments.

This book examines the racist logic of the “Black Horror” discourse in depth and seeks to demonstrate from a historically sensitive perspective the complex intersecting of the categories of race, gender, nation and class in the social construction of a “Black Shame on the Rhine.” It in this way engages with a rich corpus of archival and secondary sources and reflects on a quickly growing body of research on the subject matter of colonial troops and their role, reception and representation in European societies.

I would like to thank many colleagues, friends, my family and a number of institutions whose support has helped me immensely during this research.

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Loughborough, UK

Iris Wigger



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## Introduction

### 1.1 AN “OUTRAGEOUS HUMILIATION AND RAPE OF A HIGHLY CULTIVATED WHITE RACE BY A STILL HALF-BARBARIC COLOURED.” MAPPING THE “BLACK SHAME” CAMPAIGN

On the 10 January 1920, the Treaty of Versailles came into force. It laid down the occupation of strategically important areas of Germany by the Allied Forces for a period of 15 years; the occupation affected mainly regions left of the river Rhine, amongst them the cities of Coblenz, Cologne and Mainz. The French government used black troops from its African colonies in, for example, Tunisia, Morocco, Madagascar, Algeria and Senegal as part of the French occupation troops.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of these non-white African soldiers in the German Rhineland after the end of the First World War provoked massive protests in Germany, Europe and the United States. Since 1919, they were stereotyped in racist terms as primitive savages who committed predominantly sexual crimes on a massive scale. Despite provably committing fewer crimes than other divisions of the Allied troops, they were frequently represented as violent beasts, against which one needed to protect the German people, the white race and culture.

However, it is also beyond doubt that conflicts did occur in the context of the French occupation on the Rhine and so did isolated proven criminal offences and acts of violence committed by colonial soldiers. Christian Koller closely looks at the relation between the Rhenish population and the colonial soldiers taking part in the Allied occupation



of the German Rhineland using local Administration files from Worms and Wiesbaden. These contain “evidence of conflicts as well as of a fairly normal social coexistence in the context of the occupation situation.”<sup>2</sup>

Complaints from Worms are often referring to bagatelle cases such as unauthorised cycling or football playing. Moreover, some cases of “attacks” from Moroccan soldiers against Germans and physical conflicts are reported. Complaints about sexual atrocities, however, are “rare,” and the Wormser senior mayor later considered the Senegalese regiment a “well-disciplined troop.”

In Wiesbaden, reports are referring to conflicts, the damage to property, brawls and other crimes, amongst them some of a sexual nature, and they also note four “cases of death caused by colonial soldiers.” Despite the fact that this number of deaths was smaller than that of deaths caused by white French troops, they resulted, according to Koller, in a “tense relationship” between the population of Wiesbaden and the colonial troops. Besides such conflicts, reports also referred to friendship-based contacts between the German population in the occupied territories and the colonial soldiers.

Koller considers the stories spread by the propagators of the campaign as “indisputably invented atrocities of the German unofficial propaganda.” He also dismisses official German propaganda’s claim of large-scale black atrocities as questionable, based on the lack of precision and the “sameness of several statements” in the collections of cases released by the authorities above the local county districts.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of Allied investigations of these accusations, we can conclude that the sexual crimes of colonial soldiers were single, isolated cases, rather than, as propagated in the campaign, a large-scale phenomenon and problem. However, regardless of the fact that colonial troops made up less than half of the French occupation troops, and did, as Koller argues, not commit “atrocities above the average” compared to other troops present, the protests focused for years predominantly and nearly exclusively on the “Black Shame.”<sup>4</sup>

The history of the “Black Horror” is insofar predominantly a history of propaganda, the history of a campaign, unleashed under this title to protest against the deployment of French colonial troops in Germany. The use of colonial troops in Europe had already been a matter of intense controversy before and during the First World War,<sup>5</sup> and even Max Weber had expressed his concern over “an army of Negroes, Ghurkhas and all barbaric mob of the world” threatening “to ravage”



Germany.<sup>6</sup> After the end of the war, protests against these troops became highly popular and culminated, with the help of modern mass media, in a massive international racist campaign that defamed the Africans as black brutes who would, driven by their excessive sexual instincts, racially contaminate the German people. The campaign found many supporters in Germany, several other European nations and the United States.

Contemporaries accused those “savages” of presenting “a gruesome danger”<sup>7</sup> to German women and children, of frequently raping members of the white race in the occupied territory and of therefore threatening the occidental cultural sphere in general. It was also argued that their presence alone on the territory of the cultured German nation (*Kulturnation*) had to be condemned as a humiliation.<sup>8</sup> Such severe racist rhetoric had clearly calculated propagandistic dimensions. When German authorities and politicians called for public protest against the use and the atrocities of coloured troops, they attempted politically to discredit France internationally, to put pressure on the French government and to achieve an alleviation of the hardships associated with the Allied occupation.

However, the use of black troops was not only under attack from German authorities, politicians, a wide range of organisations and the majority of the German press. The “Black Shame” also became a popular issue in the bulk of popular media, which rapidly spread populist and scandalising images of the “Black Horror” on the Rhine. I shall hence argue that the campaign developed a dynamic of its own, which was neither foreseen, nor controllable.

On a political level, the campaign was supported by different governmental authorities and political associations, many of them linked with the authorities, and the vast majority of political parties in the German Parliament. Different campaigners criticised the “Black Shame” as an act of French violent rule (*Gewaltherrschaft*) over Germany and included the German Office for Foreign Affairs (*Auswärtiges Amt*), the *Reichsheimatdienst*, the *Rheinische Volkspflege* (Rhenish People’s League) and all parties of the German Parliament with the exception of the left-wing USPD and the Communist K.P.D.

The German government protested against the use of colonial troops in late 1918, following warnings of the German Colonial Society (*deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*), which condemned their use in Europe as a threat to European civilisation.<sup>9</sup> Amongst the most prominent members of the Parliament speaking out against the garrisoning of black



troops as part of the Allied occupation were the secretary of the German Office for Foreign Affairs, Wilhelm Solf, the German President Friedrich Ebert and Foreign Minister Adolf Köster. They wanted “the world” to know that the “use of coloured troops of lowest culture as overseers over a population of the high intellectual and economic rank of the Rhinelanders” violated the “rules of European civilisation.”<sup>10</sup>

Well-known figures of German public life, sharing these concerns, included, for example, Prince Max von Baden, Professor Lujo Brentano, Count Max Montgelas and General Paul von Hindenburg. They emphasised that the “black plague” was not a purely German but an international problem, concerning Germany as well as Europe and the entire occidental culture. They demanded solidarity with the oppressed German people and attacked the garrisoning of “coloured, racially alien troops in Europa” as an “atrociousness against the whole of Europe.”<sup>11</sup>

The campaign against the “Black Shame” spread rapidly in spring of 1920, following a period of only sporadic protests in the press and on a political level at the end of 1919. The German press frequently protested, referred to detailed terror reports about the “shame of the black occupation”,<sup>12</sup> the “black pest in Europe”<sup>13</sup> and promoted resistance against the “black atrocities in the occupied territory.”<sup>14</sup>

This first wave of protests in the German newspapers was associated with an incident in the city of Frankfurt involving Moroccan troops taking part in the French occupation of the city. On 6 April 1920, some of these troops had opened fire against German protesters who hassled them.

The German press and the German Parliament condemned the Moroccan troops. In a parliamentary discussion a couple of weeks later, all parties with the exception of the USPD agreed on a resolution to the government that criticised the “abusive use of Coloureds” as “non-effaceable Shame.” The representatives of the government joined the parliamentary protest, and the minister of the German Office for Foreign Affairs proclaimed that the use of black troops was a “great danger,” not least from the perspective of the German people’s racial hygiene.<sup>15</sup>

Following the Frankfurt incident, a broad range of organisations joined official and media protests against the “Black Shame” in Germany. On this level, the campaign found supporters not only in the conservative and right-wing political spectrum but also in several organisations representing left-wing and liberal circles in German society. Organisations actively engaging with the campaign included the



right-wing nationalist German Fichtebund,<sup>16</sup> the liberal Heidelberger Vereinigung,<sup>17</sup> the German Association of Physicists (Deutsche Ärzteschaft) and the Rheinische Frauenliga (Rhenish Women's League).<sup>18</sup> Their protests were joined by different trade unionist organisations, sections of the Protestant and Catholic churches, a range of women's organisations and newly founded associations like the "Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach"<sup>19</sup> (German Emergency Association against the Black Shame) or the Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" (People's Association "Save the Honour").<sup>20</sup> Some of them, for example, the Rhenish Women's League, even received state funding for their protests. Appeals to all Germans and the international public became frequent; protesters called the fight against the "Black Shame" as a "vital question (Lebensfrage) for white humanity" and attacked the "outrageous humiliation and rape of a highly cultured white race by a still half-barbaric coloured [race]."<sup>21</sup>

Black soldiers were stereotyped in racist eugenic terms in the fight against the "moral degradation of white women and girls and their contamination with [...] venereal diseases" and the "threat of a desecration of white children" by coloured troops and a "mullattoisation [...] of until now purely white areas."<sup>22</sup> Campaigners reached out to the German and international public and demanded the solidarity of all civilised people in the face of allegedly numerous black rapes degrading the German people and the white "racial" and cultural community. The "Black Horror" was condemned as a "desecration of the white race,"<sup>23</sup> the "abominable stain of shame [...], which blighted Europa"<sup>24</sup> and targeted as "the horrific racial shame that [...] violated all white nations."<sup>25</sup>

Diverse organisations published brochures and flyers on the "Black Horror" as well as regular magazines, and organised protest meetings, which proved popular in many places in Germany and beyond. Hundreds of protest resolutions against the "Negro atrocities on the Rhine"<sup>26</sup> were created and signed by tens of thousands of people.

These resolutions victimised the German woman as the white victim of "unrestrained black lust"<sup>27</sup> and reported serious sexual atrocities the colonial troops allegedly committed against Rhenish women and girls. The "Black Shame" was represented as a terrible violation of German women's "racial purity" and "racial honour" and treated as a crime against the "whole white race of men," "the entire white cultured mankind" (weiße Kulturmenschheit).<sup>28</sup>



The “Black Horror” stereotype was promoted through several channels of an intense everyday popular racist discourse. It became a popular object of 1920s Colportage literature, with a flood of novels and pamphlets warning their readers of “the Beasts in the land,” “The Black Peril in Germany!” and turning “desecrated German women” into “Fair Game on the Rhine” tortured by “coloured taskmasters.”<sup>29</sup> Some of the more popular pamphlets were subsidised by the German government and published in diverse languages, amongst them English, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch and Esperanto. Even in Peru and Brazil pamphlets mobilised against the alleged “Black Terror.”<sup>30</sup>

A popular discourse flourished bombarding the German population with the “Black Horror” in newspapers, famous magazines, caricatures, school books, ridiculing poems, songs, as well as on numerous posters, postcards, and on some commemorative coins, stamps and token money (Notgeld). All scandalised the “Negro pest” on the Rhine,<sup>31</sup> and warned about the primitive lust of the black troops. Condemning their use as an outrageous crime against white womanhood, they called for the unity of all Germans and the help of other “white race” nations. The image of a “Black Scourge in Europe” was also promoted on the radio, in the theatre and spread internationally<sup>32</sup> and so turned into an everyday-life racist common good in German post-war society.

The “Black Horror” was represented as endangering all Germans, beyond class difference and conflict, and was used to urge them to unite in a Volksgemeinschaft (community of the people), overcoming existing social boundaries and political camps in Germany society.<sup>33</sup> It is in this context that the campaign addressed the German people to forget “all party quarrels” at least until “the black scourge is eliminated.”<sup>34</sup> The “Black Shame” in this way proved a powerful ideology of racialised social inclusion through exclusion, underlying a negative form of societalisation—in this case, a mode of social integration based on the degradation and social exclusion of “black troops” as racialised “Others.”<sup>35</sup>

The “Black Horror” campaigners’ numerous attempts to spread concern amongst Germans and the “white race” more generally proved rather successful. The campaign soon started to cross over geographical boundaries and found several supporters internationally. Different European nations and voices in the United States condemned the use of black troops in Germany and prominent public figures fuelled the initial German protests.



Edmund Dené Morel, a British journalist, colonial expert, head of the Union of Democratic Control and left-wing MP, was a key figure in the internationalisation of the “Black Shame” campaign. He initiated an international press campaign against the black troops on the Rhine and published his first public attack against them in the *Daily Herald* on 7 May 1920 in consultation with German authorities only one day after French colonial troops had marched into Frankfurt. This was only one of his several public appeals against the “sexual horror let loose on the Rhine by French black troops.”<sup>36</sup>

Morel agitated against the “Black Horror” in numerous press articles and public speeches on the topic and authored pamphlets against the use of black troops in Germany, which turned into international bestsellers rapidly and were translated into several languages. He also used his role as a Labour MP to spread the word about the “Horror on the Rhine” publicly and received support from German campaigners, the British Left, women’s organisations and members of both Houses of the British Parliament, amongst others.<sup>37</sup>

Morel’s pamphlet “The Horror on the Rhine” sold over 10,000 copies in the first month after publication<sup>38</sup> and was very well received nationally and internationally. He found widespread support for his ideas, for example, in the British section of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. The League invited Morel to speak at their first, very well-attended international protest meeting against the employment of black troops in London Westminster Hall in May 1920.

Many members of the French Left also publicly expressed their solidarity with the tortured Germans condemning the French government’s use of black troops, amongst them the French Nobel Prize winner Romain Rolland, the socialist leader Jean Longuet and the critical writer Henri Barbusse.<sup>39</sup>

France’s “black devils”<sup>40</sup> became a topical issue in international politics, and international protests were supported by, for example, the Swedish prime minister Hjalmar Branting and vicar Martin Liljeblad, the Danish historian Horst Brandes and his countryman Karl Larsen,<sup>41</sup> and Edward Le Blank, an officer in the United States occupation forces. Liljeblad warned about “The World’s Shame at the Rhine” and repeatedly raised the problem of “mixed-race children” in the Rhineland.<sup>42</sup>

The former liberal Italian prime minister, Francesco Nitti, was another important public figure vehemently opposing the use of colonial troops in Germany. Similarly to Morel, he published different pamphlets to



publicly attack “The Army of Occupation on the Rhine and Negro violence in Europe.”<sup>43</sup> Some members of the Italian Parliament, senators, the marchese Cerino Cerini and the publicists Cesare and Luigi Degli Occhi, shared his protest.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, a diverse range of organisations which joined the campaign spread the phantasmagoria of a “Black Threat” in Europe internationally. They organised protest activities, amongst them several public protest meetings in, for example, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, the Netherlands, Italy, Ireland, Hungary, New Zealand, Poland, Australia and the United States.<sup>45</sup>

Organisations involved included, for example, the International Labour Party, the American Campaign against the Horror on the Rhine and the Steuben Society, which published pamphlets and protest notes against the “Black Horror” and successfully organised public protest marches in different American cities, amongst them a Protest Rally in New York, Madison Square Garden, with approximately 12,000 participants in February 1921.<sup>46</sup>

A key campaigner supporting the Steuben Society was the German-American journalist and former employee of the German Embassy in Washington, Ray Beveridge. She was actively involved in the German authority’s official propaganda and had worked there closely for many years in the Pflazentrale, founded by the Bavarian government and led by Professor August Ritter, with whom she agitated against the “The Black Evil.”<sup>47</sup>

Beveridge ran several protest meetings in different countries, published press articles, produced the brochure “Die Schwarze Schmach, die weisse Schande” (The Black Horror—the White Shame) in 1922<sup>48</sup> and publicly demanded lynching against the “Negroes” on the Rhine in a protest meeting in the famous Munich Löwenbräukeller pub. Ritter represented the “Black Horror,” like Beveridge, as a “world problem”<sup>49</sup> and saw Europe’s “cultured world” (Kulturwelt) under threat by a “half-caste population” carrying an epidemic syphilis plague.<sup>50</sup>

The campaign became temporarily popular with international women’s organisations, which ran protest events on the “Black Shame,” published pamphlets, and sent their protest notes to national parliaments, the League of Nations and even to the pope. Amongst them were the Zurich Women’s League, the National League of Hungarian Women, the Dutch Women’s Organisation for the Increase of Moral Consciousness, a collective of 59 Swedish women’s organisations and a group of German



women living in Argentina, who founded the *Comision de damas de protesta contra el terror Negro*. These women were highly successful in their efforts, and the Swedish women's organisations alone collected more than 50,000 signatures against the "Black Shame."<sup>51</sup>

The international press also played a major role in the internationalisation of the "Black Shame" campaign. Many international newspapers supported the German press in its public outcries against France's "primitive troops" and their "sexual outrages" on a massive scale. The "Black Shame" was condemned by a range of French newspapers, the British left-wing *Daily Herald*, the liberal American Journal *Freeman* and in the early 1920s the campaign also made the headlines in Austrian, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Swiss and other newspapers.

The campaign reached its heyday on different levels between 1920 and 1922, and its first peak was in Germany in 1920. After 1922 the number of supporters declined; however, the stereotype of the "Black Shame" remained popular and present in German society. German officials attempted to stop propaganda against the "Black Shame" in summer 1923, when the Office for Foreign Affairs explained that the government had ordered that "any further propaganda effort in this direction should not take place as a consequence of a change of the whole political situation."<sup>52</sup>

While protests slowed down noticeably from 1923 onward, some campaigners remained keen to keep public protests against the "Black Terror" in Germany going. Different newspapers and periodicals, amongst them the British Weekly *Spectator* and *Foreign Affairs* (organ of the Union of Democratic Control) continued to condemn the use of French colonial troops on the Rhine. Bertrand Russell wrote in March 1924 for the paper, commenting on a newly published book, *The Treachery of France*: "The most horrible chapter [...] is about the coloured troops. He (the author) proves convincingly, not only—what is obvious a priori—that these troops continuously have the worst morals and have often committed unnatural offences, but also, [...] that they are encouraged to behave like this by the authorities."<sup>53</sup> Dr. Franz Dinghofer, president of the Austrian National Assembly, reminded the public in late 1924 that the occupation of Germany with black troops was a "national" and a "cultural" misdeed.<sup>54</sup>

In Germany, the reactionary *Deutsche Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach* continued its agitation despite growing critique from German officials and especially from the Rhenish Women's League.<sup>55</sup> The



Notbund successfully mobilised public figures to sign its petitions condemning the French colonial troops on the Rhine, amongst them the Bavarian state commissioner for the Palatinate region, who argued in its news magazine against the French, who most terribly “delegated the direct use of force to Coloureds.” He was convinced that this “humiliation” aimed “to morally tread down our people.”<sup>56</sup> The district government in the Palatinate protested in 1924 against “the abominable dangers of a moral contamination of the local youth by the perverse tendencies of the coloured soldiers.”<sup>57</sup>

The German press had only referred to the “Black Shame” sporadically in 1925 and took up the topic more rigorously again in early 1926 and then in 1928 when further diplomatic negotiations between Germany and the Allied Forces took place. The topic remained relatively popular until the last 1000 French colonial troops left Germany in late 1929.<sup>58</sup> However, it was not buried then. The *Mannheimer Tageblatt* reminded its readers in July 1930 of the “Black Shame,” of the “Negroes on the Rhine” as the “darkest chapter of the occupation time,”<sup>59</sup> and the newspaper *Mainzer Tageszeitung* referred to the “Black Shame” extensively in its series “Heimat in Not” (Heimat in Distress). Popular novels such as Minna Grosch’s *Grenzlandjugend* (Youth in the Borderland), which appeared in multiple editions, helped to keep such sentiments alive. Echoing a series of earlier popular Colportage literature on the “Black Shame” from the early 1920s, the novel was written as a “call for a national awakening” and a plea to all Germans to remember their “love for the abused fatherland,”<sup>60</sup> tortured by the black “race.”<sup>61</sup> Their representatives were made out to be primitive and were dehumanised as wild beasts, when the author made them “roll their eyes,” “bare their teeth” and “dangle their hands and fingers like apes.”<sup>62</sup> The black troops were also remembered and ridiculed in the annual carnival parade in Mainz of 1933, when a few people decided to join the parade dressed up as those forgotten French “black soldiers” (Fig. 1.1).<sup>63</sup>

Four years later, in the summer of 1937, three commissions of German physicians in the German cities of Coblenz, Ludwigshafen and Wiesbaden looked at 385 children and decided they were to be sterilised after having been classified as “Rhinelandbastards.” Their verdict resulted in the sterilisation of the children in an operation of a special commission of the German Gestapo kept strictly confidential. The commissions





**Fig. 1.1** Photo Mainzer Fastnachtsumzug [Mainz Carnival procession] 1933. StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, alphabetische Sammlung: Rosenmontagszug 1933. No. 36. ‘Die neun haben se vergessen ...’ Flachsmarktstraße

of German physicians decided on the sterilisation of the children on the basis of alleged “foreign racial features” (*fremdrassische Merkmale*).<sup>64</sup>

The children were the descendents of German women and French colonial soldiers on the Rhine. The terrible crime of their forced sterilisation was not a coincidental incident but the fatal product of a modern racist logic, which was the foundation of the campaign against the “Black Shame” after the First World War. The atrocious actions of these German physicians show us that the popular image of the threatening, beast-like savage, which fed the racist stereotype of the “Black Shame,” went far beyond the concrete racist initiatives associated with the campaign, and that it remained societally virulent long after the campaign against the “animalist Negroes on the Rhine”<sup>65</sup> had officially been abolished.

The campaign against the “Black Shame” had ideologically prepared the ground for the sterilisation of the so-called “Rheinlandbastards” while echoing wider international discourses associated with the rise of eugenics and the dogma of “racial hygiene” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many protagonists of the campaign promoted the idea that the colonial troops in the Rhineland would threaten the “racial purity” of the German nation. In 1927, ten years prior to the forced sterilisation of the children, the Palatinate Commissariat had already sent a query to the German National Council for Health asking if in relation to



the “half-caste children” (*Mischlingskinder*) a “measure would be considered” to keep the “race” pure—free of the “coloured blood.”<sup>66</sup>

## 1.2 A “PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN OF ENORMOUS DIMENSIONS”: THE “BLACK HORROR” IN SCHOLARLY DEBATES

The “Black Shame” campaign has been studied from different perspectives. Some general works on racism, by Wippermann and Burleigh or Solomos and Back, for example, mention the campaign only briefly. Wippermann and Burleigh point out that German politicians “[of] all shades of opinion” supported the campaign, as well as some British people in the spirit of “white solidarity.” Solomos and Back use the campaign as an example in their discussion of German Nationalism and Nazi-Racism and argue that the massive protests against the black troops stood for a specifically German form of racism. The occupation of German territory with colonial troops, so their argument went, was seen as a threat to morality and a humiliation of the German national pride, and created a “moral panic.”<sup>67</sup>

A review of a quickly growing number of academic studies, many of them historiographic works which examine the campaign in greater depth, opens up a more complex and differentiated picture. The authors of these works look at the development of the campaign and its carriers, examine the content and motives associated with the protests, reconstruct its spread in different countries and discuss the topic from different interpretative angles.

Robert R. Reinders was the first to draw attention to the “Black Shame” campaign as a subject of scholarly debate in 1968. His article uses a range of historical sources to reflect on the main aims of the campaign and its development and to examine its popularity in left-wing British circles. Reinders establishes the central role of E.D. Morel in the campaign, a well-known politician, publicist, and merchant who was supported by German officials, and briefly touches upon the international character of the campaign.<sup>68</sup>

Another early study on the subject by Keith S. Nelson focuses on the campaign from an American perspective. Using a collection of official and parliamentary sources, and press articles, Nelson shows how the originally German protests became partly popular in the United States and caused a controversial debate about the use of black soldiers in Germany. Following Reinders, he establishes that the campaign was successful in a number of countries,<sup>69</sup> a now generally accepted argument.<sup>70</sup>



Reiner Pommerin published the first German work on the subject in 1979 and focused on the sterilisation of the “mixed-race” children from relationships between German women and colonial soldiers. He thoroughly reconstructs, on the basis of sometimes unpublished historical sources linked to German authorities, how the campaign against the “Black Shame” led to the sterilisation of the so-called “Rheinlandbastards” (“Rheinlandbastarde”) in 1937, who became victims of the dogma of “racial hygiene” in practice.<sup>71</sup> Julia Roos has in a more recent study reflected on the debate about Rhenish “Occupation Children” in German society.

A central focus of discussion in many works is the “instrumental character of the campaign,”<sup>72</sup> and different authors describe it as a “German propaganda expedition,” a “propaganda campaign of tremendous dimensions” or a “Propaganda War”<sup>73</sup> in the context of Germany’s predominantly foreign-policy interests and diplomatic affairs. They show the strong, politically motivated, propagandistic dimension of the “Black Shame” and explain the conflict about the use of colonial troops in the context of international war and post-war diplomacy and national interests.

These works establish how Germany tried to put political pressure on France through its propaganda, attempted to discredit the arch-enemy (Erzfeind) internationally and get rid of the colonial troops as soon as possible. The campaign was meant to utilise the “Black Horror” to discredit and shame France as traitor of civilisation.<sup>74</sup> Different authors, who emphasise the strategic and instrumental dimensions of the “Black Shame” protests, have supported this argument. The “Black Horror” is described as a ‘synchronized propaganda campaign [...] of official inspiration,’<sup>75</sup> “an instrument of government policy”<sup>76</sup> and looked at in terms of the “propaganda advantage” the presence of colonial troops brought to the German side.<sup>77</sup> The “Black Shame” is reviewed in the context “of generating international [...] protests”<sup>78</sup> and the German “agitation against the ‘black shame’ [as] a central element in the continuing effort to rid the Reich of military occupation.”<sup>79</sup> “[R]ace” itself is in this way seen as an ideological means to an end, “perhaps the most surprising and certainly the most treacherous weapon which France and Germany mobilized against each other”<sup>80</sup> and the “Black Shame” as a tool to protest nationally and internationally against the Allied occupation and the Treaty of Versailles. The “Black Horror” matters as a “weapon in post-war diplomacy,”<sup>81</sup> a “tool of German foreign policy,”<sup>82</sup> and “of domestic politics”<sup>83</sup> or a “moral vehicle to a political end, the



fight against the Treaty of Versailles.”<sup>84</sup> It is discussed as part of a broader “Propaganda War in the Rhineland.”<sup>85</sup>

A growing number of contemporary works analytically reach out beyond this perspective. They have included elements of the complex histories of mentality, culture, gender and colonialism in their discussion; identified racist patterns in the campaign against the colonial troops; and have also started to look at the relation between gender and race, and race and nation in the debate surrounding the “Black Shame.” In recent years, an increasing number of historiographic studies by Anglo-American scholars have, moreover, explored new ground analytically by drawing attention to political conflicts and inner tensions within the campaign, associating it with wider problems of the Weimar Republic, and by examining parallels between the campaign and other wartime propaganda campaigns.

Julia Roos has demonstrated in a number of research articles, the first of which appeared in 2009, that inner political tensions and divisions were inherent to the “Black Shame” campaign, with a main focus on conflicts between “officially oriented propaganda” and “right-wing extremist agitation.”<sup>86</sup> She has examined internal “conflicts of interest” associated with “diverging political strategies of diplomacy on the one hand and right-wing populism on the other hand”<sup>87</sup> as well as with “considerable tensions” between the “Rhineland” locally and the German “national government,”<sup>88</sup> and has pointed towards “a growing concern that radical strands within the Black Horror movement were detrimental to the cohesion of the German nation-state and to Germany’s positive image abroad.”<sup>89</sup>

Peter Collar has developed a similar argument in his book *The Propaganda War in the Rhineland*, the first English-language monograph on the subject. His discussion demonstrates how frequently tensions and conflicts occurred in the organisation of the propaganda against the “Black Shame” between different organisations and protagonists of the protests. Collar focuses geographically mainly on the organisation of the “Black Horror” propaganda in the Bavarian Palatinate—a very interesting case, and argues convincingly that tensions in the political activism against the black troops echo wider problems of a Weimar society troubled by inner social and political divisions. Collar also strengthens a core argument of earlier research on the subject when suggesting that the “Black Horror” became a vital instrument of post-war propaganda, and showing to what extent the protests were associated with Germany’s political goals and reflected wider diplomatic conflicts.



Collar briefly refers to “alleged sexual misbehaviour of coloured troops and consequent dangers to health, racial purity and the dominant position of white European civilisation in relation to other races” as core “propaganda themes” of the campaign, sees “the image of the white woman cast as the helpless victim” as “[u]nderlying all of these themes” and dedicates a chapter of the campaign to the role of “women in the Rhineland Propaganda.” The main focus of the book, however, is not on the exact relations between these themes but on the role of different agencies involved in the campaign, their political motives and their “contributions and motivation” to join a campaign, which as Collar states “as a whole quickly assumed the form of an uncontrolled bandwagon.”<sup>90</sup>

Roos, Collar, Koller and Lisa M. Todd have, moreover, identified interesting parallels between the propaganda against the “Black Shame” and wartime propaganda in relation to, for example, different nations’ “atrocities propaganda”<sup>91</sup> and the “sexual victimhood of women” read as “an emasculator of men”<sup>92</sup> or wartime propaganda targeting German soldiers as barbarians, Huns and savages<sup>93</sup> in the context of the “Rape of Belgium.” Todd’s inspirational chapter on the role of gender and sex in wartime propaganda explores several “linkages between the atrocity campaigns of Britain, France and Germany” to show how “propagandists relied heavily on narratives of sexual contact between soldiers and civilians to provide moral justifications for military actions.”<sup>94</sup> Focusing on the role of gender narratives, she reflects on the themes involved in the “broader use of gender norms, stereotypes and clichés” in a battle “for the hearts and minds of wartime Europeans,” to speak of a “gendered dichotomy” between perceptions of male and female bodies and to show how “the rape, murder and mutilation of women” became “central themes” in the promotion of “atrocity stories,” considered one of the most powerful “propaganda techniques” during the war.<sup>95</sup>

In the genesis of the scholarly discussion about the “Black Shame” campaign, Gisela Lebzelter was the first to go beyond the common grounds of interpretation in her innovative article about the “character” and the “symbolism” of the “Black Shame” campaign from 1985.<sup>96</sup> Acknowledging its instrumental dimension, she suggests that the campaign can also be read as “example of a racist-nationalist construction of myth.” She argues convincingly that the arrival of colonial troops intensified Germany’s feelings of a national humiliation, as it reversed established ideas of racial hierarchy and established black people as rulers over white Germans. This was seen as a threat to the German people, which



documented Germany's exclusion from the "consensus ideology of "white supremacy" and attempted to increase the "national pressure to solidarity" (nationalen Solidarisierungszwang).<sup>97</sup>

Lebzelter speaks of an "integration effect of the campaign"<sup>98</sup> and interprets it as an example of "reactionary demagoguery." She explains how, after the decline of previous modes of integration in German politics, the "Black Threat" became a central element in a "national basic consensus that needed to be defined newly."<sup>99</sup>

Peter Martin reads the "Black Shame" similarly as an expression of conservative visions of the "decline of the occident" and reflects on it in the context of occidental cultural perceptions and race concepts. He sees the ideology of a "manichaic opposition" of "whites" and "coloureds" and of the threat of a final war of the races at the centre of the campaign. For him, the "Black Shame" was only on the surface about Germany's political intention to discredit France in the eyes of the civilised world and to win over the public for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. It was more importantly revealing "views and fears particularly within in the nationalist-völkish spirited circles of the Bourgeoisie" and the academics, which were a reaction to a post-war situation they perceived as a threat to their existence.<sup>100</sup>

Christian Koller's complex, ground-breaking German monograph (2001) on the use of colonial troops in Europe reflects in detail on the campaign and its spread and reception in different countries. Koller reviews the development of the discussion about colonial troops between 1914 and 1930 in France, Germany, Great Britain and other countries, and discusses it in the context of racism and colonial and military policy. He shows clearly how colonial troops became a popular issue in the German and international press and looks at press representations of colonial soldiers.<sup>101</sup>

Koller refers to the "relation of racism and nationalism in the discussion about colonial troops"<sup>102</sup> and characterises the German propaganda as a basically nationalist argument with racist reasoning behind it. In this context he sees racism as a "helping means of nationalism."<sup>103</sup> He suggests that in the debates surrounding the use of colonial troops we cannot find a "pure embedding of nationalist propaganda in race-theoretical terminology," but that we can rather identify "a conscious decision between two alternatives that can clearly be delineated—distinguished from one another—racist or nationalist argumentation."<sup>104</sup>

He argues the German discussion was dominated by foreign-policy interests and proposes that the anti-French campaign also intended



to overcome a German post-war identity crisis and growing problems of societal disintegration within German society.<sup>105</sup> Koller demonstrates that public opinions on the matter varied in relation to different political, military-related and social interests and constellations<sup>106</sup> to argue that they were grounded in “common racist basic structures” and stereotypes of European thought.<sup>107</sup> He identifies robustness, inferiority and a lack of control as key elements of the representations of the colonial soldier, who was sometimes attributed a gradually “infantile” and “tamed” character and other times seen as having a “bestial,” “voluptuous” and “bloodthirsty” character.<sup>108</sup>

Interestingly, Koller chooses not to examine “the images of women in the discussion about colonial troops” in his monograph in any depth. However, he addresses the analytical relevance of gender in a shorter article, discussing race stereotypes and gender stereotypes in the highly “gendered” German propaganda.<sup>109</sup> He is aware that the discussion of the use of colonial troops in Germany predominantly focused on “the relation between the non-white soldiers and the German women” and argues an analysis of the campaign should reflect on racism and the role of elements of gender history and the history of bodies in its constitution.<sup>110</sup>

Koller acknowledges that the representations of race and gender varied in the campaign based on constellations and propagandistic interests.<sup>111</sup> He suggests that even seemingly contrary images were based on stereotypes of race and gender shared amongst Europeans,<sup>112</sup> like the racist assumption that Africans were inferior and differed in their sexuality from white men. In relation to women, he argues that within the campaign “the division between the ‘good’ [...] women and the ‘bad’ women who were eager to engage in sexual relations with the Africans” was linked to nationality.

In a research article, Koller convincingly interprets the discussion about the colonial troops as an “instructive example for the discursive intertwining [...] of racism, sexism and nationalism.”<sup>113</sup> He reflects on the general assumption that a white woman who sexually engages with a coloured man did something shameful and is aware that campaigners linked the “behaviour of the German women towards the colonial soldiers” to Germany’s “national honour.” The “Black Shame” was referred to a “shame for Germany,” “whose Volkskörper was violated” and was constructed as a shame for France, which was accused of causing a “racial shame” (*Rassenschande*) in Germany.<sup>114</sup>



Koller refers to connections between the images of Africans and women in the campaign given that both images had a “good” and a “bad” variation. While the image of the good woman and good African represented them in a serving or suffering role dictated by white men, the image of the bad woman and African represented both as “symbolic figures of the physical” lacking of self-restraint. Both, so his argument went, formed “an antithesis to the white man,” who embodied sense, rationality and self-determination.

Sandra Maß engages in more depth with the gender-historical dimension of the campaign in her monograph on colonial masculinities in Germany (1918–1964) and in other shorter works. She focuses on representations of gender in the protests and interprets the “Black Shame” as a “trauma of the white man.” The image of the colonial soldier is in this way understood as a “cultural paradigm” and “object of projection” for the projection of “white male traumas of the war.”<sup>115</sup>

From this perspective, the campaign was not only an attempt to racistically mobilise against France and the Treaty of Versailles, an “expression of racist politics”; it also made it possible, so Maß’s thesis claims, to talk about “psychological and physical fragmentations of the male body [...] without having to talk about the traumas directly.”<sup>116</sup> Reflecting on the representation of the colonial soldier in the campaign, Maß explains how he was perceived as a carrier of epidemic disease (Seuchenträger) who with his unrestrained sexuality threatened the German nation and race. The “threatened white body” was in this way turned into the “threatened German Volkskörper” and German women were urged to keep the “blood” of the “nation” pure.<sup>117</sup>

Maß’s monograph examines the “Black Shame” campaign as an example of “colonial imaginations of the Weimar republic.” She identifies discursive parallels between the propaganda against the “Black Horror” and “memories of the war in German East Africa” (1918–1933) and locates both discourses in “the panorama of gender-coded and racially coded self-descriptions of the propagandists.”<sup>118</sup> Maß analyses the genesis of the coupled colonial imagination on the “white hero, black warrior” and identifies “continuities” as well as “breaks” in its development in German “National Socialism.” She sees the campaign with reference to Lebzelter as German Weimar society’s attempt to use “the linking of racism and constructions of gender” in order to “work through war violence, defeat and the loss of its Großmachtstellung” (super-power status).<sup>119</sup> Maß dedicates a chapter to the complex relations between occupation, propaganda and gender in the campaign and provides a



detailed account of the contributions of two of its major carriers, the Rhenish Women's League and the Deutscher Notbund.<sup>120</sup> Another chapter reflects in detail on what she considers the campaign's "Realgeschichte," linked to German experiences of occupation.<sup>121</sup>

Other, mainly shorter works on the "Black Horror" campaign, which similarly emphasise the importance of gender for its analysis, include Anja Schüler's Working-Paper *Rape, Racism and the International Women's Movement*<sup>122</sup> and Annabelle Melzer's article about the "Mise-en Scène" of the "Tirailleur Sénégalais." Melzer shows an interest in the overlapping gender stereotypes and colonial stereotypes in the campaign, examines the "gendering" of the colonial discourse<sup>123</sup> and focuses on the "the crude, misogynist coupling of the black savage and the white female—miscegenation" as "core of Western colonisers'" fantasies and concerns. Using France as an example, she also shows the idea that the white race could be destroyed through a contamination and "bastardisation" to be popular beyond German borders.<sup>124</sup>

Tina Campt looks at images of blacks and Afro-Germans in the context of race, sexuality and gender in the development of an "Afro-German" ethnic identity. Similarly to Lebzelter, she regards the black occupation troops and the children some of them had with German women as a surface for the projection of Germany's defeat and the loss of its "super power status"<sup>125</sup> (Großmachtstatus). Humiliation and loss are identified as two central themes of the "Black Shame," together with a "threat of racial parity."<sup>126</sup> Campt relates to a racialisation process in the campaign and argues that the "coupling of black sexuality with the threat of interracial sex and miscegenation" not only played a core role in the construction of the discourse against the colonial troops but also shaped German ideas about their children.<sup>127</sup>

The campaign is shown to link "alleged rape incidents to the trampling of German national honour and dignity and further [harm] to the purity of the white race."<sup>128</sup> Campt is aware that German women were in this way seen as whores and victims and were associated with the sexuality of black men. Given the fact that some of them engaged in sexual relationships with colonial soldiers, a loss of the dominance of the white man was feared and moreover the "danger" of a black emancipation.<sup>129</sup>

She develops a similar argument in a shared article with Pascal Grosse and Yara-Colette Lemke-Muniz de Faria from 1998. They interpret the campaign—again with reference to Lebzelter—mainly as a strategy to cope with the present (Gegenwartsbewältigungsstrategie) and more



specifically a strategy “for the displacement of German post-war anxieties.”<sup>130</sup> The colonial troops were associated with the fear of racial equality and staged as a sexual threat and danger to German society—and the German woman was represented as the medium of this danger.

The campaign’s attempt to represent the black occupation as a crisis threatening Europe and the entire white race is reviewed critically, and viewed as the aim to create a “point of identification” between defeated Germany and its former adversaries. The authors argue that the racialisation of the colonial soldiers culminated in the racialisation of their children with German women, when the campaign incited fears regarding “interracial sex” and condemned “Miscegenation” and “biracial children” as a threat to the racial purity of the German nation.

Mohamet Traore provides an overall concise, even though brief, overview of the use of black troops in the First World War on the basis of existing research and dedicates a section of his German short work on the subject to the campaign. He places the discussion about the use of these troops in the context of racism, colonialism, nationalism and gender. Traore is aware of the overlapping of some of these categories, when arguing with reference to Koller and my German monograph that the female body became a “medium of racist discrimination” in the campaign, insofar as the defilement of women was associated with the “defilement of the white race” and civilisation.<sup>131</sup> He, moreover, reflects on the French strategy of colonisation and attempts to justify the use of colonial troops based on the concepts of its civilising mission and a *Force noir*.<sup>132</sup>

Jonathan Wipplinger explores the interventions of two African American intellectuals and key figures in the “New Negro movement,” Alain Locke and Claude McKay, into the debates surrounding the use of colonial troops in Europe in the post-war era. Both repeatedly travelled to Germany, the Rhineland and Berlin in the 1920s and produced numerous writings linked with these travels. Wipplinger convincingly states that as “African Americans,” they were “well acquainted with the white fears over black men’s sexuality and its use in securing nationhood” and hence experienced the racist, sexist and nationalistically charged “rhetoric of the German campaign” as “frightfully familiar.” Wipplinger also explains why “African Americans remained highly ambivalent about the use of colonial occupation troops” and discusses Locke’s and McKay’s different interventions in a historical and political context.<sup>133</sup>



Dick van Galen's originally Dutch monograph on the Black Shame titled "De Zwarte Schande" gives a more detailed historical account of the recruitment and deployment of African troops in Europe before, during and in the aftermath of the First World War and has been edited and translated into English and French after the author's death. Van Galen's work provides a complex historical discussion of the role of colonial soldiers from Africa in the First World War from an international, comparative perspective. He has examined motives behind their recruitment and use during the war period and the reactions to and wider consequences of their deployment in the post-war occupation of the German Rhineland.

Van Galen reviews the role and positioning of major nations in discussions concerning the use of colonial troops and suggests that their use in European conflict generated wider debates in Europe and the United States on national identity and race. He argues convincingly that "[e]ven before the first African soldier appeared in Europe, he already embodied several stereotypes" and emphasises the impact of a developing European "race science" and "scientific racism" on Western perceptions of blacks.<sup>134</sup>

In two chapters dedicated to the Black Shame campaign and Germany's role in it, Van Galen's argument points towards some discursive links between racism, nationalism and gender in the campaign, when he suggests that from the perspective of the campaigners, "racism seemed an effective means to mobilize a public propaganda campaign which the authorities in Berlin could use to drive a wedge between the Allies and to isolate France in world opinion." He is aware that "racial stereotyping was widespread" in Weimar society and that hence "[t]he image of the black rapist and his white victim could be exported without any problem."<sup>135</sup> German post-war propaganda seemed to have "entered a new phase" by "linking race and sexuality" and campaigners such as the German Notbund are seen as "expressing" their "post-war thinking about race, sexuality and nationality."<sup>136</sup> He considers the "propaganda's far-reaching sexualisation [...] a new phenomenon" and suggests that in the campaign Germany racialised its enemy and turned the "weak sex" into "a metaphor for the disarmed helpless nation" in an attempt to unite all Germans in a "Volksgemeinschaft"—people's community beyond existing differences—an argument I have developed and discussed in great depth in my German monograph and different shorter works on the subject.<sup>137</sup>

A number of newer studies have added new analytical insights by exploring the popular media-driven discourse on the "Black Shame" and the role



of different stereotypes in it further. Tobias Nagl, for example, examines discourses of sexuality and nation in the film campaign against the “Black Shame” between 1921 and 1923. He discusses the making, role, reception and impact of two major German movies on the subject *Die Schwarze Schmach* (The Black Shame) and *Die Schwarze Pest* (The Black Pest), both released in 1921. Nagl draws attention to the complex popular blend of “concepts of sexuality, race, gender and nation” in the course of the Rhineland occupation in the early 1920s,” seemingly turning the “colonial race hierarchy” on its head. He maintains that the Black Shame campaign attempted to “reconfigure” Germany as a “white nation,” whose racial body and “honour” was “threatened” by African troops, and associates it convincingly with the “loss of authority and the weakness of German men,” after the First World War.<sup>138</sup> In this context, he sees the campaign with its obsessively “sexualised metaphoric” as an attempt to articulate a “crisis of masculinity” with a strongly “racialised and gendered semantic.”<sup>139</sup>

For Nagl “the discourse about race and nation together with questions of sexuality and gender” form structuring elements of the Weimar Film culture, but he considers the two propaganda movies on the topic “an exception” to this culture, due to their “openly exposed racism.”<sup>140</sup>

He discusses “narratives of racism” linked with the occupation and propaganda campaign,<sup>141</sup> identifies the image of “white femininity” under the rule of primitive “black men” at its heart and concludes with reference to existing voluntary sexual relations between colonial soldiers and German women that “[t]he fact that white German women voluntarily loved black men” contradicted the image of the “raped innocent.”<sup>142</sup>

Wolfgang Eckart, too, focuses on these two “propaganda films” initiated by the Deutscher Notbund and the Rheinische Frauenliga briefly and shows how they promote “narratives of racism.” Reflecting on the role of mixed-race children—so-called Rhineland Bastards—in the two films, he identifies the “propaganda” against the “Black Shame” as “populist,” “national-conservative” and “national-socialist” and argues that it echoed a wider “race-theoretical basic consensus.”<sup>143</sup>

Joachim Zeller explores the “Black Shame” campaign in the context of a wider “Media race war” and war propaganda and has provided a rich collection of related imagery in a book chapter on the subject. He argues similarly to Roos, Collar, Koller and Todd that the campaign was able to draw on “propaganda against the use of colonial troops” established in the First World War and convincingly draws connections between its “aggressive rhetoric” and “the later race agitation” of the German Nazis.



He refers to the complexity of “Feindbilder”—images of the enemy—promoted in the campaign and examines it critically as a case of “visual warfare against humans of African descent.”<sup>144</sup>

Other research in the field has started to involve the experiences of colonial soldiers in the discussion and to draw comparisons between the motives and experiences of different European nations for using colonial troops. An example of this is a recent study *Colonial Soldiers in Europe, 1914–1945* edited by Eric Storm and Ali Al Tuma, which gives a comparative “overview of the interaction of colonial soldiers with European societies” and combines this with relevant in-depth case studies. The book provides many original insights into the complex relations between European nations and their colonial troops from an innovative, comparative international perspective and dedicates a chapter to “British Racial Attitudes towards Black People during the Two World Wars, 1914–1945.” It also refers to the “Black Shame” campaign in its introductory reflections; however, it does not include dedicated chapters on the controversies surrounding the use of French colonial troops in the course and aftermath of the First World War nor on the “Black Shame” campaign.<sup>145</sup>

Michael Schubert’s work on “the image of the black African in the parliamentary and publicist colonial discussion in Germany between 1870 and 1930” only mentions the “Black Shame” campaign in passing. Schubert argues similarly to other authors that the “sexual domination” of “white women” on German territory by “Negroes,” who had been classified as “inferior” was perceived as “an extreme threat to the racist consciousness.”<sup>146</sup> Schubert suggests distinguishing between cultural-missionary and social-Darwinist racism in the discussion about the colonial troops<sup>147</sup> and believes these types of racism to be distinguishable as ideal types. He refrains from using the category “race” following a trend in German research after 1945 and avoids the category culture as well, to stand out from other studies in the field which criticise the “semantic use of categories of classification” (Ordnungskategorien), but use these categories themselves.

Given the close intertwining of cultural and racist motives in the discussion about colonial troops after the First World War, it is not justified analytically to separate biological and cultural arguments in an investigation of the “Black Shame” campaign. It is also questionable to exclude the category race and other categories constitutive to the racist construction of the “Black Horror” from the analysis. My work aims to examine on the basis of a concrete field of historical material the complex meanings associated



with these categories and to reconstruct their interplay in the social construction of the “Black Shame,” hence avoiding a “conceptual quarantine.”

### 1.3 A TREACHERY OF THE “WOMEN’S WORLD,” “THE PEOPLE” AND “RACE”: THE “BLACK SHAME” DISCOURSE AS A CONGLOMERATE OF RACIST DISCRIMINATION

Scholarly debates surrounding the “Black Shame” provide us with a multi-faceted understanding of the campaign. Many authors interpret it predominantly as a propagandistic tool in the context of Germany’s post-war diplomacy, emphasise the strategic dimensions of the debates surrounding the “Black Shame” and look at the campaign as a means to a political end, a calculating aim, to isolate France, to put it under pressure internationally and to formulate a critique against the occupation and the treaty of Versailles more generally.

Their argument that the campaign had a strong anti-French canon and developed in the context of post-war diplomatic conflicts and Germany’s political interests is convincing. The historical data examined in these works proves that the presence of French colonial troops on German territory was indeed politically instrumentalised by its critics. Evidently, the interest of the “campaign against the blacks” was to some extent grounded in the “political area” and aimed at internationally denouncing France, creating “internal difficulties”<sup>148</sup> and mobilising public opinion against the Allied occupation and the Treaty of Versailles.

These works demonstrate that the “Black Horror” campaign crossed existing political and national boundaries and was supported by a wide spectrum of individuals and groups, nationally and internationally, joining the protests with different and sometimes conflicting intentions. They also show that the involvement of state-run organisations overlapped with those of partly state-directed and private groups. Pommerin’s monograph, in particular, adds another dimension to the analysis by closely examining the development of the campaign and analysing the forced sterilisation of the “Rheinlandbastards” in Nazi-Germany as its most horrible chapter, motivated by widespread racial hygiene ideologies.

A growing number of researchers have established that the campaign transcends this frame of interpretation. Some authors have broken new ground analytically by beginning to examine representations of gender, nation, colonial troops, blackness and other representations of “the enemy”



in the “Black Horror” campaign and by tracing some of its inner contradictions and conflicts. Their reading of the protests insinuates that the talk of a “Black Shame” attempted to degrade the coloured troops racially and to stage them as a French threat to the German people and the “white race.”

Different works suggest that the German woman was mainly represented in the role of the victim or whore of black male sexuality and point toward a connection between her alleged rape, Germany’s national honour and the purity of the white race on the basis of some primary sources.

In this analytically broader discussion of the “Black Shame,” the elements of gender, race, nation and class occur in different contexts and constellations, and the role of the category gender in the protests has been studied in some depth from different angles. Admittedly, the exact categorical relations between these four categories do not form the core of analysis of any of these studies and remain to be explored systematically and in greater depth. This does not mean, however, that they have been overlooked as important dimensions of the campaign, as we can see clearly, for example, in the works of Koller, Maß, Roos, Lebzelter, Nagl, Collar, Campt, Traore, Todd and Van Galen.

These authors relate to the four categories from different perspectives, even though they do not make them and their interplay the core of investigation. The categories are sometimes mentioned in isolation from one another and sometimes subsumed in assumptions or hypotheses which set different categories in relation to one another.

Lebzelter, for example, is clearly aware of the significance of all four categories. She refers to race and nation as dimensions of the “Black Shame” campaign when interpreting it as a racist and nationalist myth in connection with the dogma of white supremacy and the myth of blood and “race.” She relates to gender in arguing that the role of the German woman in the campaign was that of a helpless object of the black troops’ lust. She points toward the campaign’s aim to organise national solidarity beyond class interests by examining its determination to create a national consensus and means to overcome a German identity crisis. In this context, she sees the campaign associated with the idea of a *Volksgemeinschaft* and shows how it increased the pressure amongst fellow Germans to practice solidarity and achieve integration on a national level.

Other scholars refer to the categories nation and race in the discussion of a “Black Shame” when they talk about it as a process of racialisation (Campt), see an inveterate opposition between blacks and whites



at the heart of the campaign (Martin), or elaborate on its anti-French dimension and the colonial troops as a threat to German national honour and the entire “white race” (Maß, Campt, Koller, Van Galen, Traore). They show an interest in the racist and nationalist character of the campaign when discussing race representations fuelling the protests (Koller, Kettlitz, Lebzelter, Nagl, Van Galen) and the phantasmagoria of a “white race” contaminated through miscegenation, interracial sex, bastardisation and syphilitisation (Campt, Koller, Maß, Melzer, amongst others).

Their hypothesis that the “Black Shame” was used to inseminate racial solidarity across national and political boundaries (for example, Campt, El-Tayeb, Koller, Nagl), indicates the attempt to use the threat of the “Black Shame” to mediate between the Allied nations and a politically isolated Germany, and to also mediate between Germans, split into opposing political camps.

A quickly growing number of works also demonstrate the importance of the category gender for the analysis of the “Black Shame” campaign. They discuss the accusation of rape on a massive scale (Koller, Marks, Maß, Schüler); relate to the German woman as medium of the “Black Threat,” victim, whore (Campt), or to the perceived need to keep her pure or study the representations of men in the campaign (Koller, Maß) and of white male traumata (Maß). Different studies on the subject have also argued that the campaign was set up as an attack on culture (Koller), link it to the reactionary fear of a “decline of the occident” (Martin) or suggest that Germans were supposed to keep the blood of the *Volkskörper* pure, while men were meant to represent its culture (Maß). The specific relation of these categories to one another and the exact parameters of their complex discursive interlinks, however, are not scrutinised in any of these studies.

Koller, for example, refers in his monograph to the racist images of colonial troops. He also acknowledges the interplay of gender images and race images in the campaign at the beginning of his monograph and in an article, and calls it an “example for the discursive interlocking [...] of racism, sexism and nationalism.”<sup>149</sup> Even though he decides not to examine their relation in his rich analysis of historical data, he refers to the relation between nationalism and racism in the campaign only rudimentarily and excludes representations of gender from his monograph analysis in an attempt to not compromise the stringency of his leading question. Moreover, he “assumes” that one motive of the campaign was to “counteract societal tendencies of disintegration through the construction of an



[...] enemy image (Feindbild) that could transcend boundaries of class and milieu,”<sup>150</sup> but does not engage with this hypothesis any further analytically.

To sum up, the literature discussed here, including Koller’s very substantial contribution to the study of colonial troops discourses, contributed several significant dimensions of the campaign to the academic discussion while widely leaving underexposed the question regarding the exact relation of the aforementioned categories of social inclusion and exclusion, race, gender, nation and class.

And yet, theoretically it seems in many ways indicated to investigate this question more systematically. The scholarly discussion of sexism, racism, nationalism, classism and culturalism has for some time reflected on interrelations between these categories. In this complex discussion, it has been widely accepted that their underlying ideologies are intertwined and make use of their key categories reciprocally.<sup>151</sup>

However, the more precise modalities of these conceptual connections are subject to controversy. Wulf D. Hund sketches different positions within this increasingly prominent discussion “concerning the connection and overlapping of these categories” and reflects on the “numerous predominantly theoretical commentaries” which relate to overlaps and parallels between them.<sup>152</sup>

Some authors focus on two categories, while others include several in their analysis.<sup>153</sup> Some works attempt to analytically separate the categories by arguing, for example, that “the three worlds of inequality (race, class and gender)” can be seen as “somehow separate from each other.”<sup>154</sup> They treat these analytically as different forms of discrimination or different concepts of difference, which can be discussed independently of one another, even though they can appear together and can complement one another.

Other scholars draw a predominantly summative connection between the categories. They relate to different categories in their analysis, however, and mainly look at each of them on its own, without examining their relations in more detail and without examining connections, overlaps, intersections, differences and commonalities between them more precisely. William M. Dugger, for example, suggests that gender, race and class are different “modes of inequality.” He assumes they overlap and can reinforce one another and explains how the myth of the “free market system” benefits all “modes of inequality” in a vicious circle.<sup>155</sup> However, he still discusses them separately, sketching an “Inequality Tableau” in which he pairs each mode of inequality with its own “Myth,” “Antidote”



and "Practice." Accordingly, the "mode" gender would correspond with the "practice" of domination, the "mode" race with the "practice" discrimination, class with exploitation and nation with predation.<sup>156</sup>

Floya Anthias und Nira Yuval-Davis have in a classical study in the field reflected on complex connections between the concepts race, nation, class and gender. Their monograph *Racialized Boundaries* refers to the controversies within the scientific discussion of the categories, identifies overlaps and contradictions between them and shows that "racisms cannot be understood without considering their interconnections with ethnicity, nationalism, class, gender and the state."<sup>157</sup>

Their work establishes core dimensions and constructions of racism and analytically uncovers relations between these and differentiations based on ethnicity, class, gender and skin colour.<sup>158</sup> Anthias and Yuval-Davis see racisms as modes of exclusion, submission and exploitation, which in specific social and historical contexts develop different characteristics. They clarify how "the categories of difference and exclusion on the basis of class, gender and ethnicity incorporate processes of racialization and are intertwined in producing racist discourses and outcomes"<sup>159</sup> as "racialized boundaries." Their work separates "divisions of race and ethnicity" analytically from other social divisions, examines their interplay and identifies major differences and commonalities between these categories.<sup>160</sup> With an interest in the "process of contestation and negotiation between these different social forces,"<sup>161</sup> they refer to "racial/ethnic divisions and "the nation," "race and class," "race and gender" and "Racism and the colour 'Black.'"<sup>162</sup>

Yuval-Davis and Anthias are critical of theories which have so far not managed to examine these categories in their close reciprocal relations.<sup>163</sup> Their own work identifies complex connections between them and, for example, shows how women were expected to reproduce the existing boundaries between ethnic and national groups. They hence see women as "transmitters" who reproduce the culture of collectivity. Women are on a symbolic level "signifiers of ethnic or national differences," "a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic or national categories."<sup>164</sup> Another major work edited by Helma Lutz, Ann Phoenix and Nira Yuval-Davis uses different European examples to show how nationalism, racism and gender can be understood as "Crossfire."<sup>165</sup> The authors investigate in what ways "gender is central to processes of racism



and nationalism” and how “[w]omen are and have been caught physically and symbolically in the angry crossfire produced by ethnic, national and racist conflicts in Europe.”<sup>166</sup>

Wulf D. Hund has argued that racism constitutes itself in the context of gender, class, nation, culture and race. He has published extensively on the subject<sup>167</sup> and sees racism as a “modus of societalisation grounded in domination” (*Modus herrschaftlicher Vergesellschaftung*). Hund uses a range of historical examples to explain how “genders,” “classes,” “nations,” “cultures,” and “races” impart processes of “social inclusion and exclusion.” They relate to one another as “categories of integration and exclusion, shaped in accordance with historical relations, which are linked with one another, overlap, can be shifted in relation to each other and woven into complex ideological patterns.”<sup>168</sup>

Different approaches, for example, Etienne Balibar’s, explore to what extent “racism and sexism form a system” and work together and also see an essential connection between the structures of racism and nationalism. In this way, the categories are combined and weighted differently. Balibar sees the question of their interlocking as one of their “respective historical correlation” and wants to discuss racism and nationalism within a “dialectic of the unity of oppositions.”<sup>169</sup> He thinks that the “specific articulation of racism as linked to nationalism” speaks of a “reciprocal determination” and inner complementarity between them and examines both predominantly in the context of class structures.

Other authors have similarly emphasised the importance of class in their analysis. Brian Taylor, for example, suggests discussing “racial, nationalistic, ethnic” and other “collectivity form(s)” in the context of mainly economic interests.<sup>170</sup> Howard J. Sherman explains that “racist and sexist myths affect class structure, but that class structure also explains the origins and persistence of these enabling myths.” He regards racism, sexism and class exploitation as “intimately tied together in a complex mosaic,” as they all served the “white, male part of the ruling class” and contributed to inequality.<sup>171</sup>

Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri are amongst the theorists who have made gender the core of analysis. They examine from a historical perspective the role of gender in the historical construction of nation, empire and colony, and discuss the ways in which “power relations of gender have intertwined with those of class, race and sexuality.” They look at the relations of domination associated with these categories in



the context of the history of imperialism, colonialism and nationalism, and suggest examining the history of women in modern society “within a matrix of these interlocking categories.”<sup>172</sup>

Other studies have discussed, for example, how sexism, racism and classism work as overlapping “lines of division” (Scheidelinien)<sup>173</sup> and examine the cultural aspects of race<sup>174</sup> or the interlocking of race, gender and sexuality in representations of the Other.<sup>175</sup> They investigate the historical relations between gender, nation and nationalisms, question the “Gender Ironies of Nationalism” and demonstrate connections between race, class, gender and “White Supremacy.”<sup>176</sup>

Researchers approach the categories from various analytical perspectives. One study, for example, focusing on sexualised and racialised conflicts and their intertwining, relates to the categories race, gender and state in the discussion of violence and the body.<sup>177</sup> Another author focuses on racial corpses as metaphor, examines these on the basis of different meanings of blood in European history and shows how perceptions of blood, race, nation, sex and gender historically intertwine.<sup>178</sup>

Similarly to the works focusing on two categories, authors who interrelate several categories focus on a broad spectrum of topics, contribute to the discussion from different analytical angles, complement, overlap and sometimes contradict one another. At the same time most of them agree that complex connections and intersections do exist between gender, race, nation and class as concepts of social inclusion and exclusion which need to be examined in historical context. They plead to look at them not in isolation but instead to interpret them within their social and historical contexts and relations to each other.

This theoretical perspective can sharpen our view and helps us to notice that in the campaign against the “Black Shame,” these categories are constantly present. The categories overlap, intersect, complement one another constantly and substitute each other partly, particularly in the not well-researched popular everyday sources related to the campaign. Sources associated with other levels of the campaign indicate similarly that representations of race, gender, nation and class were related as dimensions of the discourse on the “Black Shame.”<sup>179</sup>

As mentioned, the white German woman as victim of black disgraceful deeds was placed at the centre of the protests not only in novels, brochures, and other media but also by several participating organisations and other carriers of the campaign. They insisted that her rape was a



humiliation of the German nation and had to provoke the united protest of all “honourable Germans.” At the same time, the “Black Shame” was staged as a crime committed against the whole “white humanity” and attacked as a “treachery” against “the world of women” (Frauenwelt), “the people” (Volk) and “race.”<sup>180</sup>

Protests on a political level echoed such idiosyncratic sentiments, calling for the solidarity of all civilised people with the “downtrodden” cultured German nation and appealing to the community spirit of the “white race.” The blocking out of class antagonisms within the German nation as well as the solidarity of all civilised nations with the Germans were seen as essential to bringing to an end the humiliating occupation of European territory with “primitive savages” and the racial desecration and contamination of white women by black men.

My research asks what historical role representations of genders, “races,” nations and classes played in the discourse on the “Black Shame” and how they interrelate. Different hints and partial results can be condensed to the hypothesis that perceptions of gender, race, nation and class were intersecting in the construction of the “Black Shame,” created inclusion and exclusion on different levels and formed a racist conglomerate as coherences of discrimination (Diskriminierungszusammenhänge) which complemented each other reciprocally.

To show this beyond doubt, it is not sufficient to discuss the sources that have been examined in previous research from this perspective. It is necessary to methodologically prove and substantiate the intertwining of these categories on all levels of the discourse on the “Black Shame.” Empirically, this requires a differentiated and critical analysis of the historical sources, in the context of which I will uncover multilayered connections between representations of gender, “race,” nation and class, on an international and national level of the campaign, looking at its political-propagandistic and literary layers, and in a broad range of sources linked to the popular “Black Shame” discourse in everyday life.

The meaning and interplay of these categories is reconstructed on different levels of the historical material. In the first part of the book I engage in depth with the contributions of three core international protagonists of the campaign who mobilised on a political level against the use of colonial troops in Germany. Following this, I use a popular example from the extensive German colportage literature on the subject, in which the categories appear in a highly focused way, to show how they



were constructed and intersected with one another in the popularised discussion of the “Black Shame.”

On these different levels of the discussion, we can identify both differences as well as intersections in the arguments. Part I examines them closely and outlines how patterns of categorical inclusion and exclusion associated with the notions of “race,” culture, gender, nation and class superimpose in the discussions Morel, Nitti and Beveridge initiated about the “Black Horror” and in Guido Kreutzer’s novel “The Black Shame” (*Die Schwarze Schmach*). This first part of the book is setting the scene analytically for a more in-depth analysis and discussion of these interlocking categories on all levels of the campaign in the second, main part.

The four sections of the second part establish, in a comprehensive discussion of historical data, the plasticity, permeability and discursive intertwining of these categories on all levels and in all areas of the campaign. I will explore a complex stock of everyday-life sources on the “Black Shame,” which has not been made a core focus of discussion before, and remains to be studied in depth.

The category *gender* and its central significance for discussions on the “Black Shame” is the focus of the first section. I discuss this category in its complex intersecting with the other categories and show that women and their bodies in the campaign were a medium to communicate a national and racial threat associated with the colonial troops, and to call ideologically for unity on a national and international level. While German women were usually presented as victims of “black lust,” women who engaged with the colonial soldiers voluntarily were excluded from the national and white racial collective as a symbol of shame.

The second section examines the role of “*race*” and patterns of discrimination associated with it in the protests against the “Black Shame,” exploring their connections with other patterns of social inclusion and exclusion. I show how the campaign constructs a contrast between black primitivity and white culture. In this context I develop the argument that the occupation of the Rhineland with colonial troops was portrayed as a twofold threat: the presence of black troops was seen as compromising the dominance of Europe, and they were associated with a threat of racial contamination and degeneration in an attempt to unite members of the “white race” against the “Black Shame.” The terms “race” and culture are examined together in this section, given that they are not



separated in the historical data. The “white race” is portrayed as representative of culture, and culture is constructed biologically as a racial quality exclusively found in the white race.

The third section examines how such patterns of discrimination corresponded with the nationalist and anti-French dimension of the campaign. It shows how France was held responsible for the humiliating use of colonial troops and their alleged crimes against the German nation and the white community. The campaign against the “Black Shame” created the image of a degenerated French nation which had betrayed the dogma of racial segregation and was not any longer considered one of the cultured nations (*Kulturvölker*). The French paternalistic position rejected the accusations and tried to justify the use of its colonial troops, portraying them as infantile and harmless.

The last of the four sections explores the meaning and significance of *class* in the social construction of the “Black Shame” and its links with the other categories. It establishes how France’s colonial soldiers were staged as a biological, moral and cultural threat to the German nation. It then argues that the “Black Shame” was considered a national burden, demanding the German people to unite, beyond existing class boundaries, in a *Volksgemeinschaft*, against France and its black “bestial troops.” I show how this call for national unity was constantly linked with threats of social exclusion, targeting all those unwilling to join this racial community. To conclude, I summarise the main results of my research and reflect on these theoretically.

This monograph analyses the campaign against the “Black Horror” on the basis of a rich corpus of primary data, drawing on official political documents and press coverage, and predominantly on a wide range of less well-known everyday-life primary sources (*Alltagsquellen*) such as films, pamphlets, colportage novels, caricatures, photos, protest resolutions, poems and plays.

The main objective of my research is to closely examine the “Black Horror” campaign from a discursive perspective to gain a historically grounded theoretical understanding of the collective narratives and social mechanisms underlying the complex interlocking of racist, sexist, nationalist and class-related patterns of social exclusion and inclusion in the racist construction of the “Black Shame.” This is hence predominantly a historiographic sociological case study in Racism Analysis and Intersectionality, which is inspired by and aims to further enhance and complement the growing body of academic work in the field.



## NOTES

1. The French used colonial troops mainly from Africa, originating from Northern and West Africa together with troops from Madagascar and Indochina as part of their forces, garrisoning the occupied German territories. The French army on the Rhine consisted of 85,000 troops, and it is not entirely clear how many of these troops were of African origin. Some reports suggest that between 30,000 and 40,000 troops were colonial troops, whereas Allied reports reported 20,000–25,000 non-white soldiers on the Rhine between 1919 and 1921. The percentage of colonial troops varied, as many of them were moved to the South of France during winter. France withdrew these troops gradually. In June 1920 it moved its troops originating in Senegal to Syria. In November 1921 the French withdrew its units originating from Madagascar, and the majority of its colonial troops remaining in Germany were withdrawn in 1925. At the beginning of 1927 only an estimated 2000 colonial troops remained in the occupied territories, which was reduced to 1000 by 1929. See Marks, *Black Watch*, pp. 298–299. Nelson, *Black Horror*, pp. 625–626. For an overview of the different reports on the number of colonial troops, see Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 202. Wein provides a German account of the occupation of the Rhineland after the First World War and the Propaganda on the Rhine, see Wein, *Propaganda*. Stüss reflects on the French Occupation, see Stüss, *Besatzung*; Stüss, *Rheinlandbesatzung*.
2. Here and in the following Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, pp. 252 ff.
3. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 205.
4. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 338.
5. Christian Koller has explored this discussion extensively in his work on the subject; see Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, pp. 43–94; see also Koller, *Völker Afrikas*. Dick van Galen's monograph has also looked at deployment of black troops in Europe as a matter of international controversy and highlighted different nations' positions on the matter. See van Galen, *Black Shame*, especially Chaps. 1 and 2.
6. Max Weber, cited in Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 188.
7. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. File 343, Aktenstück 2995, p. 3407, cited in Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 39.
8. See, for example, Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*; Marks, *Black Watch*; Nelson, *Black Horror*.
9. See Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 608.
10. Friedrich Ebert, cited in Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, pp. 21–22.
11. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Foreign Minister Köster. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Vol 333, pp. 5692–5693. See N.N., *Wunde*, pp. 11–12.



12. "Die Schmach der schwarzen Besatzung. Die französischen Militaristen. Schandbuben und ihre Schandtaten." In: Neue Badische Landes-Zeitung. 15.5.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 35.
13. "Franzosen über die 'schwarze Pest' in Europa." In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. 28.5.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 35.
14. "Gegen die Schwarzengeireuel im besetzten Gebiet." In: Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz. 8.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
15. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Foreign Minister Köster. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Vol. 333, p. 5692.
16. The German organisation Deutscher Fichtebund belonged to the right-wing nationalist, "völkish" camp. It promoted the outrage against the "Black Shame" internationally, publishing a range of pamphlets in which it attacked the crimes committed by black savages against defenceless German women and children. The Fichtebund published several "Notrufe"—Calls for help in different languages, to protest against the "Black Shame" in Germany and demand the prompt withdrawal of the colonial troops from the occupied German territory. It also used these to successfully campaign for donations within and outside Germany.
17. The Heidelberger Vereinigung was founded by Prince Max von Baden and Max Weber in 1919. Amongst its prominent members was also the Count Max Montgelas. This organisation reflected on the "Kriegsschuldfrage"—the question of war guilt and acted, in the words of Prince Max von Baden, as a "Kampfesorganisation gegen den Versailler Vertrag" (A militant organisation against the Treaty of Versailles). In this context, it also criticised the use of coloured troops on the Rhine. See Max von Baden: Die moralische Offensive. Deutschlands Kampf um sein Recht. Stuttgart, Berlin 1921. Auszugsweise Zusammenstellung von Textpassagen aus dem Werk. BArch Koblenz, ZSg. 105/001388, p. 2.
18. Margarete Gärtner, a former employee of the Rheinische Volkspflege, mobilised different women organisations of the Rhineland to form this league of Rhenish women in June 1920. The league was supported by, for example, the bürgerliche Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine (civil association of German women organisations) and the Protestant and Catholic Women's Association. It was associated with the Rheinische Volkspflege, aimed to raise national and international awareness of the problem of a "coloured occupation" and other burdens associated with Germany's occupation. It played an important, very active role in the protests, promoted, organised and coordinated women's organisations' involvement, published a popular brochure against the "Black Shame" and initiated several well-received public protest meetings. The League



was critical of the involvement of some right-wing extremist organisations in the campaign and opposed the *Deutsche Notbund gegen die Schwarze Schmach* extensively for exaggerations in its “Black Horror” propaganda. The involvement of the League in the campaign has been examined closely by different researchers: Julia Roos has explored the role of the Rheinische Frauenliga and its conflict with the Notbund in detail. See Roos, *Women’s Rights, Nationalist Anxiety*, and Roos, *Contradictions*. Sandra Maß has also reflected on this organisation’s core role in the campaign. See Maß, *Weisse Helden*, pp. 89–100. Collar’s monograph explores the Frauenliga’s work in his wider discussion of the role of women in the “Black Horror” campaign. See Collar, *Propaganda War*, Chap. 4.

19. The German Notbund gegen die Schwarze Schmach was founded by the Bavarian engineer and publicist Heinrich Distler in 1920. Distler was a member of the national-socialist movement since 1922 and a controversial figure, due to his strong exaggerations and unapproved fund-raising. In 1921, he was replaced as head of the organisation. After this, the Notbund established itself, became recognised as an association and received a collection permit. It pushed forward an international propaganda against the “Black Shame,” publishing various pamphlets and for many years a journal in multiple languages. In addition, the Notbund organised protest meetings against the “Black Disgrace.” Various political figures supported its work and the Notbund received financial grants from German authorities. Sandra Maß has also reflected on this organisation’s contribution to the campaign. Sandra Maß amongst others, has discussed the Notbund’s role in the campaign in some depth. See Maß, *Weisse Helden*, pp. 100–105. Julia Roos has explored the role of the Notbund in the campaign and its conflict with the Rheinische Frauenliga in detail. See Roos, *Women’s Rights, Nationalist Anxiety*, and Roos, *Contradictions*.
20. This organisation was founded by the Bremen Cathedral preacher Otto Hartwich in 1919. It was organised in 486 cities and 375 rural districts and was one of the most important and largest organisations devoted to a revanchist fight against the Treaty of Versailles.
21. Flugblatt (flyer) “Eine Lebensfrage für die weiße Menschheit! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?” Deutscher Notbund gegen die Schwarze Schmach. No date. BayHStA, MA108037.
22. Ibid.
23. Resolution Deutscher Männer und Frauen in der Universität Kiel. No date. PAAA, R74421.
24. “Protest der Frauen.” Protestbrief (protest letter) deutsche Frauen der Schutzgebiete Südwestafrikas. In: Landeszeitung Windhuk. 4.9.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.



25. "Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!" No. 2. No date. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus "Ideal und Leben." Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken. Deutscher Fichtebund. PRO, FO371/5999.
26. Brief (letter) Evangelischer Presseverband Westfalen und Lippe to the Reichspräsident, enclosed Entschliessung Frauenschaft Bochums. Der Westdeutsche Sittlichkeitsverein, Ortsgruppe Bochum to Deutsche Regierung. 30.4.1920. PAAA, R74426.
27. Gemeinsamer Aufruf (shared call) Provinzialverband der Sächsischen Frauenhilfe und Verband der Vaterländischen Vereine der Provinz Sachsen. No date. PAAA, R74426.
28. Entschließung (protest letter) der Männer und Frauen von Hamburg und Umgebung. 16.6.1921. PAAA, R74426.
29. Koerber, *Bestien*; Alexander, *schwarze Pest*; Stehle, *Fronvögte*; Brie, *Frauen*; Trott, *Freiwill*.
30. See Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 618f.
31. Briefverschußmarke "Die Negerpest." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BayHStA, MA108037.
32. See Morel, *Black Scourge*.
33. For a reflection on the historical development of the idea of a German Volksgemeinschaft (community of the People) and its link with the social myth of the "Geist von 1914" (Spirit of 1914), see Verhey, *Volksgemeinschaft*.
34. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 29.
35. Wulf D. Hund has established and explored the concept of racism as Negative Societalisation (Negative Vergesellschaftung) in his work in the field of Racism Analysis. See Negative Societalisation. Racism and the Constitution of Race. In: Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital, ed. by Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger. Berlin (et al.): Lit 2010, pp. 57–96 and his German book *Negative Vergesellschaftung*.
36. Morel, *Scourge*.
37. See. Reinders, *Racialism*.
38. This brochure was positively received in several countries. In addition to the German version, financed by the Heidelberg Association, different foreign-language editions were printed and spread in France, the Netherlands and Italy. Morel's brochure proved also highly popular in the UK and the first two editions, comprising of 5000 copies each, sold out in less than a month. In April 1921 the brochure appeared already in its eighth edition. See Reinders, *Racialism*, p. 5.
39. See Morel, *Black Scourge*, p. 1. The use of colonial troops was also in the French population a matter of controversy. For a summary of



- this discussion and the development of a German-French dimension of the debate about the colonial troops, see, for example, Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, pp. 262–283; Lüsebrink, *Schwarze Schande*; Riesz, Schultz, *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*.
40. “Die vertierten Neger am Rhein.” In: Chemnitzer Allgemeine Zeitung. 9.8.1922. PAAA, R122423
  41. Larsen, *France*.
  42. Liljeblad, *World’s Shame*.
  43. See Nitti, *Decadence*.
  44. See *Protest*; See also Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 616.
  45. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, pp. 288–311.
  46. This support, however, was not without its critics, as a counter-protest march of Americans opposed to the “Black Horror” protests with around 25,000 protesters shows. See *ibid.*, p. 298f.; Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 620f.
  47. For a reflection on the central role of the Pfälzzentrale in the protest movement and the shared protests of Ritter and Beveridge, see Gräber and Spindler, *Pfalz*, p. 83ff.
  48. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*.
  49. In this longer pamphlet, Ritter contrasted the French-German essay “La campagne contré les troupes noire” with his racistically coined perspective of the “wahre Lage”—the real situation in the Rheinland. See Ritter, *Weltproblem*.
  50. Vorwort (Preface) August Ritter zur Flugschrift “Die Schwarze Schmach.” 1921. BayHStA, MA107828.
  51. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 307.
  52. Brief (letter) Auswärtiges Amt, AA Ref. Kunst und Wissenschaft. 13.6.1923. Akten betreffend Monatsschrift “Die Schmach am Rhein,” Bd. 1 AZ VI D 3605, cited in Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 57.
  53. Kommentar (commentary) Bertrand Russell zum Buch von C.J.C. Street. In: Foreign Affairs. März 1924, p. 8, cited in Die Schmach am Rhein. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Notbundes gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. 4. Vol., 1924, No 1, p. 3. BayHStA, MA108037.
  54. Dinghofer, *Geleitworte*, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037.
  55. Julia Roos has examined these internal conflicts and identified open contradictions and controversies between the Notbund and the Rheinische Frauenliga and other German Official institutions. See Roos, *Contradictions*. For examples of the Notbund’s mid 1920s agitation against the “Black Shame,” see, for example, N.N., *Reichsregierung*, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037; also N.N., *farbige Franzosen*, p. 2. BayHStA, MA108037. In 1926 the organisation changed its name to “Deutscher Notbund gegen die Zwingherrschaft am Rhein.”



56. Wappes, *Schmach*, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037.
57. Brief (letter) Pfalzregierung to Reichsministerium für die besetzten Gebiete. 10.12.1924, cited in Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 56.
58. See Marks, *Black Watch*, p. 312.
59. "Die schwarze Schande. Neger am Rhein. Das 'dunkelste' Kapitel aus der Besatzungszeit." Sonderbeilage zum Mannheimer Tageblatt. 1.7.1930. StA Neustadt, no file number.
60. Grosch, *Grenzlandjugend*, p. 149.
61. Here and in the following, *ibid.*, p. 127ff.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
63. See Schultz, *Utschebebbes*, p. 82ff., p. 98. See also two photographs from the Carneval procession in Mainz from 1933. StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, alphabetische Sammlung: Rosenmontagszug 1933. No 36. "Die neun haben se vergessen ... Flachsmarktstraße."
64. Reiner Pommerin has authored a ground-breaking, detailed monograph on the sterilisation of these children. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*.
65. "Die vertierten Neger am Rhein." In: Chemnitzer Allgemeine Zeitung. 9.8.1922. PAAA, R122423.
66. Brief (letter) Pfalzkommissariat, cited in Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 92f.
67. Burleigh and Wippermann, *Racial State*, p. 128; on the moral panic, see Back and Solomos, *Racism*, p. 172. Koller too provides a helpful account of scholarly work on the campaign and research on the wider discussion surrounding colonial troops. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, pp. 23–32.
68. See Reinders, *Racialism*.
69. See Nelson, *Black Horror*; see also Nelson, *Victors divided*.
70. See, for example, Lüsebrink, *Schwarze Schande*; Marks, *Black Watch*.
71. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, pp. 10–22. Pommerin has also published some articles on the subject. See Pommerin, *Mixed Blood Children*; Pommerin, *Sterilisierung*. See also Roos, *Rhenish "Occupation Children"*.
72. Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 37ff., here p. 37.
73. Gräber and Spindler, *Pfalz*, p. 81 (propaganda expedition); Marks, *Black Watch*, p. 310 (propaganda campaign); Collar, *Propaganda War* (Propaganda War).
74. Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 606.
75. Marks, *Black Watch*, p. 317.
76. Morrow, *Black Shame*, p. 64. This citation originates in Daniel Morrow's unpublished Master Thesis at the University of Virginia, which he kindly sent me in the very early stages of my research on the topic.
77. Marks, *Black Watch*, p. 310



78. Schüler, *Racism*, p. 1.
79. Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 619.
80. Ibid., p. 606. See also Ibid., p. 619f., p. 624.
81. Ibid., p. 626. Daniel S. Morrow too, examines in his Master Thesis, in what ways the campaign pursued “concrete diplomatic and political ends” and was used by Germany as a “diplomatic weapon.” Morrow, *Black Shame*, p. 66.
82. Ibid., p. 34.
83. Ibid., p. 66.
84. Gräber and Spindler, *Pfalz*, p. 8; see also Reinders, *Racialism*, p. 3f.; Morrow, *Black Shame*, p. 11. The development and changing intensity of the campaign has also been discussed in relation with elections, negotiations about the amount of reparations and other diplomatic post-war negotiations. See, for example, Marks, *Black Watch*, pp. 311–319; Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 624; Morrow, *Black Shame*, p. 35ff.; Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 22.
85. See Collar, *Propaganda War*.
86. Roos, *Contradictions*, p. 48.
87. Ibid., p. 66.
88. Ibid., p. 68.
89. Ibid., p. 74.
90. Collar, *Propaganda War*, p. 93.
91. Todd, *The Hun*, p. 141.
92. Todd, *The Hun*, p. 151.
93. See Ibid., p. 140.
94. Ibid., p. 137.
95. Ibid., p. 153.
96. Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 37.
97. Ibid., p. 40f.; see also Lüsebrink, *Schwarze Schande*, p. 2; Morrow, *Black Shame*, p. 65.
98. Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 53, here footnote 50.
99. Ibid., p. 48.
100. Martin, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 211f.; See also Martin, *Schwarze Pest*.
101. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*.
102. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 16.
103. Ibid., p. 365.
104. Ibid., p. 17.
105. See Ibid., p. 228. Koller argues in an article along the same lines, suggesting that the propaganda against the use of colonial troops, was always meant to also work inside Germany and provoke national sentiment. See Koller, *Feind-Bilder*, p. 150. Fatima EL-Tayeb suggested similarly in her PhD thesis on “Schwarze Deutsche” (Black Germans)



- (2001) that, with reference to the campaign the “image of the black rapist” was “effective” enough, to “mobilise” a sense of “white racial solidarity” beyond political divides and national borders. El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, pp. 158–166, here p. 166.
106. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 371ff.
  107. Ibid., p. 366.
  108. See Ibid., p. 371. The image of the French colonial soldier of the First World War in Germany is also subject of the unpublished master’s thesis by Eberhardt Kettlitz from 1996, who categorises representations of colonial soldiers into different but to some extent mixed types, including the “son of the desert,” “animal,” “molestor” of women and the “wild beast.” These echo for him a “brutalisation” and “dehumanisation” of the colonial soldiers. Kettlitz, *Kolonialsoldaten*, p. 41.
  109. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 338.
  110. Koller, *Feind-Bilder*, p. 151. Koller’s develops this perspective with reference to Gisela Bock’s argument, that gender is a constitutive element of racism.
  111. Ibid., p. 156.
  112. Ibid., p. 151.
  113. Ibid., p. 161f.
  114. Ibid., p. 158.
  115. Maß, *Kolonialsoldaten*, p. 15.
  116. Maß, *Weisse Helden*, p. 21. See also Maß, *Kolonialsoldaten*, p. 15.
  117. Maß, *Kolonialsoldaten*, p. 31.
  118. Maß, *Weisse Helden*, p. 25f.
  119. Maß, *Weisse Helden*, p. 75f. Citation on p. 76.
  120. Maß, *Weisse Helden*, Chap. 2, pp. 76–105.
  121. Maß, *Weisse Helden*, Chap. 3. Citation on p. 105.
  122. See Schüler, *Racism*.
  123. Melzer, *Tirailleur Sénégalais*, p. 215 (gendering), p. 219.
  124. Ibid., p. 230ff. On the link between Race, Sex and colonial soldiers in the First World War, see Levine, *Battle Colors*.
  125. Campt, *Afro-German*, p. 33.
  126. Ibid., p. 44.
  127. Ibid., p. 34f.
  128. Ibid., p. 34.
  129. See Ibid., p. 45f., p. 48f.
  130. For this and the following arguments, see Campt, Grosse and Lemke-Muniz de Faria, *Blacks*, p. 210 ff. This article compares the representations of the African colonial troops with the perception of Africans from the former German colonies and of children from relations between American occupation troops and German women.



131. Traore, *Force Noire*, p. 42.
132. Ibid., Chap. 3, pp. 46–60.
133. Wipplinger, *Germany, 1923*, p. 107f. Locke and McKay in 1923 forcefully intervened in wider debates about the situation and use of occupation troops from Africa in Germany in two texts, amongst others, Locke's "The Black Watch on the Rhine" and McKay's "Soviet Russia and the Negro." Together with other African Americans, they saw the situation in Germany, marked by, as Wipplinger summarises well, issues of "political violence, economic collapse, a wounded national ego, racial strife, and racist agitation" as "the signpost of race relations," "dystopian in its prefiguration of the racial violence and wars that would soon erupt as European colonialism slowly gave way under the pressure of independence movements, as well as utopian in its prefiguration of the contemporary reality of Afro-Europeans and diasporic blacks living in England, France, Germany and elsewhere." Ibid., p. 121f. On Locke's work and involvement in the New Negro Movement, see Holmes, *Alain Locke*.
134. Van Galen, *Black Shame*, p. 11ff.
135. Van Galen, *Black Shame*, p. 159. The development of the campaign is discussed in some depth in Chap. 7. Chapter 8 reviews the German accusations and extreme reactions to the use of colonial soldiers in the occupation in historical context.
136. Ibid., p. 163.
137. Ibid., p. 169. For a similar argument, see Wigger, *Schwarze Schmach am Rhein*, Chap. 3.1, Wigger, "Black Shame" and Wigger, *Interconnections*.
138. Nagl examines the film campaign against the "Black Shame" in a complex chapter of his original, well-researched monograph on race and representation in the Weimar Cinema. The citation can be found in Nagl, *Rasse und Repräsentation*, p. 156.
139. Ibid., p. 167.
140. Ibid., p. 156.
141. Ibid., p. 158.
142. Ibid., p. 161.
143. Eckart, *Propagandafilme*, p. 334ff.
144. Zeller, *Schwarze Körper*, Chap. 13, citations on p. 176.
145. Storm and Tuma, *Colonial Soldiers*. The chapter on British attitudes is authored by David Killingray, Chap. 5, pp. 97–118.
146. Schubert, *Fremde*, p. 360.
147. Ibid., p. 11, See also p. 42.



148. Brief (letter) Auswärtiges Amt to Graf Bernstorff. 2.6.1920, p. 2. PAAA, R74427.
149. Koller, *Feind-Bilder*, p. 161f. In this article, Koller focuses on the connection between race and gender in the discussion about colonial troops.
150. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 228.
151. See, for example, Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries*; Goldberg, *Racist Culture*; Malik, *Race*.
152. Hund, *Racism*, p. 15.
153. See, for example, Planert, *Geschlecht*; Christie, *Race and Nation*; Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*; Andersen and Hill, *Race, Class and Gender*; Boris and Janssens, *Complicating Categories*.
154. Back and Solomos, *Racism*, p. 16
155. Dugger, *Inequality*, p. 21 (overlap), p. 31f. (free market system), p. 35 (vicious circle).
156. An image of this tableaux can be found in *Ibid.*, p. 22.
157. Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries*, p. VIII.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 2f. Solomos and Back too, criticise a “lack of historical reflexivity,” not only with regard to the analysis of modern racism, but also in relation to its manifestations in different forms of social discrimination. Back and Solomos, *Racism*, p. 57.
160. Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries*, p. 6f.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
162. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–60 (race and nation), pp. 61–95 (race and class), pp. 96–131 (race and gender), pp. 132–156 (racism and colour).
163. See *Ibid.*, p. 97.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 114f; also see Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Woman*; Anthias, *Rassismus*.
165. See Lutz, Phoenix and Yuval-Davis, *Crossfires*.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 3, p. 17.
167. For an overview of his publications in the field and his Racism Analysis Year Book series, edited in collaboration with other experts in the field, see <http://uni-hamburg.academia.edu/WulfDHund>.
168. Hund, *Rassismus im Kontext*, p. 17.
169. Balibar and Wallerstein, *Rasse*, p. 63f. The following citation, *Ibid.*, p. 14.
170. Taylor et al., *Quasi-Groups*, p. 266.
171. Sherman, *Racism*, p. 51. On the linking of the categories race, gender and class in international relations, see Chowdhry and Nair, *Power*.
172. Pierson et al., *Gender and Race*, p. 1.



173. See Meulenbelt, *Scheidelinien*.
174. Donald and Rattansi, *Culture*.
175. See Gilman, *Difference*; Gilman, *Rasse*; *Black bodies*; Hall, *Rassismus*, Flax, *Race/Gender*, Zack, *Race/Sex*.
176. See, for example, Blom et al., *Gendered Nations*; Mayer, *Gender Ironies*; Ferber, *White Man*; Daniels, *White lies*.
177. See Aldama, *Violence*.
178. See Linke, *Race*.
179. I have outlined the close discursive connection between gender, nation and race in this campaign in my German monograph and a number of articles. See Wigger, *Schwarze Schmach am Rhein*; Wigger, *Race*; Wigger, *Schwarze Schmach*; Wigger, "Black Shame"; Wigger, *Interconnections*.
180. "Die Wahrheit ins Ausland! Die Schwarze Schmach." In: Berliner Börsenzeitung. 4.2.1921. BArch Berlin, R1601/712.



## Women's Bodies, Alien Bodies and the Racial Body of the German Volk: The Rhetorical Structure of the "Black Shame" Stereotype

Different central rhetorical themes emerge in the racist campaign against the "Black Shame." This chapter outlines these themes, firstly, on an international level on the basis of the contributions of three important protagonists of the campaign. The national scope and discursive intersecting of these narratives is then discussed in the second part of the chapter, using an example from the German colportage literature on the subject. This novel bundles these themes together in a single source.

### 2.1 A "VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION": THE "BLACK HORROR" AS INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN

The British Labour MP and critical journalist Edmund D. Morel, the former Liberal Italian Prime Minister Francesco S. Nitti and the reactionary American actress and journalist Ray Beveridge participated in the protests against the stationing of colonial troops in Germany in various forms. Their contributions show them as important multipliers of the protest movement against the "Black Horror." Morel, Nitti and Beveridge represent different political directions in the campaign and illustrate its broad ideological spectrum. In addition to differences, important argumentative overlaps and similarities in their discussion of the "Black Shame" will be identified.



### 2.1.1 *Edmund D. Morel's "Black Horror on the Rhine"*

Georges Edmond Pierre Achille Morel de Ville was born in 1873 in Paris as the child of a British mother and a French father. In 1891, he gained a job in Liverpool in the office of the shipping company Elder Webster, one of the largest companies in the trade with Africa.

As a long-time employee and later director of Webster's Congo Department, he developed an interest in the African continent, received up-to-date information about its development, established political contacts and turned in the period between 1891 and 1900 an advocate of British commercial interests in Africa and "spokesman of the Liverpool shipping interests."<sup>1</sup> He also became a writer of diverse initially anonymous articles which aimed at publicly putting the British government under pressure and persuading it to enforce the concerns of the British merchants in Africa compared with other, especially French, commercial interests.

Under the name Edmund D. Morel, he became known as a liberal journalist and director of the successful campaign against the brutality of the Belgian colonial regime of King Leopold after the turn of the century. He was an internationally recognised expert on colonial affairs and a prominent critic of the militarisation and exploitation of Africa by Europe. Morel denounced parts of the imperialist and militaristic European colonial policy in various books, articles and public appearances and pointed out their devastating consequences for Africa, the Africans and Europe.<sup>2</sup> He also generated political pressure and influenced public opinion in his role as Head of the Congo Reform Association,<sup>3</sup> founder of the journal of West African Mail and co-founder of the Union of Democratic Control.<sup>4</sup>

Morel succeeded in discrediting King Leopold's regime in Congo internationally. Later, he publicly questioned Britain's foreign policy and involvement in the world war in the context of his work in the Union.<sup>5</sup> After he used his prominence for a long time, primarily to mobilise resistance against the ills and consequences of an imperialist European colonial policy, he—after the end of the war—lashed out against the achieved peace and French politics, and campaigned for a comprehensive revision of the Treaties of Versailles.

When Morel, previously a member and candidate of the liberal party who served a prison sentence because of his criticism of the British involvement in the First World War, joined the International Labour



Party in 1918, he became a “hero of the British left.”<sup>6</sup> He influenced the development of the foreign-policy position of the party, was a member of the advisory committee on international questions and stood in the center of a national movement which called for a radical break with the “old diplomacy,” a democratic control of British foreign policy, and a critical examination of the achieved peace.<sup>7</sup>

The main objective of his political work of the post-war period and one of the central goals of the Union of Democratic Control was to politically fight against the Treaty of Versailles. Morel described it dramatically as “Peacewar”<sup>8</sup> and an international political disgrace causing terrible distress to millions of people.<sup>9</sup>

As the International Labour Party candidate, he prevailed in 1922 successfully in the District of Dundee against Winston Churchill and entered the British House of Commons. Until his death in the summer of 1924, he remained “propagandist,” “theorist,” “strategist” and “organizer”<sup>10</sup> and appeared as a prominent war opponent, critic of the Versailles Treaty and British Foreign policy, as well as European secret diplomacy.

In the context of his protest against the Versailles peace, Morel also polemicalised against the French post-war politics. His intense commitment against the “Black Shame” stood in the centre of this criticism. He deemed it France’s largest and most scandalous crime against women, the white race and the civilised word. Up to the end of his life, he mobilised against this “monstrous policy” which had to be “condemned” by all “civilised countries,”<sup>11</sup> and agitated against further consequences of French militarism.

A protest letter addressed to the British newspaper *The Nation* in March 1920 started off his campaign against the “Black Horror.” In that letter, he criticised the “stationing of black troops in Europe” and condemned all those who trusted coloured “Barbarians.” He represented them as belonging to a “race” in a state of nature driven by extreme sexual impulses and deemed it an outrage that France had brought them into “the heart of Europe.”<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Morel mobilised in other newspapers, such as the *Daily Herald* against the “Black Scourge in Europe”<sup>13</sup> and an allegedly associated “Prostitution of the Rhineland”<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 2.1).

As he had already done in the Congo campaign, Morel succeeded in winning support for his protest from prominent figures and managed to mobilise public opinion. In the UK, he turned the alleged “Black



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## BLACK SCOURGE IN EUROPE

### Sexual Horror Let Loose by France on the Rhine

### DISAPPEARANCE OF YOUNG GERMAN GIRLS

The article we publish below from the pen of Mr. E. D. Morel is a revelation so horrible that only the strongest sense that it is our duty to let the British public know what is being done would induce us to publish it. Particularly, we want to guard against the assumption that we are acquiescing in the policy of raising hostility between Great Britain and France. The French people are innocent. Still more strictly would we guard against the idea that we are "encouraging colour prejudice." But for the very reason that we champion the rights of the African native in his own home, we deplore that he should be used as a mere instrument of revenge by an imperialist Power.

### A DELIBERATE POLICY

By E. D. Morel.

"In addition to Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Offenbach, Hesse, Hildesheim and Wiesbaden have been occupied. The troops (20,000) consist entirely of European black men, only the officers being white."—Daily papers, April 8.

In the columns of the Daily Herald last January I wrote on the operations here applied to the whole of French Africa and Madagascar, there dealt with the methods adopted for all Europeans, and for stable and human government, in the African Empire.

A fortnight ago I called attention in general terms to the barbarous side of the question in a letter to one of your weekly contemporaries. I should have taken the gloves off before now about it, had I not known that I have been waiting for complimentary details as the result of inquiry I am pursuing. My information is not so complete as I should wish, but the picture is pretty clear.

One of these black troops, to pay for their upkeep, and provide fuel to heat them. At Saarbrücken, it seems, the cost to the town of these troops is no less than 70,000 marks. It is reported to me that the mayor of a certain town (I do not here name it for obvious reasons) was told that his taxation in complying with demands for this purpose was rendering him liable to court-martial; it was imposed upon him that such houses were "especially necessary" for black troops, and it was pointed out that the penalty of a fine would be paid by the State.

All this is merely the fringe. As one correspondent puts it—

"Some of the most awful things never known publicly known—the assaults by negro soldiers on ladies who could not face publicity, and have committed suicide... things are such that strangers would consider them mere inventions, whether told or printed."

*Main Junes Employed*

I should like to emphasize some of the facts given in detail in another...

## FRENCH TROOPS RUSHED UP

### Reinforcements Sent to Frankfurt

### TANKS MOVING EAST

Berlin, Friday.—Today Frankfurt is a little quieter than yesterday. The French action all the troops here for their own purposes, and questioned a great number of citizens and address in private residences.—Wireless Press Association, Friday.—The "Daily Telegraph" reports that some French troops have arrived in Frankfurt, the occupied zone. Three regiments of infantry and a great number of tanks started yesterday from Wiesbaden in an easterly direction, and to-day French troops forced over the Rhine at different points for the reinforcement of the front of occupation in the central zone.

It is said that Marshal Foch has ordered the reinforcement of the front of occupation at Frankfurt and Hildesheim.

Confined and Saved

Berlin, Friday.—Ten members of the "Red Guard" were condemned at Duisburg to death by drowning in the Ruhr district, and, according to the papers, only five of the sentences were carried out, as a telegram from the Government arrived in time to stop the execution of the others.—Reuter.

Duisburg, Friday.—A mine which exploded in the fighting has been sentenced to be shot.—Central News.

## "WHEELS IN THE AIR"

### How Dogs Caused Fatal Bus Smash

The cause of the fatal bus smash at Shooter's Hill on Easter Monday was attributed, at yesterday's inquest on the three victims of the accident, to the driver's attempt to avoid running over two dogs in the road.

The inquiry was held at Greenwich by the South-East London coroner (Mr. W. H. Whitthorne). As a result of the smash 21 people were injured, of whom the most severely being Ray M. Watson, 36, widow; Fredrick Watson, 36, a bookbinder; and Albert T. Thomas Wood, 31, a market baker. The driver of the bus, an ex-soldier, Herbert Crouley, was present in court. His right hand was in a sling and his head was bandaged, and he appeared to be very weak as he was sentenced to his seat.

Charles Black, son-in-law of Mrs. Watson, said he spoke to the driver of the bus, and he was perfectly sober.

"Dogs—and the Man"

The next witness was Jewel Parmenter, who saw the accident whilst standing in his front garden. His attention, he said, was attracted by the howling of a dog, and looking up, he saw a bus turn sharply to the left, "with wheels in the air, and the vehicle falling in." The bus then crashed to the ground.

Witnesses saw the road with all the glass shattered, and those who had been injured lying on the roadway. The dog, which had been run over and was howling pitifully, was lying in the roadway.

Albert Girdings said he was standing outside a public-house last Monday evening, when his attention was drawn by two dogs in the centre of the road. A man stepped off the sidewalk to drive them away, and a bus passed going towards London. The next second the bus swerved to avoid the dogs and "went it went" as all popular among Frenchmen say, for by instantaneous intuition of the North-West France they had been led to believe that all England approved of the anti-alcohol announcement that the British Government refused to associate itself therewith.

The capitalist Press is shocked, and even writers who are compelled to restate their feelings say Mr. George has committed one of the most serious...

## BIG RAIL WAG DEMAND

### Discussed by Central Wages Board

### £17,000,000 CLAIM

As exclusively announced in Daily Herald yesterday, the National Union of Railwaysmen has claimed for a flat increase of £1 per week for all men covered by the settlement of January, 1920, in conjunction with the Associated Society it has also asked for an increase of 1s. per day for all drivers and men and 2s. for all cleaners.

The Railway Trades' Institute maintains that these demands will affect whole of the men employed on all railways of Britain and Ireland. The cost of the demand for £1 per week for all men covered by the settlement works out at £15,000,000 a year, whilst the 1s. for 1s. for drivers and firemen and for cleaners would amount to £1,000,000, giving a gross total of £17,000,000 per annum.

Wages Board Adjourned

The matter was considered yesterday by the Central Wages Board. Board consists of five representatives of the men and five representatives (company managers) of the companies.

After a lengthy discussion meeting was adjourned until 7 day next.

Inspiring elicited the statement there is a possibility of the Board being able to deal with the matter with referring it to the National Wages Board, which would be the case under the terms of the Jans agreement.

The National Board consists of Sir W. W. Mackintosh (Chairman), J. H. May, J. H. Williams, Sir John Taylor, Sir George W. Williams, Sir Thomas Williams, Sir George W. Williams, Sir George W. Williams.

Back and Fift Demand

The decision taken by the N.U.R. Executive to apply for a flat increase without regard to the aid made yesterday made in Jan. brings to a head the current among...

Fig. 2.1 Morel, Edmund D.: Black scourge in Europe. Sexual horror let loose by France on the Rhine. Dissappearance of young German girls. In: Daily Herald, 10.4.1920, London

Scourge in Europe" as an expression of French tyranny and the political failings of the Versailles Treaty into a subject of public interest. In a country which had itself used colonial soldiers in the war, this discussion was not new.<sup>15</sup> It was welcome, even more, though, as the criticised coloured units were from Britain's own but French colonial troops. Morel's pamphlet "The Horror on the Rhine" (Fig. 2.2) was a box office hit nationally and internationally, appeared in eight editions, was translated into several languages and sold approximately 10,000 copies in less than a month.<sup>16</sup>



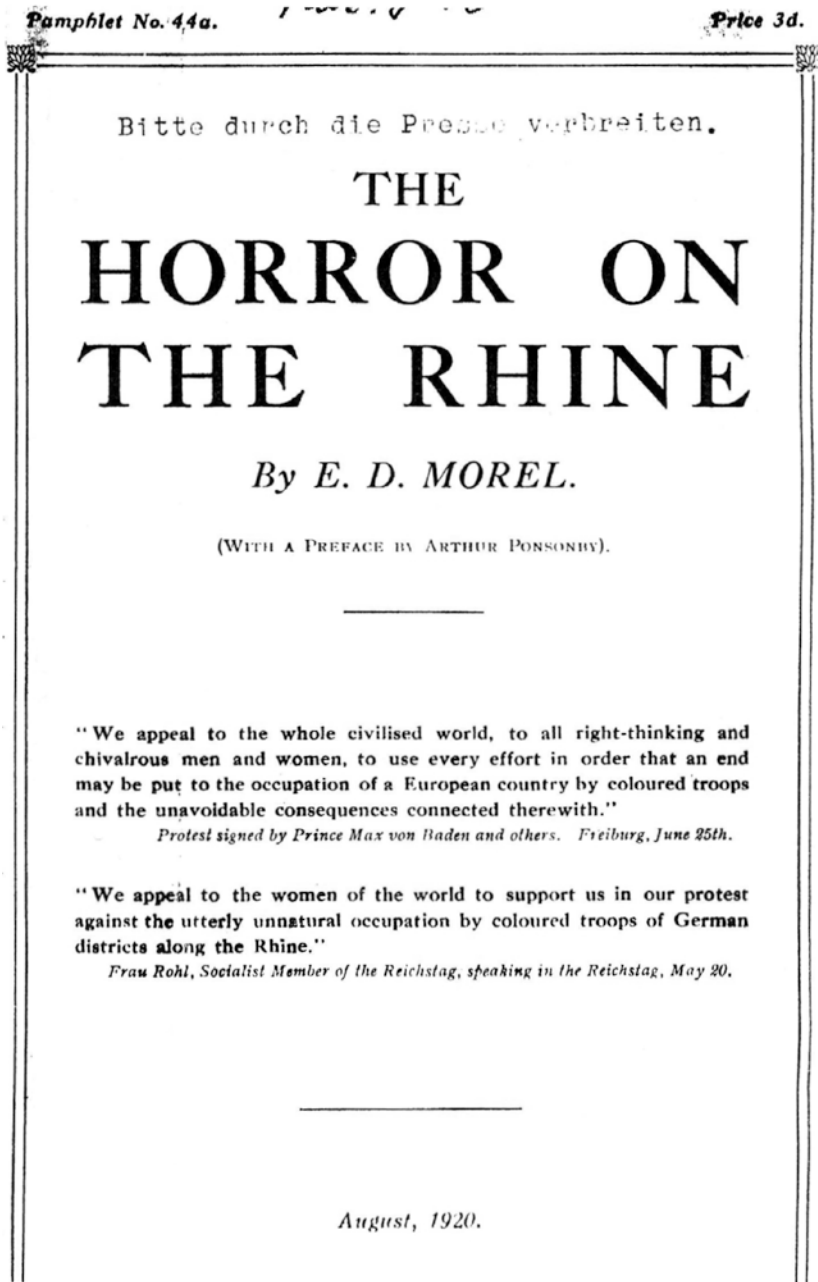


Fig. 2.2 Morel, Edmund D.: The Horror on the Rhine, London 1920



Popularity and political functions of the author encouraged the rapid promotion of the campaign, which was in the UK carried by the Left, other organisations and prominent intellectuals, politicians and representatives of the military as well as parts of the press. Morel's aversion to the use of black troops in Germany was also shared in pamphlets, resolutions, letters and in public lectures, congresses and at protest meetings.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, he was from the beginning of his protest in close contact with German governmental institutions and was supplied by the Foreign Ministry and the German Rheinische Frauenliga (Rhenish Women's League) with information from the occupied territory. Even the Liberal Heidelberger Vereinigung collaborated with Morel. His writings and some of his speeches have been translated into several languages, with the help of German authorities and were spread internationally.

The Union of Democratic Control, which co-operated as a left-liberal, pacifist organisation with the International Labour Party and the left spectrum of Labour, was also internationally an important voice for his campaign.<sup>18</sup> In its journal *Foreign Affairs*, the organisation attacked the Treaty of Versailles and the "Black Horror" in various articles<sup>19</sup> and pointed public attention to the "widespread international support for Morel's protest."<sup>20</sup> The theme "Black Troops" was worth even a special edition of the Union's magazine. This targeted French politics as destructive and "monstrous" and deemed the German population terrorised by this "act of blind meanness."<sup>21</sup>

Other left-wing organisations and intellectuals joined in the protest.<sup>22</sup> Morel was a sought-after speaker at public meetings against the deployment of African troops in Europe. Conferences, resolutions and letters of protest initiated by different British women's organisations testify that his message resonated well with them, too. At an international protest meeting held by the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an international pacifistic association of women organisations,<sup>23</sup> in April 1920 in London with numerous organisations, his enthusiastic audience demanded "[t]hat in the interests of good feeling between all the races of the world and the security of all women, this meeting calls upon the League of Nations to prohibit the importation into Europe for warlike purposes of troops belonging to primitive peoples."<sup>24</sup>

However, Morel's public attacks against the "Black Horror" also provoked outspoken protest and criticism. One of his critics was the Afro-American author and activist in the New Negro movement, Claude McKay, who spent a long time in Europe between 1919 and 1934,



where he became a member of the socialist and communist literary community. In his response to Morel's *The Horror on the Rhine* (1921), he counters Morel's outrage against black primitivity with examples from "the white world." In an address directed to Morel and the editor of the *Daily Herald*, he explains that he critiqued his position "not because I happen to be a Negro ... but because I feel that the ultimate result of your propaganda will be further strife and blood spilling between the whites and the many members of my race."<sup>25</sup>

In the British Parliament, the question of "colonial troops" in Germany also enjoyed a certain popularity temporarily. More than a dozen times, it became the subject of political controversy within Parliament. In their questions, members of various parties, amongst them also Edmund D. Morel, protested against the usage and the atrocities of black troops on German territory.<sup>26</sup> They wanted to know whether the government had received any complaints against the conditions on the Rhine<sup>27</sup> and whether it supported the use of colonial troops in Germany.<sup>28</sup> They also reminded the British government that using "black troops" against a white population was against "public opinion"<sup>29</sup> and put pressure on the government to issue an official protest against France's deployment of Africans on the Rhine.<sup>30</sup>

In response to these protesters and various protest letters, the government insisted repeatedly that the use of colonial forces was France's affair alone. However, a letter from a representative of the British Foreign Office shows that Morel's concerns were nevertheless conceived favourably in parliamentary circles to some extent. It claimed that, despite obvious exaggerations, France had committed a fundamental "political error" by using black troops in Germany.<sup>31</sup> The letter's author assured that this was not only his opinion but the "opinion of everyone inside and outside the government" with whom he had discussed the subject.<sup>32</sup>

In Morel's image of Africans and construction of a "Black Horror" some rhetorical patterns can be identified amongst perspective shifts and narrowings. In his engagement with Africa, he had at first made use of traditional stereotypes of the "Black" and—as Catherine Cline has highlighted in her study of Morel—had at the end of the nineteenth century initially justified the Belgian regime in the Congo. Back then, its people seemed to him "disgusting," lacking any education, sense of order, and struggling with heavy corruption. Morel even considered measures of severe colonial "repression" by the Belgian state justified in order to govern the inferior and isolated Africans.<sup>33</sup>



Strongly influenced by the views of the anthropologist Mary Kingsley,<sup>34</sup> Morel developed a humanitarian perspective of development for the Africans only in the following years, which designated different positive qualities to them paired with some rights corresponding to their supposed nature. This concept also attributed a low level of development to the blacks but at least admitted to them the prospect of gradual mental development. Although Morel had vigorously fought against the racist policy of the Leopold regime in the Congo and for the humane treatment of blacks by the Europeans, there were obviously serious differences between the two for him. He was firmly convinced that Africans did not belong to Europe and that their stationing in Germany was an outrage.

This conviction was not at last grounded in racial characteristics, which Morel already had attributed to “coloureds” in his earlier engagement with the African continent, without evaluating them negatively for their lives in Africa. In his book *The Black Man's Burden* from 1919 he reflected on the misdeeds of colonial policies and states, and declared that every “race” has their “own psychology” and morality.

It seemed apparent to Morel, too, that a major civilisation gap existed between African and European “nature.” He saw the “Black” as a being far closer to nature compared with Europeans and equipped him with “the uneducated soul of the savage.”<sup>35</sup> That this soul was suitable for both indoctrination and the projection of civilised yearnings, becomes clear not only in Morel's description of the relationship of the black to work but also in his views about black sexual relationships and emotional properties: the black could despite considerable physical strength simply not cope with the European disciplined labour system due to its lack of freedom and socialising, long hours and ongoing control at work. Morel was sure that the black would find such demands “depressing” as he was “essentially” a creature of moods and “strong emotions.” Yet Africa would produce, but under its “own system” based on “co-operative work and co-operative social life.”<sup>36</sup>

The black race seemed accordingly ill-equipped for the requirements of civilising work and its deprivations. Morel regarded them as incapable of sublimating and was sure that the lack of freedom and joy, spontaneity and social contacts paralysed the African, as he did, in contrast to the Europeans, not understand how to master his emotions and instincts and to align his life according to the demands of work.



The sexual relations of blacks, too, were to differ fundamentally from those of the civilised and monogamous Europeans (able to control their desires), and were hence considered proof of their low level of development. Before the First World War, Morel had already represented Africans as racially grounded polygamous and obsessive in the reproduction of their race. Due to their strong reproduction drive, which could only weaken with further evolutionary progress, there were considered incapable of controlling their sexual desire.

Morel had already in 1911 used the example of Nigeria to claim that the "reproduction" and spread of the race was to be considered "the driving force in the regulation of sexual relations"<sup>37</sup> of the natives. They would constantly have to fight against the destructive forces of nature and act based on an "instinctive and mysterious" call of racial need. With the very high infant mortality rate, "the reproduction of the species" turned into a top "obsession," an "elementary racial desire."

Morel applied Kingsley's doctrine of a non-Europeanisation of the principles of natural indigenous life to both the African's primitive sexual relations and co-operative forms of work. European influence and education were seen as causing the misfortune and demise of the man in the state of nature (*Naturmenschen*). To protect him, the missionaries were urged not to force the natives to be subject to a different kind of sexual relationship, which stood in direct conflict with nature's demands.<sup>38</sup> A break-up of the polygamous structures had already led to a threatening de-popularisation. Morel believed that Africans, wherever they were pushed into the European system, were withering away. In 1919 he claimed several of the "smartest African peoples" were dying out, influenced by the European system of monogamous relationships. The "educated West Africans" seemed for him a class in decline, "profoundly unhappy" at heart.<sup>39</sup>

The British colonial expert presented Africans once more as people who differed significantly from the norms of white civilisation. Until the beginning of his campaign against the "Black Horror," however, he opposed mostly false colonial policy and brutal forms of European imperialism. In his attack against the regime of King Leopold and beyond it, Morel also condemned those who had torn the natives out of their "natural" savage life and social structures in order to exploit them and their country. A "monstrous invasion of primitive rights"<sup>40</sup> would be based on a misguided policy, ignoring the indigenous natural needs of Africans and turning them into "slaves of European capitalism."<sup>41</sup>



In this sense, Morel's colonial criticism could be read as a call urging Europe to finally recognise, in an ironic twist against Rudyard Kipling's idea of colonial subjugation of Africa as the "white man's burden," the true burden of the white man. Instead of continuing to torture Africans and systematically exploit and alienate them from their natural lives, the "white man" was to accept the infantile character of the blacks and secure their existence as "trustee" and "trading partner," as "great white father" and "protector" in the colonies. It was up to him to protect their "basic human rights"<sup>42</sup> and the further mental development of his "black ward,"<sup>43</sup> this "most helpless race of mankind."<sup>44</sup>

Morel, however, did not call into question the general claim of the white race to rule in Africa. He assumed that the black race continuously required white rule and that this was also in the interests of Africans. He considered it a task of the white governors to protect the interests of the African indigenous people<sup>45</sup> and saw this corresponding with the interests of "European democracies."<sup>46</sup> European governments were, according to Morel, not to withdraw from Africa, since the Africans otherwise would become "victims of international Buccaneers" deprived of their only protection—"public opinion." Without this protection, the governing of the African "races" was under threat to be turned into an "agency of oppression and injustice," destroying Europe's noble humanitarian mission.<sup>47</sup>

Morel did not question the general legitimacy of imperial rule and remained sure that the black race differed from the white in their cultural and racial characteristics, appropriate to their stage of development and a limited mental horizon. He acknowledged that, if treated sensibly, the black race could gradually move up towards the level of the whites. However, for those who considered the "government of coloured races" as a "sacred trust," the "imperial white people were given, the "preservation of the national life of these races" was meant to be of enormous importance.

Colonial and anthropological knowledge and the implementation of the "human needs corresponding with an expanding mental horizon" would teach us that it was not possible to reach a "common definition of progress" and a "common standard for the whole of mankind." What meant progress for some races at a particular stage of development could mean decline if not "destruction" for races in a different state. Morel insisted that "people's place and role" in the world had to differ based on "the differences of race and the environment" and that "profound



divergences in culture and racial needs" had to be recognised. The only way to justify the imperial prerogative morally was to generate "national growth" based on "natural principles" and the stimulation of mental advancement.<sup>48</sup>

Under the directive Africa for the Africans, he demanded, based on his critique of Belgian Congo, an indirect colonial governance. It was to preserve the local institutions and the land owned by Africans, accept their forms of government, social and sexual relations and put an end to forced labour, trade restrictions and the "economic and military slavery" of Africans.<sup>49</sup>

After linking the militarisation of Africa foremostly with a critique of the recruitment of indigenous soldiers by the regime of King Leopold, Morel opposed their use on European soil during and after the First World War.<sup>50</sup> His humanist views of the African continent narrowed at the moment of the stationing of coloured troops in Europe. His earlier paternalistic appeals to support the Africans in their low level of development and help them advancing in the frame of their possibilities stopped abruptly. After he had considered blacks previously as the primitive victims of the brutalities of their colonisers, he now accused the Africans stationed on the Rhine, with a clearly anti-French attitude, of violating Europe on behalf of France.

Their use was seen to massively threaten the colonial consensus of white superiority, essential to maintaining white rule in Africa. Morel was convinced that pulling Africa into the European war was a "collective crime," which poisoned the relations between whites and blacks, deprived blacks of the necessary faith in white supremacy and turned them into outlaws. Morel feared "anarchy" amongst "these primitive and half primitive peoples" and warned the "killing of white men (these superhuman creatures) by Africans [...] instigated by other white men" would have a devastating "psychological effect" on the black mind, poisoning his relations with white men. He pointed towards the danger of an upheaval of the militarised blacks against their white "trustees." Every African officer would know the "ingredients" of the hellish vessel generated by Europe's foolishness in Africa.<sup>51</sup>

The Africans stationed on European soil were considered a particular threat. Morel warned the white race not to compromise its dominance through the "unnatural" use of colonial troops in Europe. This was also meant to harm the African, who as an infantile creature of nature and child of the tropics, was ill-equipped to survive "modern capitalist



exploitation.”<sup>52</sup> France, regardlessly, would have trained blacks specifically to use modern weapons and sent them to Europe to kill whites. Morel warned: “The white man has dug the grave of the “prestige” of his race in West Africa, by employing West Africans to kill white men in Europe, and by stationing them in European cities where they have raped white women.”<sup>53</sup>

Such suspicions were not new. Morel had already in 1917 associated African troops with sexual, cannibalistic and other primitive desires, accused them of attacking “native villages” and harming natives based on their “appetite and lust.”<sup>54</sup> He claimed that rapes on a large scale belonged to the inevitable consequences of the use of black troops and considered them a general threat to all women. During his Congo campaign, he criticised the Belgian recruitment of Africans from Congo as irresponsible in 1904. It had caused a “perfect terror,”<sup>55</sup> let loose by men hunters (*Menschenjäger*)<sup>56</sup> and “cannibal troops.”<sup>57</sup>

Based on such beliefs, Morel thought it was evident that African colonial troops on European soil were committing outrageous brutalities. During the world war, each soldier would already have been aware of the crimes of France’s savage assistants. They allegedly were found “in possession of eyeballs, fingers and skulls of Germans.”<sup>58</sup> Primitive characteristics as these had formed a part of Morel’s image of Africans for some time. They gained prominence in his protest against the “Black Shame” and formed the core of his agitation on the issue. He was no longer concerned primarily about the injustices of the “civilised” towards the “uncivilised,”<sup>59</sup> he now attacked France’s “Black Horror” as a serious crime against civilisation.

It is possible to identify quite a few “theoretical continuities” in Morel’s image of Africans, as his biographer correctly assumed. Her thesis that Morel’s views of African life fundamentally changed with the start of the century, however, does not hold up.<sup>60</sup> Without doubt, Morel’s perspective on Africa transformed to some extent and his early racist perceptions of blackness were superimposed by a predominantly humanistically coined understanding of Africans in the Congo Campaign, before they moved to the centre of his agitation in the campaign against the “Black Shame.” However, he continuously represented “the African” with reference to attributes and properties which aimed to establish his putative racial difference and featured him in contrast to the civilised people of Europe as primitive.



In the course of his different campaigns, his assessment of these "African characteristics" shifted clearly. Moreover, the image of the African as a victim of European colonialism moved to the background in his writings and lectures on the "Black Horror," which were from the start dominated by the racist narrative of the armed Africans as a threat to white civilisation. However, this did not change Morel's continuous fixation of the black race as being on one of the lowest levels of human development.

In his campaign against the use of coloured troops in Germany, the Labour MP held on not only to his criticism on the European militarisation of primitive Africans. Important elements of his constructed "Black Terror" in Europe could build seamlessly on considerations he had entertained much earlier regarding the primitiveness and enormous sexual lust of Africans. They already played a role in his argument in the Congo campaign and the following time, although a minor role.

Morel's early positive assessment of primitive African characteristics apparently only referred to their "natural life" in Africa. It changed, as soon as the arming and use of colonial troops in Africa and Europe was concerned. Morel warned his readers about the coloured French troops coming from primitive tribes and accused them of various cases of "murderous violence"<sup>61</sup> in the Rhineland. It seemed evident that they were "sexually uncontrolled and uncontrollable."<sup>62</sup>

From the outset, and without evidence, Morel was convinced that the strong sex drive he had already attributed to the black race in 1911 posed a serious threat to German women. On the basis of his earlier considerations concerning the racially determined sexual compulsivity of Africans, Morel equipped the black troops with a strong "sexual instinct," which "in tropical Africa was essential for racial survival." His sexual desires were considered more intense than those that of Europeans, and the Africans were known to be polygamous. Sex generally, was assumed to play an "immensely important role" in African life and "the sociology of this part of the world."<sup>63</sup> Morel hence saw the "African race" as sexually "the most developed"<sup>64</sup> and was sure that in the "more primitive [...] races" the "sexual impulse" was still "instinctive, [...] spontaneous" and "less controllable" compared with "European nations."<sup>65</sup>

Morel assumed the Africans could not control their drives. Accordingly, he considered frequent attacks on German women inevitable and saw "the danger lurking in the French occupied zone on women and girls everywhere."<sup>66</sup> He raised concerns about the enormous sexual



needs of blacks, and was convinced that these “would have to be satisfied upon the bodies of white women,”<sup>67</sup> as their own women were not available. Coloured troops were accused of causing an “unimaginable terror and horror for the area” and to “rape women and girls” on a massive scale.<sup>68</sup>

Morel equated the attack on these women with an attack on the German nation. The “dead bodies of young women” and allegedly numerous forced brothels filled with white women for the excessively lustful blacks were in this way read as an attempt “to ruin, enslave, to downgrade” a “whole people,” causing it “deepest despair and humiliation.”<sup>69</sup> The French colonial soldiers were also construed as a threat to the German nation, being denounced as primitive carriers of venereal disease who were seemingly equipped with abnormal sexual organs. Morel stated that large numbers of the African troops suffered from syphilis,<sup>70</sup> with terrible consequences for places in which they were stationed.<sup>71</sup> The uncontrollable animalistic nature of these “primitive African barbarians and carriers of syphilis” would have led to numerous rapes of white women and boys in the occupied territories.

Morel’s depiction of these attacks drew upon a common sexist and racially charged stereotype, which attributed a violent and enormous sexuality to black men. He portrayed some of the black attacks as particularly gruesome, given that “due to well-known physiological reasons, the rape of a white woman by a black” was “almost always connected with serious injuries” and would often have “fatal consequences.”<sup>72</sup> The French “system of forced brothels, an increase in prostitution and a general feeling of degradation”<sup>73</sup> were deemed consequences of France’s decision to use African troops as “armed conquerors.”<sup>74</sup> The “presence of an army of confiscated, polygamous Africans in enforced celibacy” was seen as a “degradation and humiliation” of all Germans. It seemed essential to “somehow satisfy” their “sexual needs,” preventing them becoming “completely uncontrollable.”<sup>75</sup>

Morel was aware that the nation he now considered as degraded and humiliated by the “Black Shame” was deeply divided. He was concerned about its integrity and saw German society as lacking—despite political isolation—in internal cohesion and unity. Before the war, Morel had urged the European workforce to show some understanding for the unfortunate “African proletariat” resulting from economic and militaristic enslavement, and attempted to protect them from a fate similar to that of the suffering European workers.<sup>76</sup>



In his post-war campaign, he instrumentalised France's use of colonial troops in Germany to mobilise the working class of the Weimar Republic to join the German fight against the French "black terror" and other "crimes" of the Versailles Treaty. The suffering of downtrodden Germany formed the core of his appeal to the German workers to imagine the "psychological effect of the black terror" and provoke in them a "constant nagging thought of uncertainty" regarding the lack of safety for their women. Stirring up emotions, Morel deemed it similarly outrageous that "African forces" were used by the occupiers to "shoot down" "working classes" who protested against unreasonable working conditions dictated to them by the Treaty of Versailles. This and the "insult" of coloured soldiers deployed in Germany had to be fought by "every German with normal instincts."<sup>77</sup>

Thus, the British politician attempted to reach all those in Germany who still doubted that the interests of labour and capital were identical. He presented the French "Black Horror" and the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles as the actual source of their deprivation and so urged German workers to no longer protest against fellow members of their nation but henceforth to protest as Germans against the use of black troops who were insulting their nation and the repressive, alleged peace treaty.

To promote this "normal" German instinct, Morel advocated collective German hatred of black troops, French militarism and the Versailles Treaty. The insinuation that African units would brutally break up workers' uprisings in the occupied territories, too, was to incite German anger.

Not only all Germans were urged to act against the outrageous black occupation; Morel also called for the international solidarity of the working class with the German workers in times of "Black Shame." He wrote: 'For the working classes the importation of Negro mercenaries by the hundred thousand from the heart of Africa, to fight the battles and execute the lusts of capitalist governments in the heart of Europe is, [...] a terrific portent. The workers, alike in Britain, France, and Italy will be ill-advised if they allow it to pass in silence because today the victims happen to be German.'<sup>78</sup>

The threat of a "Black Shame" was in this way used to promote the idea that international solidarity with German labour was urgently needed. In this context, Morel warned about the French using their "African soldiers not only against the Germans, but also against unions



and other movements.” The black troops were hence represented as no more than a “passive obedient tool” in the hands of “capitalist society.”<sup>79</sup>

Their presence in Germany and the associated rape of several German women was to concern not only Germany but also Europe and the entire white civilisation. Civilised Europe was supposed to feel threatened and humiliated by the presence of allegedly barbarian, racially primitive coloured troops on European soil, and their presence on the territory of a white population was staged as an “active source of evil.”<sup>80</sup> It seemed “impossible” to place “tens of thousands of Africans, large, strong, muscular men with wild, strong, natural passions” in Europe, without their women, without subjecting large numbers of European women to have sexual relations with them.<sup>81</sup>

Again, the white German woman served Morel as a medium to convey a sense of togetherness. In his construction of the “Black Shame,” the fiction of her impending mass desecration by the black man mobilised cohesion not only at a national level. She was symbolically also used to mobilise not only the German people but the community of the entire white race to resist the French “Black Scourge” in Europe. Morel’s attacks hence also targeted “French militarists,” whom he accused of committing terrible crimes against European women, the whole white race and civilisation by stationing their black troops in the midst of a white population.<sup>82</sup>

France, which for centuries has been regarded as representative of European culture, was now denounced as its traitor and under suspicion to have established brothels in some of the oldest regions of “European civilisation” for its black troops.<sup>83</sup> Morel accused the French of having let loose a “sexual horror on the Rhine” with primitive African mercenaries.<sup>84</sup> Its “reign of terror”<sup>85</sup> was constructed as a “giant evil”<sup>86</sup> to spread the message of its “shame into all four corners of the world”<sup>87</sup> and ultimately to press for “a revision of the Versailles Treaty and relief for Germany.”

France’s policy had supposedly also horrific consequences for colonial Africa.<sup>88</sup> French militarism, for him, had exposed the women in the occupied territories to “conscious insults and crime”<sup>89</sup> and provoked sexual relations between whites and blacks within Europe.<sup>90</sup> Morel urged the civilised world to attack this policy, as it threatened the colonial consensus of white superiority and would lead to “race wars.”<sup>91</sup> Convinced that Africa was in need of colonial rule by Europeans, he predicted that any matter worsening the relationship between white rulers and the black



ruled would have fatal consequences" for all "Africans and especially for the Negro."<sup>92</sup> Morel was concerned about the "militarised African," who had "shot [...] white men in Europe" and had "sexual intercourse with white women," as he was surely to feel "contempt" for the whites and lose his "respect." The white "legend of superiority" was seen at peril, giving way to "wars of extermination between the two races."<sup>93</sup>

Morel clearly hoped that the notion of a "Black Horror" as an expression of the injustices of the Versailles Treaty would generate the protest of all civilised people. France's actions were hence not incidentally attacked as "the manifestation of the policy of the Treaty of Versailles." It was allegedly not only aiming at the German nation's "humiliation" and "economic enslavement" but tried to damage the interests of European democracies more widely. The use of black troops on German soil, Morel insisted, was nothing but a "terrible barbaric incarnation of a barbaric policy, which was included in the so-called peace treaty, which set back the clock 2000 years."<sup>94</sup>

### 2.1.2 *Francesco S. Nitti's "Cannibals on Rhine and Ruhr"*

Francesco Saverio Nitti, the internationally renowned Italian politician, professor and former prime minister of Italy, also condemned the use of African troops in Europe against the background of a failed Versailles peace. The Liberal Democrat and academic born in 1868 in Melfi took over the office of the prime minister and interior minister from 1919 to 1920. Previously, Nitti, who was first elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1904, had already established himself as agriculture and trade minister of Italy, and later as minister of the treasury.<sup>95</sup>

He played an important role in international post-war diplomacy and was also known for his work as a professor of finance at the University of Naples and as a writer internationally. In addition to an academic study on finance, he published numerous books translated into several languages on the problems of Europe after the First World War. In his work, Nitti criticised the economic and social divide of the European countries against the background of a—for him—deeply problematic, unreasonable order of peace. In publications titled, for example, "The Peaceless Europe," "The Tragedy of Europe—and America?" or "The Decline of Europe. Ways to Its Reconstruction,"<sup>96</sup> he campaigned for a political "defuse" of European conflicts and a thorough revision of the Versailles "dictate of peace."



Nitti's political work and his journalistic publications reflect his intense commitment to a European understanding. This he considered the basis for a pacification of the continent and the building of a European community after the war. He attacked the Treaty of Versailles as a basis for a politically and economically disastrous division of Europe into victors and vanquished, which was to hinder a necessary normalisation of relations between the European states. In this respect, he saw "Europe in the severe danger of decay, even more by the peace agreements, than by the war."<sup>97</sup>

His call for cross-border solidarity was not restricted to the level of European countries. It was meant to pacify even conflicts of interest within these nations. Nitti was similarly concerned about the "class struggles at home in their most acute form" and the "competition of nationalism" spread in Europe. He criticised both as expressions of massive greed for "power" and "possessions" in times of social and economic crises.<sup>98</sup>

With the vision of a "United States of Europe"<sup>99</sup> and the aim to reinvent it as an economic unit, he attempted to politically reconcile such different interests. He not only called the Allies to work together with the defeated nations but also demanded a pacification of class conflict. The co-operation of the former war opponents and a co-operation of the social classes were in this way considered important prerequisites of a future united, democratic and economically prosperous Europe. With diplomatic skill, the politician Nitti promoted their solidarity and recalled economically better times prior to the war, when European people had felt part of a community beyond national conflict and people's class affiliations.

From memory, Nitti constructed this community as a healthy body. "Europe throughout her history had never been so rich, so far advanced on the road to progress. Nor had she ever before achieved in so high a degree the sense of community of civilisation and of life [...] The vital lymph was not limited to this or that country, but flowed with an even current through the veins and arteries of the various nations through the great organizations of capital and labor, promoting a continuous and increasing solidarity among all the parties concerned."<sup>100</sup>

Nitti here designed and idealised an organic image of Europe, implying that the European unit was grown and "natural." As every body, the European body had to rely on the harmonious interaction and unity of its parts. The experienced diplomat promoted this unity by reassuring his readers that every part within the European body would benefit equally



from its unity. To achieve this, pre-war conditions were to be reinstated, in which the "idea of solidarity had greatly progressed: economic, moral and spiritual solidarity"<sup>101</sup> prevailed and "Europe, inspite of her great subdivisions, represented a living economic whole."<sup>102</sup>

Post-war Europe differed massively from this ideal. Struggles between nations and classes had seriously weakened it. Nitti accused both of a serious lack of a European spirit of community. This lack was according to him grounded in the war as an "unprecedented clash of peoples," which had "reduced the energy of all," [...] darkened the minds of men, and spread the spirit of violence."<sup>103</sup> As a politician and economist, he saw a direct link between the lack of solidarity amongst the European nations and social classes: "The spread of hatred amongst peoples has everywhere rendered more difficult the internal relations between social classes and the economic life in the country."

Nitti insisted that workers' protests against exploitation were illegitimate and egoistic. He accused them of "looking forward to further conflicts, and goaded on by that spirit of unrest and intolerance engendered everywhere by the war, [...] becoming every day more exacting. They, too, claim their share of the spoils; they, too, clamor for indemnities from the enemy. The same manifestation of hate, the same violence of language, spread from people to people and from class to class."<sup>104</sup>

As a liberal European, Nitti was deeply concerned that Europe seemed to be "filled with the spirit of revolution." He questioned the legitimacy of "discontent, [...] anger and revolt amongst the workmen against pre-war conditions" and he knew that "[t]he whole existing order, in its political, social and economic aspects is questioned by the masses of the population from one end of Europe to the other." While he acknowledged that "[m]uch of the unrest is healthy" to avoid pre-war conditions, he also associated it with the "danger" of a radicalisation of "the masses" by "extremists, whose only idea for regenerating mankind is to destroy utterly the whole existing fabric of society."<sup>105</sup> Europe had to rediscover its lost "spirit of solidarity" to prevent this evil.<sup>106</sup> The co-operation of the workers with the ruling classes seemed key to European recovery and prosperity. He promoted this co-operation by representing the workers collectively as the saviour of European culture and leading force in the political harmonisation of Europe: it was up to them to "save" European culture and to prepare the ground for "the United States of Europe."<sup>107</sup>



Nitti was convinced that the Versailles Treaties hindered as “instruments of oppression” the reconciliation of Europe<sup>108</sup> by creating a “permanent state of war”<sup>109</sup> forced upon Germany, as the most “cultured nation of the world.” Europe’s decline meant to ruin the whole of civilisation. France was under suspicion to torture and violate Germany and to tore apart its social fabric<sup>110</sup> attacking Germany’s “political unity.”<sup>111</sup> The French government was accused to target the German economy and to sharpen the separation of “minds, separatism, nationalism and communism.”<sup>112</sup> Germany was seemingly close to “complete disintegration” and without a radical change of the current situation doomed to meander “for long between revolution and reaction.”<sup>113</sup> Nitti promoted the idea that France fomented and radicalised the German workers against their fatherland,<sup>114</sup> driving them towards “Bolshevism,” a real danger especially given the weakness of the German government challenged in its authority.<sup>115</sup>

To put things right and generate political stability in Europe, he insisted on an immediate revision of the Versailles Peace and urged the Allies to give up the “imperialism of the victors” and reintegrate Germany into the European community. Nitti created a threatening revolution scenario to promote these demands, in which the Europeans were facing the “spectacle of nearly three million people organized into a vast red army under German instructors and German generals equipped with German cannons and German machine guns and prepared for a renewal of the attack of Western Europe. This is a prospect which no one can face with equanimity. [...] If we are wise we shall offer to Germany a peace, which, while just, will be preferable for all sensitive men to the alternative of Bolshevism.”<sup>116</sup>

Against the background of political and social instability in Europe, Nitti strongly criticised the use of colonial troops on European territory. While he considered their usage in times of war justifiable with the ultimate goal of the defense, he condemned it in times of peace as a provocative attack on European culture and civilisation. He saw the occupying army on the Rhine as a shameful and most saddening crime and felt deep “horror” and “disgust” when studying the black atrocities.<sup>117</sup>

The deployment of not-white troops in Europe seemed to him an expression of disastrous French post-war policies and of the blatant moral failings of the Versailles Treaty. Both were to denounce Europe and its culture and result in decline. Nitti prognosed: “The moral level of Europe is daily being lowered. The policies pursued toward the



conquered have no parallel in modern history [...] and the methods employed bring back to mind the worst phases of the Middle Ages.”<sup>118</sup> As “final insult to the conquered” “backward races” had been made part of “the Army of Occupation.” The population in some of “the most cultured cities in Europe” had been subjected to “Negro violence” and “to physical and moral trials unknown for centuries in civilized countries.” In 1921 still “colored regiments” could be found “on the Rhine,” and it had been clearly documented “what crimes the Negroes have committed.” Henceforth everybody knew that the “occupation has no military aim,” but was an attempt to force “Germany [...] to point of moral exhaustion” and break “her unity in sentiment, and indeed even her political unity.”<sup>119</sup>

Nitti was obviously very concerned about the political and social divisions of the German people. By coining them a result of the malicious intent of enemy occupation and thus taking them out of their societal context, he constructed Germany’s inner unity as a key interest of all Germans. He endeavoured to unite a nation ideologically which was politically deeply divided. Nitti hence advised the German people to remember in times of external threat and humiliation by the Allied occupation policy its proud heritage beyond all social upheavals. The cohesion of all Germans, Nitti promised, would pay off on several levels. He designed it as the last bastion, which could defy German society of the destructive policy of the victorious powers. At the same time it was meant to form the nucleus of a much needed political reintegration and economic resurgence of the German nation.

Germany for Nitti remained despite “all humiliations” a “great democracy” and nation of peace, and was to reestablish itself without doubt as the core “driving force of economic life in continental Europe.” Regardless attempts to reduce its wealth, disarm it, reduce it in size, destroy its political unity and “suffocate” its advancing, its “national soul” was not to be destroyed.

To promote this national spirit Nitti publicly condemned that “[a] long the Rhine some of the most progressive cities in the world have been placed under guard of black troops of inferior race.” Subjecting the highly cultured and advanced German people to the rule of “Negro soldiers”<sup>120</sup> (Negersoldaten) seemed the most ill-fated of all humiliations, the epitome of the humiliation and violation of Germany by the Allied powers.



Nitti did not only ascribe a generally racially primitive and violent nature to the African soldiers. By characterising them as representatives of an inferior race who tortured the population of advanced German cities, he also represented them as an alien and threatening element on Europe's civilised territory. In this context, he accused blacks in the occupied territories of "any form of violence and crime" based on "their desire to insult and commit atrocities."<sup>121</sup> The Germans remained for Nitti, "[w]ith all the good and bad points of their race [...] still the most cultivated people on earth"<sup>122</sup> and it seemed outrageous that coloured troops, "yesterday the representatives of cannibalistic races" were at present garrisoning the "country of the greatest thinkers of Europe" to the end of insult.<sup>123</sup>

This reading of the use of colonial troops as a degrading insult of the German cultured people was meant to concern all Germans and to win them for the creation of a national community, making them once again a "powerful people."<sup>124</sup> Within this community existing social divisions were meant to be abolished, so that German people could look at one another "without hatred,"<sup>125</sup> gaining new life and strength as a nation. He tirelessly used the image of a German population suffering under the "rut of the savages" to promote this community and prognose that their suffering, humiliation and pain would "unite" all Germans and merge "their souls" to create "the new Germany."<sup>126</sup> Nitti hence represented the French occupation and its "Black Horror" as a testing challenge for the German nation, accusing France of using its coloured troops to violate the honour of German women and children and to destroy its culture.

Such terrible times called for a political reconciliation of all Germans and their reflection on their national strength and common cultural and scientific heritage. The country that had given "Goethe, Kant and Beethoven to humanity, the most free spirits to science" and had been the engine of modern scientific progress was not meant to "fall." Nitti reassured the Germans, he had never "doubted" their repeated rise as a nation and presented them with a simple formula for their regeneration: the greater the "pain" and "humiliation" of Germany was, the stronger would the "union of all classes and circles"<sup>127</sup> grow, and with it, the vitality of their nation.

On an international level too the colonial troops motive could be used to generate a sense of community. Nitti insisted that the Allies and in particular America were obliged to save "culture [...] from the flood



of barbarism,"<sup>128</sup> to stop its "fall" and the destruction of the "highest ideals."<sup>129</sup> Their representatives should have to bear in mind that "Germany's fall" would mean the "downfall of one of the largest driving forces of humanity."<sup>130</sup>

His European chauvinist call for an immediate withdrawal of the black troops was well received in and outside of Europe. The Italian colonial minister Giovanni Amendola shared Nitti's criticism of the use of colonial soldiers and feared that "the stationing of blacks in the Rhineland [...]—as already their use in the war" would damage "the prestige of the white race"<sup>131</sup> and have negative consequences for colonial policy. The Socialist deputies Claudio Treves, Enrico Ferri und Francesco Ciccotti attacked "the shamelessness of a [...] policy," that used "coloured troops for the suppression of a nation defeated by hunger."<sup>132</sup> The German Embassy in Rome considered the Italian opposition to the coloured troops "generally very strong."<sup>133</sup> Upon several urgent requests, even the heads of the Catholic Church, Pope Benedict XV and his successor Pius XI, finally raised their voices against the use of black soldiers on European soil.<sup>134</sup>

Other European leaders, intellectuals and officials, such as the Social Democratic Swedish Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting, the Dutch Baron van Vredenbruch<sup>135</sup> and the British writer Lady Frances Evelyn Warwick,<sup>136</sup> also spoke out openly against the stationing of coloured soldiers in Germany. They were supported by various other European voices, including the Austrian Christian social party,<sup>137</sup> members of the Czech Parliament, the Dutch doctors Dr. van Renesse and Dr. Römer, clerics such as the Swedish Pastor Martin Liljeblad<sup>138</sup> and his compatriot Chaplain Paul Nilsson.<sup>139</sup> Nitti's urgent appeal to the United States to stop watching the decline of Europe was also positively received.<sup>140</sup>

His political conviction that the descriptions of the misdeeds of French "Negroes" on the Rhine would be condemned by the "world of culture" and provoke its representatives" protest could count on an occidental cultural dimorphism that had spread across national boundaries in Europe and constructed the African as a racially primitive counter-image and "other" to the perception of its' "own" white civilisation and culture. On this ideological basis the colonial soldiers could be labelled as uncivilised savages, and Nitti considered some of them "still cannibals."<sup>141</sup> It seemed an insult to the honour of Germany as one of the "elevated and highly civilized states" to be occupied by "inferior populations without national dignity."<sup>142</sup>



Nitti's complaint about the crimes of black troops included areas where they were not used. In connection with the French occupation of the Ruhr, which did not involve the deployment of colonial troops, he agonised over the use of "numerous [...] colored troops." Repeatedly he constructed a sharp contrast between the highly civilised German people and the sons of "African cannibals," whom France had turned into "representatives of the newest Versailles culture" on the Ruhr.

The presence of African soldiers on German territory was to be seen as a humiliating disgrace not only by the German people but by the entire civilisation. Nitti repeatedly condemned their deployment as "an insult" and considered it scandalous that here "[f]or the first time in civilized Europe [...] the Entente Powers" used "men from the darkest and most barbarous Africa" to occupy "German territories." The liberal politician urged the white cultural community not to tolerate that black barbarians ruled over civilised whites. Their superiority seemed questioned, where coloreds, classified as primitive, were used to "maintain the law and order of democracy" in regions "inhabited by the most cultured, progressive and technically advanced populations of the world."<sup>143</sup> As consequences of this "Negro" domination in the occupied territories, he imagined "acts of barbarism and violence" which were "without parallel in modern history," a "deep disgrace to European civilization,"<sup>144</sup> illustrative of the Allied nations' abuse of victory.

A public address Nitti gave in 1922 at the Congress of the Society for Moral and Democratic Politics in the Netherlands concerning the reconstruction of Europe shows that such racist argumentation patterns associated with the use of colonial troops were at least partially incorporated in Francesco Nitti's post-war politics: he demanded the creation, as a "basis of international treaties," the rule that "[c]oloured armies [...] will never be used in peacetime against white populations. The yellow and black troops" brought by France to Europe would not bring shame on the conquered German nation, but on the "culture of Europe."<sup>145</sup>

The "Black Shame" was for Nitti above all a cultural European shame. He explained to his international readership that "black and brown armies" had been "unleashed on the Rhine against the ethos of Europe."<sup>146</sup> He urged them to view the occupation of Germany in peacetime "with blacks, browns and yellows" as an "act of most terrible propaganda against Europe"<sup>147</sup> and to understand that now "the cause of Germany" had to be defended as "the cause of culture."<sup>148</sup> He was



sure that the garrisoning of such uncivilised troops escalated inevitably. Even “four years after the peace,” would the “blacks on the Rhine” be able to commit “every act of violence” without punishment and would “miserable Negroes” be able to perpetrate “any crime”?<sup>149</sup> With a Franco-phobe attitude he attacked the use of colonial troops as a French attack on European culture. They were meant to illustrate a brutal militarism and France’s “destructive imperialist activities,”<sup>150</sup> a shameful nation wanting to acquire European hegemony by importing black barbarism to Europe.

Nitti tirelessly constructed from a eurocentric and cultural-chauvinist perspective a contrast between the supposedly primitive racial nature of African soldiers and the “blossom” of European civilisation. Against its background, the use of colonial troops in Europe was set up as a humiliating crime against all of Europe. Their presence alone was conceived as a serious problem, and it seemed outrageous to Nitti that “representatives of the lowest races” had subjugated the “most educated cities in Europe” to raw “Negro violence” and the “biggest crimes.”<sup>151</sup>

The former Italian premier perceived even musical preferences of Africans as suspiciously primitive, barbarious and alien to the European ear. He disapproved publicly of the “music gangs of the Negroes and barbarians of Africa,” performing “African music programmes” on the “squares in the occupied cities.” Shaken by the actual success of this music in Europe and the United States, Nitti criminalised and contrasted it with the alleged cultural genius of the European musical tradition. It seemed unbearable that Germany as a cradle of “musical genius” had to “listen to Negro music” and that “the music bands of the African Negroes in Wiesbaden” were permitted to perform publicly.<sup>152</sup>

The Rhine, too, as a European river and cultural symbol, seemed desecrated by the domination of black “savages” over civilised Germans, considering Germany’s cultural heritage and significant contribution to the history of Western culture. The old “heroic river” (Heldenstrom) had seen for “more than 2000 years all fights and battles” but could not bear to mirror the “black faces of African cannibals”—hired to dominate “the most educated people of the Earth.” This clearly had to be the “most shameful” chapter of “its history!”<sup>153</sup>

Nitti here argued openly from the perspective of a community of white culture, which was to feel humiliated and desecrated by the usage of these “lowest-ranking representatives of mankind”<sup>154</sup> in multiple ways. By interpreting their armed presence on German soil as an attack



on this community, he represented them as an alien and threatening element on the territory of Western Christian civilisation.

That France's primitive troops targeted especially German women with their lecherousness, and thus threatened the German people, was obvious to Nitti, too. Such phantasmagorias culminated in the allegation that defeated, highly cultured Germany had been pressured to make "their wives available"<sup>155</sup> "in the service of the Negro lust."<sup>156</sup> French hordes would loot, violate women and lock up Germans who attempted to "uphold the honour of their fatherland."<sup>157</sup> In addition, an "undisputed [...] truth" Nitti made up was that they "murdered," raped and killed women who died as a result of sustained violence. Amongst their victims, he listed "people, [...], raped girls, boys and young men."<sup>158</sup>

Nitti demanded the united resistance of the representatives of Western Christian civilisation against such "Unkultur." Combining stereotypes of race and gender melodramatically, he heard the "cry of pain of the German woman," a daunting, "most terrible accusation against Christian peoples," who considered themselves "civilized and democratic." It was obviously up to them to reinstate culture and order against such "atrocities in Europe" and end "Negro violence" on the Rhine.<sup>159</sup> Nitti's representation of the racially primitive black as an alien body in white Europe and his reflections on "race" to "restore the good relations amongst the European nations"<sup>160</sup> make clear that for him this civilised community was not only based on culture but also biologically grounded.

Nitti dismissed scientific efforts to identify separate "racial characteristics" of European nations as a result of the war events as ridiculous and an example of placing science "in the service of politics." His vision of a united Europe was threatened by them and Nitti remained sure "racially" European nations had to be perceived as a unit rather than divided. Nitti promoted the view that "in the European races" "no fundamental differences" existed that "could explain the historical vicissitudes of war and peace."<sup>161</sup>

Nitti stated that all "grounds of proof of superiority or inferiority, based on race norms" were ridiculous within Europe and that European nations were nothing but a historical product. At the same time, he was firmly convinced that they—beyond such subdivisions and historically distinct write-ups—shared a common and wide-ranging cultural and biological heritage with all civilised states. Rather casually, Nitti joined in the contemporary canon of the Aryan mythos and called "Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, the three greatest military leaders produced



by Aryan civilization.”<sup>162</sup> He accused the Allied nations of causing the moral decline of this community. From the perspective of their cultural and racial unity, he found it a worrying social regression to have “educated peoples of Aryan race” during the German occupation returned to “the worst forms of medieval looting.”<sup>163</sup>

### 2.1.3 Ray Beveridge's “Black Disgrace” and “White Shame”

Francesco Nitti's and Edmund Morel's harsh critique of the use of colonial troops in Germany was also shared by the reactionary American journalist and actress Ray Beveridge. She was a protagonist of the campaign and had earlier worked for Germany as an official of the German Embassy in the United States and correspondent of the German-American newspaper *Evening Mail*.<sup>164</sup> She had already joined the propaganda “for Germany's honour”<sup>165</sup> at the outbreak of world war and continued her propaganda for the regeneration and international rehabilitation of the German nation after the war.

Beveridge began her German-friendly campaigning activity in the United States<sup>166</sup> in co-operation with the German Red Cross in 1915 and tried to raise awareness of the “German struggle for the existence of people and Reich”<sup>167</sup> amongst Americans in Philadelphia Opera House and elsewhere. She considered herself, despite missing significant engagements, but apparently based on the “entire [] press America's best young actress of the American stage.”<sup>168</sup> In Germany she had her photograph taken posing as a living Greek statue, enthusiastically posed as Venus or “Aphrodite of the Lenbach Festival”<sup>169</sup> and appeared in various German cabarets.<sup>170</sup>

She maintained contacts with monarchist and reactionary circles in several European countries and saw in her aristocratic German grandmother the “ideal of a German woman, a German mother and a German aristocrat.” Beveridge herself felt driven by what she called her “indestructible love of Germany and for the German people.”<sup>171</sup> She admired the former German Emperor,<sup>172</sup> raved passionately for a German count, stressed her acquaintance with nobles and considered many European aristocrats, industrialists and military representatives amongst her circle of friends.<sup>173</sup> In contrast to Morel, she even valued King Leopold as a legitimate ruler. Her autobiography suggests that he was personally known to Ray Beveridge,<sup>174</sup> who adored him and was delighted that



her sister, the artist and Rodin student Kühne Beveridge, was allowed to model a bust of the ruler.<sup>175</sup>

Beveridge's upbringing in Evanston, Illinois, where she attended a German infant school, fueled her "love for Germany."<sup>176</sup> After travelling Europe with a German governess<sup>177</sup> in her adolescence, she later lived there, like her mother, and also in other European countries and South Africa. She had her German stepfather "Freiherr Hermann Hieronymus Karl Otto von Wrede"<sup>178</sup> adopt her and was baptised as "Ray Ilse Ellen Louise von Wrede"<sup>179</sup> before marrying a Bavarian Forester and former Corps student.<sup>180</sup> After the First World War, she became a German citizen and openly sympathised with the Nazi movement.<sup>181</sup> In November 1923, she already considered it "an enormous honor" to mobilise, together with her husband, "the Chiemgau for Adolf Hitler." Hitler and Ludendorff were her "German heroes,"<sup>182</sup> she despised the German Weimar Republic, supported the Hitler Putsch<sup>183</sup> and seemed unimpressed by the fact that a "majority of German Americans" agreed "with the German republic."<sup>184</sup> She remained keen, however, to show Hitler her loyal devotion and thanked him in two letters "for everything" he "had done for our Germany."<sup>185</sup>

Ray Beveridge had fully made the German fascist Blood and Soil (Blut und Boden) ideology her own, when considering herself quasi-organically embedded in "German soil." She remembers how she had slowly grown "roots" in German ground and had "so become one with German soil"—unseparably.<sup>186</sup> Being of American "stock" she knew that "not a drop of German blood" filled her veins; still, she was sure she had to be related by blood or race with the German people.<sup>187</sup> Beveridge, who was decorated with the Damenkreuz medal of the German Red Cross, also felt entirely united with her Germans when enthusiastically requesting membership in the fascist NSDAP in 1935.<sup>188</sup> The "Führer" was "the party," the "party" was "Germany" and her "life" seemingly belonged to "Germany."<sup>189</sup>

With her intense agitation against the "Black Shame," the granddaughter of the Governor of Illinois<sup>190</sup> predominantly called for an internal reconciliation and international rehabilitation of the German people. Beginning in 1920, she campaigned extensively against the "atrocities of the coloureds,"<sup>191</sup> was already then known to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs as "very pro-German" and secretly received official data on request by the authorities for her propaganda efforts.<sup>192</sup>



Beveridge also worked closely with the head of the the German Pfälzzenrale, Prof. August Ritter. They were fellow speakers at various mostly very well-attended protest events, and she travelled through Germany, sometimes with and sometimes without him, to stir up the anger of the Germans against the French colonial forces, this “shame against the white woman” and “degradation of the white race.”<sup>193</sup> This was financed at least in part by the Pfälzzenrale, as a telegram from Ritter to her shows.<sup>194</sup>

At mass rallies and protest meetings of numerous associations, Beveridge was a popular speaker.<sup>195</sup> These offered her the opportunity to lecture on the “unspeakable horror of the black shame”<sup>196</sup> and to agitate against the mass “Negro sins on the German Rhine”<sup>197</sup> in, for example, Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Kiel, Flensburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Munich, Westerland and Würzburg.

She published a brochure on the basis of their lectures titled “The Black Disgrace—the White Shame” and also the leaflet “The Black Evil. To the World at Large”.<sup>198</sup> Outside Germany too, Beveridge’s agitation against the colonial forces was met with great interest, and she undertook a lecture tour to Finland at the invitation of various women’s associations and clubs there.<sup>199</sup> Her speeches were also extensively acknowledged and celebrated in German newspapers and journals.<sup>200</sup> The publisher of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* even felt her lecture at a protest meeting in the city deserved to become world famous and promptly produced reprints in German, English, French and Spanish.<sup>201</sup> Beveridge also visited the occupied areas to “study” the suspected atrocities of black troops. There she wanted to talk to selected victims of “Black Shame,” such as the “little martyr” from the Neckar-Spitze about the “shameful act” “black beasts” had allegedly committed against her.<sup>202</sup>

Moreover, she sought, however long in vain, a co-operation with the Rhenish Women’s League, which successfully mobilised numerous women’s organisations and other associations in and outside Germany for protests against the “Black Shame.”<sup>203</sup> Its director, Magarethe Gärtner,<sup>204</sup> regarded Beveridge’s lectures as greatly exaggerated and implausible. She made it repeatedly clear that Beveridge’s commitment would damage the legitimate protest against the sins of the colonial troops. Finally, she refused to speak at events to which the American was also invited as a speaker, before she finally made her peace with Beveridge.<sup>205</sup> Julia Roos has reflected critically on such internal contradictions within the “Black



Horror” campaign and identified conflicts between different protagonists. These show that their motivations to join the campaign and agendas could differ considerably and that the protests were marked by several conflicts, especially between right-extremist populist campaigners, like Beveridge, and more moderate state organisations involved in the propaganda, such as the Rhenish Women’s League.<sup>206</sup>

Beveridge was not impressed by such concerns. In her idiosyncratic reasoning, she combined the image of a humiliated Germany, white woman, race and culture threatened by the “Black Shame” with eugenics and ethnic patterns of racist discrimination. She denounced the “brutal appetites of the savage blacks” and considered the women in the occupied territories as victims and sacrifices, as long as the “black man” is “entitled” to “exercise power over whites.”<sup>207</sup> She was convinced that the “black race” was at a lower “level of culture” compared with “the white” and read the attributed excessive sexuality of the colonial soldiers as an expression of their racial cultural primitivism. By no means should the whites forget that “the Negro” has “much less mind,” “but therefore a much stronger sexual sensation [...] as the white” and that, as soon as he “drinks,” he turns into “a wild animal.”<sup>208</sup>

Her scenario of the “Black Shame” closely linked the image of white women raped by black savages with that of the German *Volkskörper*. The latter is understood as part of the white race, which therefore had a vital interest in its “pure-keeping.” Within this racist synthesis of woman’s honour, German honour and racial honour the German women and their bodies were represented as the biological basis of a German *Volkskörper*—racial body of the German Volk. They were symbolically staged as carriers and gate keepers of the honour of the German people and the white race. Following from this, their desecration was to be considered and opposed as a shameful crime against Germany and the entire white racial community.

Anyone who denied the “Black Shame” and did not fight it was for her not only a “slacker” and “traitor of his country”<sup>209</sup> but at the same time a “traitor against the white race.”<sup>210</sup> She felt ashamed for the “German race” whenever she met a German man who did not bother “to protect” the “honour” of his woman.<sup>211</sup> No proper German man in the occupied territories could have “sunk so low” and dare “not to help, when a German woman is being attacked!”<sup>212</sup>

The French colonial soldiers were in this argument staged as a racially threatening animalist *Fremdkörper* (alien body) on German soil. Beveridge dehumanised them as “black beasts”<sup>213</sup> with a “wild sex



drive" who would assault "white women, white girls, white youths" en masse.<sup>214</sup> The sexual desires attributed to the colonial troops were to stigmatise them as brutal, primitive, instinctive beings. The German-American obsessively equipped them with a special predilection for young German girls and boys and confronted her reading audience with horror stories about terrible black crimes. Beveridge left the imagined "victims of the unbridled passion of black men" behind "half-dead" with "bodies" "half-torn" some "with bite wounds,"<sup>215</sup> ideologically underpinning her claim that, despite the forcibly established brothels in the Rhineland, "thousands of black men" were "walking around" "sexually unsatisfied."<sup>216</sup> Beveridge warned that sexual contacts between colonial soldiers and German women had further terrible consequences. In this context she accused the colonial soldier of carrying and spreading venereal disease,<sup>217</sup> and of contaminating the German people and white race.<sup>218</sup> Both were seen as under threat of contamination,<sup>219</sup> given that "nearly all of these men" were suffering from "venereal diseases."<sup>220</sup>

From this eugenic perspective, she also considered the "mixed-race" children from relations between black soldiers and German women a devastating and continuously expanding problem. She promoted this view effectively through media and claimed it a "fact" that "60%" of the French occupation children were already born "with syphilis." The children were moreover accused of carrying "mostly the poor characteristics and vices of both parents" and of becoming a "burden" to the German population.<sup>221</sup>

Beveridge instructed her campaigning partner Dr. Ritter, in a personal letter, to get her one "of these mixed-race children," whom she "wanted to show in the evening in the lecture." Surely, with this, one could create interest and promote the campaign all "over the world." For this purpose, she wanted to be photographed with this child. It was to be the child of a mother who had been raped and whose details Beveridge wanted to have; a "young and ethical" woman, or even better, a child, "whose mother died after birth."<sup>222</sup>

The creator of this perfidious horrific scenario had her picture taken at the Munich meeting with not one but two children. The photo was to "decorate" not only her brochure but also a protest postcard against the "Black Shame" (Fig. 2.3).<sup>223</sup> The photo shows two roughly equal-sized children, "innocent little victims of the post-war," who were supposedly both from the occupied territory. The first child they introduced as a 9-month-old "black boy," who descended from "a German mother



and a French Negro,” so would be a “bastard” or “Negro bastard.”<sup>224</sup> The other child was presented as a 6-year-old but highly malnourished German child and “victim of the inhumane hunger blockade.”<sup>225</sup>

Beveridge considered this image particularly suitable to call for the unity of all Germans. In her autobiography she linked the picture of the presentation of the “bastard” in the Munich Löwenbräukeller to the slogan: “Germans unite—unity is power—only with power you can shake off the chains of the Versailles Treaty!”<sup>226</sup> A newspaper report about the Munich protest meeting shows how her brutally racist and eugenically charged agitation was rather popular within some circles of the German population. Accordingly, unusual “crowds” of people joined the gathering against the suffering of the Rhineland and the “Black Shame,” so many that the venue had been overcrowded long before the start of the meeting and a parallel gathering in the “Arzbergerkeller” was organised. Beveridge was celebrated as a popular American who “fights together with the English writer E.D. Morel [...] in the bravest manner” to stop “Entente militarism” and “the use of colored troops in Germany.” The rape cases she portrayed “provoked storms of protest” in the audience and her “strong and hearty commitment to Germany” paired with calls for an “internal recovery” and the fight against the “cultural shame on the Rhine” was answered by a “thunderous applause,” accompanying “the brave American, until she had left the podium.”<sup>227</sup>

Beveridge, too, seemed concerned about the unity of the German nation. The imagined threat of white women could in this way be combined with the call for social cohesion and unity of the German people and the demand for the solidarity of all whites with this people. In this respect, she mobilised with an anti-French attitude against the “Black Horror” and other burdens of occupation aiming to unite the Germans in a class-transcending national community—*Volksgemeinschaft*. The Germans were urged to think of the “German spirit, the German science, the German culture” and “German work,” take pride in their nation and, given the difficult times, to “faithfully stand together” leaving the “eternal party quarrels aside”<sup>228</sup> and to put their country above all “party politics.”<sup>229</sup> The Allied Forces had ensured that the Germans were “disarmed in chains” and “dominated” by “black beasts.”<sup>230</sup> To free themselves, Beveridge insisted, all Germans had to solidarise, work together and unite.

Similarly to Morel and Nitti, she condemned the black troops as a “tool of hate-filled French imperialism to humiliate a defenseless





Gegen die schwarze Schmach  
Links ein Negerbastard, rechts ein unterernährtes deutsches Kind

**Fig. 2.3** Photo motiv 'Gegen die schwarze Schmach.' Depicted in Beveridge, Ray: *Mein Leben für Euch! Erinnerungen an glanzvolle und bewegte Jahre*. Berlin 1937, p. 257

people.”<sup>231</sup> Her inferiorising perception of the colonial troops combined established racist and sexist stereotypes of black primitivity with white chauvinism and blatant racial hatred. She considered them “mindless blacks,” who equipped with an enormous “savage (sex) drive” and unrestricted “passion” would attack “white women, white girls, white youths,” “often old people” and even “children.” Given that they needed “multiple women” and “young men” to satisfy their wild sexual desires in Africa,<sup>232</sup> it seemed obvious that they could not be satisfied by the “brothels of Black Shame and martyr houses of the whites” on the Rhine.

For Beveridge, too, it was without question that the Germans needed to protect themselves especially in the occupied territories by closing



ranks against the “Black Horror” and other evils of the occupation. In self-defence and against French humiliation, everyone was urged to follow the shining “example” of the “occupied territory,” where all Germans across political and religious boundaries stood together.<sup>233</sup> Beveridge insisted as long as “armed blacks” stood “on European soil”, everyone had to co-operate and fight the “shame against the white woman” and the “degrading of the white race.”<sup>234</sup>

Born in a country where the “black danger” would threaten white women constantly,<sup>235</sup> the American actress was also keen to organise the protest of all whites against the “Black Shame,” demanding their solidarity with the German people. Beveridge was sure that coloured troops threatened the white race and its claim to power and convinced decision makers in all nations had lost their “mind” while “blindly” rushing “our white race, our white women into the abyss” in Germany.<sup>236</sup>

She made it clear that these women belonged to the white man in the system of white domination and had to be available only to him. The fact that in the occupied territories “Negroes” could “buy white women for money” alone was hence considered sufficient “to snatch the world domination of the white race.” It seemed in the urgent interest of all white “women” and “men [...] still worthy of the name”<sup>237</sup> and the “US government” to “free the highly cultured German people” from “this black plague.”<sup>238</sup>

Beveridge considered patriarchally structured white rule legitimate not only in the United States but also in Europe. It seemed natural to her to obtain it by using violence, and the questioning of white rule itself alone seemed to justify the destruction of the “other.” In this context, she appealed frequently “to the German men in the occupied areas.” Beveridge urged them to remember that, although their weapons had been disposed of, “a rope” and “a tree” was “always [...] there.” They were meant to refer to “the natural weapons” of the American Southerners and hang “every black” who insulted the “white race.” If this meant to die as a “Martyr,” they could at least be sure to die a German “hero” worthy of Germany.<sup>239</sup> American men were to serve them as a model. Not coincidentally, she knew that they “in rage about one raped white woman” would readily set on fire “a whole Negro district.” Beveridge was proud of America and its “lynch law” and defended it as the only way “to protect the [white] women.” “Violence” and the “fear of punishment” were meant to “partially tame” the “black race’s” “primitive instincts.”<sup>240</sup>



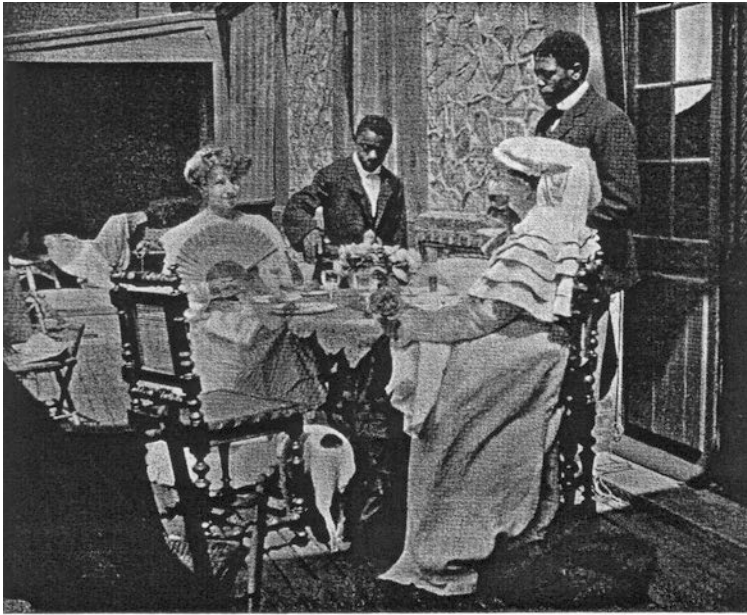
A letter by Count Max Montgelas shows that such violent racist appeals to "racial pride" and the honour of German men were even in more liberal circles not entirely in vain. It was accompanied by one of Beveridge's essays, which the Count sent to the German Reichsminister. He acknowledged that she went "much too far" and that her demand for a general "lynch law" was concerning. Yet he condemned "without wanting to promote a systematic lynching" "that our men in the occupied territory are contemptible cowards." Despite "120 cases of sexual atrocities" by "coloureds" being known including "pederasty" and their attempts to commit murder and robbery, German men did not dare to protest against the rape of their women.<sup>241</sup>

Beveridge tirelessly mobilised white resistance against the alleged "terrorism of the Negroes"<sup>242</sup> in the Rhineland that was threatening the fabric of white rule and also promoted her concept of "white shame." She warned that "thousands and but thousands of savage blacks" had been brought "to Europe" by the white French nation "without black women." They had been given weapons and the order to "kill the German 'barbarian'" and to buy "white girls."<sup>243</sup> She also despised black mass protest marches, where the "negroes demanded the same rights as the whites and the racial equality of all."

Beveridge, however, also knew of far less dangerous blacks who did decently subordinate themselves to the racist dogma of white superiority. As long as they were subject to the rule of the white race and understood to serve her submissively and obediently, the actress was actually very happy to surround herself with them. Hence, she even asked a friend of the family to bring her a "Negro boy from Cameroon"<sup>244</sup> from his trip to Africa. He and another black servant of the family were turned into her "two Negroes" accompanying and serving her on her travels as her "entourage."<sup>245</sup> A photo in her autobiography shows (Fig. 2.4) that her family also enjoyed being served by "Negroes" in the family home.<sup>246</sup>

Beveridge considered these blacks outstanding servants and attributed a childlike nature to them. Such sentiments echoed a widespread racist stereotype of black servitude, infantilism and inferiority, which became increasingly popular in the context of Western colonialism. Wulf D. Hund sees it associated with forms of "commodity racism" advertising "white supremacy" in a colonial context. According to him "[c]ommodity racism transformed consumption into one of the factories of the social construction of race, and intertwined the commendation of capitalism and the laudation of colonialism within a permanent





Auf der Terrasse in Trouville

**Fig. 2.4** Photo motiv ‘Auf der Terrasse in Trouville.’ Depicted in Beveridge, Ray: *Mein Leben für Euch! Erinnerungen an glanzvolle und bewegte Jahre*. Berlin 1937, p. 137

advertisement that promoted the blessings of white supremacy.”<sup>247</sup> Beveridge’s description of her servants fits the racist stereotype of the obedient black servant, devoted and keen to serve his white master and of the infantile black: her two “boys” seemed predestined in her perspective to serve whites and did so better than whites.

While the first was a “giant Zulu” and previous “mine boy,” whom the family had to civilise at first and then train as a “maid,”<sup>248</sup> the other visibly fitted the image of the infantile moor. In Beveridge’s eyes, he was a “tiny little Negro boy from Cameroon,” quite “childish” in his feelings. It was after his training to become a “servant” that he turned a “quick and faithful little man”, and was for years there for her “personal service.”<sup>249</sup> She viewed other blacks subjected to white domination<sup>250</sup> in a similarly relaxed and “positive” way.



Beveridge, in her speeches against the “Black Shame” also did not want to be considered a “Negro enemy.”<sup>251</sup> “In spite of the natural racial antipathy of an American,” she aimed to “try, to judge entirely objectively and fairly towards all parties.” After all, a “brochure by E.D. Morel”: “The Horror on the Rhine” with a preface by “Sir Arthur Ponsonby” had brought the problem to her attention and had, thanks to its “purely factual content,” made “a deep impression on the entire thinking world.”<sup>252</sup> Even in her agitation against the colonial forces, she considered the “average Negro, if properly treated” as “a good, and easy-to-direct man,” who would be reliable, with the exception of “two points—the woman and the alcohol.”<sup>253</sup>

However, the American actress made it unmistakably clear that as a black man, he should not dare to attempt to question the dogma of a supposedly natural white superiority and fail to show obedience towards her as a white woman. In one of her public speeches she described in detail how she had questioned and disciplined a group of black soldiers on a trip in the occupied territory, where one soldier had called her and her German companion “pigs.” After she had addressed the soldier in German and the “seated black” had given her a “naughty” look, she used her French to the effect that all black soldiers “with the exception of the guilty one” immediately “stood as if electrified.” The smartest amongst these “poor mindless blacks” told her his comrade would not have known that she was not a German. Then she would have turned to the culprit and told him “forcefully”: “You black, stand up, [...], don’t dare to sit in the presence of a white woman.” He “jumped up as if he would have been beaten,” told her “he didn’t know” she was an “étranger” and “apologized!”<sup>254</sup>

These brutal racist narratives clearly stand out from the more moderate attempts of Francesco Nitti and Edmund Morel to put France under international political pressure to withdraw its colonial soldiers from Europe. Beveridge’s populist idea to have herself photographed publicly with a “Rhineland bastard” as a testimony of the “Black Shame” and her aggressive, reactionary-grounded summoning of German-völkish unity against France’s “black beasts” also illustrate the ideological gap between her and left and liberal protagonists within the protest movement against the “Black Shame.”

Except for such differences in perspective, we can also see intersections in Beveridge’s, Nitti’s and Morel’s discussion and arguments regarding the use of colonial troops. These include a common understanding of the



French colonial soldiers stationed in Europe as a cultural shame, threat, humiliation and insult for the German people, Europe, and the white race, which is also semantically widely shared by these three multipliers of the campaign.

This idea was based on an image of “the Black,” which constituted the common racist ground of their considerations. The various representatives of the campaign shared it, and considered Africans as members of an uncivilised and lecherous race. The publication of Nitti’s criticism of the deployment of colonial troops in the nationalist and populist German magazine *Rheinischer Beobachter* provides a clue, in showing that such commonalities in the campaign were often stressed and existing differences between different political camps could often to some extent be bridged or hidden.<sup>255</sup> This propaganda organ of the public authority Rheinische Volkspflege praised Nitti’s most “insightful” reflections on “[t]he occupying army and the black shame” and published them with titles such as “The Cannibals on Rhine und Ruhr.”<sup>256</sup> His criticism of the stationing of coloured troops in Europe coined in the context of a required European agreement and post-war consolidation hence fell also in nationalist circles onto fertile ideological terrain, which used and catered to such concerns with revanchistic intentions.

Ultimately, the representatives of different political directions in the campaign did not inherently agree on how one should treat the blacks in and outside Europe and solve the problem of their armed presence on civilised territory. Even an enlightened humanist development perspective on the Africans, as represented in the early writings of Morel, seemed to apply only from the perspective of a given historical and geographical distance between civilised and uncivilised societies. The French government sublated this twofold distance by arming Africans considered “uncivilized savages” and importing them to Europe, where they were exercising control over “civilised whites.”

## 2.2 SPREADING THE “VÖLKISH SPARK” OF GERMAN SOLIDARITY: THE NATIONAL DIVIDEND OF THE “BLACK HORROR”

Guido Kreutzer’s “The Black Shame—The Novel of Disgraced Germany” was published in 1921.<sup>257</sup> The publisher announced the book as the “great novel of our times” and referred to various positive “press



reviews.”<sup>258</sup> The press praised it as the “German Act” and warned that that such a “roaring-up national wake-up call” on German soil had to be heard. Many newspapers were impressed by a work that was long overdue and was regarded as “fulfilling a national necessity.” The author was congratulated to have written the “German novel of the day,” on “Germany’s deepest shame, impotence and humiliation.”<sup>259</sup>

That this shame was black, seemed evident not only for Kreutzer, who wanted to trigger the “fire” of resistance against the “Black Shame” and pull the “German people out of its lethargy.”<sup>260</sup> The occupation of the Rhineland by French colonial troops also inspired other authors of popular colportage literature to protest against the “Black Scourge.”<sup>261</sup> In their fiction texts they represented the colonial forces stationed in Germany as a devastating problem of the German nation and of the white race. In various novels, pamphlets and plays they outraged about the “beasts in the country” and the allegedly countless victims of the coloured troops.<sup>262</sup>

Count Reventlow, who a short time later was to be one of the founders of the right-wing German *Deutschwölkische Freiheitspartei* and who had been an important propagandist of the Pan-German (*Alldeutsche*) position in the German *Kaiserreich*, wrote the preface to Guido Kreutzer’s novel.<sup>263</sup> His endorsement illustrates the instrumental character and main intention of this book. He was pleased that in Germany the movement against the “Black Shame” had now become significantly larger after initially missing consensus. In particular, the novel could have a strong impact as a genre and was considered suitable to reach the “vast number of Germans” who did “not want to hear about politics.”<sup>264</sup> Kreutzer’s work could be used by any opponent of the “Black Horror” as a “tool” to convince the German people of the issue of coloured abomination.<sup>265</sup>

Kreutzer, who was already a popular novelist and earlier German nationalist-minded author of works such as “Helmet Off to Prayer” (1914), and “Native Soil” (1915), was to live up to such a claim. In his novel “The Black Shame,” he designed a typology of characters who breathed his criticism of the internal division and occupation of Germany and pushed his call for a German-völkish national community—*Volksgemeinschaft*. In an occupied town on the Rhine, the readers encounter heroes and traitors of the German nation. They experience how German workers and industrialists under the yoke of coloured occupation are learning to co-operate with each other and read about the



violence of the French occupiers and their coloured troops. As character masks the actors direct the *völkisch* way out of a torn German post-war society, troubled by the “Black Horror” and other burdens of occupation.

The protagonist is the monarchist Prussian general, and former head of the army, friend of the emperor, honorary citizen and national hero Baron von Yrsch, who lives with his daughter in this town. His opponents are the French occupying power, the city council and the mayor, who regard him as a provocation for the occupiers and ask him to leave the town. During a national large-scale public protest march, however, workers associate with student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*) and other citizens in solidarity with the German national hero and persuade him to stay.

French colonial regiments spread fear and anxiety throughout the town. Moroccan soldiers shoot at unarmed demonstrators, and morality offences of black troops are piling up. The factory workers go on strike to protest the dismissal of a colleague who had—as one of the leaders of the national demonstration—asked for the whereabouts of the general. The wife of this worker is brutally raped by Moroccans and murdered. Her husband is in this way driven into madness, kills several blacks and becomes a martyr with his suicide (*Freitod*). In the face of such terrible conditions, workers stand with other Germans against the occupiers.

The Moroccans want to set up a brothel on the grounds of the general’s compound to humiliate him. Two German “national betrayers” and opponents of the general, a manufacturer and city councillor and his son, who had joined the French army as a captain of a Moroccan regiment, feel they can no longer support such terror and refuse to participate in a plot of the French authorities against the general. Triggered by the “Black Terror” in the city, the industrialist is turning his back on the French. He wants to reconcile (at first unsuccessfully) with his workers, now seen as German brothers who suffer under the black troops as he does but despise him as a traitor. His son discovers his admiration for the national hero and his love for the German virtues of the general’s daughter, billeted in the house of the general, and turns down against the French plan. After her father is incapacitated by a French officer and “mulatto,” he, as the former traitor, saves the beloved general’s daughter and kills the “mulatto” who tries to violate her and her family’s good reputation. The joint escape of the two Germans united in love fails. She is shot dead by French infantry, and he is arrested.



The novel uses the racist motive of the "Black Shame" to win its readers for a national revival of Germany. The French colonial forces and their atrocities were to be perceived by all Germans as a humiliating challenge and racial threat. Kreutzer combined the message of "Black Terror" with a national call for an overdue reconciliation of the various political camps of German society.

His scenario of the "Black Shame" was an attempt to help overcome the political division of the German people by demanding its national unity in times of crisis. It was the novel's aim to capture all Germans against the black occupation. They were urged to feel for their "tormented Volkgenossen" (national comrades) and to awaken the "national source of strength" lying in shared suffering, allowing "the völkish spark" to spread.<sup>266</sup> Reventlow stressed in his preface that the "Black Shame" was not at least a political issue which would fall back onto the French "enemy" if the Germans here for once acted and felt "as Germans."

This appeal to the national sense of community was racially charged. The unification of Germany was conveyed through the eugenic distinction between Germans and colonial soldiers, stigmatised as primitive, and their exclusion. The Germans were prompted to read the "Black Shame" not only as a humiliation but also as a French attempt to spoil their race by degeneration and diseases imported by coloured troops.

German women were used by the author metaphorically to make this rhetoric connection plausible. They represented the moral integrity, honour and racial purity of the German people. Their tortured bodies, attacked by "savages," symbolically marked the boundaries of the German nation and the white race, injured and violated by France's "Black Shame." Every German woman who fell ill or committed "suicide" driven by the "Black Terror" and each child born "physically and morally degenerate" was considered a French issue. All of its victims were meant to become a "martyr" for Germaneness and "the German future."<sup>267</sup>

The novel represents the presence of French colonial troops in Germany as a nation-governing evil, which needed to be eliminated. Its national hero considers it to be intolerable to accept "Negroes" as occupiers and criminalises them as "scum" let loose on the defenseless Germans.<sup>268</sup> The expulsion of the general by the occupiers is despised as French humiliation of the German nation,<sup>269</sup> and the "Black Shame" is condemned as a crime of the French arch-enemy (Erzfeind). The



Germans had to “strengthen in unified hatred of the enemy” and demonstrate national solidarity. The German nation was meant to come together in the “hatred against their tormentors and abusers” and recognise and remove the “Black Horror” as an “exponent of French enmity of death”<sup>270</sup> (Todfeindschaft).

The author stages the French as a “rotten and putrid nation.”<sup>271</sup> Even the German-born captain of a French coloured regiment is aware that the “Black Shame” reveals France’s betrayal of the entire civilisation and that France is wrongly deemed to be the spearhead of civilisation. At the sight of a young German woman killed by colonial troops, he mutters mockingly: “La France marche à la tête de la civilisation!”<sup>272</sup> The author contrasts the colonial soldiers with the civilised state of the Germans. He presents them as racially primitive, animal-like creatures of nature with a “raw carved face,” “predator bit” and “bead lips.” They are considered a threat for the German people, devastate the population and seem to turn the occupied territories into the hell in “Dante’s *Inferno*.”<sup>273</sup>

The connoted “Black Horror” aimed primarily at sharpening the national conscience of all Germans and spurring them to revolt against a crime committed against the German people as a whole. Kreutzer mainly in this context uses the figures of the factory owner and his son Lampré, standing in the service of France, and his relationship to the family of the national hero von Yrsch. The industrialist embodies an unpopular city councillor and factory owner who made common cause with the French in the war and betrayed Germany. Given the spread of recent crimes of the occupying forces, he is plagued by remorse, refuses to co-operate with a plot against von Yrsch and reflects on his love for the “fatherland.” He does not want to ruin the German general, because, even though he has become a traitor of the fatherland in the past, he does not want to be a traitor to his own race. The victims of “Black Shame” make him see sense. At the thought of a young German woman killed by blacks, he suddenly realises that he had “sold his soul to the French.”<sup>274</sup>

With this parable, the author demonises the French nation. At the same time, he lets the heart of the industrialist beat for the German nation again. He settles not only with the French but also with the Socialist temptation, whose unfortunate propaganda about German war guilt had driven him, like many Germans, to join the side of France.<sup>275</sup> Cleansed of such trials, the manufacturer takes Germany’s “national liberation” into his own hands. He in this way stands for Kreutzer’s ideal of a German nationalist-minded Volk. This nation has overcome class



thinking and Socialist maxims and defames France as war guilt-traitors and a single enemy. The industrial seems hopeful, because he had now realised with "millions of other Germans" and former "nitwits" that the "brotherhood of peoples" (*Völkerverbrüderung*) was a mad idea. They declared France to be the "executioner of Germany" who had planned the war long before and provoked it in order to destroy the Germans.

The "Black Shame" serves the author apparently as an ideological driving force for a nationalisation of the masses. Like the industrialist, every German had to learn to put their nation first in the face of Germany's subjugation by the "Black Horror." To reinforce this demand with populist means, Kreutzer lets black soldiers create a "massacre" in the town, has teachers "almost beaten to death," girls raped and other Germans imprisoned because they did not subject themselves to black officers. That Germany was not to accept this, seemed beyond doubt, and not only to the factory owner. The "Black Shame" meant to wake the readers' national "consciousness" and make them feel and act as Germans.<sup>276</sup>

How important it was for Kreutzer to flag up the thus-created connection of "Black Shame" and national awakening show his attempts to link this motive with other characters in his novel. In this context, especially the role of the industrialist's son Lampré and the national hero von Yrsch, are interesting. The Turko-Captain, thought to be lost forever for the German nation, underwent a similarly radical change of mind as his father. With this figure, the author build bridges with all those Germans who so far had not stood fully behind or had even plotted against their nation and paved their way back into the national community. Like the captain, they were to rediscover their heart for the fatherland in the face of oppression and harassment of the German people by the occupation and embark on the path of German national virtue.

Kreutzer expressed his own hostility towards the republic in the figure of the German general. He established him as a positive counter-image of a miserable and defeated German republic, characterised by "bickering" and conflict between different parties. The general stood for all that Germany no longer was but had to be again from the point of view of the author: a proud, strong, undefeated, monarchic, militarily and politically potent German Empire. Von Yrsch represents the "ideal of the battered and still fearsome" Germany, a man respected even by French officers in "instinctive awe".<sup>277</sup>

The black brothel on his estate was obviously also meant to humiliate him as a symbol of the once-proud Germany. His daughter is hence sure that the French in her father intended to "hit Germany" by attacking



him and “humiliating” him “unspeakably deeply” by turning his “retirement home,” “Germany’s national shrine and pilgrimage site” into a “brothel for their Moroccans and Senegalese.”<sup>278</sup>

The captain and son of industrialist Lampré proves his devotion to the general in a fight against a French “mulatto” and reaches for his gun to defend the general and his daughter against the “Arab.”<sup>279</sup> Nevertheless, the general is forced down by the latter. Kreutzer’s idea to bring the national hero down by a “mulatto” refers to the perceived problem of miscegenation in racist ideology. According to it, the mixture of races resulted in the deteriorating quality of the race, and mixed-race children almost always showed more negative racial characteristics than their parents belonging to different races.

The shot fired by a French chauffeur at the final encounter between the coloured officer and the general also had a strong symbolic quality. It pointed out that France had also parted from the union of the civilised Christian nations by the actions of his “half-Arabian” Hassan, who once again fell upon Europe, as a modern descendant of the black Raven of Allah. Hence, the shot indented to hit a German passer-by hit not coincidentally a church, tearing apart “the left hand” of the “blessing Christ figure.”<sup>280</sup>

The former defector and Captain of a Moroccan regiment radically distanced himself from this cruel and frivolous nation and dedicated himself to the German general’s family as victims of “Black Shame.” He breaks away from the French army when he learns that he was meant to play a key role in the French plot against the German hero.<sup>281</sup> Like him, the novel’s readers were made to think that the plot against the German general was part of a larger attack against the Rheinland. Kreutzer accuses the French occupiers of deliberately exacerbating the dangers of “Black Shame” and of provoking the Germans to “unrest” through the use of “agents provocateur” and harassment. France was seen to in this way continue the war “by other means.”<sup>282</sup>

A conversation between the reformed Captain Lampré and his father, the industrialist, can be considered a lesson for all real “lost souls” within the German nation. Kreutzer tries to capture them with passionate odes to Germaneness and fatherland. He lets the son sing repentant nationalist praises and also makes the father break with the brutal French Nation and its “niggers.”<sup>283</sup> After the father realises that his son too wants “to be German again,” they reconcile under a German roof. The son returning to the side of the German nation is defining the ideological goal.



Despite all misconduct, he now understands that ultimately all what counts is faith in the German homeland (*Vaterlandsglauben*), essential to avoid decline.

Not every stray was to be able to rejoin the nation though. Kreutzer makes it clear that only those were allowed to belong to it who were ready to atone for their crimes committed against the German people. While the son ruefully wants to put things right, the father is lacking insight into his shameful “betrayal” of Germany. As long as he clung to his millions through dirty business with the French, the path to the national community was to be blocked and not open to him.<sup>284</sup>

This massive national wake-up call in the novel is linked systematically with the category class. The message that blacks had been set on the German people to “fatten up in German work and [to] feed on German holdings” was meant to equally worry workers and industrialists. The use of colonial forces should attack them both and provoke them to join forces in combat. Kreutzer’s call for a German national reconciliation was aware of social polarisation within German society and eager to ideologically overcome it. His staging of the “Black Shame” as a class-crossing threat to Germaneness and the race was not only a call to the lower classes to unite with the ruling against the external enemy. It also invited the workers by racial identification to get closer to them and to be partially equal, not in material terms, but as a representative and protector of same *völkish* and racially defined community.

The familial idyll of a united national community takes the place of the socially deeply divided, irreconcilable class society. The novel established this community as the only effective protection against the French reign of terror and “Black Shame.” The author made all classes suffer equally under the occupation. As part of the imaginary community, the Germans were meant to feel obliged to take up the fight against the evil of black occupation with their brothers and sisters—of course everyone in their place.

Kreutzer’s representatives of the working class encounter this lure with open ears. They recognise the benefits of the *Volksgemeinschaft* in times of “Black Horror,” understand how to integrate themselves into it and celebrate the alleged need for this community perfectly. On the first few pages of the novel they already march exemplary in the front line of a “nationalist demonstration of gigantic scope” surrounding the national hero von Yrsch in its center.<sup>285</sup>



Flaming speeches had also inflamed their German heart, and the “old black-white-red flags” were flying again above the massive protest march. Kreutzer’s national demonstration, uniting “masses” in the small Rhineland town “to incalculable flows of humans”<sup>286</sup> (*Menschenströme*) reflects also linguistically a socially important motive especially popular in German Social Democratic circles. While Social Democrats spread the perception of a rising “giant” proletariat and gigantic worker heroes, his masses were on a national mission. He considered them gigantic: as they were in shackles, as defeated and occupied, but they should strengthen in times of such need through internal cohesion and free themselves from the shackles of “Black Shame” and French tyranny, like a kind of völkish Gulliver, who had only become aware of his power resulting from unity.

Even before the arrival of the French occupiers the novel’s Germans were already absorbed by the idea of the national community, focusing on their “German being”<sup>287</sup> and abstaining from any further party quarrels. This “German being” was meant to neutralise nationally all emancipatory ideas of freedom, now no longer associated with the overcoming of existing social relations of domination but with their identity as Germans, allegedly threatened by France and its black troops. German solidarity was presented as essential and so was the need to defend such national icons in co-operation with their fellow countrymen.<sup>288</sup> Kreutzer’s workers demonstrate that the nation can count on them. In their eyes too, the general is a “national hero”<sup>289</sup> and they are attempting to prevent his deportation with all means. Different from their real comrades, they have understood that it was not least their duty to defend such national icons through a national closing of ranks.<sup>290</sup>

That national-minded workers in the German community were not suppressed but appreciated is the message of a secondment of workers, who submit the requests of the demonstration to the general on behalf of the demonstrators. The author allowed the identification of the lower classes with the national protest by making up a hero from within their circles. To the rescue of the national hero he did deliberately not send “dressed masters of any official corporations” but “simple week-days people,” who had hurriedly left their work.<sup>291</sup> The spokesman of their delegation is based on the image of the fully grown “giant” proletariat, is a “Hulk” (*Hüne*); an “Enakson” (*Enakssohn*). His enthusiasm for the national hero, too, is enormous, as he feels outraged about the general having to leave his home because the “bloody nigger” came and he assured him that the entire town was standing behind him.



Unsurprisingly the author made the general, as representative of the ruling classes receive this national commitment of the workers to the German national community amicably, proudly and gratefully. Von Yrsch pays tribute to his commitment to the German course and praises the merger of all Germans against France and its “black cronies.”

Kreutzer is here building a populist bridge for his workers, overriding the familiar class divisions. He lets the worker point out political conflicts, but then straight away stress the necessary co-operation of all Germans during the French occupation. So the “Hulk” reassures the general that while the Germans still have a lot “to fight” out politically amongst each other, they would all stand together against the “Frenchmen”—“as it should be.” The author reinforces the national reconciliation by setting up the figure of the factory owner, co-operating with France as an opponent of the workers. Kreutzer makes the corrupt industrialist fear what he himself hoped for: that in times of external threat there was a potential fighter for the nation in every German worker, no matter how left-wing and anti-nationalist he otherwise acted.

Hence, the redundant worker had immediately turned into the “spokesman” of the national demonstration and had become “a heart and a soul” with the fraternities (Burschenschaftler).<sup>292</sup> Such proletarian sense of national solidarity is haunting the manufacturer collaborating with the French. As a traitor of the German nation, he does not understand that the workers, after holding communist, “destabilising” speeches yesterday and rigorously opposing everything “suspected of national sentiment,” now pulled together with all Germans “on the same side” in national resistance. Especially the worker who had asked the general to stay, annoyed him. The industrialist is concerned that a strike had been called in his factory because he had dismissed this worker after his “hate speech” on the demonstration. He describes with disbelief his workers’ national turn in the context of the occupation and recalls that the same worker still in the “November revolution [...] shot down the boys of the Reichswehr like bunnies.”<sup>293</sup>

The author here obviously aimed to nationally reframe forms of protest of the workers, with which civil society made radical acquaintance in the early years of the Weimar republic. Kreutzer’s fictional workers were meant to set a positive example, when no longer demonstrating against their oppression, against the chauvinistic State, conservatism, militarism and monarchy, but by protesting instead to protect a man from the ruling classes who represented these values as an ideal type.



The novel also turned the fist as a symbol of their movement ideologically. The fists of his workers did no longer reach out to the ruling classes, but are now set in association with them against France and its “Black Horror.” German “protest avalanches” are created with “almost all men and teenage boys” taking part. “Thousands of voices” and “clenched fists” rise up against the French occupiers.<sup>294</sup> Kreutzer’s workforce also follows his motto: “Blood—you keep your right”<sup>295</sup> and is ready to promote this statement even across political boundaries. They have understood national honour and racial pride should matter to them and every good German beyond all party conflicts. They are separating themselves from unwanted ideological ballast and radically distance themselves from Communist workers. Every decent working person had to be concerned about the “mad strikes and Communist agitations” ruining “the whole industry.” Workers involved were meant to be singled out and shot as “criminal scum” or at least be locked up for the rest of their life.<sup>296</sup>

Kreutzer’s workers are now passionately committed to Germaneness, home, country and Volksgemeinschaft. They see Germany under threat by the “Black Shame” and discuss coloured assaults shortly after the arrival of the occupiers. The colonial soldiers are in this way racialised and dehumanised, when being made out to be wild animals, feared as “black beasts.” It seemed appalling to the ordinary workmen that nobody did anything against the “bloody niggers stopping our women on the road.”

It was made clear—by a “cry of grisly horror” from the house of the workers’ leader<sup>297</sup>—that the black troops apparently did much worse. Kreutzer lets them kill the worker’s wife to teach his readers that especially the lower classes were suffering tremendously under black occupation. The worker, tormented by the death of his wife, turns into a fighter against the “Black Shame.” Kreutzer turns him insane and lets him take up the fight with his “military rifle” against the enemies and their “black beasts” in place of the defeated German army. The worker dies a heroic death, as a German martyr admired by his fellow workmen.

The treacherous German industrialist, too, joins the choir of class reconciliation against France’s “Black Horror.” The conflict between him and his workers is resolved. Kreutzer in this way recontextualises the subject of exploitation, replacing its class context with a national context. The factory owner, formerly criticised by his workers as an exploiter, is



himself turned into an unfortunate exploited man. He is demoted into a "galley slave"<sup>298</sup> of France and raises his fist against the French enemy.

The industrialist symbolically offers his workers the calumet of class-crossing solidarity. Outraged about the brutality of the occupation, he wants to patch things up with them in the fight against the French nation and its "Black Shame." He agitates against the "black trash" serving France to exploit Germany and now feels fraternally united with his workers. While the world watched with indifference how the Germans were "clenching the fists"<sup>299</sup> and fainting, he wants to make up for his mistake and takes back the dismissal of the nationally dedicated worker.

Apparently, Kreutzer attempted the ideological relief of the factory owner. With the change of attitude of this figure, he succeeds to counter the image of the exploitative capitalist ideologically with that of a purified, good German capitalist. Although he had been under poor French influence for long, ultimately, not he but the French nation was to be held responsible for the plight of his workers. Instead, he is staged as brother of the workers who has come to his senses and finally brings reconciliation and rescue.

The industrialist's national repentance, too, testifies to the novel's attempt to push the workers into a national united front beyond class contrasts. Within this national community workers and industrialists were united as a family, and the industrialist did see the workers as his "German brothers [...], every one of them."<sup>300</sup> His request for reconciliation at first fails, due to the workers' distrust. They are not bothered about the factory owner's change of attitude and do not recognise the "German brother" in him. Instead his reconciliation intentions are thwarted by a symbolic "fist-size stone," which—thrown by his workers—injured the industrialist and made him collapse in front of a representative of the French occupying forces. The stone was obviously not to hit only him but to also hammer the belief into the readers that this disregard of the industrialist's good intentions would damage the common German cause.

The author dramatically staged the dire consequences of this division of German labour and capital. Inevitably the factory owner agreed to prevent with the help of French colonial troops the upcoming storming of his factory by the workers. The massacre the colonial soldiers create presented the divided German nation not only as easy prey for the black troops. It also forcefully makes clear that the reconciliation of the classes was a necessary precondition for combating the "Black Shame." As a



cautionary example, it calls the workers to discipline and co-operation with the ruling classes.

Kreutzer insists that only their co-operation with the factory owner could have prevented the black massacre. Rather than fraternising with the industrialist, they had tried to storm the factory, and the author punished such intransigence and infringement of private property drastically, confronting the horrified workers with “blacks” armed with “machine guns.”<sup>301</sup> The resistance of the demonstrators is in vain; they cry, whimper, roar and are run over by the occupiers. The fight against the “Black Horror” was meant to fail without their “German brothers” at their side. “Disarmed,” “undisciplined” and “blown apart,” they are released from this scene, flanked by an industrialist who was “torn by torture,” compassion and begged for their understanding.

Kreutzer accuses the French nation of violating the German people with their colonial troops and of driving a wedge between workers and industrialists in order to prevent an agreement of the classes necessary for the re-emergence of the German nation. In this construction of a “Black Horror,” notions of gender and race played an important role in addition to representations of nation and class. France’s alleged intention to divide the German nation is mediated primarily through the figure of a very attractive French dancer and former lover of the factory owner’s son. On behalf of the French government, she tried to tempt the German industrialist to act against his protesting workers and to persuade him to a renewed co-operation with France. The German industrialist shows understanding for the protest of his workers, aware that they could not know yet that he again stood behind the German nation with them. The French woman, however, vilified his workforce and mocked him as an “idealist” protecting a “horde of [...] thugs and killers.”<sup>302</sup>

Like all French women in the novel, she lacks modest and virtuous behaviour. French women are represented as unrestrained nasty prostitutes of the French army. The industrialist defies the seductive qualities of the dancer and realises that she tried to take possession of him with her “greedy polyp arms.”<sup>303</sup> The author makes him resist this temptation to engage again with the French. The attractiveness of the French woman appears as misleading, covering up the greed of the French nation which captured people for their own purposes and clutched them like a polyp. The former defector resists the temptation of a further betrayal of the German nation and unmasked the alleged political calculus of French seduction: the “gentlemen in Paris” would



be “wrong to assume” that he would—for a “separé adventure”—join their atrocities.<sup>304</sup>

The former lover of the dancer and lost German son of the industrialist, too, renounces himself rigorously from her. He now has only eyes for the graceful German general's daughter Marlene and worships her as ideal of a virtuous German woman. Being faithfully devoted to her, he can now not even “endure” to bear the French dancer with her “soulless chirping voice,” desire and intrusiveness<sup>305</sup> and feels no sympathy for this “worldly little animal.”<sup>306</sup>

The French dancer is set in scene as a counterpoint for Kreutzer's ideal of the chaste, modest and abstemious German woman. She is considered a compulsive creature and is complicit in the violence posed by France. German women and girls, however, consistently appear in a victim role. Their moral and racial integrity is under threat, and their rape by French colonial soldiers was to affect the white race and the German people alike. The notion of an attacked nation and race was created through the image of the attacked German woman. The confrontation of the racially charged sex images of the black man as rapist and the white woman as his victim were to symbolically mark a dual transgression or violation of boundaries. The raped German woman stood symbolically for the humiliated and contaminated German people. At the same time she was used to refer to a disgraced and violated white race.

This rape theme in the novel is dominated by two discursive strands. First, it carries a sexist dimension in itself. It refers to the desecration of the Christian woman as a feminine, virtuous, virgin object of male desire and opposes this image with the masculine, sexual greed of the deep-seated black man. On the other hand, it reflects a eugenic discussion, aimed at the desecration of women as potential reproduction vessels of the white race and the degeneration associated with it.

In Kreutzer's sketch of the “Black Shame,” this eugenic dimension intersected with the threatening image of pollution and a “bastardisation” of the German people and race initiated by France. The occupiers were suspected of using their black troops with the intention of causing the degeneracy of the Germans. In the novel they are accused of releasing the blacks to “defile and rape” German “women,” “undermine the nation's health” and generate masses of racially “polluted children.”<sup>307</sup>

The German woman was deemed ready to defend her purity against this “Black Horror” with all means.<sup>308</sup> Coloured attacks are considered



to be inevitable. Even white French officers ascribe these racistically to the nature of the black and see a “reckless scum,” whose “morality attacks” were continuous.<sup>309</sup> With their coloured troops, the French authorities did not only want to attack the workers and the general, but also his daughter. In the figure of the general’s daughter, the author interweaves the impending sexual desecration of the German woman with the German nation and white race. Marlene represents in her femininity the ideal of a German virgin and chaste Christian. Her appearance reveals that she also was a woman of a particular “race” and representative of a classical civilised ideal of beauty. She is equipped with a “girly pristine charm” and was a “Blonde,” her heavy hair held together in a “Greek node”<sup>310</sup> with “wise eyes” and beautiful “curved brows,” an “elegantly narrow face,” a “slim shape” and “delicious carved line of the shoulders.”

For the lost son of the manufacturer, she becomes the reason of his German revival. He sees in her the symbol of a lost homeland and a pure, noble Germaneness. Even when he still fought as a depraved foreign legionnaire, she remains present, like the “woe reminder of a fatherland lost forever” and his “shame.” He henceforth wants to dedicate himself to this country again. In the figure of the general’s daughter, Kreutzer confronts the shame of a betrayal of the fatherland with the idealised, desire-pregnant image of a former home whose idyllic qualities one recognises only after parting from it. The industrialist’s son hence sees her as his “fairy land,” “forever lost, never owned paradise!”<sup>311</sup>

These memories of the German Heimat and the renewed encounter with the general’s daughter make the captain regret his betrayal of Germany and break with the French nation. He turns against France and returns eagerly and wholeheartedly to his beloved homeland, embodied in Marlene. Kreutzer presented this homeland under blatant threat by the “Black Shame” by confronting the German Marlene with the figure of the French officer and “Half-Arabian” Mustapha Hassan. Hassan, who had already stabbed the German national hero, wants to humiliate the German nation a second time by raping the general’s daughter. In his animalistic sexual greed, he wants to rape her, humiliate her family and damage her reputation. Greedy for the “young Prussian”<sup>312</sup> he reveals to readers that her desecration should be above all a vendetta against her glorious father, the German general.<sup>313</sup>

The coloured officer is made up by all stereotypical characteristics associated with the racist and dehumanising “Negro” image. He is sketched as a predator, with bead lips and pop eyes, “fletches his teeth,”



and bites "like an animal"<sup>314</sup> when seeing Marlene. His immorality surpasses that of prostitutes of the lowest ranks<sup>315</sup> and even though he appeared small and boyish in his physique, he turned out to be "brutal" and "relentless." His faked polite smile made his "primitively carved features" appear even more revolting.<sup>316</sup>

Despite his description as boyish, he was not to be mistaken for an infantile mind based on the character of the childlike savage. He was instead considered undeveloped within the meaning of uncivilised. Kreutzer left no doubt that there was a beast inside of the childlike-looking black. Not even a smile, so civilised a gesture, can cover up the alleged brutality of his character. It does not work as camouflage but is forced in the face of the "savage," set up and not authentic. At the moment in which he tried to present himself as civilised, his racial primitiveness is even more obvious to the gaze of the civilised. This, so Kreutzer's message shows, can not be adjusted or covered up by mimicry of goodwill but is written directly in his face. The raw features of the "mulatto" in this racist narrative stood aesthetically in direct contrast to the fine features attributed to his white victims.<sup>317</sup>

He is determined to make the young German his "mindless slave." Stained and pushed into the "gutter" she was meant to stand for the "other white women" who had given themselves to him "ardently and shamelessly." Once again, the novel combines a sexist and a racist motive. For Hassan this is not only about raping a helpless German virgin, but also about the black man's revenge at white women whom he already verbally humiliates and disgraces with his words. The author develops the fight between Hassan and Marlene not only as a gender battle but also as a racial conflict. For this, he equips the general's daughter with a racial pride, which makes it impossible for her as representative of white civilisation to mingle with a "mulatto." She scorns him as "half-civilised savage" and rears all the "arrogance of her race"<sup>318</sup> against him.

The son of the German industrialist rushes to act as the saviour of this proud and innocent German girl. He also is convinced of the racial primitiveness and dangerousness of the black woman-hunter. He vows to protect her family's house against Hassan and insists that she is "not a fair game" for this "nigger."<sup>319</sup> This threat posed by the "Black Shame" to women and people seemed to Kreutzer suitable to recover even apostates such as the factory owner's son for the nation. He returned as captain of the Moroccan Brigade and enemy of the country to Germany and was to feel in the face of the threat of the German woman by the black troops



how much his “conscience as a human being and man” forced him to return to troubled Germany.

The novel’s ending makes clear that it takes bitter revenge to leave your nation in the lurch. The escape of Marlene and the factory owner’s son from the occupied territory fails and reveals the fate of all Germans who became traitors of their own nation. It is too late for Lampré. The fact that he now no longer wants to leave behind the “helpless and defenseless” general’s daughter as a symbol of the German homeland and national honour and is now prepared to protect her against the “black-brown beasts”<sup>320</sup> does not make any difference. The former traitor’s desire for atonement for his treachery and his urge to rejoin the German nation is in vain.

Kreutzer lets his French past get in his way and Lampré’s French ex-girlfriend thwart the couple’s escape plans. She lets the “mulatto” Hassan loose again and pushes him to have another go at Marlene. Lampré as her saviour demonstrates how a white man in colonialist fashion dealt with voluptuous blacks who were assaulting a white woman: he stretches the black down with a “shot,” which hit him “like a whiplash.”<sup>321</sup>

Kreutzer left no doubt that such drastic actions were required to protect Germany from the “Black Horror.” He turned Lampré’s actions to a German affair of the heart and lets Marlene’s saviour act based on “noble” motives: he was solely driven by a desire to not let his homeland down again and to protect it against foreign damaging aggressions. He was sure now that everyone who tried to lay a hand on Marlene would have to die; no one was to invade his German “sanctuary,” “to violate” it and exile him from it.<sup>322</sup> He had been loyal to Marlene as his rediscovered home and had done everything to be a “German” again and let his “soul finally” find “its peace.”

The subsequent escape of the lovers fails despite his “heroic act” and reconciliation with the German fatherland. Lampré’s realisation comes too late; the atoned traitor had lost his German home forever and the peace of mind he was longing for was denied. Kreutzer blocks Lampré’s way back. Marlene dies in his arms, killed by French bullets, and he gets arrested. That he actually had lost a paradise by his treachery against Germany was demonstrated by fellow Rhinelanders on a night stroll “homeward.”<sup>323</sup> They had “raved and kissed” and sang a song of “Lovers on the Rhine.” A man who had once loved a German girl was able to confidently stop “wandering.” Nothing “better” should be there “in the world” and life on the Rhine seemed “Heaven on Earth.”



## NOTES

1. Cline, *Morel*, p. 12; for a discussion of Morel's work and life, see, for example, Rothstein, *Policy*, mainly chapter 3; Taylor, *Trouble*, especially chapter 5 and the contemporary study Lutz, *Morel*.
2. See, for example, Morel, *Burden*; Morel, *Africa*; *King Leopold*; *Nigeria*.
3. The Congo Reform Association was founded in Great Britain in 1904 with the intention, to overthrow the brutal colonial regime of King Leopold in Belgian Congo and became also active in the US. The work of the association was supported by prominent voices, such as Arthur Conan Doyle and Mark Twain.
4. The Union of Democratic Control was founded in August 1914, demanded a democratic, parliamentary control of British foreign policy and criticised any form of secret diplomacy, which was regarded as a major cause of the conflict between European States. The union promoted an understanding between the former war opponents and agitated against a demotion of the defeated countries after the end of the War. It had had more than 300,000 members already in 1915 and became one of the most important British anti-War organisations. Morel was also the editor of its journal "Foreign Affairs." For a reflection on the political self-image and the work of the Union of Democratic Control, see amongst others, Union of Democratic Control, *Manifesto*; Union of Democratic Control, *Motives*; Harris, *Control*; Swartz, *Politics*; Trevelyan, *Union*.
5. Morel in this way remained dependent on financial support from industrialists like the British ship owner J. Holt, for example, or the Chocolate manufacturer W. Cadbury, who financially supported him until the end of his life.
6. Cline, *Morel*, p. 113.
7. Morel was prepared and keen to work together with a broad spectrum of organisations and—as with the later campaign against the "Black Horror"—he successfully called for the support of different peace organisations, cooperations, trade unions, churches, women's organisations and any organisation, prepared to share the political demands of his campaign. See in this context, *ibid.*, p. 102.
8. See Morel, *Peacewar*, p. 69f.
9. Morel, *Black Troops*, p. IX.
10. Cline, *Morel*, p. 30.
11. Morel, *Horror*, p. 10.
12. Morel, *Employment*, p. 893.
13. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.



14. Morel, *Prostitution*, p. 196. The *Daily Herald* as a leading British daily of the left supported his campaign against the stationing of black troops in Germany. In his first *Daily Herald* article on the subject, Morel responded to the involvement of French colonial soldiers in the occupation of Frankfurt. He also attacked the terror of colonial troops on the Rhine in other articles and writings. Morel pointed repeatedly to the shameless militarism of the French Government, which he considered responsible for the mass abuses committed by the blacks. Similarly to the radical *Labour Leader* and the *Foreign Affairs*, other liberal periodicals were supportive of Morel's propaganda efforts and participated in the campaign with a series of relevant articles. The liberal journal *Contemporary Review*, for example, protested vigorously against the alleged offenses of black troops. See Reinders, *Racialism*, p. 11.
15. On the development of British colonial troops policy before and during the First World War, see Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*; Elkins, *negroes*. On British Foreign Policy generally, see Doerr, *Foreign Policy*; Wolfers, *Britain*.
16. See Reinders, *Racialism*, p. 4; Morel, *Horror*.
17. See Morel, *Black Scourge*, p. 3.
18. On the role of the Union and its cooperation with other organisations, see Brockway, *Left*; Union of Democratic Control, *Betrayal*.
19. In July 1920, the journal even devoted a first special supplement to the issue, which included Morel's talk at the conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
20. N.N., *Protest*, p. 9f.
21. Spoor, *Black and White*, p. 1ff.
22. See, for example, Angell, *victory*.
23. Schott has reflected on the work and significance of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, see Schott, *League*. The cooperation of the league with Edmund D. Morel was no coincidence, as the representative of the Union and the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom worked closely together regularly. See Reinders, *Racialism*, p. 15.
24. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *Coloured troops*, p. 6. The British section of the league also used its monthly News Sheet on different occasions to criticise the use of "primitive troops" in Germany and to report international protests. See Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *Primitive Troops*; Women's International League, *Negro Troops*; *Troops*; *League*; *Occupation*. After condemning the garrisoning of black troops explicitly at a protest meeting in May 1920 against the use of black troops in Europe and their deployment in Germany, and addressing the League of



Nations in a memorandum on the matter, the League revised its attitude in 1921. At a conference, its members discussed consequences of the occupation, without directly targeting the colonial troops in Germany. However, demands for a withdrawal of these troops were also formulated. See Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *Occupation*.

25. McKay, cited in Wipplinger, *Germany, 1923*, p. 112. According to Wipplinger, the *Daily Herald* refused to publish McKay's response to Morel titled "A Black Man replies" as "too long," but it was later published in a communist periodical, titled *Workers' Dreadnought*, see *ibid*, p. 111.
26. It seemed evident that Senegalese men were not suited to occupy parts of Germany. British Parliament. Parliamentary Question Wedgewood. 16.4.1920. PRO, FO371/3784.
27. British Parliament. Parliamentary Question Kenworthy. 15.4.1920. PRO, FO371/3784.
28. British Parliament. Parliamentary Question Spoor. 15.4.1920. PRO. 127 H.C. Deb.55.
29. British Parliament. Parliamentary Question Aubrey. 17.3.1923. PRO, FO371/8720.
30. Sir Walter de Frece, for example, was amongst those who vehemently opposed the use of "coloured troops" and expressed his deep sorrow and outrage. He expected the government to ask for their removal and replacement with "white troops." Letter de Frece to Harmsworth. 11.10.1921. PRO, FO371/5999.
31. Attachment letter Harmsworth to Phillips. 20.10.1921. PRO, FO371/5999. In an internal commentary on an official report from Coblenz, a representative of the British Foreign Office even accused the French to enjoy humiliating Germany. Written commentary on the letter Kilmarnock to Foreign Office. 14.4.1925. PRO, FO371/10754.
32. Internal written commentary on the letter from Stuart to Foreign Office. 24.7.1920. PRO, FO371/4830.
33. Edmund D. Morel, cited in Cline, *Morel*, p. 24.
34. Mary Kingsley was a humanist, Africa expert and wrote two books about her travels and studies in Africa. Her work was devoted to the well-being of the Africans and promoted the preservation of their natural living conditions. Morel, who was a friend of Kingsley, dedicated his book *Nigeria* to her after her death. See *ibid.*, pp. 16–20.
35. Morel, *Burden*, p. 44.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 158ff.
37. Here and in the following, Morel, *Nigeria*, p. 214f.



38. Morel's ideas regarding the nature of the African, his polygamy and natural way of life were clearly influenced by Mary Kingsley's work, which had a considerable intellectual impact on Morel according to his biographer Cline. Kingsley thought polygamy to be a necessary institution in the lives of Africans, which needed to be preserved. Cline, *Morel*, p. 16f.
39. Morel, *Burden*, p. 160.
40. Morel, *Leopold's rule*, p. 253.
41. Morel, *Burden*, p. 105f.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
44. Morel, *African problem*, p. 14.
45. Morel, *Africa*, p. 115.
46. Morel, *African problem*, p. 13.
47. Morel, *Burden*, p. 179f.
48. Morel, *Nigeria*, p. 151.
49. In Morel's Congo campaign, humanist intentions were paired with commercial motives. He assumed uncritically, that no contradictions existed between the interests of Africans and those of the British merchants. See Morel, *Leopold's rule*, p. 97; see also Morel, *Burden*, p. 172.
50. Morel proposed to neutralise tropical Africa and free it from any involvement in War and European conflict. See Morel, *Burden*, p. 229.
51. Morel, *Africa*, p. 69.
52. Morel, *Burden*, p. 8. See Reinders, *Racialism*, p. 3.
53. Morel, *Burden*, p. 222.
54. Morel, *Africa*, p. 69.
55. Morel, *Leopold's rule*, p. 232f.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 219, see also *ibid.*, pp. 248ff., 303.
58. Morel, *Burden*, p. 219.
59. See Morel, *Justice*.
60. Cline, *Morel*, p. 25.
61. Morel, *Horror*, p. 17.
62. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.
63. Morel, *Horror*, p. 9f.
64. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.
65. Morel, *Horror*, p. 9f.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
68. Morel, *Black Scourge*, p. 5.
69. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.
70. Morel, *Horror*, p. 19.



71. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.; See Morel, *Horror*, p. 18; Morel, *Prostitution*, p. 196.
72. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.
73. Morel, *Horror*, p. 21.
74. See Morel, *Horror*, p. 18f.
75. Ibid., p. 17f.
76. See especially Morel, *Burden*.
77. Morel, *Horror*, p. 11.
78. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.
79. Morel, *Slave Owner*, p. 7.
80. Morel, *Horror*, p. 19.
81. Morel, *Black Troops*, p. VII.
82. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1. The following citation is on the same page.
83. Morel, *Black Troops*, p. VII.
84. Morel, *Scourge*, p. 1.
85. Morel, *Horror*, p. 7.
86. Morel, *Black Troops*, p. VII.
87. Morel, *Horror*, p. 21.
88. Ibid., p. 8.
89. Morel, *Black Troops*, p. VII.
90. Morel, *Horror*, p. 10.
91. Morel, *Black Troops*, p. IX.
92. Morel, *Horror*, p. 1.
93. Here and in the following: Morel, *Black Troops*, p. IX. (“[T]he tendency in every part of Africa will be, under the influence of this fear, to harden and harshen the bonds of white rule [...] And what of the corresponding effect in the militarised African, who has shot and bayoneted white men in Europe, who has had sexual intercourse with white women in Europe? [...] So, on the one side, an intensification of fear [...] on the other, contempt, loss of respect, destruction of a legend of superiority, [...] wars of extermination between the two races.”). Moreover, he considered the militarised Africans a threat for other, particularly British colonies. See Morel, *Horror*, p. 22.
94. Morel, *Black Scourge*, p. 5.
95. See Nitti (Vincenzo), *Werk*.
96. Nitti, *Europa*; Nitti, *Tragödie*; Nitti, *Niedergang*.
97. Nitti, *Europa*, p. 5.
98. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. VIII.
99. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 209.
100. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 14.
101. Ibid., p. 14.
102. Ibid., p. 18.



103. Ibid., p. 16.
104. Ibid., p. 17.
105. Ibid., p. 94.
106. Ibid., p. 16.
107. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 209.
108. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 16f.
109. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 19f.
110. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 125.
111. See *ibid.*, p. 126. See Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 126, claiming “France had but one idea, and later on did not hesitate to admit it: to dismember Germany, to destroy her unity.”
112. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 130.
113. Ibid., p. 143.
114. See *ibid.*, p. 140.
115. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 95.
116. Ibid., p. 95f.
117. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 11. Nitti argued, to have studied the different material regarding the “atrocities” of the blacks himself, and recalls to have felt “never before in his life such a deep shiver of horror, a so deep feeling of disgust.” *ibid.*, p. 149.
118. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 23.
119. Ibid., p. 236. Similarly, Nitti, *Europa*, p. 242.
120. Nitti, *Kannibalen*, p. 355.
121. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 23.
122. Ibid., p. 62.
123. Nitti, *Kannibalen*, p. 355.
124. Ibid.
125. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 209.
126. Here and in the following Nitti, *Kannibalen*, p. 355.
127. Ibid, p. 355.
128. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 194.
129. Ibid., p. 201.
130. Nitti, *Kannibalen*, p. 355.
131. Giovanni Amendola, cited in Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 307.
132. “Proteste.” In: Fränkischer Kurier. 18.2.1921. PAAA, R74419.
133. Brief (letter) Deutsche Botschaft Rom to Auswärtiges Amt. 9.5.1922. PAAA, R74422.
134. See Marks, *Black Watch*, p. 319; See also Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 309.
135. See “Holländische Stimmungen. Farbige Franzosen am Rhein.” Berliner Dienst. 12.11. year not readable. PAAA, R122421.



136. See Brief (letter) Deutsche Botschaft Rom to Auswärtiges Amt Berlin. 9.5.1922. PAAA, R74422.
137. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 309.
138. Liljeblad actively participated in the campaign and wrote a brochure on the subject. He showed a particularly keen interest in the "coloured half-caste children" (farbige Mischlingskinder) in Germany, whom he considered a scourge for the whole of Europe. See Liljeblad, *World's Shame*.
139. See Nilssons Artikel "Die farbige Wacht am Rhein." In: Göteborger Dagbad. 3.12.1921. A German translation of this article can be found in PAAA, R74421.
140. On the development of the campaign in the US, see Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, pp. 292–302.
141. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 148.
142. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 247. The following citation can be found in Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 125.
143. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 58f. See also Nitti, *Abgrund*, p. 3
144. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 59.
145. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 196.
146. Ibid., p. 193.
147. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 208f.
148. Francesco Nitti, cited in flyer "Weiß das Ausland was Angehörige der alliierten Staaten schreiben über die farbige Besatzung am Rhein?" BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
149. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 149.
150. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 33.
151. Nitti, *Europa*, p. 242.
152. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 146f; See also Nitti, *Knute*, p. 150.
153. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 151.
154. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 32.
155. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 46.
156. Ibid., p. 150.
157. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 166.
158. Nitti, *Knute*, p. 150.
159. Nitti, *Niedergang*, p. 150f.
160. Nitti, *Friede*, p. 132f.
161. Here and in the following Ibid., p. 131ff.
162. Nitti, *Wreck*, p. 28. (Alexander, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, the three greatest military leaders produced by Aryan civilization, were essentially political men.).
163. Nitti, *Tragödie*, p. 128.
164. See Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 228f and *ibid.*, p. 192.



165. Ibid., p. 51.
166. See *ibid.*, p. 196.
167. Ibid., p. 193.
168. Ibid., p. 173.
169. Ibid., p. 86.
170. On the poses and statues, see *ibid.*, p. 81, 104, 160, 153, on her engagements in cabarets, see *ibid.*, pp. 177, 189.
171. Ibid., p. 61.
172. See *ibid.*, p. 176.
173. See *ibid.*, pp. 179, 261, 263, 107, 137, 170, where she talks about her “old acquaintance” with the steel industrialist “Windsor Richards,” the “Earl of Kilmorey” and “General Mahon.”
174. Beveridge states to have met him together with her sister in Ostend and Deauville. Ibid., p. 142. She also claims to have personally met La Reine Helen Baker, a “pioneer of the American Suffragettes movement” (p. 172), the American “lover of peace” (Friedensfreundin) Jane Adams (p. 249) and the American consul Gafnay (p. 179).
175. See *ibid.*, p. 124. For an image of the bust with Kühne Beveridge, see *ibid.*, p. 153.
176. Ibid., p. 20.
177. See *ibid.*, p. 30.
178. Ibid., p. 43. See also *ibid.*, p. 69.
179. Ibid., p. 70.
180. Ibid., p. 274.
181. See, for example, Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 226f., see also Beveridge, *Leben*, pp. 288–312. Beveridge, for example, remembers “the plan” of the NSDAP—Nationalsozialistische Deutschen Arbeiterpartei to give her the lead in a “Fatherland”—inspired play, to be shown at “the party conference in 1923,” which was aborted due to “financial reasons.” Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 292.
182. Ibid., p. 293.
183. Ibid., p. 290.
184. Ibid., p. 301.
185. Ibid., p. 309, citation p. 295 (second letter to Hitler).
186. Ibid., p. 33.
187. Ibid., p. 321.
188. See *ibid.*, p. 309.
189. Ibid., p. 312.
190. Ibid., p. 60.
191. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 11.
192. Brief (letter) Auswärtiges Amt to Graf Zech. 5.2.1921. Draft. PAAA, R74428. In this letter the authority informs the recipient that Beveridge



- should receive the material by the local authority in charge. Beveridge had previously asked in a letter to the Foreign Ministry to receive material for her Munich speech and proposed article on the "Black Shame." See handwritten letter Beveridge to Prof. Delbrück. N.D. Received 4.2.1921. PAAA, R74428.
193. "Die Schwarze Schmach—Die weisse Schande." Vortragsmanuskript Ray Beveridge. N.D. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 45, S. 1.
  194. Telegram Ritter to Beveridge. N.D. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 45. In this telegram Ritter invited Beveridge to join him as speaker at a protest meeting in Würzburg, Germany on the 13 December 1920 to speak "on the black shame." He also noticed "All expenses etc. replaced from here." In her autobiography, Beveridge, who was suspected by the Allies, to be a German agent, probably knowingly failed to mention this cooperation and her collaboration with Professor Ritter and the Mannheim Pfalzzentrale.
  195. See, for example, Anzeige (advertisement) "Oeffentliche Versammlung." In: Fränkisches Volksblatt. 13.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
  196. Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 257.
  197. Ibid., p. 269. She gave her first speeches on the subject in the English seminar of the University of Berlin in June 1920 and at a protest meeting against the coloured occupation on the Rhine, organised by Americans and German Americans living in Germany. "Die amerikanische Protestkundgebung in der Berliner Universität." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 10.7.1921. PAAA, R74427.
  198. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*; flyer (Flugblatt) "The Black Evil. To the world at large!" N.D. PRO, FO371/4799.
  199. See Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 2ff., see also Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 277.
  200. See, for example, "Die französische Unsittlichkeit in der Pfalz." In: Germania. 24.9.1920. PAAA, R74418; "Frankreichs Schande!" In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. Copy N.D. PAAA, R122421; "Die Not des besetzten Gebietes." In: Münchener Post. 24.2.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43. For an example of a French critical, oppositional voice, see "Tatsache ist..." In: L' Echo Du Rhin. 27.9.1920. PAAA, R74418.
  201. Anzeige (advertisement) "Die Amerikanerin Fr. Ray Beveridge gegen die Schwarze Schmach." In: Hamburger Nachrichten. Copy. N.D. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 66.
  202. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 24f., here p. 25.
  203. The league published the successful brochure "Farbige Franzosen am Rhein. Ein Notschrei deutscher Frauen" (Coloured French on the



- Rhine. A Cry for help from German women) in several editions and languages with the support of the Foreign Office and the Krupp corporation and also prepared other materials on the subject. The league's main task was to raise awareness of the evils of a "Black occupation" at home and abroad and mobilise opposition. In various cities, it organised and coordinated protest events, collected signatures against the "Black Shame" on a large scale and supplied campaigners, including E.D. Morel with information regarding the alleged atrocities of the French colonial forces. A correspondence between count Max Montgelas, Margarethe Gärtner, Edmund D. Morel and his wife proof this connection. See letter Montgelas to Gärtner. 10.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184; letter S. Morel to Gärtner. 20.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184; handwritten letter E.D. Morel, Union of Democratic Control to Gärtner. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
204. Gärtner was a former employee of the Rheinische Volkspflege. In June 1920, she gained the support of different women organisations in the Rhineland and in wider Germany for the founding of the League.
  205. Kühne Beveridge approached Gärtner angrily in a letter and condemned her for criticising Ray Beveridge's commitment in the campaign. See handwritten letter Kühne Beveridge to Gärtner. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184. Ray Beveridge—not without success—wrote in a more conciliatory attitude to Gärtner. See handwritten letter Ray Beveridge to Gärtner. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184. Gärtner informed her collaborator Ritter that herself and Beveridge had discussed issues, with the "beautiful end result," that Beveridge wanted from now on "adapt entirely to our way" Brief (letter) Gärtner to Dr. Ritter. 4.1.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2220.
  206. See Roos, *Contradictions*.
  207. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 13f.
  208. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
  209. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
  210. "Tatsachen aus dem besetztem Gebiet. Frankreichs Schande." Vortragsmanuskript Ray Beveridge. N.D. Copy, p. 3. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 33.
  211. Ray Beveridge: "Frankreichs Schande!" In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. Copy. N.D. PAAA, R122421.
  212. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 28.
  213. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
  214. *Ibid.*, p. 21f.
  215. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
  216. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
  217. See *Ibid.*, p. 11.



218. Ibid., p. 22.
219. Ibid., p. 11.
220. Ibid., p. 28.
221. Ibid., p. 22.
222. Brief (letter) handwritten Beveridge to Ritter. 8.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 33.
223. Photo "Gegen die schwarze Schmach." In: Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 257.
224. Ibid., p. 265. The term "negro bastard" (Negerbastard) *ibid.*, p. 256.
225. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, illustration title page and p. 1.
226. Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 265.
227. "Die Not des besetzten Gebietes." In: Münchener Post, 24.2.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
228. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 29f.
229. Ibid., p. 19.
230. Ibid., p. 29. The following citations can be found here and on the following page.
231. Ibid., p. 27.
232. Here and in the following Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 21f.
233. Ibid., p. 27.
234. "Die schwarze Schmach—Die weisse Schande." Vortragsmanuskript Ray Beveridge. N.D., p. 1. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 45.
235. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 13.
236. "Die schwarze Schmach—Die weisse Schande." Vortragsmanuskript Ray Beveridge. N.D., p. 3. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 45.
237. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 14.
238. Ibid., p. 29.
239. "Die Schwarze Schmach—Die weisse Schande." Vortragsmanuskript Ray Beveridge. N.D., p. 3f. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 45.
240. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 20.
241. Brief (letter) Graf Max Montgelas to Reichsminister. N.D. Arrived 29.9.1920. PAAA, R74418.
242. "Tatsachen aus dem besetztem Gebiet. Frankreichs Schande." Vortragsmanuskript Ray Beveridge. N.D. Copy, p. 6. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 33.
243. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 20.
244. Beveridge, *Leben*, p. 122.
245. Ibid., p. 134.
246. Photo "Auf der Terrasse in Trouville." In *ibid.*, p. 137.
247. Hund, *White Supremacy*, p. 59
248. Ibid., p. 129.
249. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 122.
250. Ibid., p. 115.



251. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 19.
252. "Frankreichs Schande!" In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. Copy N.D. PAAA, R122421.
253. Beveridge, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 19.
254. Ibid., p. 26f.
255. For a detailed discussion of different perspectives and contradictions in the campaign, see Roos, *Contradictions*.
256. See Nitti, *Kannibalen*, p. 355. The citations can be found in Nitti, *Knute*, p. 148.
257. Guido Kreutzer was a writer and political publicist. He wrote numerous popular novels, which appeared in German daily newspapers and magazines. His entire book edition amounted to approximately one million copies according to a contemporary reference. See Deutscher Biographischer Index, II 759, 35, Index (H-L). 2. Aufl., Bd 4. München 1998.
258. Anzeige (advertisement) Verlagsanstalt Vogel and Vogel zum Roman "Die schwarze Schmach" von Guido Kreutzer. In: Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel. 88. Vol., 1921, No 60. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218.
259. Anzeige (advertisement) Roman "Die Schwarze Schmach." Guido Kreutzer. In: Kreutzer, *Frauen*, no page. This novel was published in Leipzig in 1921 with an edition of a minimum of 65,000 copies. For another positive press commentary, see Anzeige (advertisement) Verlagsanstalt Vogel and Vogel zum Roman "Die schwarze Schmach." Guido Kreutzer. In: Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel. 88. Vol., 1921, No 60. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218. For a critical reaction to Kreutzer's novel, see Brief (letter) Engelmann Verlag to Rheinische Frauenliga, Gärtner. 2.6.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218.
260. Brief (letter) handwritten Kreutzer to Gärtner. 23.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218.
261. See Alexander, *schwarze Pest*.
262. See Koerber, *Bestien*; Stehle, *Fronvögte*.
263. Short biographies about Reventlow can be found in Mohler, *Konservative Revolution*, p. 377f. and Puschner, *Handbuch*, p. 923f.
264. Kreutzer, *schwarze Schmach*, p. 6f.
265. Ibid., p. 9.
266. This and the following citations can be found in Count Reventlow's Preface to Kreutzer's novel, in Kreutzer, *schwarze Schmach*, p. 5ff.
267. Ibid., p. 9ff.
268. Ibid., p. 22f.
269. Ibid., p. 27.
270. Ibid., p. 10ff.



271. Ibid., p. 27.
272. Ibid., p. 58. The following citation *ibid.*, p. 78f.
273. Ibid., p. 56.
274. Ibid., p. 183.
275. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 190f.
276. Ibid., p. 193.
277. Ibid., p. 142.
278. Ibid., p. 213f.
279. Ibid., p. 143.
280. Ibid., p. 145.
281. See *ibid.*, p. 250.
282. Ibid., p. 248f.
283. Ibid., p. 255.
284. Ibid., p. 258f. The following citation *ibid.*, p. 192.
285. Ibid., p. 75.
286. Ibid., p. 31.
287. Ibid.
288. Ibid., p. 31f.
289. Ibid., p. 75.
290. See *ibid.*, pp. 207, 28.
291. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 29ff.
292. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 36f.
293. Ibid., p. 50.
294. Ibid., p. 55.
295. Ibid., p. 146.
296. Ibid., p. 149.
297. Ibid., p. 146.
298. Ibid., p. 185.
299. Ibid., p. 192.
300. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 193f.
301. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 198ff.
302. Ibid., p. 196.
303. Ibid., p. 181.
304. Ibid., p. 188f.
305. Ibid., p. 225.
306. Ibid., p. 229.
307. Ibid., p. 192.
308. Kreutzer writes about a German girl, who was surprised in her bed by a "negro" and killed him.
309. Ibid., p. 99ff. After their long garrisoning in Europe, these troops were supposedly "sexually so starved," that they did not show any restriction. Not even the "most rigid discipline" was seen capable of preventing them from committing the most terrible "atrocities." Ibid., p. 102.



310. Ibid., p. 127. The following citation *ibid.*, p. 211.
311. Ibid., p. 108f.
312. Ibid., p. 211.
313. Ibid., p. 204f.
314. See *ibid.*, p. 138.
315. Ibid., p. 203.
316. Ibid., p. 210.
317. Another marker of the lack of civilisation ascribed to Hassan was his language. Despite being a French officer, he did not speak proper French, but was associated with a “crude French” expressed in “rough guttural” sounds, difficult to understand. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
318. Kreutzer pairs Marlene’s “racial pride” with a monarchic-militarist pride associated with her social rank. Her attractiveness and her pride is fed by racial and nationalist sources. As the daughter of an officer she had grown up under “command calls” and some of the “tight self-discipline of the men of those circles, to which she belonged, according to her education and origin” had been passed on to her “through the centuries of tradition.” *Ibid.*, p. 206.
319. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 218ff.
320. Ibid., p. 273.
321. Ibid., p. 277.
322. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 279f.
323. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 284.



## Race, Gender, Nation, Class: The Social Construction of the ‘Black Shame’

Guido Kreutzer’s novel and the contributions of Edmund D. Morel, Francesco Nitti and Ray Beveridge reflect core dimensions of the “Black Shame” discussion. Morel’s perception of colonial troops as representatives of a primitive black race with uncontrollable sexual desires which they satisfy upon the bodies of white women, relates to two central categories of the campaign, gender and race. Nitti and Kreutzer similarly combine these categories in a discriminating context when mobilising against several rapes of German women in occupied Germany by uncivilised savages (Nitti), or inventing the figure of a “mulatto”-colonial officer who orders the opening of a brothel filled with German women for colonial troops (Kreutzer). Beveridge’s agitation against the “Black Shame” as a degradation of the white race and its women and the alleged traitors of the white race also illustrates the connection of these categories. It seemed beyond doubt to the three international protagonists of the campaign and the German author that coloured troops were primitive savages and as such greedy for white women and girls and that they threatened European civilisation.

Kreutzer’s imagined masses of German workers who in times of “Black Terror” and French oppression form a national alliance against France with German industrialists, monarchists and other former enemies of their class show us that the categories nation and class also played a constitutive role in the discourse of the “Black Shame.”

Both categories are also present in Beveridge’s, Morel’s and Nitti’s contributions to the campaign. Beveridge, for example, combined her



critique of the “Black Shame” repeatedly with dramatic appeals to all Germans to finally unite against the subjugation of the German people. By demanding their co-operation and denouncing people who did not join the protests as traitors of the nation, she made clear that the stereotype of the “Black Shame” was used to demand social coherence within the German nation and threaten critiques in their own ranks with exclusion.

Their political intentions however, were diverse. Beveridge and Kreutzer were opposed to the German republic and idealised a German society that managed to overcome the continuous party conflicts and would once again show allegiance to the emperor and monarchy. Nitti and Morel, on the contrary, were concerned about the threatened existence of the young German republic. Nitti agreed with others that the “Black Shame” humiliated the whole German nation. His critique against the use of colonial troops in Europe was linked to his call to the Allied nations to reintegrate into the community of civilised nations, a Germany, threatened by revolution and reaction. At the same time, he emphasised, similarly to Morel, the importance of national unity in Germany, seeing it as a precondition for the resurgence of the nation.

Unanimously, the authors accused France of being responsible for the “Black Horror.” The significance of the categories nation and class in their discussion is evident, when Morel, for example, attacks the “Black Horror” as an outrageous French crime against the German population and when Nitti accuses France of atrocities of all kind to call all Germans to resist the occupation.

Both authors looked at the “Black Shame” as an expression of an unjust and unsustainable peace in Europe. Their condemnation of the stationing of colonial forces in Europe was embedded in their wider criticism of the occupation of Germany and closely related to the demand for a revision of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Beveridge similarly condemned the French nation for arming primitive savages, importing them to Europe and releasing them on the shattered German nation. Kreutzer also targeted France as creator of the “Black Shame” in his scenario of French tyranny, in which corrupt French officers deliberately humiliate Germans, French officials degrade German heroes and colonial soldiers spread—under French command—fear and terror in the occupied territory.

The perspectives of four leading exponents of the campaign examined in this chapter show us consistently that the racist construct of the



“Black Shame” was developed in the context of gender, race, nation and class. Whether in newspaper articles or pamphlets, political speech or popular literature, in all genres we find colonial soldiers as representatives of an alien primitive race degrading the entire German people and the white civilisation by its armed presence in civilised Europe and the rape of white women.

The patterns of categorical inclusion and exclusion are in this way not simply strung together. Gender, race, nation and class act as flexible, overlapping, categories which can partly substitute for each other when the “Black Horror” is represented as a French attack on the German woman, the German people and the white race in a call for the cohesion of all Germans and whites.

If this is not a highly unlikely coincidence, it must be possible to prove the plasticity and interlockability of these four categories of social exclusion and inclusion in all areas and on all levels of the campaign. The following main part of this monograph explores their meanings and interconnections on the basis of a wide range of materials. In addition to sources illustrating the discussion about the “Black Shame” in public authorities and associations, I will also include contributions of individual campaigners as well as various press articles and a wide range of popular, everyday-life primary sources in the analysis, such as colportage novels, pamphlets, caricatures, films and poems. These everyday-life documents have not been examined in sufficient depth in previous research. They are of particular importance, as they show us that a discussion of the “Black Shame” as a solely propaganda campaign, falls short. The overwhelming amount of such material indicates that the targeted campaign against the colonial troops developed an unforeseen dynamic on its own across political and geographic boundaries and was, despite some internal conflicts and contradictions amongst its carriers, ideologically grounded in a core of shared patterns of discrimination.

In the four chapters of the main part, I show from different angles how narratives of gender, race, nation and class closely intersect in the racist conglomerate of the “Black Shame” and form discursively complex coherences of discrimination (*Diskriminierungszusammenhänge*).

The first chapter examines the gender images portrayed in the campaign and demonstrates their close connection with narratives of race, nation and class. It explores how the white German woman in the scenario of the “Black Horror” became a coherence-generating symbol for



a nation and white racial community threatened by desecration. Women who were unwilling to uphold female honour, national honour and white racial honour and who had relationships with colonial soldiers were excluded from both communities.

In the second chapter of the main part, I discuss the role of the term race in the construction of black primitivity and white civilisation in the campaign. I reconstruct its interdependence with the other categories and argue that the representation of the use of colonial troops as a racial and authority problem of the civilised nations served to urge the white community to show their solidarity with the German cultured nation.

In the third and fourth chapters I explain to what extent conceptions of nation and class shaped the discourse on the “Black Shame” and explore their interplay with racist and sexist discrimination patterns. I reflect on the strong anti-French dimension of the campaign and discuss its appeal to the German nation to form a class-spreading defense community against the “Black Horror” and foreign despotism.

### 3.1 “BLACK SHAME” AND “WHITE WOMAN”: WOMEN’S BODIES AS MEDIUM OF RACIST DISCRIMINATION

The poster “Jumbo” relating to the garrisoning of French colonial troops in Germany after 1918 shows a giant naked black man with a helmet who rises with spread legs above the houses of a town. Lifeless white women are hanging from his lower body.<sup>1</sup> Several images and texts on the “Black Shame” present German women as helpless and defenseless victims of colonial soldiers. The Deutsche Notbund made an image of a white woman attacked by a black soldier part of the logo of its magazine.<sup>2</sup> The controversial draft of a cover page for Kreutzer’s novel shows a dehumanised, animal-like black attacking a white woman represented with a partly exposed upper body.<sup>3</sup> Caricatures in which white women and girls are threatened or attacked by African soldiers can also be found in a wide range of German magazines and newspapers of the time, for example, in the *H.N. am Mittag*,<sup>4</sup> the satire magazines *Simplicissimus* and *Kladderadatsch*, publications of the Deutsche Notbund<sup>5</sup> and a collection of “decorative” letter-seal stamps (Briefverschlusmarken) on the “Black Shame.”<sup>6</sup>



These indicate that the woman as victim was a central theme of the campaign. At the same time, campaigners raised their voices against German women who entered relationships with colonial soldiers without coercion. The Deutsche Notbund hence defined the “Black Shame” in the “broadest sense” as the “lack of dignity (Würdelosigkeit) of white women and girls who engage with coloureds.”<sup>7</sup> They were represented as a stigma of the German nation and race. As “wenches without honour,”<sup>8</sup> they were isolated, considered unworthy to even spit at and were meant to feel ashamed in front of their “Germanness” (Deutschtum) and the “white race.”<sup>9</sup> Several campaigners stigmatised them similarly as “honourless” “low-standing women”<sup>10</sup> or “hoydenish girls,” who did not avoid “voluntary connections” with the black and white troops, without bothering about the suffering they caused the “German people.”<sup>11</sup> Their bodies were the symbolic place which turned women through sexual attacks into victims or through voluntary devotion into traitors.

### 3.1.1 *The Victimised Woman as Seismograph of National and Racial Threat*

An art map by the American artist A.M. Cay stages the “lust of coloureds” in relation to the “white-skinned girl” as the “attack and rape of a Rhenish girl by a Madagascar-Negro” and warns that her example stood for the threat every “white woman” was under in relation to France’s colonial troops (Fig. 3.1).<sup>12</sup> The girl lies on the ground, trying in vain to free herself from the black attacker who grabs her with his paw-like big hands. She is portrayed as helpless—a dog lies on the ground, too—killed.

Another caricature is dominated by a giant skeleton, illuminating a frightening scene with a torch, in which a black soldier raises his fist against a white woman already on the ground. She is naked, as her two suffering companions lying next to her are, and they are apparently the victims of sexual violence. The colonial soldier in this scenario was represented as causing her death.<sup>13</sup> The cover page of the promotional brochure for the movie *The Black Shame* confronts the viewer with a similarly gruesome image, showing the figure of a white woman and her black tormentor. She is lying on the ground, already half-bared and is sketched with a cracked mouth and scared facial expression. He looks





**Fig. 3.1** Zeichnung [drawing] 'Die schwarze Schmach!' In: *Franzosen im Ruhrgebiet*. 10 Zeichnungen von A.M. Cay. Berlin n.d. (1923)

behind himself, holds on to her and threatens her with a hand shaped like a clutch.<sup>14</sup>

In these images the categories race and gender are closely intervoven. Black soldiers were in this way made a threatening counterpoint to white women. They were represented as savages who became based on their animalistic desires the terrible fate of these women.<sup>15</sup> A “decorative”



letter-seal stamp illustrates this staged confrontation exemplary. It associates with the racist title “The Negro Bestiality” the image of a white woman, lying on the ground, gagged, in a torn and stained dress, behind whom another woman kneels with sunken head. She is positioned in direct contrast to the image of a colonial soldier, dressed in a dark uniform. The capture dehumanises and brutalises him by suggesting women in the occupied areas were under threat of being “raped” by “black animals.”<sup>16</sup>

The picture caption links—in the term “Negro bestiality”—the black race with primitivity. It is a typical example for many “Black Shame” campaigners’ restless attempts to dehumanise and simianise black soldiers, by associating blackness with bestiality and animal-like behaviour. As “racially alien troops”<sup>17</sup> they were attributed with “bestial roughness”<sup>18</sup> and denounced as lustful uncivilised beasts, not only in media associated with the campaign but also in the international, political and scholarly discussions surrounding the occupation. Several caricatures simianised them as gorillas and apes<sup>19</sup> and poems associated them with predators.<sup>20</sup>

France’s black soldiers became the object of a racist and sexist media spectacle. A wide range of German media attacked them as “terror to the population”<sup>21</sup> or “Negropest”<sup>22</sup> and degraded them as “black beasts,”<sup>23</sup> “Orang-Utans” of an “inferior race”<sup>24</sup> or “wild hordes from Africa,”<sup>25</sup> equipped with ‘strange animalistic desires.’<sup>26</sup> Black sexuality was in this way racially charged and turned into an expression of primitive and wild racial qualities and a danger to the German woman. As representatives of the black race, the colonial soldiers were considered “naturally wild and animalistic in their unrestrained lust,”<sup>27</sup> reduced to “grinning ape-faces,”<sup>28</sup> and criminalised as “wild, lustful, bloodthirsty bandits.”<sup>29</sup> Papers insisted for years that “half-animalistic Negroes” “time and time again [acted] as rapists of German women”<sup>30</sup> and warned the latter of the “sexual appetite”<sup>31</sup> of these “black fiends.”<sup>32</sup> Parts of the international press painted a similarly horrifying picture, representing the colonial troops as “black devils,”<sup>33</sup> “black hordes” or “black savages,” who, driven by “inmorality” and “bestiality,”<sup>34</sup> would “[o]utrage and murder”<sup>35</sup> Rhenish women.

This sexual confrontation of white women with lustful black men also played a crucial role in the agitation of several organisations. Amongst the core campaigners was the Rheinische Frauenliga, calling for a massive protest against the black troops who in their “bestial ferociousness”



would not only throw themselves upon “white women and girls” but also upon “old women and children.”<sup>36</sup> While its head criticised other organisations for exaggerating the problem and urged them to stop damaging the campaign,<sup>37</sup> organisations like the reactionary German Notbund or the Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre” protested vehemently against black troops “governed by bestial instincts,” who would commit “rapes against German women and girls”<sup>38</sup> on a massive scale. Other organisations, many of them women’s associations, fuelled this stereotype in public calls for help against the use of coloured troops.<sup>39</sup> They also used well-received public protest meetings to mobilise their members and the wider public against the “black French,” seen as violating “German women” in their “bestial rawness.”<sup>40</sup>

Even isolated critical voices argued within the rhetoric frame of black lust grounded in racial primitivity. The association of Frankfurt’s Women’s Organisations (Verband Frankfurter Frauen-Vereine), for example, was amongst those speaking out against a “one-sided positioning against the black race,” not least because one could assume that “rapes by white men” and an “accommodating” attitude of “many white women” occurred. They agreed, however, that one could not blame the “blacks,” who were “victims of their [...] unleashed sexual instincts” being “particularly strongly developed” in “their race” as not “tamed by any cultural education.”<sup>41</sup>

Different carriers of the campaign also claimed that the African troops committed sexual atrocities based on their allegedly perverse, unnatural homosexual orientation, making this another indication of their supposed primitivity.<sup>42</sup> The Bavarian State Ministry insisted in 1925 on the “core accusation” that due to the occupation, “white girls” have to satisfy the “sexual desire” of “Africans” and that “women as well as adolescents—of both sexes” were threatened by the “lustful outbursts of the coloured French soldiers.”<sup>43</sup> They were considered to be prone to “such perverse outrages,” and campaigners reported their “very dangerous pederast inclinations” as a feature of these “most terrible savages.”<sup>44</sup>

Internationally, some critics entertained the colonial idea that coloured people were “in their normal state like children.” However, they too seemed convinced that these “coloureds” “easily got sexually aroused” and then would show “no self-restraint at all.”<sup>45</sup> Colonial troops were accused of outrageous sexual atrocities and even the murder of white women. A protestor in Buenos Aires was convinced that they “through their barbaric savagery” spread “desperation, shame and



death”<sup>46</sup> in Germany. Protestors in other countries agreed that European white women and girls were under threat, severely injured and even murdered by “African savages.”<sup>47</sup> Dudley Field Malone, a party candidate for the position of the governor of New York, for example, protested against the “beasts in human shape”<sup>48</sup> and a vicar from St. Louis demanded that the “black scoundrels who violate white women” should be “hanged.”

This stereotypical image of German women under threat by racially and sexually savage black troops was promoted in a flood of German popular media and also proved popular amongst physicians. A group of German physicians came during the examination of a dead female body to the conclusion that “the condition of the corpse showed such unbelievable acts of rawness” that one could not hold a “member of the white race” capable to have committed the crime.<sup>49</sup>

Other scientists were similarly concerned about the naturally strong and unrestrained sexual desires of the colonial troops<sup>50</sup> and the Dutch physician Dr. van Renesse, one of the founders of the Dutch association against the “Black Shame,” investigated the topic in order to denounce the colonial troops in public speeches as “wild hordes,” “inferior” in “moral and religious development.”<sup>51</sup>

German popular media tirelessly attacked the colonial troops as “black beasts” with “animalistic sexual appetite”<sup>52</sup> and scandalised their “animalist, unrestrained instincts,” “lustful gazes”<sup>53</sup> and “horny eyes.”<sup>54</sup> It seemed beyond doubt that the black troops “sexually run amok.” Accusations culminated in the phantasmagoria of black vampires whose victims were “unconscious girls,” “whose veins were nearly empty” (blutleer). The blacks were found to “in their fury bite the artery of their victims at the neck” and “suck [...] the blood”<sup>55</sup> in greed.

The rhetoric “greed of the Negroes and mulattos for white women, girls and children”<sup>56</sup> was fleshed out with pornographic fantasy. Poems told stories of “the Negro” swirling around the white woman’s body and forcing “the blonde woman”<sup>57</sup> down, staged the “Black Shame” in the “heat of June”<sup>58</sup> and mobilised against the atrocities of black devils who with their “animal-lust” (Tiereslust) made the “German women” “scream and groan” in desperation.<sup>59</sup>

Even female figures, who commonly represented strong and threatening femininity, were meant to surrender in times of the “Black Horror.” Token money notes (Notgeldscheine) from the Rhenish town of Sinzig contained the images of Rhine-mermaids and witches. The mermaids did not want to swim down the river Rhine, as they “were



afraid of the black soldiers”; the witches cancelled their trip up the river Rhine on *Walpurgisnacht*, because they knew that “blacks were running around there as soldiers.”<sup>60</sup>

Brochures and pamphlets reported “uncountable examples” in which “African savagery” triumphed over “European culture” while staging the “fear-shaken wife, the crying child” as “prey of the dehumanised black,” who beast-like only cared about “the satisfaction of his animalistic instincts.”<sup>61</sup> The “Black Horror” was associated with the mass rape of “defenceless girls”<sup>62</sup> and the German media was sure the black soldiers were especially keen on “blonde women.”<sup>63</sup> Pamphlets, stage plays and novels pushed a threatening scenario in which “Africans” demanded the “living flesh of young women.”<sup>64</sup> They were determined to provoke a public outcry against “the sex crimes, atrocities and rapes” and the suffering of “our white women” “under the animalist crimes of the black pest.”<sup>65</sup>

Reports from local women’s organisations in the occupied areas implicitly reproduce this terrifying racist image of colonial troops but also indicate that some Germans obviously saw them in a different light. The Catholic Women’s association of Trier, for example, seemed concerned that the Spahi-troops occupying Trier—with their exotic appearance and kind and generous character—did not seem to appear dangerous but rather attractive to at least parts of the local population.

In an attempt to change their fellow Germans’ minds, the Catholic women warned them of the uncontrolled and “unnatural” sexual desires of the Spahis which would doom all Germans coming into contact with these troops. They insisted that these “extraordinary tall and strong figures, with their picturesque garb” and their “kindness and generosity” should be considered a threat, because they “attract” “predominantly children and adolescents” and threaten the “entire population” with “their unrestrained sexual desire.” Spahis were accused of “harassing and chasing” girls and the young to “abuse” them, and even “juvenile men” and “little children” were supposedly not safe with them around.<sup>66</sup>

Parts of the Mainzer population seemed similarly curious about the colonial occupation troops. A newspaper noted in 1923 that in the eyes of the citizens of Mainz, the Spahis had “already widely lost” “their scare” and reported that the “always merry Mainzer” ridiculed them as “cleaning-cloth-Indians” (*Putzlappen-Indianer*).<sup>67</sup> Teaching them fear, it claimed that, after the Spahis had been in Mainz for “only two days [...], a girl 12 years old went missing.”



The apparent discrepancy between the threatening image of the “Black Horror” associated with mass-scale rapes and the actual situation is also reflected in the report of the Zentralstelle für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten (Central Office for Palatinate Affairs) on the visit by a Swedish Commission in the occupied territory. The report called the garrisoning of blacks a “chicane” to admit, it was not the “black question” which was most important to the citizens, because “the coloureds” were kept under “strict discipline” and the “number of fully proven cases of despicable violence of coloureds” was “as a percentage not so high.”<sup>68</sup>

Other data points in the same direction. In June 1920 letters by an official in the province of Birkenfeld reported that “nothing has become known about the atrocities of coloured troops,” that “no complaints were raised.” Regarding the black and yellow troops that have been “garrisoned here, or crossed though,” no “criminal offences” were known. And in the town of Birkenfeld, only very few, isolated cases of incidents were reported.<sup>69</sup>

Christian Koller shows in his evaluation of local administrative files from Worms and Wiesbaden on the relationship between occupation forces and German people that the accusation of several, or even large-scale assaults of colonial soldiers, was unwarranted.<sup>70</sup> Fatima El-Tayeb refers to an investigation of the High Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission, which in 1920 already had come to the conclusion that the German press releases were “incorrect” and “propaganda.”<sup>71</sup> Gisela Lebzelter cites a report of the *Reichskommissar für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete*, which noted in 1920 that “the black and yellow troops are actually not as bad as it appears” and pointed out that they were “less involved than white French troops in the harassment of German women.”<sup>72</sup>

The “appearance” which is addressed here did not develop coincidentally but was created in an large-scale ideological operation. This succeeded across national, political and social boundaries not least because campaigners could rely on a traditional and widespread motive. The contemporary Western consciousness had a stock of images of sexualised blacks at its disposal reaching from *Othello* to the “Black Venus.”<sup>73</sup> Against its background and in relation with the political-military situation, it was obviously possible to effectively and without problems spread the stereotype of the black rapist.

The aggressive and fanatic energy, however, which marked the production and mobilisation of this stereotype still needs to be explained.



Wulf D. Hund concludes that the “obsessive insistence on the figure of the black rapist” can be read as “Frauenopfer” (women sacrifice): “Pamphlet authors, film-makers, playwrights, caricaturists, medailleurs, photographers, artists, illustrators and others overtrumped one another with obscene and violent sexual fantasies” in which they depicted “women without protection” as being violated by “animalist blacks.”<sup>74</sup> Even though the real perpetrators have been named herewith, we must ask about the motives behind their actions.

It is beyond doubt that ordinary sexism was one of them. The layout and embellishing of the different outrages show this well enough. The brutality permeating the rape fantasies was amongst other things an expression of everyday violence against women. When they were hereby exposed to sodomy and lust murder did this not only show the racist harming and degradation of their alleged perpetrators to beasts and animals, but also demonstrated the will to humiliate the victims and the readiness to torment them to death.

Besides, the sacrifice of women served “higher goals.” The abused women were an allegory, with which both the downtrodden German nation and the (in its purity- and superiority-jeopardised) white race could be symbolised.<sup>75</sup> Therewith the military aggressor Germany was turned retrospectively into a victim of unforgivable outrages. It could free itself from the role of the loser and defect to the camp of victors and turn in the interest of the Western cultural community and racial honour against the [French] traitors who had forfeited their claim to belong to the tradition of Europe by associating themselves with Africans.

The national strategy of the campaign targeted France and was expressed in various forms. Racist characterisation and nationalist recrimination were intersecting, when lecturer Dr. Hobohm, for example, was appalled that ‘savages’ “abused as canon fodder” earlier, would now be set “as a reward” on the “blondes,” who were “promised to them often enough in the war,” sure that they would run after them.<sup>76</sup> The German woman was staged as a “white martyr of the black shame.”<sup>77</sup> Her sacrifice was to enable the identification of the German nation as a victim of French *Gewaltspolitik*. To this effect, the board of the Evangelic Association decided that the “African coloured army” with its “sexual passion grounded in lack of culture” (Unkultur) was a “tremendous danger, especially for the German girls and women.”<sup>78</sup> Alan Lethbridge, a British supporter of the campaign, agreed that “African troops not under the best of control are dangerous. To put it bluntly, arouse their passions



and they become animals. Again, to phrase it bluntly, white women arouse those passions more easily than those of their own colour.”<sup>79</sup>

German organisations were sure that “the wild instincts of the colonial soldiers”<sup>80</sup> could not be controlled, and more radical voices claimed repeatedly the blacks had been told “when marching into the German territory” that they “could take every German woman,” resulting in these “brutish fellows” acting accordingly.<sup>81</sup> Senior counselor Konopacki-Konopath similarly fixed “white wives” as a key objective of black desire.<sup>82</sup> While the Deutsche Fichtebund was alarmed in relation to the “considerably increasing crimes of the wild beasts committed against defenseless women and children,”<sup>83</sup> the German board of students passionately joined the “resistance” against the “excessive sexual savagery of these Negroes [...] who staggered from rape to rape of German women.”<sup>84</sup>

Women’s organisations of different provenance played a core role in linking German women with the nation, promoting the view that “the black shame” “violated every German woman, [...] wherever the German language sounds.”<sup>85</sup> Other carriers of the campaign supported this view by arguing that the “black occupation” caused Germany “irretrievable damage in relation to moral sentiment and the Volksgesundheit”<sup>86</sup> [people’s health]. Prominent voices such as Count Montgelas and Marianne Weber joined the protests and attacked together with diverse women’s organisations the “numerous attacks” “on the honour of German women and girls.”<sup>87</sup> Women of Northern Germany and the Hanse cities joined in,<sup>88</sup> and a protest resolution signed by 59 organisations insisted that “the entire life of the German people” (Volsleben) stood “under the tyranny of coloured troops,” making women and children the victims of “the untamed urges of coloureds.” Their attack was meant to provoke the protest of the entire German nation—when the “German people” was urged to “raise its voice” through “the mouth of its women.”<sup>89</sup>

All Germans were called to empathise with the “German woman”<sup>90</sup> and female campaigners reminded everyone of the “Black Horror” to let them “once more feel the shame” which it embodied for “the honour of our German sisters.”<sup>91</sup> In Breslau, 45,000 women submitted a “flaming appeal against the atrocities” on “German women, girls and children and the sanctuary of German family life by the coloured French occupation troops.” Women’s honour and German honour became inseparable when female protesters felt that every woman had to “protect”



the Rhenish women from the “rape by Negroes and other coloureds” who were violating the “honour of all German women,”<sup>92</sup> and expressed their solidarity with their “German sisters,” feeling “deeply the shame” committed against “German womanhood.”<sup>93</sup> The “Black Horror” meant to damage and provoke all of them, when “German women and girls did not want to endure that our reputation and honour is tainted in such a shameless, outrageous way.”<sup>94</sup>

The German government supported this view, was “shaken” by the black soldiers’ “violation of German women’s honour” (deutsche Frauenehre) and sure their presence alone was a “deep humiliation of the German people.”<sup>95</sup> Elisabeth Röhl, MP of the left-wing Social Democratic Party in Germany, used her parliamentary speech to urge women to speak out against the “degradation and debasing of German women” in the Rhineland by the occupation of “German territories” with a “mixture of peoples” (Völkergemisch).<sup>96</sup>

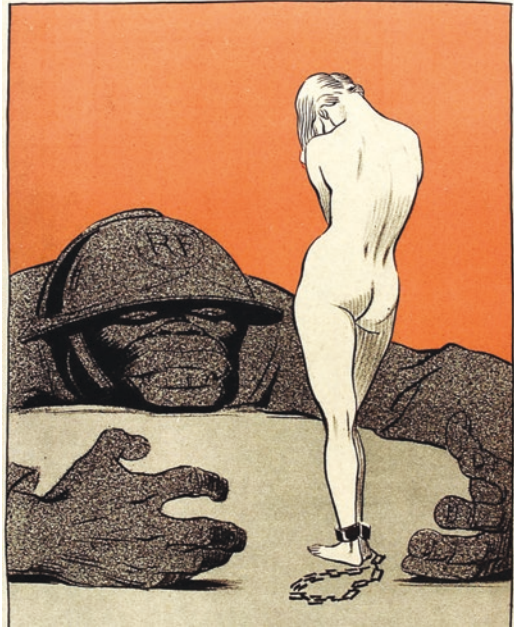
The press spread in a comparable semantic that for the “Germans” the “Black Shame” meant the “rape of a defenseless population, predominantly German women, by French colonial troops.”<sup>97</sup> The “German women’s world” seemed under “constant threat” through “the presence of coloured troops.”<sup>98</sup> No woman in occupied Germany was considered “safe”; parents were supposedly not “even in their own home” in a position to protect “their daughters from the encroachments of the animalist savages.”<sup>99</sup> It seemed “sufficiently proven” that “numerous rapes of German women and girls by black beasts have occurred.”

German women and German womanhood were representing the German people and nation. By undressing these women and presenting them as helpless victims of “black beasts,” the campaign did not only make them a symbol of a supposedly violated German nation. Unintentionally, it also pointed towards the ideological dilemma of those men’s fantasies (Männerphantasien), men who considered themselves hardened in *Stahlgewittern* and undefeated at the wars, but who did, given their official disarming, find no other escape as the imagined rite of sacrifice (Opfergang) of their unprotected women.<sup>100</sup>

This symbolic sacrifice of women was meant to allegorise besides the unity and imperilment of the German nation, the purity and threatening of the white race. A public protest rally in the United States shows how meanings of gender, race and nation intersected in this context. Participants condemned the “Black Shame” as “tainting the women of a nation” and insisted that it had to harm “every instinct [...] for the



**Fig. 3.2** Caricature  
 ‘Die Schande der Welt!  
 Die Schwarze Schmach.’  
 Sascha Schneider. In:  
 Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol.,  
 1923, No. 25



preservation of the race.” Following a “call of nature,” the protesters spoke out against the “violation of women and children of our own blood.” In their eyes, never before a “white people” had been subjected to a “more infamous injustice.”<sup>101</sup>

This appeal to the community of the white race could also be found in contemporary caricatures. One linked the caption “A shame for the white race, but it is happening in Germany” to the image of the naked body of a white woman, carried off by a French colonial soldier, represented as a gorilla.<sup>102</sup> While it aimed to help overcome the existing contradiction between the defeated nation of the war and the victorious Allied nations, another caricature called for the solidarity of the white race with the tortured German woman and her people using the figure of a white, chained, naked woman being attacked by an ape-like black soldier (Fig. 3.2). It also scandalised the “Black Shame” as “the World’s Shame.”<sup>103</sup>

From this perspective, the protests aimed at getting “women and men [...] of the white race” to join the Rhenish women “in thoughts”



on their “path of suffering” (Leidensstraße) and see the “memorials of eternal shame” of the crimes “African savages as representatives of a European nation have committed against the white women on the Rhine.”<sup>104</sup> Countless attacks in the name of the “victims of riotous black sexual greed,” speaking of the “traceless disappearance” of Rhenish women and girls and their “lust murder,” aimed to provoke a rigorous international “protest against the degradation of the white woman.”<sup>105</sup>

Race and culture were equated in such considerations. They were considered threatened biologically and morally. Accordingly, a caricaturist made a Germania in mourning dress ask her “mother Europe” with lowered head: “Do you want to tolerate this black stain on your map still in the new year?”<sup>106</sup> Behind both heroines, he placed a map with a mask-like black face on the Rhine (Fig. 3.3). The alleged large-scale rapes of German women were made to appear a crime against Europe and its occidental culture. The “German Suffering and Shame thaler” (Deutscher Not- und Schmachtaler) associated the image of a white woman whose figure is modelled on a classical statue threatened by a colonial soldier with the explaining caption: “Black Disgrace and cultural shame on the Rhine” (Figs. 3.4 and 3.5). In this context the question “should not the women of all nations unite in the protest against this violation of all morality?”<sup>107</sup> was purely rhetorical.

The symbolic range of the female body proved uncommonly flexible. It was a symbolic carrier of woman’s honour, national German honour and white racial honour. The woman embodied the German people and white race in the discourse on the “Black Horror.” Women’s bodies stood representatively of a national and racial body threatened by black men.

Maren Lorenz, Christa Gürtler and Eva Hausbacher have with others addressed the long historical genesis of body allegorisations.<sup>108</sup> In their introduction to body history (Körpergeschichte), Lorenz shows how bodies can be understood as “social entity.”<sup>109</sup> She reconstructs the history of bodies as “symbolic bodies” and “metaphor” and demonstrates how women were made an “allegory of the social fabric” from antiquity.<sup>110</sup> Michael Omi and Howard Winant have stressed the central importance of bodies in racist arguments and suggest to understand race as “concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflict and interests by referring to different types of bodies.”<sup>111</sup>

Ann McClintock demonstrates in an impressive study how women and their bodies are used as “boundary markers” to mark different social boundaries.<sup>112</sup> They run between genders, classes, nations and races





Fig. 3.3 Caricature '1923. Germania zu Mutter Europa.' In: Kladderadatsch. 75. Vol. 1922, No. 52



**Fig. 3.4** Deutscher Not- und Schmachtaler. n.d., backside. In my possession



**Fig. 3.5** Deutscher Not- und Schmachtaler. n.d., frontside



and can be represented easily. Man and woman, landlady and maid, the German *Gretchen* and the French *Marianne*, whites and blacks are already distinguished based on dress code. However, where division exists, permeability and transitions can be found, too. They are perceived as problematic areas because they compromise the order.

Nevertheless, the campaigners against the “Black Horror” dropped nearly all boundaries, as this enabled them to stress one boundary even more drastically. The white victims were naked, divested of their clothes and all associated social and national insignia when thrown to the “black beasts.” That not gender but skin colour formed the symbol of the last boundary is evident in the exclusion of black women from the category of the victims. The police director of Wiesbaden rather felt it to be an “improvement” of the situation, when “especially for coloured troops” a brothel with “coloured inmates” was established.<sup>113</sup> The founder of the *Deutsche Notbund* agitated that the occupants would have imported “Negro women” to “distract the coloured beasts.”





**Fig. 3.6** Photo motif group of women with caption ‘Es bleibt uns nichts erspart. Nordafrikanische Frauen (Bordell in Mainz-Kostheim), die nach Mainz verschleppt wurden.’ Depicted in Schreiber, Ernst M.: *Kampf um den Rhein: der Mittelrhein unter französischer Fremdherrschaft*. Mainz 1940, p. 104

Mainz reported a “brothel with black inmates” had not lasted long, because the colonial troops did not want to content themselves with “black women” and would spurn them.<sup>114</sup> The caption of a photograph of African women from a Mainzer brothel: “[W]e are not spared from anything”<sup>115</sup> (*Es bleibt uns nichts erspart*) (Fig. 3.6) shows the attitude behind such reports. Elsewhere there was similar talk of brothels with black women who now no longer suited the “coloured troops being used to better,” resulting in “brothels with German inmates” being opened.<sup>116</sup>

The contemporary distinction between honorable women and prostitutes was rather sharp. Sander L. Gilman points out that the criminology of the turn of the century brings prostitutes in conjunction with female asylum immigrants and Hottentot women.<sup>117</sup> It was also emphasised in the context of the campaign against the “Black Shame” how “rundown” the prostitutes had to be to work in “a brothel serving the coloured troops.”<sup>118</sup>



However, even these women could be included in the category of white women in the face of the general scenario of threat associated with the “Black Horror.” A brochure called “the German prostitution” urged prostitutes to not any longer “give [themselves] to the black beast for mountains of gold.” It acknowledged that prostitutes were “victims” of very poor social conditions or “despicable seduction” and appealed to their “conscience for their German people, for their white race.” They were asked to be mindful and remember that they were “members of the white race” and to refuse the “black beasts,” even if “forced.” In addition, the brochure demanded that “no one in the occupied areas, including authorities,” had the right to expose “the poor remains of German reputation” by forcing “German prostitutes” to “give themselves to black animals!”<sup>119</sup>

The path of German woman’s honour promoted in German prose and verse was meant to be open even to women who were commonly regarded as fallen. In the light of the circumstances, the verses of an academic occasional poet honouring the girls in the occupied areas could also apply to them: he praised the “beautiful girls at the Rhine, Saar, and Ruhr” resisting the threatening “rutting animal” “from Morocco, with gold in the fist” and insisted that they “could not been bought.”<sup>120</sup>

The constructionists of the “Black Shame”—despite such anthem’s pathos in relation to the purity and resistance of German women’s virtue—did not leave any doubt that they would not take back the imagined victims. The violated female body was in this way not only marked as impure and worthless. It—in accordance with its previous symbolic charge—was now also considered a threat. The raped women were hardly presented with any other ways out than madness and death. Another poem hence fabricated a “maiden” walking “in the forest,” and made her leave it in the evening as “a prostitute” with “dishevelled hair” and “deranged senses” after being raped by “blacks.”<sup>121</sup>

German females in novels similarly lost their sanity immediately after the authors had them raped brutally by black soldiers.<sup>122</sup> German colportage literature spread the word about the “shocking complaints, the wild call outs, of German girls,” turning mad due to their violation. Other genres also reported of German women who could not bear the shame of sexual intercourse with blacks and hence turned “insane.”<sup>123</sup>

It seemed self-evident that a virtuous German woman would prefer to be dead than having to live with such shameful violation. Popular media was filled with German “Gretchen” and “lovely blondes,”<sup>124</sup> who in the



face of “the wild lust” of the “Negroes”<sup>125</sup> and their “lustful predator screams” committed suicide or at least wished to be dead. Staged as martyrs of the German woman’s honour and racial purity, they pleaded passionately to “god” to “free them from life.”

German virgins carried off by black soldiers were meant to choose to “die untouched and pure” instead of falling “slowly,” “as so many others who died away in the hospitals, raped and contaminated.” The “poor white creatures,” who had been “dishonoured” by wild blacks, were urged to follow the example of the “honourable women,” who, “assaulted by savages, sacrificed their lives, to escape the shame.”<sup>126</sup> Those who were not capable of taking their lives themselves were meant to ask for help, like the young woman in the novel *Grenzlandjugend* who “light-blond and rosy” in “consuming fear” of “the black” asked her German companion: “[C]an you kill me, when they get me?”<sup>127</sup>

A range of everyday-life sources suggests that it was obvious and justified from this perspective of female purity for mothers to kill their children from African men. A poem, for example, was not short of symbolism, when placing Moroccans with “hyena screams” at the Rhine as the “most German river” to let the river share its sad story: “Down there, where the hill is lowering|the blonde Grete drowned herself|And she also drowned her black child—|The witnesses were only I and the wind.”<sup>128</sup>

The play *The Child Murderess* from 1922 similarly attempted to legitimate the killing of children from German women and colonial troops. Her defence uses this plea to promote empathy amongst the jury. The victim, coming from a well-positioned and deeply nationally inclined bourgeois German family, had been raped by “black beasts,” and her parents had to use all their powers to dissuade her from her “suicide thoughts.”<sup>129</sup> These would not only have been determined by her personal destiny but also by her seeing her own disaster as that of the nation. “The call, which passes through the whole of Germany: Away with the Black Shame!” had been her “driving force.”

Against this background of an ideological intertwining of female honour and national honour, it was possible to read the staged violation of this woman’s body as a biological attack on the German *Volkskörper*, to declare the “child murder” to be a “national act” (*nationale Tat*), and to blatantly demand the acquittal of the accused. On the basis of such racist ethic, Hausmann’s figure of the child murderess turns into a practising eugenicist. She sees herself incapable, after “animalist



brutality” had “destroyed her holiest,” her “virginity,” to now “even contribute to the degeneration of Germanness, by bringing into the world a coloured changeling” (farbigen Wechselbalg). She was not prepared to bring up a “half-savage mulatto,” who would be able to become a “German citizen” and would “apart from his skin colour also carry the inferior character traits inherited from his father into later generations and inherit further!”

To become the role model for such perverse staging, one did not have to come from a good family. In the face of the racial shame against the German woman, class barriers faded. A female worker could be turned into a role model when driven to suicide by the “Black Horror.” Until she met the colonial troops, she was known as “virtuous” and “hard-working,” “content” and “happy.”<sup>130</sup> Violated by a “black scoundrel,” a “beast,” she was turned into the “Mater dolorosa,” and gave birth to a child whose “ugly, hellbrown head” was “covered by the thick, short, black wooly hair.”<sup>131</sup> She could hardly stand looking at the child, as it looked “dreadful,” “like a young ape, wide-mouthed” (breitmaulig) and “pug-nosed” (stumpfnasig).

People who thought up such perverse eugenic scenarios did not necessarily belong to the German extreme Right. In his book about “America’s Greatest Problem” R.W. Shufeldt placed in 1915 a picture with the caption “Negro Boy and Apes,” which showed a black boy between a young Chimpanzee and a young orangutan and demanded a comparing contemplation. In 1919 the French Nobel Prize winner Charles Richet published his study *La Sélection Humaine*, in which he compared blacks physically with apes and intellectually with imbeciles.<sup>132</sup> When the German author of this racist, shoddy story decided to let this violated and desperate young German woman die with her ape-like child shortly after the birth,<sup>133</sup> he could count on his readers to understand this death as a salvation.

### 3.1.2 *Honourless Women as Stigma of Imagined Collectives*

In the summer of 1922 the new consul general of Liberia moved into his villa at the upmarket Hamburg Rothenbaum. Before that, he had for some time ruled as king over the Liberian people and had also been minister of the interior of his country. He was able to establish himself quickly in the diplomatic corps and the society of the Hanse city. A short while later, one of his sons met a German nurse who then had a



**Fig. 3.7** Atelierbild  
[Atelier photo] Motiv  
'Algerier (Tirailleur-  
Algeriens).' StA  
Mainz, Bild- und  
Plansammlung, alpha-  
betische Sammlung,  
Besetzung, französische  
1918-30, 7, Soldaten  
Atelierbilder



child with him, with whom they moved into the house of the family in Hamburg. In the photo gallery of memories, which his son wrote later, a picture of the young couple is missing.<sup>134</sup>

Despite the social difference between them, it would have probably looked not much different to an atelier photograph, which was produced at the beginning of the 1920s in the German city Mainz (Fig. 3.7).<sup>135</sup> Coined by a stereotypical bourgeois habitus, it radiates the spirit of respectability. It is distinguishable from the contemporary multitude of photographs in this genre only in that the man and the woman have a different skin colour.



Abschrift.

Bonn den 5. november 1921

Mein Lieben Maria!

Heute nachmittag ich erhalten dein schön adresse in brief von  
 ali. Lieben Maria jetzt ich besser aber ich weiss nicht wie viel  
 tag bleiben hier aber nicht lange.

Mein hertz viel traurig darum ich nicht gesehen Montag.

Ich glaube du bleiben treu für mich weil ich viel liebe für  
 dich aber ich trauen mit dich.

alsbald ein Urlaub ich schnell besuchen für dich.

Ich hab für dich ein schön Geschenk. Bitte schön Maria schicken  
 mich dein photographie. Ich habe freud gesehen dein schön angesicht.

Bitte schön mein Maria schreib mir schnell ein brief.

Ich chliessen mein brief mit tauzene Grösse und Kösse

von dein  
 S a l a h

Sergent  
 28 em Regiment de tirailleur  
 Hospital No.1 Salle No.20  
 T.F. 26 Bonn.

Fig. 3.8 Brief [letter] Salah, Sergeant 28. Regiment de tirailleur to Maria, Hospital Bonn. 5.11.1921. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1602/2152/324

The photograph refers to a dimension of relations between French colonial soldiers and German women, which was incompatible with and not provided for in the campaign against the “Black Shame”: they were seeking contact with each other, had intimate relations, wrote love letters to one another, even married (Figs. 3.8 and 3.9).<sup>136</sup>

Such acts of affection were turned into honourless and treacherous acts, as they collided with the dogma of the German woman as guardian of the German nation and white race. Women, socially intergrated and symbolically staged as representatives of the Volkskörper (national body) and Rassenkörper (racial body), were in danger of being excluded from the national community as saboteurs of this connection.



Liebe Mutter und Schwester !

Bitte verzeihe mir was ich getan habe, Salah hat mich gebeten ihn zu töten ich habe ihn lieb und habe ein Kind mit ihm und ich will sterben mit ihm. Bitte liebe Mutter und Schwester verzeihe mir alles. Lebt wohl für immer

Eure Maria.

Spreche mit Herrn Simon er ist gut und hat ein Gewissen er betrügt Euch nicht.

Lebt wohl und denkt es ist besser so.

Salah will es haben. Er liebt mich und ich ihn bis in den Tod.

Maria.

Fig. 3.9 Brief [letter] Maria to Mutter und Schwester [mother and sister]. n.d. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1602/2152/324

Those who did not respect the imagined boundaries of their people and race were considered guilty. The sexual intercourse of colonial soldiers and German women was rated a national shame and racial shame. Hence, the Head of the Zentralstelle für pfälzische Angelegenheiten confirmed it “could not be denied that voluntary intercourse occurs between undignified white women and girls with coloured soldiers!”<sup>137</sup> And a report regarding the behaviour of the occupation forces admitted, it could “not be concealed that there are German women and girls who threw themselves away and threw their and the German Women’s honour into the gutter.”<sup>138</sup>

The degradation and deep contempt expressed in such semantic terms could not only be found in the camp of the supporters of the campaign against the “Black Horror.” Even critical voices, which questioned the campaign publicly, accused German women of a lack of moral and racial restraint in relation to the colonial troops. They saw love relationships and weddings between Rhenish women and colonial soldiers as evidence



for the existence of a “white shame” rather than a “black shame” in the occupied territories.<sup>139</sup>

A French caricature titled “Infamie” from 1921 implements this argument in a sexist way. It shows a French colonial soldier in uniform who is held up by a sow, sitting on her back legs and presenting her sexual attributes to him, while patting and salivating (Fig. 3.10). The Iron Cross she is wearing on a pearl necklace around her neck identifies her as German. The roses she is offering the soldier emphasise her intentions. The caption reads: “We came to guard an eagle, now we must protect us against a pig.”<sup>140</sup>

More moderately, the French occupation newspaper *L'Écho du Rhin* reported about the easy availability “of certain German women who in most cases asked even our natives, for which they have a distinct preference.” As evidence, it referred to “numerous letters, cards, and photographs,” which were addressed daily to the “troopers and malagasies” and pointed out that “all classes were present” amongst their senders: “the small woman worker, the woman office worker, the public servant daughter and the house owner’s daughter”.<sup>141</sup>

The Danish prince Aage remarked in this context that the “numerous tales about the behaviour of coloured troops towards women” were “wrong and unjustified,” “as on the contrary the difficulty had been to keep the white women away from the coloureds.”<sup>142</sup>

Such representations contradicted the racist pattern of “Black Horror” and were violently disclaimed in the campaigning against the colonial troops. A representative of the German Foreign Office regretted that “unfortunately occasional expressions from the German side” occurred, “which represent these Negro atrocities (Negergreuel) as something insignificant and the excesses of the black troops as provoked by the women in the occupied area.”<sup>143</sup> A newspaper article was outraged about a woman who had acted as a “defender of these human beasts” and herewith shown her “hatred against Germany.” She was accused of defending the “innocence of the Negroes, and to deny their crimes” and to have cynically “claimed that it was the German women seducing the poor Negroes.”<sup>144</sup>

The fact that the claim of the “white shame” was integrated into the argument and directed against French women again shows the close intersecting of racist, sexist and nationalist narratives in the campaign. A Chemnitzer newspaper spread the “long-known fact” that “in France” the “women rather had relations with black than with the white men.”<sup>145</sup>



# Infamie



Die Illustration »Infamie« vom Zeichner Del Marle erschien am 10. Juli 1920 in der Zeitschrift »Le Rire« und trug die Begleitworte: »Wir wollten einen Adler bewachen und müssen uns vor einem Schwein schützen.« Die Zeitschrift hat keine Paginierung.

Fig. 3.10 Karikatur [caricature] 'Infamie.' Del Marle, in Le Rire. 10.7.1920. Depicted in Pommerin, Reiner: Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde. Das Schicksal einer farbigen deutschen Minderheit 1918–1937. Düsseldorf 1979, p. 15



A drawing in the German satire magazine *Kladderadatsch* had already in 1918 caricatured the alleged “facilitation of marriage in France.” An African ridiculed as a primitive savage led a white French woman to the altar. He did not have to present any papers to marry her, but only had to assure that he would not “eat” his wife.<sup>146</sup>

The author of a letter dismissed French women as vulgar and primitive. Once the “thin layer of cultural varnish” had been scratched off, a terrible “shrew” (Megäre) would be revealed, seeking pleasure in “shameless acts.”<sup>147</sup>

Different campaigners seemed concerned about the impact of the occupation on some German women. Women were on the basis of their behaviour sometimes differentiated into those who had been driven to form relations with colonial troops by their economic misery and a minority of women who got involved with these troops voluntarily. Both were deemed to commit a “crime against the German honour”<sup>148</sup> when having relations with black soldiers. While poverty and the ills of occupation were considered as potential reasons for the lack of restraint of some of these women, others were targeted mercilessly as women of a “female category” which already “had surpassed the ultimate boundary of decency, honour and dignity.”<sup>149</sup>

In order to prevent this from being interpreted as a specific moral problem of German women, it was stressed that such women were found not only in Germany but in all countries, and that “bad scum” from neighbouring countries had come together in the occupied territories.<sup>150</sup> According to a brochure, it could “not be denied that some women had (unfortunately) given themselves to the blacks voluntarily” and that a “certain class of femininity” existed “in all nations, in all zones, at all times.” The head of the Rheinische Frauenliga (Rhenish Women’s League) insisted that the problem of women who were prepared to “sell their honour for money to everyone” was international.

For her, the reasons behind this were the “on other occasions and in other countries observed attitude of a particular sort of women” who were “attracted by the foreign and mysterious.” Moreover, these often were “very young” girls who would sell themselves for goods they “hadn’t seen in years” such as “white bread and chocolate.” In those cases, however, in which “hardship was not the driving force,” it would be right to “condemn the lack of national dignity of the women vehemently.”<sup>151</sup>



Another critic of the “downright scandalous sexual lapses of many German women and girls” referred to the “allure of the foreign” and the “allure of the exotic,” which would affect “the moralless women here just as extensively as in London, Paris, New York, San Francisco or Chicago.” The attraction of the “new” was not the only reason used to explain why these “exotic guests” “usually” seduced “a number of women” of the highest circles in society to have “passionate relations,” which even abrogated the “aversion of the races.” Campaigners also referred to “known physiological reasons” which had resulted in “numerous adventures between natives and American and European ladies.” They reported that especially “girls and also women [...] from the better circles would for the sake of diversion” pursue “the blacks” and start romantic affairs.<sup>152</sup> However, also the “small female labourers, shop girls” would “dishonour” themselves, their “sex” and their “fatherland.” Nevertheless, he insisted that particularly the American, English and French women were not to throw “a stone” onto the Rhenish women who would give themselves to the “blacks” to have “voluntary intercourse.” Unlike the former, the Rhenish women could be seen under “mitigating circumstances.” A “hunger for lust” (*Lusthunger*) would have taken hold of a people, jaded with “deprivation and hardship.”

Based on his obstinacy, the author would not even with a less corrupt semantic have realised which insights his argument failed to consider here. Effectively, his tirades only let us recognise through the veil of prejudice that the defence against the racially “foreign” male sexuality, constructed as aggression, came with the control of the libidinous behaviour of one’s “own” women, and that exotic desire cannot be ignored entirely, even if it is associated with honourless women, in an attempt of blinkered resistance.

Ann Laura Stoler has shown that the relation between the persecution of the sexuality of black men and the control of the sexuality of white women also existed in the contemporary colonial context. There the notion of a “Black Peril” was promoted, which was to be fended off by laws against rape. It is evident that these were race laws, as neither sexual atrocities against black women nor sexual atrocities committed by white men were prosecuted. Diverse attempts and regulations to control female behaviour and to rein in “sexually promiscuous women” show that they were moreover formulated in a sexist context.<sup>153</sup> In the campaign against the “Black Shame” these became



visible directly as threatening, degradation and stigmatisation of women who had relationships with colonial soldiers.

Wulf D. Hund has argued that empathy with racistly constructed Others always contains a high level of projection and can therefore not be seen as independent of the negative elements of racist discrimination, but rather strengthens their potential. What is ascribed to these Others in terms of freedom, independence, ease, happiness and not least unrestrained sexuality, can occasionally be expressed as a longing consent; however, it will then turn back—over and over again and even more forcefully—into pathological rage.<sup>154</sup> The attempt to explain the “hunger for lust” with austerity did therefore only seemingly show understanding in relation to the “sexual lapses” of German women in post-war Germany. That they had given into this hunger, made them especially reprehensible.

Peter Martin, Christine Alonzo and others have clarified—in a rich and comprehensive exhibition and a published edited collection in 2004—how simultaneous and complex patterns of defamatory stereotyping, prejudices, curious information, creative appropriation and enthusiastic approval stood side by side and were intertwined. Art, fashion, music and entertainment cited several motives connected with Africa.<sup>155</sup> It cannot be ruled out that a collector of so-called primitive art and enthusiastic *Cake-Walk-Tänzer* did, after an entertaining visit of a “Negro revue,” quickly sign one of the many protest resolutions against the “Black Horror.”

How little these relations were understood is particularly evident in the opinions of critical popular voices. Maximilian Harden recalled that the Germans already were “witnesses of this sexual aberration of the women” when the famous Hamburg Zoo “Hagenbeck [...] displayed some foreign tribes.” They would have bothered the “blacks” and “yellows” with “love letters, flowers and gifts.” Not even their “smell” had made the women “reject” these men; it would have “on the contrary” acted as a “special aid of allure” (*Reizmittel*).

While these were considered “not at all beautiful men,” the colonial soldiers were seen as “warriors with a skin made of ebony wood, [...] strong musculature and [...] well-fitted uniform,” so attractive that “luck” “smiled at them everywhere.” He was sure that at places where the masculine has become too ethereal, the “sons of the hot countries, filled with sensitivity” were received enthusiastically. This was seen as a



problem of the woman, who, as a “creature ruled by sexual instincts,” could not understand that “the coupling” (die Paarung) with such men was “an act of shame.”<sup>156</sup>

These considerations mix envy with idiosyncrasy and racism with sexism. The sense of smell as a social taboo is here used to position the boundary of disgust sensual women had crossed as high as possible. Their alleged lecherousness is herewith equated with the lecherousness of the colonial troops. At the same time, both are reduced to physicality and instinct, against which the intellectuality of white men, robbed of their arms, could not do anything.

Harden, an opponent of the campaign against the “Black Horror,” was able to fully express his sexism. The campaigners, on the contrary, had to mediate it with the phantasmagoria of the white woman as representative of female, national and racial honour. To do so, they referred back to the established distinction between dishonourable and honourable women. In this context, the director of a local hospital in Mainz, who opposed “that broad parts of the female population” were sexually meeting these soldiers, stressed the importance of differentiating between the “ethic of the brothel inmate” and the “ethic of the remaining population.” Even for the French, he speculated, it had to be “humiliating” “to see how in the brothels white women dedicate themselves sexually to the coloureds.”

He argued that it was not right to speak of “brothel girls” being prepared to “sacrifice” themselves. The “average prostitute” “could simply not be harmed [anymore] because of absolute moral defects” and would see the brothel visitors “whether coloured or white” as “an exclusively professional business,” as she lacked a “notion of morality”<sup>157</sup> (Moralbegriff). Many voices were convinced that the women who got involved with the blacks were belonging to the lower classes and were criminal.

The former police assistant Clara Schapiro was even, after the end of the occupation, concerned about the “figure of German womanhood in the shape of adolescent or older female workers, maids, waitresses, etc.” who were only “at the beginning” “shy and restrained” towards the soldiers, but “unfortunately soon” changed their behaviour. “Self-indulgence, [...], vanity, compulsivity, and often also hunger” had torn down the boundaries. “Even Negroes and moroccans” would have found “mercy in the eyes of German girls” and after a short time, one would have “seen the couples by day and night also in the public



houses" (Wirtschaften). In this context, she explains, the expression "chocolate-promenade" (Schokolade-Promenade)<sup>158</sup> was coined.

A postcard produced to mark the end of the Allied occupation in Mainz illustrates that in 1930 the accusation of "chocolate-promenade" remained associated with the use of colonial troops. It shows the caricature of a colonial soldier offering a white woman a piece of chocolate to go on "promenade" with her. The caption explains: "Sadly one could often see|that peculiar German women,| for a piece of chocolate|went on promenade." It attacked these women as "pigs" who would have "hopefully also disappeared from the Rhine."<sup>159</sup>

In Speyer, someone was worried about "white women" who "were flirting, eating chocolate and doing even more with black soldiers" and saw this an indication for a "white shame." While he pointed toward the material hardship of many German women,<sup>160</sup> a "farmer from the Sickinger Höh" was of the opinion that many women lacked the "old plainness in morals and dress costume" (Kleidertracht) and that their provocative appearance formed a "white shame." He was convinced "most of the guilt" related to the "sexual atrocities of the black occupation" had to be "attributed to the slovenly German prostitutes," as the "black soldier" would feel "respect towards the white woman," but would turn into an "animal," "when provoked sensually."<sup>161</sup> A fellow German male from Bingen was similarly outraged by "the lovely girls" who got themselves a colonial soldier referred to as "chocolade" or chocolate dwarf.<sup>162</sup>

Julia Roos has drawn attention to some inner tensions and divisions within the Black Shame campaign with a main focus on conflicts between "officially oriented propaganda" and "right-wing extremist agitation."<sup>163</sup> She has in this context identified internal "conflicts of interest" associated with "diverging political strategies of diplomacy on the one hand and right-wing populism on the other hand"<sup>164</sup> as well as with "considerable tensions" between the "Rhineland" locally and the German "national government."<sup>165</sup> Roos has pointed towards "a growing concern that radical strands within the Black Horror movement were detrimental to the cohesion of the German nation-state and to Germany's positive image abroad".<sup>166</sup> It is in this context not surprising that the right-extremist Deutsche Notbund refused to give into the Rhenish Women's League's attempts to stop it from campaigning in its flyers frequently against the "Black Shame" "in a wider sense of the word"



meaning “the lack of dignity of white women and girls,” who voluntarily opened up to the “coloureds.”<sup>167</sup>

The Notbund was convinced that these stemmed from “particular classes” and dismissed any “careless generalisation” of the accusation as an “insult for the German woman.”<sup>168</sup> Those, however, who engaged in relationships with colonial soldiers, had lost any kind of decency. There were cast out as “women, who would know no caste, no race, no fatherland, no stand.”<sup>169</sup>

The Federation of Frankfurt Women’s Associations was similarly concerned about the “many white women” “who inside and outside of the brothels” would dedicate themselves to the “sexual wishes of the French” and regretted to have “no means” to “teach the German women,” who caused this offence “a more dignified way of acting.”<sup>170</sup> The local district physician in Landau knew too that German women had intimate relations with colonial troops, and put together surveys regarding the “hybrids” (*Mischlinge*), “stemming from the coloured troops in the occupied areas.” He saw in them a “decline of the race” and a “waste of national property.” Usually, these women’s children would be taken off them and placed in institutions financed by the state, allowing the women to have another relation. Many women would be known to have “three to four children of different skin colour.” He was sure that these were usually mentally and physically inferior and that their fathers were contaminated.<sup>171</sup>

International voices confirmed that “regular relations” did exist “between coloureds and German women,” as a Swedish commission reported on its visit to the Rhineland. Its report made clear that these relations were to be considered shameful to the German people. In this context the “removal of the coloured troops” could indeed be seen as the “removal of a shame.”<sup>172</sup> The author of an article in a Christian weekly magazine stated similarly that “the behaviour of numerous German women and girls towards the black troops is extremely unpleasant.” However, he assumed that these women “naturally” belonged to “a certain class.”<sup>173</sup>

The strong ideological gesture, which called women of all classes down to prostitutes to partake in the representation of women’s honour, national pride and racial consciousness was constantly crossed with resort to social patterns of difference. On the basis of a contemporary eugenic discourse, which joined social with biological arguments, categorised society into efficient people and inferiors and accused the latter of



an excessive sexuality, proven by their stark breeding, such argumentation could be formed easily. It was also helped by the sexist notion of female unscrupulousness. The contradiction of a white woman sacrifice and black rapist was underlied with that of male self-restraint and primitive lust. While the first contradiction united women of all social classes, the second positioned them together with the lower “races” in opposition to the white men.

Against this background, women’s bodies, used symbolically to mark boundaries, proved flexible vehicles. Moreover, it became clear that the whiteness attributed to them was not an unquestionable feature but a task to fulfill. It should be earned through behaviour and was threatened not only by a desecration from the outside but also through the threats of a toning down (*Abschattierung*) attributed to femininity itself. The lechery allegedly inherent in their bodies was able to taint women from the better circles. The social condition of their bodies threatened women of the lower classes constantly with the moral assault of prostitution.

The image of the threatened white woman generated in the campaign was therefore not least a clear threat directed at her to dehumanise and denounce her as a pig if she should refuse to buy into it. The caricatures of the white woman carried off by a gorilla and of the black harassed by a pig were marked nationalistically. The gorilla was wearing a French military cap, the pig a German war medal. They were at the same time images of a bestial sexuality. In extreme cases, one could be superimposed on the other, so that the black gorilla mated with the white pig in an obscene orgy.

In the light of this extent of self-created perversity, the racist consciousness of many campaigners simultaneously demanded the withdrawal of the black troops and to lend the female honour threatened by them a hand. This could be achieved not only through the exhortation to keep the race pure but also through denunciation and acts of violence against women who did not meet these expectations.

A medical dissertation was certain that “most of the German mothers of mulatto children” had not been “victims of rape by blacks” but had intimate relations with them voluntarily. This was attacked not only as a twofold depravity, combining the “contempt for the integrity of the body” with the “overriding of the most fundamental elements of racial sentiment.”<sup>174</sup> The author of a brochure condemned even more drastically “Rhenish German girls and women” who “threw themselves away nearly everywhere in the Rhineland” with their “pathological preference”



for the “enemy forces” and in particular the Negroes, therewith causing “systematic race- and blood degradation” (Rassen- und Blutschande).<sup>175</sup>

A press article questioned that the “female shamelessness regarding these black guys” had increased to a point to create a “serious danger for the German people and the white race.” However, it seemed beyond doubt that everywhere white woman who engaged with a coloured man had to be excluded from civilised Europe and that it was important for this community to “help itself.” Germany should follow America’s example, where “every nigger who offended a German woman” would be “lynched” and realise that there was not a single “part of the world,” in which “the white woman or the girl who throws herself away to a coloured” would not be “cast out” from “the community of Europeans.”<sup>176</sup>

Eugenically and patriarchally grounded attempts to sexually discipline women were not restricted to relations between them and colonial soldiers. A German flyer demanded: “German women! German girls! Stay away from Jews, Negroes, Russians, Mongols and all other alien- and lower-race men!” (fremd- und niederrassigen Männern). Women were pushed to show “race pride” instead of “generating mixed-blood” (Mischblut).<sup>177</sup> The novel *Bestien im Land* (Beasts in the Country) warned them of blacks and Jews.<sup>178</sup>

A secretary from Mainz felt herself to be an apposite example of a woman protecting her honour. When sexually harassed by a “coloured” on a walk in the forest, she “wrathfully” hit him, so that the alleged “attacker”<sup>179</sup> ran away. When women did not oppose sexual contacts between them and the colonial troops, this had to be sanctioned. A brochure called on “all German men, German *Volksgenossen*, members of the white race” to spit into the face of “each woman who had sexual or any form of contact with blacks” and to “shun them,” just “as the black pest itself.”<sup>180</sup> Women who would not listen were urged to “feel ashamed” in front of themselves, “their Germanness” and “the entire white race.”

Calls to punish every German woman who had contact with colonial troops were numerous. A “confidant from Mainz” and a solicitor considered a German woman who “commercially committed fornication” with “Moroccans” to be “unworthy” of getting a “refugee allowance” (Flüchtlingsfürsorge).<sup>181</sup> Different documents indicate that such calls to attack German women publicly as honourless, to punish and exclude them from the national community were well received in the occupied territory.



A German war invalid, for example, spread the word in the occupied territory that German women allowed themselves to be “violated for goods and money!” He was outraged having tried to keep the enemies away from “the German woman” in the war and to now be thanked by her turning herself into “the enemies’ sow.”<sup>182</sup> He was one of many who threatened German women with violence.

A newspaper in the occupied territory was appalled about “German girls” who threw themselves at the “alien occupation troops.” Contact with occupation forces was condemned as a betrayal of their “national” and “physical honour” and they were therefore considered to deserve “physical punishment” (körperliche Züchtigung). They were to be punished “without reservation and with a clear conscience.” In Ratibor, women fighting against the “disgrace and shame” demanded to save “female honour,” “Volksgesundheit” (the people’s health) and “national honour.” They threatened all women concerned, telling them that “their names” were “known” and would be made public to “expose them” to the “hostility” they “deserved.”

In Gleiwitz, women beat another woman who had lost her dignity in their eyes and cut her hair off. Elsewhere, women who “provably” had contact with the “occupation troops” were “put on a black list.” Notes with the names of “those who had smirched their honour in a shameless way” were posted “on all churches and public buildings” for “public notice.”<sup>183</sup> Women and young girls had their “hair cut,” their “bodies were smirched with polish” (Wichse) and their “names publicly [...] put up.”<sup>184</sup>

A director at the city hospital in Worms urged the local police to ensure the “punishment” of three women “from the section for venereal disease.” They had overstepped the “house rules” and obviously his male tolerance “by opening the windows despite warning and serious exhortation” in order “to make contact with soldiers in the barracks opposite through [...] signs and other conversation.”<sup>185</sup>

And the *Wormser Volkszeitung* reminded its readers after the occupation forces had left about the women with bobbed hair during the time of occupation: at that time all “our women and girls” had “long plaits” and “bobbed hair” (Bubiköpfe) would have been cut as a “signal” “for particularly ruthless” women who went on “promenade” “with white and black troops.”<sup>186</sup> Different newspapers agitated against a “white shame,” which was, as the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* summarises, “embodied in those German women who prostituted not only the dignity of



the woman, but also the German name” by throwing themselves at the “blacks.” It added that regretfully “the French” as “the party responsible for this sin” would prevent the Germans from “punishing” these “in every way perverse elements.”<sup>187</sup>

Men from Ludwigswinkl nevertheless threatened their women and girls, warning them that they would “beat them up very thoroughly” if they would engage with the foreign soldiers.<sup>188</sup> In Jülich, women who had not listened to such warnings were put under pressure publicly and had to “swipe the market” being the “laughing stock of the population,” because they had relations with members of the colonial troops.<sup>189</sup> Another parish also temporarily made public “the names of the French girls” (Franzosenmädchen) by putting them up and sympathised openly with the “young guys” who took matters into their own hands with regard to girls who engaged “with French.”<sup>190</sup>

The Rheinische Frauenliga, on the contrary, emphasised the power of the deterrent example and pledged to “isolate and cast out” women who did not show restraint. The organisation argued it would not be necessary to “promptly work with the cutting of plaits and physical punishments,” as the “silent wall of defence” could help to put women off.<sup>191</sup>

Men in Linden-Osterholz published, less sensitively, a newspaper ad in which they threatened their women: “Armed with first, scissors and tar, |we fall upon every one.| Who with the blood of foreigners|settles amicably in love. Guard yourselves!”<sup>192</sup> Their call clarifies in an exemplary way how in German post-war society sexist and racist patterns of discrimination were intersecting in the context of social integration and exclusion. Only women tirelessly seeking to maintain their “purity” were able to count on the protection of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The bodies of the others were marked as impure, ridiculed and disfigured. In contrast to those women keen to make their honourable attitude publicly visible through pins “as long as black French are present in the occupied territories,”<sup>193</sup> it was deemed easy to spot the other honourless women immediately and to know that they no longer belonged to the community but were lost outcasts, damaging “the life of the German people”.<sup>194</sup>

Such accusations could be made against everyone. They were constantly prominent as political attack from the Right to the Left. When the independent Social Democratic MP Luise Zietz attacked “race hatred and national hatred” in the German Parliament, however, the vast majority of MPs positioned themselves in opposition to her. She bravely criticised the “racial hatred” culminating in Germany and linked this to



**Fig. 3.11** Karikatur  
[caricature] ‘Frau Zietz’  
in ‘Rückblicke vom 1.  
April bis 30. Juni.’ In:  
*Kladderadatsch*. 73. Vol.,  
1920, No. 27



the campaign against Africans and also to the problem of increasing anti-Semitism in Germany. She looked at rapes as one of the horrendous consequences of war for which “predominantly white” and “also German soldiers” were to be held responsible.

Her courageous parliamentary speech was interrupted by “boo calls” (Pfui-Rufe) and calls for her to end it and when she dared to criticise the German colonial system and harassment of Jews in the Weimar Republic, she received a rebuke from the president and a call to order.<sup>195</sup> Her fellow parliamentarians showed their “lively agreement” with MP Bruckhoff, who concluded that “every decent woman and decent man in the national assembly” must see that Zietz attempted with her speech to cover up “the outrageous infamies of the Senegal Negroes.”

The German MP Mende earned similarly broad support from her fellow MPs when regretting “in her deepest heart” that “a German woman” had been found who in the light of black occupation and their atrocities would not “appell” “to the whole world against their use.”<sup>196</sup>

Those who attacked the defamation of Africans as “primitive savages,” had to fear being placed on the same level with them. The German satirical magazine *Kladderadatsch*, for example, caricatured Luise Zietz after her courageous speech as an idol—a graven image with coloured face, eyes widely open and a giant mouth (Fig. 3.11). The representation reminds one of an African mask and is an insinuation linked to the genre of so-called “primitive art.” It implies that Zietz as a serious critic of the



campaign not only sympathised with “primitive coloureds” but was one herself. She holds her hands over the two colonial soldiers to her side protectively. The caption reads: “In Germany Frau Zietz discovered her heart for the differently coloured mankind and established herself as protective patron of the Senegalese Negroes.”<sup>197</sup>

### 3.2 THE “BLACK SHAME” AS THE DECLINE OF THE OCCIDENT. THE FICTION OF A THREATENED WHITE RACE

In the summer of 1930 the *Mannheimer Zeitung* called the “Negroes on the Rhine” one of the “most depressing chapters of the occupation” and dismissed it as a “crime against culture”. The paper reminded people that the German government had condemned their use already at the beginning of the occupation as a crime against “the sentiment of community of the white race.”<sup>198</sup>

The German government joined a wider choir of protests condemning the use of “coloured occupation groups” standing on “the lowest cultural level” as a shameful crime against “the entire white race.”<sup>199</sup> Their “occupation of European territory” was staged as a “serious threat to the health, culture and civilisation of the entire white race,”<sup>200</sup> as it was meant to cause a “systematic degradation and undermining of the cultural standing of the European per se.” All civilised people were urged to resist the “betrayal of the white race”<sup>201</sup> and the “violation of white culture”<sup>202</sup> and to act as a “cultured world against Africans,” who “stained the white race with shame.”<sup>203</sup>

The protests attacked the idea that representatives of a low cultural scale were being turned into “armed guards” over whites on the Rhine. They were represented as a problem threatening white cultural and biological integrity by offending the “pride of the white race and Caucasian sense of honour” and by causing a “horrific [...] contamination” of its racial hygiene.<sup>204</sup> It was feared that the “mulattisation” and “syphilitisation”<sup>205</sup> of the Rhineland would result in the decline of culture.

The contrast between black primitivity and white culture promoted in such arguments saw the use of colonial troops foremost as a threat to European dominance. Moreover, it raised concerns about the threat of contamination and degeneration associated with racial mixture. From this it concluded that it was necessary for all members of the white race to unite in the fight against the “Black Horror.”



### 3.2.1 *“Savages” in the Heart of Europe. Race, Culture and the Legend of White Superiority*

The alleged lecherousness of the African troops emphasised in this connection of race and gender was also used for the illustration of the antagonism between nature and culture. In this context, the profligating “sex life of the black race” was meant to separate the “poor African sons of nature”<sup>206</sup> with their “natural drive” from “all cultured peoples.” The point was to remind the entire world of what it knew already, that “Negroes have instincts and passions which can never harmonize with the customs of a white race which is highly civilized.”<sup>207</sup>

The “crime” of the “Black Shame” was linked to “the colour of the troops”<sup>208</sup> and their supposed primitivity. They were represented as “Negro troops,”<sup>209</sup> a “mix of savage people’s” tribes,<sup>210</sup> “uncultivated troops”<sup>211</sup> “on the lowest level”<sup>212</sup> of development and dehumanised as “animalistic Negroes”<sup>213</sup> or “savage hordes”<sup>214</sup> driven by “animalistic anger.”<sup>215</sup>

Campaigners promoted the idea that these troops were recruited “from the lowest standing” and “culturally undeveloped Negro- or moor tribes.” Using them for the purpose of subordinating “the white-racial German people”<sup>216</sup> meant to surrender “Europeans to the unrestricable rawness of the African race.”<sup>217</sup>

Sexuality is here used as an argument similarly to the discussion of the women’s role; However, its cultural dimension is emphasised more strongly. This predominantly served the purpose of illustrating the claimed distance between the races which was supposedly showing in their allegedly different abilities to control their sexual impulses. The “accusation of a exaggerated sexuality”<sup>218</sup> ascribed the Africans with lacking an ability to control their drives. The “unleashing” of “raw drives,”<sup>219</sup> their behaviour marked by “unrestrained sensual drives,”<sup>220</sup> the “in their instincts unrestrained coloured troops”<sup>221</sup> or “ethically and morally sordid beasts”<sup>222</sup> were all metaphors for the supposed racial and cultural backwardness of the Africans.

Popular media characterised the colonial troops as culturally primitive. A poem,<sup>223</sup> caricatures and other media dehumanised them as apes in uniform,<sup>224</sup> or reported how the “blacks” were eating “the may bugs raw off the trees.”<sup>225</sup> When a colonial soldier sketched as a gorilla attacked a white woman, sketched with reference to the classical idea of female beauty, her statue-like features alone revealed that they did not violate



individual women but the entire occidental culture<sup>226</sup> (Fig. 3.12). When German women were thrown off the “peaks of century-old, gothic cultural creations” (Kulturschöpfungen) to become “victims” of the “animalist desires of the African savages,”<sup>227</sup> this was meant to be considered a crime against the white race and with this, against culture in general. The same animalist motive of colonial soldiers was created with the use of notions like “Negro bestiality,”<sup>228</sup> “badly tamed animals,”<sup>229</sup> “black beast,”<sup>230</sup> images of colonial soldiers with nose rings<sup>231</sup> and invented reports about the “bestial screeching” or the “bestial sounds of the blacks”<sup>232</sup> which the “Negro” would blurt out just “like a wild animal.”<sup>233</sup>

Such racially saturated attributions denied the colonial soldier any human qualities and turned him into an animal. In doing so, these ascriptions operated within a contemporary, common frame of dehumanising and simianising discriminations with a long and prominent tradition. Gustav Jahoda has not only stated that they found their expression in visual equations of Africans and apes up to the beginning of the twentieth century but has also emphasised that they could in this way call upon concepts and theories which were rooted in the European Enlightenment.<sup>234</sup>

Wulf D. Hund has established that “[c]omparisons with animals have a long-lasting tradition in the history of social discrimination” and has demonstrated the prominence of the “ape stereotype” in this context. He argues that “transgressions of the simian character perfectly allow the amalgamation of sexism, racism and classism” and critically reviews its discursive development in “the European imagination” between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, following Europe’s “obsession” with an African continent “that supposedly facilitated relationships of women and apes and generated monsters.” Hund in this way highlights “a connection of long duration between sexist and racist as well as classist insinuations.”<sup>235</sup> He conceptualises “dehumanisation” as a “general instrument of racism” closely associated with “animalisation” and expressed “in different forms of comparison in which the animal metaphor has widespread application—from vermin to apes.”<sup>236</sup> While the African continent and Africans are considered a core target of simianisation discourses, these also targeted other groups subjected to racist discrimination.

George M. Fredrickson has shown how widespread the perception of the “Negro” as a “wild animal” was in the United States around the turn





Fig. 3.12 Caricature 'Der schwarze Terror in deutschen Landen.' In: Kladderadatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, No 22, Wahlnummer I



of the century. Its supporters could spread their claim even with academic support and claim that whites and blacks did not belong to the same species.<sup>237</sup>

Saul Dubow has, in the context of a “South-Africanisation” of anthropology after 1900, drawn attention to the attempts to flank the discussion of Africa as “cradle of mankind” associated with respective findings of bones (Knochenfunden) with theories about the backward bush races.<sup>238</sup> In Germany, leading scientists of the *Kaiserreich* were unable to explain their measuring results of two African skulls without the assumption of a mixture of European and Arabic “blood.” This fitted their image of their objects of investigation, which both Felix von Luchau and Rudolf Virchow considered skulls of chieftains from the kings family of the Hehe, a people that temporarily offered a very successful and determined resistance against the German imperialists in East Africa.<sup>239</sup>

Eugen Fischer, whose investigation of a so-called Bastardvolk in South-West Africa opened up the path of a scientific career for him, up to the directorship of the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute for Anthropology*, was as a student of human heredity and eugenics convinced that “every European people,” which has “absorbed blood of inferior races” had to suffer “this intake of inferior elements with mental, cultural decline.” He felt it was not necessary to prove that “Negroes” are “inferior” in this context, as “only gushers” (Schwärmer) could “deny” this.<sup>240</sup> Fatima El-Tayeb has generalised this statement to the effect that from a “social-anthropological perspective” in Germany at that time “every relation of German individuals with *Artfremden*” (people alien to the stock) was represented as “infection” of the racial body with “poor blood.”<sup>241</sup>

Christian Koller has demonstrated that the stereotype of the primitive, backward black race in the discourse on the “Black Shame” was used flexibly insofar as their lacking development could be read as “image of the gruesome savage” as well as the “perception of the infantile colonial soldier.”<sup>242</sup> A supporter of the campaign combined these two interpretations in the claim that “as soon as alcohol and sexuality” played “a role,” “the black,” otherwise manageable with “a firm and calm hand,” “whose psyche” contained “some infantile traits,” would turn into an “unsuppressable wild animal” following “its drives unrestrained.”<sup>243</sup>

Critics who attacked the forced recruitment and exploitation of colonial troops in Europe as a failed colonial policy also referred to both images.<sup>244</sup> Henri Barbusse, for example, saw Africans as “primitive beings” who were “only tools in the hand of civilisation.” “The hordes,



with which Germany" had been "run over" were "what they always have been, unfortunate slaves, in whose primitive spirit the academic European has inflamed the taste for suppression, murder and rape." With him, different voices claimed that black men had been "pulled out of their nature live" and "faded away in huge numbers," suffering "wasting, exhaustion and melancholia." Many of these "unfortunate blacks" had committed "suicide from homesickness and helplessness."<sup>245</sup>

An article referred similarly to the "psyche of the Negro" as "indeed infantile," and stated that those who "treat" the blacks accordingly went along the "right path" and distinguished between the "simple natives" and the "depraved members of the colonial armies in North Africa and on European soil." While the author considered the former as highly loyal "disciplined [...] blacks in the German colonial armies" (deutschen Schutztruppen) to whom one could "without hesitation hand over the white women of their superiors to look after," he attacked the colonial soldier as the "brutalised Negro" who had escaped white dominance, "attacked defenseless women and was untameable sexually."<sup>246</sup>

The letter of a representative of the German Foreign Office makes clear he considered the colonial soldiers to be children rather than sex beasts. He raised his "concerns" about an excursion of English Labour representatives into the occupied territory, as it was "not really foreseeable" "how one" could "on command" present them with "effectual horrors and shameful acts of the virtuous Senegalese." It could happen that the visitors keen to witness "atrociousness" would "ultimately drive away with the impression that the Negroes, Tonkinese, and Madagascans were actually nothing but harmless children who with firm discipline and corresponding behaviour of the white population commit proportionally less misdeeds than French non-coloured profligates." This did not stop him, however, from criticising the "presence of black troops in Germany" as a "humiliation" one should "not put up with."<sup>247</sup>

When attributing infantile and naïve traits to the Africans rather than savage and bestial traits, he simply drew upon another dimension of the racist stereotype of black inferiority and otherness, making clear that the images of the infantile black *Naturmensch* and the primitive savage were different dimensions of a complex image of blacks. Both were based on the assumption that Africans were representatives of an inferior race, associated with nature and as such were to be subordinated to the white race culturally and authoritatively.<sup>248</sup>



The race concept was in this way employed flexibly and operated with differentiation as well as with generalisation. On the one hand, it subsumed Moroccans, Negroes, Madagassies, black, brown troops and Indian Annamites all together as “armed Negroes,”<sup>249</sup> “savages” or “blacks” originating from “African nigger villages.”<sup>250</sup> On the other hand, it could be fanned out to differentiate between different groups.

In this context it was reported that the arrival of the colonial troops would have been an “ethnological exposition” (*Völkerschau*) more mixed than at Hagenbeck.<sup>251</sup> The author clearly differentiated between troops originating in Africa and those from India. It was noted that the English had used “dark-skinned Asians” in Europe; however, these would have been “Indians” who in opposition to the blacks “at least were Aryans.”<sup>252</sup> In turn, not only the colonial troops were all subsumed as “black, brown and yellow savages.”<sup>253</sup> The *Wandervögel* group in Essen also sang: “French white, black, brown and yellow|Zouaves, Turkos, all the same,| With lip beads, nose rings,|they are culture in all things.”<sup>254</sup>

In addition to skin colour, the “Negroid type” was constructed and used as an instrument of racialised characterisation. It was considered to be identifiable in “black, also Negro regiments” in the same way as in “coloured troops.” Colonial troops categorised as brown were also supposed to be similar to “Negroes,” as “Moroccans and Madagassies often” were regarded as of a “clearly Negroid type.” Campaigners were sure that amongst brown troops one could find people similar to “Negroes.”<sup>255</sup> Even soldiers subsumed under the “white” troops were supposedly permeated “with black Negro” soldiers. Count Montgelas, moreover, felt it to be “not correct” to “denote the madagassies as Yellows.” They looked to him rather “dark brown to black” and “their children with German women” were “typical mullattos.” Photos would also “very clearly” show “the Negroid typus” of the colonial troops.”<sup>256</sup>

In these and similar descriptions, the race concept was on the one hand applied so broadly that even French fell under the coloured races; on the other hand, it was superimposed with myths of origin, resulting in skin colour being considered less significant than supposed Aryan origin. Finally, it was used in co-operation with pseudo-anthropological and quasi-philosophical perceptions of a “typus Negro” in order to subsume “coloureds” who were perceived as differentiated under one single category.



Wulf D. Hund has pointed out that the “authoritatively determined attribution of different grades of humanity with the aid of culturalistic and biologicistic criteria” can be considered “the core of racist discrimination.”<sup>257</sup> The combination of biological and cultural topoi typical for every racist argumentation was expressed in the campaign in a crass form. The elementary opposition of black and white which supposedly could be deduced from the skin was in this way openly shaped into an argument linking nature and culture, which could eventually be extended to include supposed “whites.”

With this, the propagandists of the “Black Horror” again stepped on already well-paved argumentative trails. Noel Ignatiev and Karen Brodtkin have clarified which social process Irish and Jews had to undergo in the United States to be perceived as “white.”<sup>258</sup> Wulf D. Hund has stressed with reference to Andrew Markus that the policy of a “White Australia” was positioned not only against Asiatic but also European immigrants and was shared by the organised labour movement.

When the “Black Shame” protests became popular in Germany approximately at the same time the *Australian Worker* expressed the concern “that large parts of the population of Continental Europe” were “not properly white.” “In France” “Negroid facial features” were considered common, “many Italians originated from the slaves of the Roman Empire, the long Arabic Spain anyhow would have no European race base. Greeks showed several Asiatic and African influences, and everywhere in Southeast Europe the Asiatic turks would have left their racial traits.”<sup>259</sup>

The open arbitrariness of such rhetoric was fully played out against the colonial troops deployed in Germany. On the one hand, this led to a metaphoric exaltation—idealisation of the colour white. In contrast to the “Black Horror,” the “white skin colour” of the citizens of Europe was the “pride of its children.” It was considered “their good luck charm” (Talismann) “when they set out all over the world, obedient to the imperative to teach all peoples.” The “exclusiveness of the white skin colour” was seen as legitimisation of its predominant position.<sup>260</sup> On the other hand, the complaint that “coloured occupation troops down to Senegal Negroes” were used in Germany did not even try to hide the semantic operations linked with this when condemning that “since the beginning of the occupation not a single day had passed” without “Negroes” standing in the occupied territory, “real Negroes next to other coloureds of all shades.”<sup>261</sup>



Due to the open scaling of “colouredness” “down to” the “real Negroes,” the attribution of “being black” could also include those who could not be marked as such based on senses. The government of Munich argued that the withdrawal of “black (so Negro-) regiments” would not improve the situation in the occupied areas as long as coloured troops remained. The latter were considered as troops that sometimes were “heavily mixed with Negroes” and as savages unable to civilise themselves properly. Hence, the “Negro troops” were considered “not worse” than “the browns” who did not only share “animalistic desires” but also were known for the “cunning of half-culture.”<sup>262</sup>

The Zentralfürsorgestelle für das besetzte Gebiet, summing up, saw only “one truly uncultivated raff” and recognised “many real Negroes amongst the troops.”<sup>263</sup> Where “Moroccans” had been used instead of “black troops” these seemed “in their appearance even more frightening [...] as the Senegalese.” The “greed for murder” was read off their “yellow visage” and was allegedly visible “in every face.” They were accused of daily “robbery and rapes” and the situation was supposedly considerably worse than during “the occupation with blacks.”<sup>264</sup>

Many campaigners shared the racist conviction that “generally the black races have always been marked by their utmost corruption” and were all together Negroes who simply had been “covered” with a thin “inadequate” layer of civilisation. Beneath this patina they reckoned the “unknown to none” “lack of morals,” atavistic bestiality of the Negroes<sup>265</sup> was hiding. The German Notbund insinuates this perspective by stating that colonial troops were not of the same colour but racially equally primitive. It was not at all satisfied with only “the real full-blood Negroes” having been withdrawn as urgently “the thousand others, identically natured coloureds”<sup>266</sup> had to follow.

This classification made it possible to subsume colonial soldiers of different skin shades as primitive Negroes or blacks. In this way such generalising racist attribution could be combined with an inner differentiation of the category race, acknowledging that not all Algerians, Moroccans, and so on, were externally blacks. Nevertheless, it was possible to insist that they were equal in their nature.

This notion of the savage on civilised territory was used to promote the idea that “[a]t best a military occupation by an army of white men belonging to a civilized race is bad enough. When the soldiers belong to half-civilized races of Africa it becomes horrible.”<sup>267</sup> Not everyone felt that their low level of development was unchangeable, and someone



even offered them to return “as brothers” once “the light of belief and culture” had lightened “the hearts” of “these poorest.” However, to keep them here “in their current barbaric state” and to “allow them to satisfy their low instincts upon innocent creatures” meant to “awake the horror of the entire cultured world.”<sup>268</sup>

The stationing of colonial troops in Europe and their sexual intercourse with Germans was condemned as a crime committed on the entire civilisation and branded as “greatest shame to the entire white race” and “Christian culture.”<sup>269</sup> All whites were supposed to perceive the armed presence of Africans in Europe and their intimate relations with German women as a threat to their own cultural position and colonial function in relation to the blacks marked as uncivilised.

The accusation that “a people of the white race divulges women’s dignity and women’s honour to blacks and therewith desecrates the most elementary notions of civilisation”<sup>270</sup> illustrates the close relation of race, culture, nation and gender in this argument. It denounced France as a nation belonging to the community of civilised whites for provoking the intercourse of German women and black troops and with this violating culture and white supremacy in general.

The desecration of German women was defined as an attack on the whole white race. Women, Germans, whites and culture were discursively joined in this argument to a conglomerate that as a whole was considered threatened by the colonial troops. It seemed “beyond reason to expect that the native intelligence is so acute as to be able to differentiate between British, French, German, Spanish or Portugese womanhood. To the black man, a white woman is a white woman, a being hitherto perched upon a pedestal beyond his reach and the emblem of something which perhaps he cannot comprehend except vaguely through the knowledge that it is for that which white men willingly give their lives. With that knowledge has grown a wonderful respect which has been emphasised again and again in the case of native risings [...] It is something approaching a tragedy that the French, by their actions upon the Rhine, are daily damaging that wonderful prestige.”<sup>271</sup> It seemed beyond doubt that with this, the French did the interests of all colonisers a disservice. Campaigners predicted that black men were to loose their respect for white rule because they were being allowed to command white women and presented their “presence” in Germany as “a continious danger to the prestige of the white race in general and to white women in particular.”<sup>272</sup> The



“routine intercourse between black troops with white women” was seen as having already deeply “shaken” “the authority of the white authorities in Africa.”<sup>273</sup>

These concerns were linked to the hope that the “barbarity” of “the invasion of German territory by French Senegalese and Moroccan Negro savages” would make “civilization blush.”<sup>274</sup> The reports about the shameful cruelties of the “coloured French in the Rhineland” attempted to embed “in the entire cultured world the conviction” that these meant “a humiliation and threatening of elemental cultural achievements of the white nations.”<sup>275</sup> The protests against the “Black Horror” targeted and appealed to “Europe’s conscience.”<sup>276</sup> Organisations spoke of the “cultural shame” caused by “the black beasts,” attacked their crimes as “stigma for the entire white race”<sup>277</sup> or were sure that the “Black Shame” had been inflicted upon the “whole white human race.”<sup>278</sup>

They demanded the withdrawal of the coloured troops<sup>279</sup> in the “name of female honour, holy to all cultured peoples” (Kulturvölker) and staged the black troops as “cultural disgrace”<sup>280</sup> and “cultural shame”.<sup>281</sup>

A medal showing the image of a naked white woman attacked by a colonial soldier also mobilised against the “Black Horror” as a “racial disgrace and cultural shame.”<sup>282</sup> The German Notbund even tried to convince “humanity” that “the desecration of the white woman meant the decline of the white race”<sup>283</sup> and was outraged by “a crime” being an unprecedented “punch in the face of the white race.”<sup>284</sup>

A senior major from the Palatinate region noted that the “loss in prestige that the white race had suffered” as “white women had to prostitute themselves also to black soldiers” was even “considerably worse”<sup>285</sup> than other hardships of occupation. In a brochure he warned that “the white race’s” “position of dominance” was under threat and considered it an “essential precondition” for all nations engaging in “colonial politics.”

He argued that the white man had so far embodied “for the coloured races something god-like, [...] categorically superior” and that based on the “paralysing effects” of “the fear of the white man’s reason” a black man would “never” have dared “to raise his eyes to a white woman.” However, on the Rhine the black man had now been “given the opportunity, to taste the attraction of the white woman.” As a consequence, the blacks would have “become aware of their strength” and recognised “the means” “which gave the white so far a dominance over them,”



turning this into a concern over the “continued existence or decline of the white race.”<sup>286</sup>

In this argument too race, culture, nation and gender directly intertwine with each other. It assumed that the colonial consensus of a white supremacy was in danger by the sexual intercourse between colonial troops and German women and interpreted their voluntary and forced sexual relations as a crime against the white race. The race concept underlying this representation was strongly sexualised and looked at women as a medium of patriarchal domination. Their bodies marked the boundary between white civilisation and black barbarity.

Biologically reproducing what the white man represented culturally, they had to be kept free from “alien” influences. As a biological substrate of white culture the white woman could be available only to the white man. “Keeping her pure” became a cultural duty.<sup>287</sup> The hypersexualisation and bestialisation linked to the Negro stereotype already made it possible to define the presence of colonial troops as a racial shame. Their garrisoning in Germany from a perspective of white civilisation was meant to be considered a cultural shame independently of their behaviour.

Hence, the Notbund used its reports on the “threatening of the white race”<sup>288</sup> to remind the civilised world of its duty to prompt “the removal of coloured troops,” “even if no German woman would have been raped,” given that the former were a “cultural shame” and the worst peril committed against a civilised nation.

The potential “surrender of white womanhood” was already considered a “degradation of the white race.”<sup>289</sup> The armed presence of Africans on civilised territory alone was read as a humiliation of Europe and an attack on the authority of the white race. The colonial fabric of dominance was deemed seriously compromised. In this context, the protests also targeted “the occupation of European territory, meaning territory inhabited by whites with coloureds”<sup>290</sup> and the German foreign minister spoke of the problem of moving “approximately 50,000 black, coloured, racially alien troops [...] into the heart of white Europe.”

Other politicians also mobilised against the “cultural shame” of using “coloured soldiers as occupation troops” “in the age of civilisation.” Their presence in a “cultural country” dating back a thousand years was opposed as a “disregard of any European thought of solidarity and cultural sentiment.”<sup>291</sup> The government of Bavaria felt together with its female members “the burning shame” associated with the use of “black uncultivated troops” “on German soil” attacking “the entire white race,”



and a female Social-Democrat called “women of the world” to support the campaign against this “entirely unnatural occupation.”<sup>292</sup> Diverse women’s organisations echoed such concerns by considering the “presence of these soldiers” alone a “gruesome crime and offence of our civilisation”<sup>293</sup> and called “the fact that a European government” used “coloured troops” a “race shame,” even if their “behaviour” might be “exemplary.”

A British MP even saw in this the act that could be “leading to a new world war” when the coloured troops after returning home would tell their peers of the power they were given over “white men” and their intimate relations with “white women.” With the Empire in mind, it seemed mandatory for the French people’s own sake and “our own sake” to withdraw the coloured troops.<sup>294</sup>

Based on similar reasoning, a German scientist felt appalled to see coloured soldiers “feel like masters” in Germany and hence “lose” “all respect for the higher white race,” which formed the only basis for the “domination and preponderance of the white over the coloured peoples.” The white race would not be able to maintain its dominance as long as “the inherited respect of the coloureds for the whites is destroyed systematically” and each “nigger” returning from duty in Europe could boast to have “owned” “the white women of the Herrenvolk.” Moreover, it was supposedly threatened by the fact that numerous “coloured troops were systematically trained in the use of our weapons and taught military discipline.”<sup>295</sup>

Numerous carriers of the campaign warned European colonisers about the allegedly fatal consequences of black emancipation. France was accused of having taught blacks a sense of superiority in relation to the Germans, resulting in a “black race” that now followed “the impetus of its race interests.”<sup>296</sup>

“The colonies of Africa” would see the sons of different European nations “bleed” “under the hands of blacks” and hear “its violated women and daughters” “moan” and remember the “black shame on the Rhine.” The British Empire seemed under attack and its “world reputation” “shaken” by the “emancipation of the black race, as France practised it.”<sup>297</sup>

England had neither prevented entirely the growth of the “self-esteem of the blacks” “in a dangerous way,” and some of them even achieved an education at Anglo-Saxon universities. Such “intelligent Negroes” were considered a danger, as they were agitating amongst their “race



comrades”—a “rigorous and successful agitation” for black equality and emancipation.<sup>298</sup>

The “awakening of the coloured races’ self-esteem” was represented as a “serious danger” for Europe, and a Bavarian newspaper was sure that “the dogma of the essential mental and physical superiority of the white race”<sup>299</sup> had been damaged severely. Even Romain Rolland considered it an “unbelievable blindness” of the Europeans to “surrender” to “the black and the yellow continents, which had armed themselves with their own hands.”

A protest meeting in Berlin declared it a “betrayal of the white race” that blacks had been permitted by some white people to “kill” other “white humans” who they had before perceived as god-like.<sup>300</sup> An English magazine had already attacked the use of colonial troops in Europe in 1914 as an outrage, protesting against “the spectacle of the Asiatic and African hordes that are being brought into Europe to crush the champions of its civilization.”<sup>301</sup> After the war, the German Reichspräsident Ebert called this a “provoking violation of the laws of European civilisation.” In the eyes of many campaigners, it seemed a crime to train “members of savage tribes” “in the use of weapons”, in the “dispite of the European peoples” and to provoke “their most savage instincts.”<sup>302</sup>

A Swedish church representative asked rhetorically, “What does the Negro think when he walks proudly through the streets of Cologne, pushing the professor, the Nobel Prize holder into the gutter” or when he mistreats “the white waiter” sarcastically. He warned that now “exotic tribes” and “races” were gathering under the slogan “Africa for the Africans” and hence predicted “the future of Europe” was in peril.<sup>303</sup> Some campaigners were sure that all of this was leading towards an apocalyptic *Endkampf* (apocalyptic final war) of the races, which was “no longer about the domination of the white race but about its existence and non-existence”<sup>304</sup> and the “continued existence or the decline” of whiteness.

In this context, Marcus Garvey was defamed as “Niggerführer” (Nigger-leader) who saw himself as Africa’s president, declaring confidently “in the name of 400 million Negroes that Africa belongs to the Africans!”<sup>305</sup> The Notbund knew that the “Aethiopian movement had progressed significantly,” a matter that spread quickly amongst the occupation forces and was of concern even for France. The Notbund feared



Garvey's convictions were popular amongst occupation troops, as on the Rhine "coloureds" had been turned into "masters" over "whites" and had hence become "supporters of the Aethopian movement." The coloureds had been "trained" in "bold contempt for the whites."<sup>306</sup>

This threatening vision of a black emancipation was fed by the concern that colonial troops were losing the respect towards the imperial demands of their colonial masters and the civilisatory mission.<sup>307</sup> The ideological legitimization of white supremacy was under threat. The power hierarchy on the white continent had been turned on its head, given that "Negroes" with "boondocks instincts"<sup>308</sup> controlled a "big, nearly one-and-a-half-thousand years old European culture." That was treated as a humiliation and meant to result in a "disaster" for "the standing of the white race in the world."

The "Black Horror" was from this perspective called a "world problem"<sup>309</sup> and "France's and the white man's powerful position in general" was considered in danger. The white civilisation was urged to oppose with all possible means that Germany as a "high-standing cultured people" was controlled by a "race" "culturally far below it" with "police power."<sup>310</sup> The leader of the Pfälzzentrale hence saw the "fight against the Black Shame" as not being primarily concerned with "the atrocities of the black French" but with "the systematic wakening [...] of their feeling of power in relation to the white race."<sup>311</sup> A fellow female agitator even thought not "the number of atrocities" were the key issue but that blacks had been granted "to lay their hands on the whites."<sup>312</sup> This was breaching the "solidarity of the whites" and violated the colonial nations' "basic principle" "that the native" was "standing on a lower cultural stage" and had to see "the white" as "his master."<sup>313</sup>

Several organisations supported these considerations in tirades "against the humiliating suppression of a high-standing culture" by coloured troops.<sup>314</sup> Their use was attacked as "accute danger for the [...] whole white race" and a hit against "colonial experience."<sup>315</sup> Protests condemned in the "name of the entire European culture" the presence of black troops on German soil.

Women of Munich were sure a "law of culture" existed forbidding anyone to "place peoples of lower culture over those of higher culture." It seemed outrageous that "members of the white race are subjugated by black and brown savages"<sup>316</sup> and that "Europeans" were "stained" by "blacks." Their deployment for the "gagging" of a European nation was scandalised as "eternal stain of shame" on



the “shield of the white race,”<sup>317</sup> which had to have “terrible consequences” “for the rank of the white race in the world.” Campaigners opposed the use of “blacks as tyrants of the white race”<sup>318</sup> as an unprecedented crime against culture,<sup>319</sup> a “punch into the face of the white race” and demanded the “immediate and permanent removal” of the colonial troops.

The Rheinische Frauenliga was outraged that “[t]he same nigger who is treated in France as a second-class human being, and is there kept in check only by the most rigid discipline, [...] is allowed to also in future act [as] the victor and master in the country of the Rhine.”<sup>320</sup> The “pure fact of the presence of these people on German and European soil”<sup>321</sup> was considered a scandal.

Brochures and pamphlets opposed vehemently that “cultured countries” were dominated by coloureds.<sup>322</sup> The involvement of “blacks” in the conflicts of “white peoples” was attacked as the “first nail to the coffin of the white race.” From this ideological perspective the “Black Horror” could be declared a question of survival—a “*Lebensfrage* for white humanity” and condemned as “outrageous humiliation and violation of a highly cultivated white race by a still half-barbaric coloured.”<sup>323</sup>

Several propagandists were satisfied with the promotion of such outcries in the press and praised it for its “unanimous” opposition to the “cultural shame of the Black Shame.”<sup>324</sup> A German newspaper opposed the “atrocities of the coloured troops” as a “cultural shame,”<sup>325</sup> and others were similarly concerned about the “Negro conventions in the occupied territory.”<sup>326</sup> Some papers attacked the “presence of coloured occupation troops” on cultured German soil as a crime against culture until the late 1920s.<sup>327</sup>

International protests against the “Black Horror” agreed that “[t]he greatest danger consists in the fact that through this horrible situation the authority and the supremacy of the white race will forever be destroyed.” They were convinced that “the colonizing countries will suffer” and that the “consequences of the employment of coloured troops amongst a white and civilized population” were “not only of local but also of international importance.”<sup>328</sup> Voices in different countries warned against France’s colonial policy putting “the entire European culture in danger”<sup>329</sup> and called “the domination of a white race by barbaric hordes” “a considerable regression of the progressing civilisation.”

The representative of an international organisation referred in this context to a British general who felt, like many British citizens, “horror



and disgust at the importation of these troops into Europe” and warned “of the terrific danger of savages being taught to despise and use arms against white people,” as this would stimulate and strengthen “their worst qualities.” It seemed only natural to him and other whites that “holding down or policing Europe is not an African soldier’s job.”<sup>330</sup>

The Swedish archbishop Söderblom was horrified to see “a black ghost chamber” (*Gespensterkammer*) in Europe which was putting “coloured races” into the position to “demand” various things “from the white man.”<sup>331</sup> The French socialist leader John Longuet was similarly critical about their use for “the occupation of European cities” and attacked the “occupancy of Goethe’s house of birth with these troops” as “a symbol” which had “painfully touched” all Europeans.<sup>332</sup> Participants in a New York protest rally were told that “the coloureds” had been taken from “the most savage Africa” and that “hordes of Senegalese” had been let loose upon a “good, hard-working, cultivated, white population.”<sup>333</sup> It seemed beyond doubt that this led to “the most threatening consequences.” A Swedish preacher warned similarly: “Blind and numbed by the victor’s flush,” (*Siegerrausch*) France does not see “the deadly threat” it evoked with its “colonial armée” to “the whole white race.”<sup>334</sup>

The shrill and brutally racist tone of these protests was primarily grounded in the fact that they were not referring to a concrete case but were embedded in a broader context of a growing insecurity about a formerly taken-for-granted hegemony of white imperialism. The chauvinistic certainty with which John Von Evrie had written more than 50 years earlier about “white supremacy and Negro subordination” was a thing of the past. The Western colonial system had been shaken up by the First World War, and the growing concern about its continued existence found its expression in works such as Lothrop Stoddard’s “The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy.”<sup>335</sup> “The idea of the loss of white prestige” became an increasingly popular issue in Europe and the United States, especially amongst “white elites.”<sup>336</sup>

Control and domination are hence unsurprisingly two of the often-stressed topoi in the campaign against the “Black Horror.” Some campaigners conceded that the “Negro” was a “highly useful labourer, yes, a valuable member of human society” “as long as he is kept within the boundaries congruous with his natural disposition and talent.” His “biggest mistake,” however, was the “boundless conceit” taking hold of him as soon as he considers himself “to be treated



equal to the European,” making it necessary to draw a clear boundary between “whites and blacks.”<sup>337</sup> The latter were considered to be formable “toward the good as well as the bad side.” As long as they were embedded into the system of white domination “sacrifice and affection” were amongst their “most beautiful features.” However, to maintain these “the adamant barrier” was considered necessary, which needed to be kept up “not only for our own best but also at least equally to their best.”<sup>338</sup>

Colonial soldiers crossed this racist boundary by exercising “power over the white race.” This “worst”<sup>339</sup> went so far that “in the French police court in Landau” “a French officer of black race” participated “as judicial assessor” (richterlicher Beisitzer). It was perceived as unbearable that “members of the black race sit in judgement over Germans,” as this was undermining core values of the ‘völkish’ defined “cultured community” as well as destroying wider “transnational common property of holy goods.” A German official was sure that “from a civilised perspective” such conditions were “incomparably more serious” than “the moaning and complaints” associated with the “outrages of individual black soldiers” “submitted to the Rheinlandkommission.”<sup>340</sup> That “a nigger actually and over months”<sup>341</sup> assisted at the court meetings provoked his indignation.

Members of race societies attacked the shamelessness of letting “coloured troops[...] have authority over white people in Europe”<sup>342</sup> and the associated threat to the “whole fabric of civilisation” particularly drastically. An Australian officer asked his countrymen rhetorically “whose Australian’s blood does not boil” when hearing “that a coloured officer commanded whites.”<sup>343</sup> The wife of the general secretary of the South African Industrial Federation was outraged that the German population in the Rhineland was watched by coloureds, and that one of them “had dared” “to shout at her.”

### 3.2.2 *Miscegenation as Cultural Decline and Biological Danger: The Perceived Threat of Mulattisation and Syphilitisation*

The construction of a “Black Shame” had in addition to cultural and authoritative aspects an eugenic dimension. It became visible in contemporary discussions about the supposedly “severe health consequences of the stay of the coloured French in the Rhineland,”<sup>344</sup> accusing them of



infecting the population with different diseases, to racially contaminate and degenerate it. Different organisations, together with representatives of the German authorities, politicians, scientists, popular media, parts of the German press and others, painted the threatening grotesque picture of an imminent “syphilitisation” and “mulattisation”<sup>345</sup> of the occupied German territory.

They declared a continuous violation of “honour” and the “physical contamination of the population by the coloured occupation troops” to be the “apogee of all oppression,”<sup>346</sup> defamed them as “a continual sexual menace, from the point of view of physical health, of hygiene, and of the race”<sup>347</sup> and speculated about a resulting “demoralising race mixture.”<sup>348</sup> The “appalling fact” that some women engaged “voluntarily” with the coloured troops was not to be mistaken as their “private business,” as these relations were seen to lead to “their contamination and therewith to the contamination of the whole people and to mulattisation.” The “black French” were under suspicion of spreading severe disease, and the term “black pest” was hence considered fitting by some.<sup>349</sup> Brochures and pamphlets accused them of contaminating the Rhenish and wider German population with syphilis and claimed “nearly all of the black beasts” were contaminated “with the most horrible venereal diseases.”

The German Notbund made the spread of syphilis and other plagues allegedly associated with the black troops a core topic in its agitation and was sure that “European people” were threatened by “the most horrible tropical diseases of all kinds.”<sup>350</sup> Several women’s organisations considered the German women a victim of the “desire of the blacks and their diseases.”<sup>351</sup> The French Socialist Luise Bodin shared the Notbund’s suspicion that several “Negroes” were “syphilistically contaminated.”<sup>352</sup> She was outraged that “sexually hardly mature girls” were “syphilistically infected” by “Senegal Negroes” and “raped” with “their life” under threat.

The similarly reactionary Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre” asked “19 medical faculties at German universities” if the presence of coloured troops on the Rhine could “apart from the sexually severe threat of contamination” carry other health-related threats.<sup>353</sup> Scientists played an active role in spreading such information. A German medical dissertation focused explicitly on this question and developed a whole catalogue of diseases allegedly carried and passed on by colonial troops.<sup>354</sup> Different



professors declared the “blacks” were “nearly all venerally contaminated” and would contaminate “others.”

A “report by the major German authorities in the medical field” and the “convention of the German university teachers for hygiene” in June 1922 concluded “infiltrations” (*Einschleppungen*) linked to “the blacks” can occur, “not only in the area of venereal diseases.” Reports from different faculties warned that the possible spread of “typhus,” “pest” and “cholera” was considered “particularly high” given the “low cultural rank of the blacks.”<sup>355</sup>

Different academics were concerned about the “increasing contamination of the population,” assumed that “coloureds” developed “particularly difficult forms [...] of diseases”<sup>356</sup> and were sure this was a problem concerning the entire white race. Dr. Franz Rosenberger, a representative of the *Notbund*, warned at a public protest that “syphilis” and “tropical diseases”<sup>357</sup> are threatening “the health of Europe” in times of the “Black Shame.” Europe seemed threatened in peacetime more than it had been during the war by a disease capable of “devaluing entire peoples” permanently, “mentally and physically.” He claimed that nearly “100% of the coloured soldiers” suffered from syphilis and stressed that practically everyone who has “intimate relations” with them would catch the “lust disease.”<sup>358</sup> Rosenberger promoted his concerns in a brochure which also accused the “coloured French” of contaminating “Middle Europe” with “new stems” of infectious disease.<sup>359</sup>

Prostitutes were considered to have been hit particularly badly by venereal disease.<sup>360</sup> Amongst them the number of diseased was considered “big” and to equal the wide “spread of venereal diseases amongst the coloureds.”<sup>361</sup> From this perspective, “brothels” for the latter were attacked as places that did not “stop” “the crime against the white race” but rather “maintain it in a cynical way and turn it into a system.”<sup>362</sup> The magistrate of Landau hence reported “frictions” in a brothel “because the girls did not want to give themselves to the coloured soldiers.” They feared, apart from the “extremely strong constitution of these people,” the “strong spread of infectious venereal disease amongst them.”

The increased political and medical attention to the subject of sexually transmitted diseases formed part of the background of these statements. It led since the founding of the German Society for Combating Venereal Diseases (*Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten*) in



1902 to numerous initiatives and also became visible in what eugenicists termed a “powerlessness towards the venereal diseases.”<sup>363</sup>

This can help to explain the obsessive disease rhetoric only if one takes into consideration that eugenic concepts were common in a large political spectrum. In this context, collective considerations existed which drew a direct connection between individual sexual behaviour, racial health and national well-being. They were linked to conservative ideas and also corresponded with socialist considerations.

Michael Schwartz and Sören Niemann-Findeisen have shown how even socialist politics symbolically amalgamated *Frauenkörper* and *Volkskörper*. The eugenic ideas of the Fabian Society saw women as “race breeders,” their bodies as temples of future life, motherhood as “service to the state” and race as an instrument for the production of “Volksgesundheit,” and demanded to transfer the traditional role of the “husband” and “father” onto the “state.”<sup>364</sup>

Similar ideas existed in German Social Democratic circles. At the time of the campaign against the “Black Horror,” a Reichstag member declared the class struggle against the bourgeoisie would have to be complemented by a reproductive battle within the own ranks. Readers of the *Volksgesundheit* were warned the “degeneracy” of humanity had to be prevented and told the woman was particularly suited to do so as “mother [...] of mankind,” who “constantly” thought about “diseases of the Volkskörper.”<sup>365</sup>

In the context of such perceptions, the invoking of sexual contacts of white women with black men could develop into a monstrous threat scenario. Due to the sexualisation of all its facets, syphilis served in this scenario as a metaphor for the rape of women and the diseased German Volkskörper at once.

In addition, the black source of infection was considered a problem of the white racial community which threatened not only women and the German people but also Europe and the health of all whites. The accusation of a syphilitisation was also used as a substitute for the cultural primitivism of the colonial troops.

The campaign’s accusation that they were suffering from the “lust disease” was meant to make the primitive essence attributed to them visible to the outside. The complexion of the blacks was just as the skin colour turned into a racist projection canvas. The stains visible on the epidermis in syphilis cases at an advanced stage corresponded with the colour attributions of modern racism.<sup>366</sup>



The invoking of contamination corresponded with that of a bastardisation, “Vernegerung” or mulattisation. It, too, was deemed an attack on nation and race, which would lead to degeneration. The Deutsche Notbund saw “in the mulattisation of the Rhenish population” “a serious threat to the German nation and the whole white race”<sup>367</sup> and raised the impending “mulattisation of European, so far pure white areas”<sup>368</sup> as a central problem of the white racial community. Especially in right-wing populist organisations, the “threat” of racial mixture was deemed the “most important reason of the fight against the use of coloureds on the Rhine,” given that the German “population there was interspersed with half-castes, meaning changed for a longer time and made more inferior on average.”

This perception was popular with several carriers of the campaign. The “Black Shame” became equated with “mulattisation and syphilitisation” and a prominent voice asked rhetorically if people were prepared to “endure silently” to hear “in future at the banks of the Rhine” instead of “the bright songs of white, [...] well-proportioned, mentally high-standing, active healthy Germans” with their beautiful faces, “the croaking noises of grey-mottled, low-foreheaded, wide-mouthed, crass, half-animalistic, syphilitic mulattos”?<sup>369</sup>

Some supporters of the campaign doubted this eugenically charged and blatantly racist scenario and felt that it was wrong to speak of a “mulattisation” in the Rhineland<sup>370</sup> given that the number of “half-caste births” (Mischlingsgeburten) was low. Others, amongst them the reactionary Deutsche Fichtebund, however, considered it a “fact” that the “number of births of half-castes (bastards) grows continuously.”<sup>371</sup> The German foreign minister too emphasised the dangers of their garrisoning from a “racial hygiene perspective” of the people.<sup>372</sup> A physician shared his concerns considering the “mulattisation” of the “race” to be “worse than disease, rape and manslaughter.” It seemed evident that the “blood-mixture of humans of different colours” was damaging, based on “the experiences of millennia.”<sup>373</sup> The “breeding of half-castes of different-coloured races” would have a pernicious influence on culture, as these would be “inferior against both parents” with their emotional life meandering between their different “dispositions.” It was not to be tolerated that “a vile mish-mash of all colours developed in Europe,” especially as “the mulattisation” was spreading.<sup>374</sup> The physician urged the whole white race to oppose racial mixture, insisting with reference to Mendel that “a human genealogical tree” would only “clear” itself slowly from



even a “single mixture with racially alien blood.” Not only “the German race alone, but also the whole white race” would hence be “contaminated for millennia” through “the multiple and various mixtures” with “coloureds.”<sup>375</sup>

The Arbeitsausschuß deutscher Verbände (a working committee of German organisations) considered some of these outbursts to be “exaggerated” without questioning that “the doubtlessly existing danger of a mulattisation” had to “grow” the longer “the occupation with coloured troops” lasted. To gain more clarity “especially in the question of the mulattisation of the Rhineland,” it was considered desirable in 1922 to obtain “statistical documents.”<sup>376</sup>

The German section of the Weltbund für die Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen had already a year earlier contacted friendly “circles” in other countries regarding “the black peril and the half-caste children in the occupied territory.” It needed “factual data” (Tatsachenmaterial) and asked the Zentrale für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten to provide access to such “in relation to the number, kind and position of the half-caste children in the Palatinate.”<sup>377</sup> The authority provided information about the “half-caste children,” claiming nearly all of them were “strongly rachitic.” It also noted that given that their fathers did not concern themselves with their maintenance, they had to “be kept by the public social service.”

The main social services representative for the Palatinate (Kreisfürsorgerin für die Pfalz) considered their increasing number “particularly worrisome” and saw them as a burden to “public social service.” She enquired about the “half-caste” children in March 1920, addressing institutions and social service workers in the region and calling them a “burden of occupation” leading to not yet fully assessable “consequences in relation to racial hygiene.”<sup>378</sup>

Swedish Vicar Martin Liljeblad asked the German Embassy in 1923 to provide him with statistical information which he wanted to use in a Swedish protest against the “Black Horror.” Neither the German Foreign Office nor the responsible secretary of state for the occupied territories at the Interior Ministry had “reliable figures” available. The authority was ready to collect data at sustained Swedish interest, but recommended to the Swedish that they focus the protests on the sexual assaults of the coloured troops and not to mention their children, as this could give the opposite side reason to question the moral integrity of the population.



Following another enquiry from Sweden, the German Embassy contacted the German Ministry of Justice (Reichsjustizministerium), which made enquiries addressing the ministers for justice in different districts and lower regional courts<sup>379</sup> before sending the Swedish vicar a statistical overview of the mixed-race children in the following year.<sup>380</sup>

Liljeblad had already travelled to the occupied German territory in 1923 and was outraged that “a crowd of bastards” was growing up “in the midst of the germanic race.” After he had seen a “child with black and white stripes on his entire back,” he was sure “the race problem in its full seriousness” had been “transferred” to “our part of the earth” and formed a “curse for the whole Europe.”<sup>381</sup>

Several critics of the “Black Shame” considered the “mulatto children” a growing “severe race problem in Europe,” assuming that in the case of the “half-caste the subordinated race predominated heavily” and that his “bad instincts” were not always tamed by the “better ones of the involved higher race.”<sup>382</sup> It was also considered a “physiological fact” that all women abused by “a black” would not be able to get rid of “the black blood.”<sup>383</sup>

The definition of the watchword “Black Shame” (Schwarze Schmach) in *Meyers Lexikon* from 1929 illustrates that such considerations were also taken seriously outside pertinent nationalist circles and in part contributed to the collective memory of the time. It explains the term as “the use of coloured troops by France in the world war and the thus later (also in the occupied Rhineland) enabled blood-mixture of coloureds with whites.”<sup>384</sup>

Different brochures and pamphlets defamed the mixed-race children as one of the “most sad chapter(s) of the big tragedy.”<sup>385</sup> They were considered contaminated with “syphilis” “from birth,” accused of inheriting parents’ “bad characteristics and vices” and demonised as a source of disease (Seuchenherd) that threatened to “destroy” “all healthy life.”<sup>386</sup> The “mulattisation” of the “Heimat” seemed also culturally unbearable, as the “cradle of highest white culture” was about to be inhabited by “mulattos.”<sup>387</sup> A brochure from the reactionary nationalist camp already targetted them in 1924 when demanding brutally: “Exterminate the brood and kill the child in the mother’s body, as it turns into poison,” and denounced their fathers as “poison and scum.”<sup>388</sup>

Less predictably so, different members of the German Parliament mobilised against the “degrading and racially dooming occupation with



coloured troops”<sup>389</sup> and also outside Germany concerns were raised publicly about the purity of the white race. An Australian journalist warned about a “Mulatto Europe”<sup>390</sup> and a British captain saw in the Rhenish “children’s hospitals” in “snow-white children’s beds dark little faces, half Negro, half German,” who seemed to him “grotesque creatures” and evidence of the “staining” (Befleckung) of Germany and of “the civilisation of the Allied powers”.<sup>391</sup>

The film project *Die Schwarze Pest* (The Black Pest) initiated by the Rheinische Frauenliga illustrates that the claimed bastardisation was considered suitable to trigger indignation in America. It was developed in cooperation with William Held, head of the American Nothilfe.<sup>392</sup> He had offered “to take the film to America” and wanted to have “scenes incorporated,” indicating “attacks of coloureds on white women.” He also requested an ending suited “particularly for America”—showing “that the development of a half-caste race” was “a danger” to “Germany” and “the white race,” given that “descendants from white women and coloured men” could “again have black children.”

The leader of the Bavarian Filmstelle and the governing council were convinced of the film’s “strong propaganda impact.”<sup>393</sup> The film, however, was banned by the German authority, Filmprüfstelle, and after an appeal, also by the Film-Oberprüfstelle<sup>394</sup> in Berlin. Showing “the atrocities committed by Negroes” in such a powerful way was considered an “important and welcome means of propaganda”; however, the portrayed sexual atrocities staged by hired black actors were deemed to lack authenticity.<sup>395</sup> It was also considered implausible from an academic race theory point of view to show a human without any “markers of a half-caste” being the descendant of a “Negro and a white female,” who immigrated to America, hiding his descentance, married an American woman, committed a “sexual atrocity,” “succumbing to the inherited vices of his ancestors” and then, after serving his sentence, returned to his wife, who had in the meantime given birth to a “Negro child, so black and woolly-haired.”<sup>396</sup>

In opposition to the Filmoberprüfstelle in Berlin, Dr. Held and Dr. Rosenberger considered this eugenic-threatening scenario realistic. The latter explained that in race mixture not all traits inherited from parents needed to develop “in every descendant” into an “externally recognisable (meaning in the natural selection avoidable!) feature.” Echoing the film’s eugenic threat, Rosenberger warned all whites about the alleged dangers of an unrecognised racial mixture and degeneration. He knew



of “whole generations” being “seemingly purely caucasian,” alarmed that “a young couple” from time immemorial “purely white families” could get married, looking forward to their baby and then have a “miserable half-caste.” Those late sequel “bastards” were degraded as “usually even worse” than those resulting from a “direct conscious mixture of races” and Rosenberger concluded populistically: “Woe to the white race, when the densely populated Rhineland” falls prey to “mulattisation in the heart of purely white Europe.”<sup>397</sup>

This nightmarish eugenic scenario represented the colonial troops as a source of racial deterioration. The children from relations between Africans and German women were defamed as inferior bastards and proof of progressing pollution and a “threatening racial deterioration” caused by “the mixing in of racially alien blood.”<sup>398</sup>

The perception of degeneration underlying these racist outcries linked race and culture. Even though approaches existed in anthropology to separate these concepts,<sup>399</sup> wide parts of the Western world, including numerous academics, still believed in their connection. The alleged danger of degeneration was invoked in a particularly vulgar form at a public protest meeting in New York. A speaker there received loud “Bravo” calls when urging: “Friends! The poison that is developing in our bodies, is killing us, that is the law of organic life.” Considering “civilisation as an organism,” he warned that the “civilisation created by whites” was “lost, unless it purified itself.”<sup>400</sup> A group of Swedish women believed similarly that the dagger used to stab Germany was “poisoned,” just “as the blood of thousands of the black soldiers” in this “unfortunate land of whites” and called for an “unrestricted solidarity” with the German people.

Science had already laid the grounds for such convictions. Neither the accusation of a syphilitisation and contamination associated with the colonial soldiers nor the assumption they would cause a mulattisation in the occupied German territories were an invention of the campaign. Both were ideologically underpinned by an internationally spread eugenic discourse about sexuality, racial hygiene and national health (Volksgesundheit), miscegenation, contamination and degeneration.<sup>401</sup>

At symposiums and congresses, such as the “Kongress für Biologische Hygiene” (Congress for Biological Hygiene), scientists thought about “constitutions-hygiene,” “eugenics” and “a new way of thinking in medicine.”<sup>402</sup> Renowned institutes and journals in the field devoted



themselves to researching race biology and racial hygiene.<sup>403</sup> In the colonial context politicians criticised the existence of mixed-race relations.<sup>404</sup> In Germany and other countries, race mixture in the colonies was discussed controversially and in parts prohibited by law.<sup>405</sup>

One of the founders of the *Auslandsbund deutscher Frauen*, Leonore Niessen-Deiters, had during the war already attacked a resolution of the German Reichstag which seemingly “threatened” to “legitimate the mixed-race marriage in the colonies,” agreed with all “authorities” on “overseas conditions,” that “the bastard is one of the most terrible dangers for a colony” and demanded “racial purity.”<sup>406</sup> Films<sup>407</sup> and colonial magazines also urged insistently that “mixed marriages” were a eugenic danger and endangerment of the race hierarchy.

A colonial film initiated by John Hagenbeck in 1921 puts an African woman who offered herself to her white master in her place: “Ngumba only serving—only slave Buana!” Another movie confronted a German farmer with the black temptation, only to let him realise that a woman belonged in the house, but “not a black (woman).”<sup>408</sup> This message also drove his white bride, who followed him in order to present herself as mistress to the black woman and prevented him from engaging in a shame against the race—*Rassenschande*.

France ascribed a similar role to its white women in the colonial context and condemned relations between the different races.<sup>409</sup> French colonisers were urged to refrain from engaging in relations with non-whites, as these were seen as compromising their civilised and dominant status. France’s reputation and colonial domination relied on a clear separation of and distinction between colonial masters and colonised people. Colonial officials were put under pressure to choose partners belonging to the white race and culture to keep France as a white nation and civilisation alive.<sup>410</sup>

Relations between blacks and whites also broke racial and sexual taboos in American society.<sup>411</sup> Notions of racial segregation became apparent in the slander of American black troops who fought in France in 1918 by their white officers, who ascribed brutal instincts to them and accused them of numerous rapes.<sup>412</sup> Mixed-race relations were also attacked in sociological circles and in an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1910 echoing broader concerns formulated in European academia. It argued that “half-breeds usually stand outside the accepted circles of both parent races, despising the one, despised by the other.”<sup>413</sup> Reflecting on the situation in the American South,



the writer was sure that the principle of “culture preservation as determined strictly by race lines” would with “the presence of large masses of colored population” take root “in every community” and provoke “opposition to mongrelization.”<sup>414</sup>

He concluded “that for certain societies and limited periods the practical identification of race solidarity with culture solidarity” was “a wise principle of social action” and felt “[t]he antipathy of the white race for the Negro” was mainly down to the prolonged white “cultural advance,” which “the darker race” seemed “incapable of approximating.” From this white supremacist perspective the “aversion to intermarriage with supposedly lower ethnic types” could be welcomed as an “expression of a normal ethnic instinct of self-preservation.” Mixed-race relations were to be considered a public and not a private matter, as they meant “a change of the culture status for the present and succeeding generations.”

The eugenic concept of a cultural degeneration through race mixture underlying these claims was spread internationally. The Prussian minister for science, art and national education drew on it in his attack against the “danger of the development of a mulatto- and mestizo-population” in the occupied territories, threatening them with “cultural decline.”<sup>415</sup> Its “significance for the destruction of the white race and culture” seemed tremendous<sup>416</sup> and “Europeans” were urged with regard to the “coloured problem” to follow the example of the “American public” with its “blisteringly disapproving attitude” based on its own “unfortunate” experience with the “culture-damaging effect of a mixture of the white population with [...] coloured peoples.”

The letter-sealing stamp (Briefverschlussmarke) “The Negropest” illustrates the public appeal of such eugenic horror scenarios and dramatically showed the less-informed whites how to perceive racial decline associated with race mixture. It confronts them in the centre of the stamp folder “The Terror on the Rhine” (*Der Schrecken am Rhein*) (Fig. 3.13) with the caricature of an allegedly “contaminated mother with half-caste child”<sup>417</sup> who with hollow cheeks turns her gaze away from her black child with fleshy lips and broad nose. The caption on the backside of the stamp warned that “a systematic contamination of the German race” was “unstoppable” when “coloured French” were allowed to further “rule” “on the Rhine.”<sup>418</sup>

The leader of the Pfälzzentrale, Dr. Ritter, had used the preface to this collection of stamps to point out explicitly the “racial hygienic and health-related side of the black shame” and saw “the





Fig. 3.13 Briefverschlusmarkenbogen 'Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun far-  
bigen Briefverschlusmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr. Ritter.' München 1921.  
BArch Berlin, R1603/2221



whole European cultured world" under threat by "a half-caste genus" (Mischlingsgeschlecht) contaminated with syphilis.<sup>419</sup> He had asked the state commissioner for the Palatinate earlier to support the publication of this collection and to also win over the Social Democratic Party for this project.<sup>420</sup>

Ritter himself did not have any serious concerns about the publication given that the "fight against the black shame" could be seen as a "problem" "that from the ethical and hygienic standpoint" would have to interest "all nations" of the "cultured world." He received widespread support; not only "the entire press of the parties" and the former supreme president of the Palatinate were pleased. The Bavarian Parliament with the exception of the left-wing "U.S.P.D. and K.P.D." also liked this project against "the murder and betrayal of the white race,"<sup>421</sup> took on its "protectorate" and gave the publisher "a letter of recommendation for the Reichspartei in Berlin."<sup>422</sup>

In the following years, German politicians and authorities made the alleged "bastards" the subject of inquiries,<sup>423</sup> showed interest in their number and degraded them as "partly syphilitic or idiotic-criminal."<sup>424</sup> The dogma of a racial and cultural decline of the white race caused by relations between coloured soldiers and white women in the Rhineland became increasingly obsessive and culminated in the radical eugenic demand to stop them or at least their mixed-race children from breeding.

Calls for the sterilisation of the children from these relationships became a part of the "Black Horror" protests. They were, as explained, ideologically grounded in a wider internationally spread and academically sanctioned public discourse on eugenics and racial hygiene. Ethically it remains particularly unsettling to find such eugenic demands and the racist ethics underlying them prominently formulated in 1920s Germany. In historical hindsight, the "Black Shame" campaign not only shows us the popularity and ideological complexity of racialised stereotypes of blackness in Western societies of this period but also illustrates as a historical case how virulent eugenic ideas surrounding white racial purity, racial mixture and racial degeneration were in the German Weimar Republic and beyond. They facilitated national and international calls for the monitoring, exclusion, sterilisation and even extinction of racialised "others" in a time predating the fully fledged fascist German "Racial State."

The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported that the "increase of coloured French" was feared<sup>425</sup> and the DNVP (Deutschnationale Volkspartei—German National People's Party) wanted exact information about the



children descending from “coloured occupation troops.”<sup>426</sup> The state commissioner for the Palatinate asked in 1927 if something could be done for “the pure-keeping of the race” (*Reinerhaltung*) “from coloured blood” “in the occupied territory.”<sup>427</sup> The *Notbund* had earlier insisted that Germany was not to “tolerate” “this unhealthy blood-mixture” and knew of a “plan” to “remove” the bastards “later without mercy from the German stem” and to “maybe unite them to a colony in Africa.”<sup>428</sup>

The Bavarian Ministry for Internal Affairs was sure that the “sterilisation of half-castes” could be “achieved” “through a completely pain-free surgical intervention.”<sup>429</sup> After the transfer of power to the German National-Socialists, Hermann Göring wanted to know if one had “to expect” “serious dangers in the form of racial deterioration” from these “half-castes.” “In preparation of *volks-hygienic* measures,” he had “all cases of bastards” registered with the police, with a declaration of their alien race, “*Fremdrasse* (Negro, Algerian, Anamite etc.).”<sup>430</sup>

Keen to assess their “physical and mental state” and “racial impact,” Göring ordered Eugen Fischer’s assistant Abel to conduct an investigation.<sup>431</sup> He, supported by “authorities” and “schoolteachers,” came to the conclusion that “several of the Moroccan half-castes” were prominently “Negroid[,]” had an “inferior mental and spiritual disposition,” “a very stubborn nature,” showing “disobedience,” “slovenliness” and violent-tempered “irritability” amongst other negative traits, making their “rearing” “difficult” or “completely impossible.”<sup>432</sup>

Göring’s authority thought that the bastards were “acting” as a “*ras-sischer Fremdkörper*”—racially alien body in the population and would degrade to an “also socially inferior” group which one needed to tackle with a “goal-conscious population policy,” even though the research was not expected to produce an “exhaustive picture” about the “racial threat” associated with these “half-castes” and despite the fact that their “estimated number of 500–600” was “in principle not very high in the midst of 60 million people.”

Even though “the sterilisation” of the “half-castes” who were “soon becoming capable of reproduction” was recommended “from different sides,” he knew that on the basis of the existing legislation “only those half-castes could be made infertile” who were considered inheritedly diseased—“*erbkrank*” “in the sense of the legislation.” It seemed difficult to “sterilise all” because of expected “highly unwanted international complications.” Moreover, more than half of the mothers were “now married to Germans” and so had legitimised their “half-caste children,” and only



in one case of the researched children had pregnancy resulting from rape (Notzuchtschwängerung) been reported.<sup>433</sup>

The “diplomatic” qualms of the National-Socialist regime did knowingly not last long and its horrific race politics prevented in an inhuman act of violence once and for all that these children propagated themselves. In 1934 the government of the Palatinate informed its district authorities and local organisations confidentially that based on “the thought of the pure-keeping (Reinerhaltung) of the German race” advocated by the “state, movement and people,” “measures” were “necessary” “against the mixture of the racially alien descendants of the coloured occupation troops with the pure German blood,” and instructed them again to pursue the “capture of these bastards” in lists.<sup>434</sup>

This was more than once complemented with reports about the present whereabouts, behaviour and occupation of the children,<sup>435</sup> who were submitted to examinations carried out by the public health officer.<sup>436</sup> In Spring 1937 the Special Commission 3, founded in the residence of the Gestapo in Berlin, then got the task to procure in a move to be kept strictly confidential the forced sterilisation (Zwangssterilisierung) of all “Rhineland bastards” and it in this way relied on the lists collected in the Reichministerium.<sup>437</sup> Three commissions made up by physicians, members of the governing council and a representative of the “Reichsärzteführer” (leader of the Reichs-physicians) examined the children and decided that they were to be sterilised based on allegedly distinctly “fremdrassige” (racially alien) features.<sup>438</sup> It was not a coincidence that the Professors Abel and Fischer acted as anthropological evaluators.<sup>439</sup>

The magistrate and the district youth authority (Kreisjugendamt) in Langenschwalbach had been the only ones to refuse to provide information on these children 10 years earlier. They even found the courage “to advise that we do not consider it right to name children who descend from coloured occupation groups” and pointed out that “such information, as it is demanded from us, also when it is right” can “bring with it disadvantages for the later life of the children” “to which we do not want to contribute.”<sup>440</sup>



### 3.2.3 *The Mobilisation of the White Community. The Mediation between Nation and Race*

The cultural and biological violation of the white race associated with the “Black Shame” and the threat of its domination were staged to induce all “white peoples”<sup>441</sup> to stand in solidarity with the politically isolated German nation. Campaigners were convinced that as long as the “domination” of “coloureds over Germans” continued, it was the “vested interest” of the international community “towards its own white race” “to ally” with Germany.

A flyer designed by the Notbund attempted to show this with the image of a giant colonial soldier who threatened to turn the world order of white civilisation upside down, standing on the globe with his rifle well positioned and splayed legs. The pike of his bayonet points towards the caption: “If the White Race has a Moral Mission Here is its Most Imperative Need!”<sup>442</sup> A group of miniature whites was placed at his feet, obviously at his mercy, with a French white officer attempting in vain to shove away the black giant. The Notbund urged “as a pure bred white race we do not beg, for we have the right to demand that you in common chivalry and loyalty to our race, help to free us from these coloured beasts in the Rhineland; help our women against race defilement, the defilement of your race.”

Protests against the “Black Horror” insisted that such conditions could only be averted based on a strong “community spirit of the white race,” a feeling supposed to even “bond opponents.”<sup>443</sup> A poem appealed dramatically to the “conscience” of “the whole white race,”<sup>444</sup> and another urged the “conscience of the world” (Weltgewissen) to “wake up” and fight the “Black Shame.”<sup>445</sup>

The German government expressed in this context the “mortification of the German people” and “violation of the shared interests of the cultured nations.”<sup>446</sup> Giving “coloured and uncivilised troops” “the power of occupation over whites” surely meant to threaten “the national character” (Volkstum) and “culture of Europe.”<sup>447</sup> Germany hence appealed continuously to “the feeling of solidarity in the white race,” which needed to understand that the “Negroes” needed to “leave Europe generally.”<sup>448</sup>

The film *The Black Shame* called all civilised whites to remember their “duties” with regard to “the honour of civilisation” and stop “French Negro soldiers” from raping “German women and girls.”<sup>449</sup> Popular media equipped masses of “savages” with “lustful desire” (Lustbegier) to threaten “femininity” in an attempt to unite “the white peoples”



against Germany's fate. The "Black Shame" was staged as "their guilt," a "sin against the blood" and blacks were dehumanised as "black vermin" destroying the "strength" of whiteness on the "tree of humanity" in order to provoke white solidarity. White "resistance"<sup>450</sup> was presented as an imperative to avoid complete decline.

A poem asked the "Caucasians" if they really wanted to "lowly submit themselves to this race degradation" and ordered them to prevent their "blonde sisters" from being continuously thrown to "the Negro legions."<sup>451</sup> A postcard linked the caricature of a colonial soldier tarring a white woman with the question: "mothers of the world, have your sons died for this?"

The Deutsche-Evangelische Korrespondenz (German Evangelist Correspondence) appealed to "Christian conscience," the "moral sensitivity" and "race instinct of the whole world,"<sup>452</sup> and a petition pushed the "whole white cultured humanity" to show their "support." The Deutsche Frauenbund also begged "all cultured peoples" with a sense "for the honour of the white race"<sup>453</sup> for help. Other organisations similarly spoke in the "name of civilisation," claiming its "support" against the "black shame" hitting "the white race" or declared the "Black Shame" dramatically to be "the biggest crime in world history."<sup>454</sup> They all were convinced that "the peoples of the white race" had to be "stirred up."

In order to overcome the divide between the German nation having lost the war and the other civilised nations, the latter were targeted with the "Black Horror" as a crime against "the whole white race"<sup>455</sup> or a "real danger to the white race." The Verbund Deutscher Reichsangehöriger in Mexiko was hence keen to translate the brochure "Coloured French on the Rhine" (Farbige Franzosen am Rhein) into several languages, and to spread it amongst "hostile peoples" to create a "movement" ending this "world's peril" (Weltschmach).<sup>456</sup>

The national Reichsfrauenausschuß of the DNVP felt in 1927 "at one with all cultured peoples,"<sup>457</sup> the whole party was convinced "the domination of coloured races over whites" had to appear "a deadly shame" to the "American, the English and the Dutch."<sup>458</sup> The conviction that these nations were "tremendously race-proud" and would "never tolerate" in their own countries, "that the coloured troops ruled over whites"<sup>459</sup> went hand in hand with countless appeals to the "cultured world,"<sup>460</sup> the "whole white race,"<sup>461</sup> and the "white race as such"<sup>462</sup> to fight what was perceived as "not only a crime against our people" "but a crime against



the whole of civilised Europe,”<sup>463</sup> “all decent peoples,”<sup>464</sup> everyone with a “white countenance.” Campaigners tirelessly called for a white “flaming protest” against the “Black Horror.”

On the contrary, those who did not want to stand in solidarity with the pressured Germans were declared traitors of the white race. Different campaigners attacked “the deedless adhesion” of “cultured states” in the light of “these terrible conditions.”<sup>465</sup> All those who did not help were repeatedly stigmatised as “traitors of their own blood.” Everyone with only “an atom of a feeling of belonging to the white race” was supposed to feel ashamed<sup>466</sup> and urged to make the war against the “Black Shame” the mission “of humanity as a whole.” The agitation targeted “public feeling in all civilized countries” to make it “insist on the removal of a curse which [...] in the eyes of the great majority of right-thinking people” was nothing “less than an outrage on civilisation, the responsibility for which rests with the whole community of the white race.”<sup>467</sup>

Numerous articles in the press were similarly keen to shake up the “conscience of all cultured humans” and make them object. They were confronted with the “Black Shame” as a “violation of white culture”<sup>468</sup> and “hostility against the white race community.” All “healthy people in the other European countries” were called upon to stand against the “race degradation”<sup>469</sup> and form “committees against the use of black troops.”<sup>470</sup> Appeals to the conscience of the white cultured peoples were also numerous on a political and international level. Senator Hitchcock reminded Americans that they have the “right as well as the duty” “to protest against quartering half-civilized black troops amongst white people, where they appear as conquerors and act as criminals.”<sup>471</sup>

The German Foreign Office had since the beginning of the occupation drawn the attention of the “governments of white cultured nations” and “the Curia” to the allegedly terrible “consequences of the use of colored troops for the monitoring of a highly cultivated white population,” circulated “continuously rich material on atrocities” and condemned this “crime against civilisation,” provoking “the most stringent condemnation of the entire civilised world.”<sup>472</sup> Ministerial adviser Hanno Konopacki-Konopath even believed to notice “a reversal of the public opinion towards Germany” and a growing “sympathy of the white peoples.” It would hence be vital now to urge them for a “statement” and to demand that they move “to our side.”<sup>473</sup>

In all these sources, the solidarity of the civilised white community with the German people was acquired with the help of the “Black



Shame.” The scenario of a white race threatened in its purity, culture and domination was supposed to mobilise its members. The appeal addressed the cultured peoples, urging them to join forces with the German nation against a threat targeting all whites, and makes clear that the interlocking of nation and race was also about the integration of disparate interests. The white community served as a link between the German nation politically isolated as the loser of the war and the victorious Allies. With its help, the tension between the racial body of German people (*deutscher Volkskörper*) and the body of the white race (*weisser Rassenkörper*) was meant to be bridged ideologically.

White solidarity was fueled by claiming that the stationing of colonial soldiers in Europe meant a threat to white order and culture. At the same time, the rapes of white women were supposed to be combated as crimes against the white race community. This community, in turn, was supposed to understand it as its moral duty to stand united against the “degrading disgrace of the white human,”<sup>474</sup> the cultural shame and race degradation.

These arguments were not new. The German chancellor (*Reichskanzler*) and Kaiser Wilhelm had already in September 1914 criticised that the Brits used “African Negroes in the fight in German colonies” “without considering the consequences for the cultural community of the white race.” A public appeal made “To the cultured world!” (*Kulturwelt*) also condemned the Allies in relation to “this disgraceful spectacle” of “sicking mongols and Negroes on the white race.”<sup>475</sup> It was translated into 10 languages, spread in thousands of private letters to the neutral states and supported by Lujo Brentano, Max Planck, Gustav Schmoller and Franz von Liszt, amongst others.

Appeals fuelling the resistance of white civilisation through the construction of “Black Horror” encountered a considerable echo in the United Kingdom and the United States. People and organisations who participated in the fight against the “Black Shame” were also found in other countries.<sup>476</sup> The white civilisation and its supposedly compromised dominance and integrity stood also in the centre of these protests. “Americian citizens of German and other descent” considered it “inhuman and uncivilised” to place a “race of savages in cities which are inhabited by decent white and cultured humans.”<sup>477</sup> A Dutch commission for the combat of the “Black Shame” was appalled about the “domination of a coloured uncivilised sodateska over the white race,”<sup>478</sup> a position echoed by women in and outside of Europe. A female Norwegian writer,



for example, found it outrageous that Norway had “spend millions for the missionary work in Madagascar” and now Madagassi “soldiers” were used for the “watch over Europeans.”<sup>479</sup>

Argentine women supported the intensive spread of the brochure “El Terror Negro” and signed a petition letter addressed to the pope asking for the “withdrawal of the black troops.”<sup>480</sup> “Women of South Africa” demanded to hear from President Smuts “what he had done against the Black Shame on the Rhine.” Smuts felt the use of colonial troops was “undermining” Europe’s “intellectual and moral standard” and saw it leading to “the collapse of Christian civilisation.”<sup>481</sup> A Lutheran church conference in Wijnberg warned about the “unavoidable terrible consequences” of allowing “black savages” to act up as “conquerors” over “white civilised humans.”<sup>482</sup> Even in France, some appealed to people’s “racial self-respect” and suggested that in the eagerness to humiliate the German “barbarians,” one was “humiliating the entire white race.”<sup>483</sup>

### 3.3 FRANCE’S ATTACK ON THE CULTURED NATIONS: THE CONTINUATION OF WAR WITH RACIST MEANS

A caricature of 1920 appealing to the conscience of the world represents France as an ape. It shows a colonial soldier decorated with orders and wearing a cap with the letters RF on it, identifying him as a representative of the République Française. Literally armed to the teeth with a knife in his mouth, he stands on a field full of crosses. The flag he is holding lists as triumphs “murder,” “homicide,” “abuse,” “assaults” and “morality crimes.”<sup>484</sup> The top of the flagpole is decorated with a cockerel head which makes clear reference to the French heraldic animal and to which nation’s flag was defiled here.

The threefold symbolism of this motive is easily deciphered.<sup>485</sup> On the one hand, it makes use of the line of development sketched by the Enlightenment leading from apes via Africans up to the Europeans, which a racially construed Darwinism had developed further and popularised. Then, it turned the African, displaced in the animal kingdom, into a beast by using the nature of his armament as a reference to common images of the “ignoble savage of colonialism” as an disinhibited, uncivilised warrior. Finally, it puts the insignia of the French nation in the hands of this primitive creature and thereby referred to the supposedly perverse reversal of imperial relations. And of course the apes turned



into French were also in this type of illustration, often doing what the whole campaign tiredlessly accused them of, chasing white women.

This association of France with the “black atrocities” was reflected on all levels of the campaign. Popular media made out that France’s desire for revenge was the source of the atrocities on the Rhine<sup>486</sup> and representatives of different organisations mobilised against “the violation of the German woman by France.”<sup>487</sup> They argued together with government agencies that the French appointed “Negroes as rulers” in order to humiliate Germany. The critique of the use of colonial troops always targeted the French nation too. Large parts of the German press attributed the responsibility for the black crimes to France<sup>488</sup> and used the “Black Shame” to chain the French to the “stake of world history” (*Schandpfahl der Weltgeschichte*). Campaigners saw “the entire white world” standing against France.<sup>489</sup>

The French people were accused of dreaming of a “Negro-Gallic empire,”<sup>490</sup> and a Europe under the dictate of a “Mulatto republic”<sup>491</sup> was prophesied. The French nation’s white core—“white people’s marrow”<sup>492</sup> was questioned and it was dismissed as “criminal rabble,” using the excuse to defend culture against the German barbarians to satisfy its “rapacities”<sup>493</sup> in Germany. The central purpose of the fight against the “Black Horror” was for a representative of the German Foreign Office accordingly to be located in the “political area.” The Germans would not want to accept the humiliating presence of colonial soldiers and at the same time hope to cause France “problems,”<sup>494</sup> he revealed in a personal letter.

Such statements indicated that the French nation was held responsible for the “Black Horror” with political calculation. They suspected France of violating Germany and the civilised community with its colonial troops. In this way they construed the image of a degenerated nation, whose loyalty to the dogma of racial segregation and rank as a white cultured people (*Kulturvolk*) were questioned. The following chapter develops the structure of this argument. In a final excursus, the argument is contrasted with the attitude of the French government, which attributed infantile traits and exemplary behaviour to their colonial soldiers.<sup>495</sup>



### 3.3.1 *Black Horror—French Shame: France as Target of Racist Rhetoric*

The “Black Shame” was considered a “French shame,”<sup>496</sup> “cultural shame”<sup>497</sup> or “indelible shame”<sup>498</sup> of the French nation. It was staged as a “danger to France’s honour and future,”<sup>499</sup> a “French disgrace” for now and ever.<sup>500</sup> Colonial soldiers were considered the executors of France’s reign of terror and seemed a “stain of shame for the French people.”<sup>501</sup> To associate their alleged black primitive otherness directly with France, they were called “black” or “coloured French,”<sup>502</sup> “French-beasts,”<sup>503</sup> or “savages”<sup>504</sup> the French used to torture the Rhineland. As “French Niggerarmy”<sup>505</sup> or rough “auxillary peoples”<sup>506</sup> (*Hilfsvölker*), they made France’s integrity as a civilised nation appear doubtful. As an expression of aggression towards Germany, they were degraded to “human beasts,”<sup>507</sup> French “black hangman’s assistants”<sup>508</sup> or “beasts in French uniform”<sup>509</sup> and represented as a “tool of vengeance and murder”<sup>510</sup> for a “policy of revenge.”<sup>511</sup>

Different caricatures illustrate the role of Africans as instruments of French domination over Germany in the “Black Horror” campaign. One accused them and the white French of feeding off German taxes.<sup>512</sup> Another claimed the blacks, with the knowledge of the white French officers, would riot in Germany worse than the powers in Dante’s *Inferno*.<sup>513</sup> Organisations also declared the colonial soldiers to be “dehumanised sons”<sup>514</sup> of the French nation. France was held responsible for the “Black Horror” because it gave primitives in Germany a dominant position and promoted their misdeeds.

The occupation of European territory by “Negroes” alone was considered “a shame to the rulers;”<sup>515</sup> and it was deemed completely outrageous that blacks were now “representatives of the grande nation.” The accusation of “Black Shame” was supposed to target first and foremost not the blacks, who only lived out their “animalistic instincts” but the French. France’s alleged crime against culture was to allow blacks to hold a position not due for a “race” “on a low level.”<sup>516</sup> The French nation appeared “considerably more condemnable” than the black atrocities, by tolerating these, was accused of secretly welcoming them,<sup>517</sup> and its government was under suspicion to “protect and facilitate”<sup>518</sup> such crimes. The French authorities were also accused of punishing those who committed atrocities not severely enough,<sup>519</sup> which seemed scandalous, given that a “cultured people” was the victim.



Campaigners warned that France excluded itself from the League of Nations with its actions. Appeals to the French people asking them to understand that they caused “damage” to themselves were only superficial.<sup>520</sup> Actually, these propagated an image of their undiscerning character and otherness. It was claimed that the French had a “sadistic nature” and take “joy” in “torturing others.”

A brochure accused France of covering up the crimes of its coloured overseers with all means.<sup>521</sup> A caricature showed the French Republic prosecuting not the perpetrators but the victims of the “Black Shame.” In the name of the “grande nation” and to the joy of the accused colonial soldier, a white French officer explained to the raped German female applicant she had with her resistance “desecrated” a uniform of the French army.<sup>522</sup> Other voices also assumed that reports to authorities against the colonial soldiers were not followed up and that scorn and contempt awaited the applicants.<sup>523</sup>

A number of medals by the award-winning popular German medallieur Karl Goetz questioned the civilised status of a nation that committed such crimes. One with the title “Code Napoleon” showed coloured “ruffians on the Rhine” carry off a woman. Their intention to rape the woman was symbolised by a giant knife. The opposite side of the medal showed where she would end up, based on French “jurisdiction,” showing her being thrown into a “lust house for Negroes.”<sup>524</sup>

The authors of two letters also felt that the delivery of disarmed Germany to the French nation and its “Negro” was a “brutish bestiality.”<sup>525</sup> Like others, they were convinced that the German woman had already been “promised”<sup>526</sup> to the coloureds in wartime. The French had allowed their blacks during the German occupation to “take every woman”<sup>527</sup> and literally set them onto the “German fair game.”

Another caricature in 1927 similarly drew attention to the allegedly terrible consequences of such outrages of “French civilisation,” showing a white woman held in the arms of a Moroccan. He finds it hard to understand why she protested against her abduction given that “the French” had “first initiated” them “to white women.”<sup>528</sup> The report of an imagined African who described the rape of a German gave the same impression. He said he at first wanted to let her go, because she fought but then remembered the words of his officer that all German women were the black soldiers’.<sup>529</sup>

In these accusations, the French nation is directly blamed for the “Black Shame.” France should have to answer to the cultural community



for letting her “savage blacks” loose on German women. Their desecration was regarded as the expression of French sadism, and the Africans were portrayed as its primitive tools. The claim that the atrocities were an expression of the wild nature of the coloureds likewise aimed at blaming the French leaders for these crimes. They were represented as acting irresponsibly by using colonial troops in the occupation and hence submitting white women knowingly to their unrestricted desires.

Such arguments combined the racist and sexist motive of the black hunter of white women with the chauvinistic characterisation of France. The construction of the “Black Horror” not only brought together the categories of gender and race but linked them with the concepts of culture and nation. This happened as both a mechanical conglomeration and substantial fusion. The mechanical view combining the categories considered the black troops as an tool of French politics. The substantial view saw them as a sign for the degeneration of the French people.<sup>530</sup>

How extensively the categories in this way intersected becomes particularly clear in a flyer of the Notbund and a protest resolution of the DNVP. The former attacked the “will to destruction of one white nation against another” with the aid of “coloured races.”<sup>531</sup> The latter was sure that France pursued a “willing conscegation” of the German people and feared about white supremacy in a colonial context. It was appalled that France had set its “beasts” onto the white women, to whom the blacks in the colonies were used to look up “in deepest obedience.”<sup>532</sup>

Campaigners aimed at turning the French nation into the “accused” in the eyes of the world. To mark its crimes, the concepts of gender, race and nation were interlocked in a way that allowed the French to be accused of the deliberate “shameful act”<sup>533</sup> of having through “race atrocities” awakened in blacks the “unknown desire for the white woman.”<sup>534</sup> Church circles did everything to ensure France’s “desecration of culture and humans” was made known and a brochure urged civilisation to oppose its violation of culture, against which even Emperor Nero’s crimes were seemingly minor.<sup>535</sup>

To stage the “Black Shame” not only as a French assault on the white race but also as an attack against the German nation, the Germans were often characterised as a particularly high-ranking cultured people humiliated by the use of a considerably inferior race.<sup>536</sup> Campaigners insisted there was no other way to explain the use of primitive troops by one “civilized people” “against another civilized people,” causing



“a continual sexual menace.”<sup>537</sup> It seemed derogatory for a nation of the cultural rank of the Germans to accept Africans and Asians as “victors” and damaging to the French nation’s reputation to apply “colonial methods”<sup>538</sup> within Europe and turn blacks into “tyrants over the white race.”<sup>539</sup>

The campaign tried to put the French nation under international pressure, targeting its foreign policy. Campaigners accused her of sowing “hatred”<sup>540</sup> on the pretext of securing peace with her colonial troops and endangering the “fate of the European peace.”<sup>541</sup> France was so manoeuvred into a position contradicting all other white nations. The attempt to bring it into disrepute was linked with the demand for a reintegration of the Germans—humiliated by the “Black Shame”—into the civilised community. They were urged to no longer accept being treated as the “outcast people in the world” and to demand their “right as Europeans and white cultured state.”<sup>542</sup>

An prominent international voice made “Germany’s cause” the “cause of culture.”<sup>543</sup> The Germans’ honour was to be considered the “honour of the cultured humanity,”<sup>544</sup> and France’s “assassination of the white race”<sup>545</sup> meant to threaten it in its entirety.<sup>546</sup> This argument seemed plausible, not least because the Aryan mythos had been developed in the context of nineteenth-century racism and facilitated it.

Léon Poliakov has pointed out that in this context disputes emerged between Germans and French and were already commented on ironically by contemporaries. The former declared primal aryer to be the descendants of the Germans; the latter were convinced that the Gauls were descended from them. The former were convinced the culture of Europe rested on the long-skulled blonde; the latter saw it grounded in the short-skulled brunette. Heinz Gollwitzer has stressed that the political Germanism nonetheless was not only fostered in Germany but also found approval in Sweden, England and the United States.<sup>547</sup>

Moreover, important audiences of the campaign against the “Black Horror” welcomed the propaganda for unpolluted whiteness with open ears. Audrey Smedley has shown how widely spread fears about “the ‘racial purity’ of white Americans” were; Luke Trainor has captured the racist element of the nation-state formation in Australia around 1900, which not least was associated with Great Britain’s conviction that only “a white Australia was largely a British Australia.”<sup>548</sup>

Against this background the French were stigmatised as “hangmen of civilisation,”<sup>549</sup> who used “Negro despotism”<sup>550</sup> to torture an



already downtrodden civilised people. France was accused of having hit the “whole white race” by dominating Germany with a coloured occupation.<sup>551</sup> This interpretation also attempted to ideologically reverse the accusation of German barbarism in the First World War. The image of the black savage “French” was placed on top of that of the German barbarian, obscuring the latter.

The campaign was obsessed with the motive of the black sex beast to imply the French were the real barbarians. A letter-seal stamp shows this under the cynical title “La Civilisation En Marche.” It combines the caption, “The French culture still fights German barbarism,”<sup>552</sup> with the image of a colonial soldier and his victim, a white woman lying lifelessly. A caricature reverses the roles of German barbarian and the civilised Frenchmen by claiming that “noble France” put its Africans to the civilising of “barbarous Germany.” The French Republic is here represented by a drunken white officer and two black soldiers, one of which reaches for a German woman and her toddler.<sup>553</sup>

The French nation was no longer to be regarded as a champion but a traitor of occidental civilisation and was meant to supersede Germany in this role, isolated internationally as a warmonger and loser of the war. The French were suspected of using the defence of culture against the “Boches, Huns and barbarians” merely as a pretext for their “war of prey and aggression” and to play up themselves as “champion of [ ] culture” to disguise their real intentions. To avoid complicity, those standing on the side of civilisation had to take action against a nation which “flooded” Germany with coloureds.<sup>554</sup>

A brochure predicted the French government would with its “black beasts” incur the “contempt of all cultured peoples,” who would gradually understand on which side of the Rhine the real “huns” and “barbarians”<sup>555</sup> stood. A caricature had already tried to promote this view during the war, sketching the member of a gorilla regiment serving in the French army under the caption “For ‘civilisation’ against barbarism.”<sup>556</sup>

Another caricature reversed barbarism and culture under the title, “A culture document!” (Ein Kulturdokument). It shows colonial troops taking over a school and executing the “marching in” of French “culture.” One soldier writes “boche barbar” on the board; others trash the classroom, block the children’s entrance, destroy a bust and picture and get drunk on tables and benches.<sup>557</sup> Their uncivilised behaviour converts the writing on the board into a portent (Menetekel) of the alleged French



loss of culture. The letter-seal stamp “Negro Domination” underpins this scenario by presenting colonial soldiers hitting a woman and an old man, to ask rhetorically in the caption: “Who are the barbarians?”<sup>558</sup>

A comment in a 1918 published brochure also illustrates the propagandistic German intention to cut out the character image of the German barbarians from public opinion and to mask it with that of the black savage as representative of the “grande nation.” Its author refers to a French caricature, in which a German soldier had just raped and wounded a Belgian woman. Given his dark colouring and coarse facial features, the writer concludes that a coloured “ally” of the French in their quest for “culture and morality” must have acted as a model for this type.<sup>559</sup>

France was not meant to escape from allegations of barbarism and was to be blamed eternally for the “Black Shame” as a “crime against humanity.”<sup>560</sup> The Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre” was proud to have created the “cultural notion” (Kulturbegriff) of the “Black Shame” as an effective means to attack Germany’s “arch-enemy.”<sup>561</sup> His argument also indicates the instrumental dimension of these accusations. It allowed those in the German nation who believed themselves undefeated in the field to present Germany as being abused. It was possible, with the help of the colonial troops theme to spread amongst the former war opponents that France violated all “claims of culture and morality.”<sup>562</sup>

Several supporters of the campaign felt that the “human sense of justice” and “culture”<sup>563</sup> had never before been violated so badly as with the French “Black Shame.” The tirades of a Dutch physician also show how in this anti-French attack, racist, culturalist and nationalist arguments intertwined. He argued that France could only meet its claim “to uphold the culture in Europe” if it withdrew its coloured troops from Germany as soon as possible.<sup>564</sup> That the French nation otherwise could be held responsible for the “collapse of Western culture”<sup>565</sup> was often assumed. Independently of the colonial troops actual behaviour, the protests attacked the French for letting “coloureds” raise the “rod” “over members of the white race,” as it contradicted “every cultural tradition.”<sup>566</sup>

France had supposedly “tainted” and dishonoured<sup>567</sup> itself and spoiled its already heavily tarnished “reputation” as a “cultured nation.”<sup>568</sup> Protesters were convinced that it had lost every notion of decency,<sup>569</sup> while in Germany and beyond people were shocked, asking how “a so-called civilised nation” could pursue such an “abominable vengeance.”



Only an honourless people was seen capable of imposing a coloured occupation on a defenseless opponent.<sup>570</sup> Supporters of the campaign suggested it had been struck with blindness and attributed a “hostility to the culture and civilization of all whites” to its government. Stirring up international concern, they saw the faith of the civilised world in the authority and justice of the League of Nations shaken unless the “Black Shame” was stopped immediately in the interest of Germany and the “self-esteem of the whole white race.”<sup>571</sup>

All of these representations combined racist, sexist, culturalist and nationalist elements. Their mediation was achieved through the category gender. The bodies of German women had to serve as a battlefield on which France and Germany hit each other. While their bodies attributed the colour of culture to the national identity of the Germans, the colonial troops cast a shadow of barbarity onto the French. That armed men encountered defenseless women, damaged the honour of the one nation and made the other a symbol of that race whose cultural mission was jeopardised by such an affront just as its global political domination was questioned.

Through the connection of the different categories of inclusion and exclusion in the racist construction of “Black Horror,” it was possible to make the “Black Shame” appear to be a French shame, to delineate the German nation against France and to push for its expulsion from the white cultural community. In the ideological struggle about the reproach of barbarism, the insinuation of a French lack of civilisation served as a hinge between Germany and the Allies, while the wedge of miscegenation was driven between them and France.

The Liberal Heidelberger Vereinigung and the Rheinische Frauenliga made also use of anti-militaristic and anti-imperialist arguments to isolate the French nation from other cultured peoples. The first organisation suspected that the colonial forces were serving a “militarism” which had moved far beyond the borders of French “Volkskraft.” It should be therefore the task of the entire “cultured world” to immediately stop the deployment of coloureds in Europe.<sup>572</sup>

For the second organisation, French “imperialism” pulled other races out of their familiar life context and allowed them to gain an “unauthorised position of power” against the “highly cultivated, and high-class”<sup>573</sup> German people. Several prominent voices, amongst them Edmund D. Morel and the president of the German Reichstag, Paul Löbe, supported this line of reasoning. The latter turned against “imperialist greed and



militaristic arbitrariness” and attributed the colonial troops’ “offences against morality” to French “imperialism” which would have dragged these “half-cultured” Africans to Germany.<sup>574</sup>

Such heavily anti-French sentiment was also used to ideologically relieve Germany, which had plunged the world into a war with its militarism and imperial interests. Campaigners moved the maxim “militarism and imperialism mean war” into a nationalist context and used it for a populist attack on France. It was accused to have only pretended to fight German militarism to then more easily praise its own “coloured excessive militarism.”<sup>575</sup> The French nation was blamed of betraying civilisation by using its blacks for a new massive war to stabilise its European hegemony and establish “world domination.”<sup>576</sup>

These hostilities again illustrate that their creators intended not at least to smash the “aura of the greatest cultural nation.”<sup>577</sup> How closely patterns of discrimination related to nation, race, culture and gender were synchronised documented the assertion that the French nation would be pursuing imperialist goals with their primitive soldiers in civilised Europe and therefore accepted, to degrade white women in a way, which would scorn every “cultural awareness.”<sup>578</sup> The equating of woman’s honour with German honour and white racial honour with culture aimed at a rehabilitation of the German nation, politically isolated as war loser. Its former enemies were supposed to no longer see the warmonger in Germany but to express solidarity with her, as defenseless victim of “Black Shame” and to turn away from France as the alleged traitor of white culture.

### 3.3.2 *French “Negro Domination”: A Stigma of Cultural and Racial Degeneration*

From the perspective of the protagonists of the campaign against the “Black Horror,” something had to be wrong with a cultured people which turned African colonised natives into legitimate representatives of its army and used its state power to deploy them in Europe to oversee whites. They were sure that no upright representative of civilisation would be capable of acting in such a way and hence suggested France was no longer to be considered one. With reference to the “uncivilised subjects” of the French being so proud of their “civilisation” and their use in the subjugation of the German people, the racist logic of the “Black Shame” argued that France was in fact only a so-called cultured



nation,<sup>579</sup> an only “alleged cultured people.”<sup>580</sup> The “white French” were supposedly not “better” in any way than their “bestial brothers.”<sup>581</sup>

Black and white French were represented as standing nearly at the same low level of development and the “real savages” corresponded to the present character of the “so-called white French.”<sup>582</sup> Anti-French hostile tirades insisted that behind the “savages from Africa” stood “savages from Paris,”<sup>583</sup> who had to take responsibility for not only a “brothel of blood, corpses and tears,”<sup>584</sup> but were even more evil than their coloured troops, because in contrast to these, they were capable of hiding their “animalistic desires.”<sup>585</sup> Under the disguise of culture the true France was supposedly hiding as a “morally depraved nation” marked by racial defects<sup>586</sup> which had lost its claim to be included in the circle of the civilised also through a lack of racial discipline and mixing with coloureds. This notion was feeding off the eugenic assumption that the French were a “Negroid” degenerate people and culminated in the bluntly racist assertion that all members of the French army were “white and black niggers.”<sup>587</sup>

It was no coincidence that the German propaganda in this context too could rely on a statement from the fifth continent. Wulf D. Hund has pointed out that in Australia even the workers’ press had been convinced that Europe’s population in large parts was “not really white.”<sup>588</sup> At about the same time, the German translation of Madison Grant’s publication about the “passing of the great race” was published. Patrick von zur Mühlen has shown that it deplores, just as the shortly before published racist pamphlet by Lothrop Stoddard on “The rising tide of color against white world supremacy,” the “decline of the Teutonic (Germanic) element in Europe” and the “decline of the white race” caused by the “civil war of the Nordic peoples.”<sup>589</sup>

Also in relation to this question, the campaign against the “Black Shame” neither operated on unprepared ideological terrain nor used a language which wasn’t internationally common and understood. The warning about the threat of degeneration through race mixture did not only meet open ears in conservative circles and was believable not only in the eyes of German voelkish nationalist groups. A German caricature could hence speculate to gain international interest with its statement, the war would have fortunately prevented the “grande nation” from “decline,” which was illustrated with French women and their black children. Another constructed a “coloured marriage drama in Paris” and commented on the caricature of a black child, from whom a white



French woman and her white husband turned away with the scornful remark "C'est la guerre!"<sup>590</sup>

A fictional travel report of an African similarly suggested that French women were not suited to act as guardians of racial purity but joyfully engaged in racial defilement and cultural outrage. It also ridicules the black as a primitive who undermines the pillars of white rule, by confusing the concepts of cultured and barbaric and by promoting racial mixture between white and black, while mistaking black traditions as civilised. The report praised miscegenation as an expression of true French culture and explained that in France blacks would not be hindered to take white women. In opposition to barbaric German women, the culturally conscious French women would not at all ask whether the object they "desire" is "of black, brown or white skin colour." This he considers a good thing, as only the mixture of French and Africans and France's adaptation to the "customs and ways" of the coloureds would bring it to the "peak of the cultured peoples."<sup>591</sup>

The German Notbund made clear what to make of such miscegenation desires from a white perspective. It denounced France as a nation that degenerated because it did—based on its own interests of domination—not reject the racial mixture with blacks. It was suspected to want to keep its colonial forces in Germany until the French colonial army would be strong enough to form a "Gallic-mulattic world domination." This would have dire consequences given that France's "declining people power" was not fit to resist "the onslaught of foreign races."<sup>592</sup>

The assertion that France could rest its hegemony in Europe only on its "force noire" was used to claim that it was undermining the dogma of racial segregation and to question its status as a white cultured nation. Moreover, the message from Paris that connected units of colonial soldiers would be dissolved and coloured troops would now always be housed with white troops, was treated as evidence of an advanced mixing of the French people. France was deemed to create a "black-white army" revealing how badly its racial substance as a white people had been compromised.<sup>593</sup>

The French government was accused several times of pursuing with this army a "colonisation and Africanisation" of the occupied land. It supposedly deliberately contaminated the German women through "forced mixing,"<sup>594</sup> attempting to turn Germany into a "French mulatto Republic,"<sup>595</sup> which would be filled with "spotted children"<sup>596</sup> just like



France was already. Hence, the French were no longer to be considered belonging to the white race.

A caricature titled "Ancestor worship" presented the skeleton of a gorilla who is buried enthusiastically as "ancestor of all French" by "black and white French" in the pantheon.<sup>597</sup> Another one saw even the French evolution reversing and speculated that the French people would have arrived at the level of apes before the Germans would have paid off the war guilt they were accused of.<sup>598</sup>

France was degraded as degenerated, an "unnerved" people doomed to "decline,"<sup>599</sup> and due to the mixture with primitive people incapable of recognising the shame of having blacks ruling in Europe.<sup>600</sup> That the "Black Shame" was the work of a depraved half-caste people which had lost its racial and cultural integrity was also suggested in aggressive verbal attacks against the French "corrupt society" and its constantly rising "mixed-race births." It had supposedly lost any feelings for "race discipline," even the most "natural instincts,"<sup>601</sup> when rushing "infested Negro hordes onto a European nation."<sup>602</sup> These were associated with a French attempt to strengthen the weakened body of its people by feeding it with "fresh blood" without caring whether "this blood was throbbing under yellow, brown or black skin."<sup>603</sup>

Such assessments could be linked not only to the general racist climate of the time but also to a German-speaking tradition, which had predicted misery and ruin of colonial miscegenation in scientific, legal, literary and journalistic texts. Nils C. Lösch pointed out that anthropologist and ethnologist Eugen Fischer, despite all gentrification of his studied so-called Rehebother bastards, warned vigorously against the blacks and equating them with whites, as this could lead to the racial mixture, inevitably accompanied by a decline of culture.<sup>604</sup>

Fatima El-Tayeb has portrayed how aggressively the German legislation dealt with the problem of colonial intermarriage. They referred to the contemporary discussion of eugenics, which early spoke of "racial shame" and transferred it into rigid legal provisions, aiming not only at "keeping pure the German race and civilisation" but at maintaining the "powerful position of the white man."<sup>605</sup>

Pascal Grosse has shown that the debate over intermarriage did not remain a colonial political problem. The colonial administration had been trying "to fit systematically racial categories into the structure of the German social order," so that the colonial policy affected "the internal relations of the metropolis."<sup>606</sup>



Amadou Booker Sadjì highlighted the obsession with which sexuality between Europeans and Africans and related problems of miscegenation have been captured in colonial literature. Here, adventure, conquest, cultural transfer, race war and the like were common themes. However, when night came over the colonies and the drums began to sound, the dangers for the white man's civilised mission showed.<sup>607</sup>

It was therefore not surprising that the campaign against the "Black Shame" was able to resort to older elements of the racist construction of the "black other".

*The Rhenish Observer* (Rheinischer Beobachter), for example, made use of a pre-war satire about the "Negro Republic France,"<sup>608</sup> which now pursued Europe's "Negroisation" following its own. The French nation became increasingly "colourful," including "several Negroes," and the heavy weight of the French national body was said to no longer lay in its European head, but fatally in its colonial legs. France would suffer from "Elephantiasis," a "giant colossus with feet of clay," which must inevitably collapse and was organically thought, "a Negro."

A German professor considered the problem culturally and wrote that Europe was currently experiencing a "race tragedy" comparable to the one it had gone through 2000 years earlier in Italy. The destruction of the "white race by the mixture with Negro blood" was considered an irrefutable "terrible fact."<sup>609</sup> The French nation as an "overly civilised, ancient cultured people" without natural reproduction were unable to satisfy its greed for imperialist power and hence tried to base their rule on "economic and racial foreign mercenaries." Through racial mixture, however, the French people would destroy its "race" as a "basis for its culture" and lay the foundation for the "destruction of its cultural, ethnic and national existence."

These ideas culminated in the view that the French were representatives of an inferior race. More moderate voices appealed at the French sense of culture still and urged them to reflect on their mistakes. For others there was no doubt that it was an "inferior race" made up by "half apes," which tortured the German nation.<sup>610</sup> A people which blatantly lacked any purity consciousness and not only endorsed but actively sought the mixture with coloureds could no longer be considered a white cultured people.

In various documents, French culture was thus identified with the "Black Terror" and the "Black Shame" with France's cultural degeneration. The colonial forces were frequently associated with French culture



**Fig. 3.14** Medaille  
[medal] ‘Die Wacht am  
Rhein - Die Schwarze  
Schande’, frontside.  
Depicted in: Kienast,  
Gunter W.: The Medals  
of Karl Goetz. Cleveland  
Ohio 1967, p. 188



**Fig. 3.15** Medaille  
[medal] ‘Die Wacht am  
Rhein - Die Schwarze  
Schande’, backside.  
Depicted in: Kienast,  
Gunter W.: The Medals  
of Karl Goetz. Cleveland  
Ohio 1967, p. 188



and accordingly scolded as “strange carriers of culture”<sup>611</sup> or “France’s culture warriors.”<sup>612</sup> Poems mocked them as “devils” and “elite” of the grand nation,<sup>613</sup> the “guardians of French culture”<sup>614</sup> and protests targeted the disgraceful erection of brothels for coloured French<sup>615</sup> and a lack of hygiene<sup>616</sup> as expressions of French civilisation on the Rhine.

A medal designed by Karl Goetz in 1920 related the “Black Horror” directly to French culture. It portrays the “Watch on the Rhine” through the racist, disfigured face of an African soldier<sup>617</sup> who is made the representative of French ideals through the words *Liberté, Égalité* and *Fraternité* placed below his neck (Figs. 3.14 and 3.15). The reverse side of the coin shows under the caption “The Black Shame” a naked white woman who is bound to a huge upright phallus. A helmet on its peak, identical to the colonial soldiers’ helmet on the front, leaves no doubt whose sexual organ is here stylised to the stake of the white woman.<sup>618</sup>



This representation racialises and sexualises the term of the French nation by reducing it to a primitively constructed black and his massive sexual organ. The association of his head with the maxims of French civilisation suggests that the sexual and racial threat identified with him on the back of the medal, was based on French culture.

Goetz created other medals according to this pattern. One showed France in the “victory swash” (*Siegestaumel*) of 1918. On its front is a caricature of the Gallic cockrel holding the national flags of various powers in its talons. The reverse shows a white French officer under his drawn sword fight African colonial soldiers, an Indian and an Asian. In addition to their physiognomic features, their accoutrement with earrings and a feather headdress connotes that the French nation pursued their power interests in the company of primitives.<sup>619</sup>

On another medal Goetz defamed the French cultured nation as a “brothel nation.” This is represented by a disfigured Gallic cockrel with phallus-like head and soldier’s helmet.<sup>620</sup> This sex-charged disfigurement of the French nation and one of its central cultural icons is reinforced through the back side of the coin. It discredited a “brothel regulation” of the French occupying forces as a rape *carte blanche*. In front of the pillar hinting on the regulation the medalist had a French soldier violating a woman standing in front of him.<sup>621</sup>

The German *Fichte Bund* too claimed a close connection existed between French culture and “Black Shame.” Its cartoon combined the values “Liberté,” “Égalité,” “Fraternité” with the image of a French colonial soldier with pushed forward jaw and flat nose<sup>622</sup>—both ideological signifiers of racial primitivity. A different drawing titled “Liberty, equality, fraternity!” gave a similarly bad picture of the state of French culture. It shows a modern “liberty tree”—bound together from bones with a skeleton on top. Around it a black colonial soldier dances on French National Day in the company of white officers and naked French women. On lanterns illuminating the scene, the words *liberté*, *égalité* and *fraternité* are crossed out and replaced by *lacheté*, *vanité*, *brutalité*, cowardice, vanity and brutality.<sup>623</sup>

Another confronted Cromwell’s “Iron rider” with a French colonial soldier whom the artist denounced as Poincaré’s “Oxigenstitchflamesafeburglaryrider.” The first is sitting upright on a noble horse and embodies the civilised virtues with his white flag “For truth and justice.” The second is represented crouching on a panting mare as a criminal with drawn pistol, keychain and axe tribe. He rides



as the dark flag in his paw-like hand promotes “robbery, murder and lies.”<sup>624</sup>

The discursive link of French civilisation and “Black Shame” coined numerous cartoons. A calendar page in the *Kladderadatsch* ridiculed a colonial soldier equipped with ape-like facial features as one of the “first messengers of French culture” in Germany.<sup>625</sup> Another drawing suggests the “noble France” loves to “blacken the world.”<sup>626</sup> It shows a French Marianne, in the armour of Joan of Arc. Marianne, distorted with grotesque features, sits on a horse and is surrounded by an army of grinning black soldiers with thick bead lips and broad noses. Other pictures showed a black soldier with his knife exploring the “miracle of French culture” or African soldiers as “France’s culture pioneers,” who answer the question of their white superiors about the whereabouts of their prisoner with the words “Eaten, my Captain.”<sup>627</sup>

That the coloured troops actually did not know what civilisation meant and that this was well known to the French leaders was implied by a caricature of a French officer lecturing his colonial soldiers: “I told you now what civilisation is. For this you have to fight today! Understood?”<sup>628</sup>

France’s standpoint on colonial soldiers was considered a crime against civilisation, destroying the reputation of its supposed “cultural hegemony.”<sup>629</sup> The common denominator of these anti-French attacks was that there was a causal relationship between French culture and the “Black Shame.” A civilised white nation which led itself to be represented by Africans, distant from civilisation, was herewith seemingly also documenting its own cultural degeneration.

The protest against the “Black Horror” was moreover linked to a critique of “French dictatorship” and the Versailles Treaty. Echoing the aggressive tone of nationalistic, anti-French propaganda of the war-time<sup>630</sup> France’s “will to live” was said to be determined by the greed for “revenge.” In addition to the “ominous peace treaties,” the subjugation of German territories using foreign race troops as occupation forces was considered evidence of France’s massive “hatred.”<sup>631</sup>

A female Social-Democrat felt that the use of coloured troops hurt Germany considerably more in the light of a peace which had been misrepresented as just by the Allies.<sup>632</sup> A postcard showing white women running away from giant colonial soldiers echoes this sentiment: “Germany’s socage” (*Fronddienst*) caused by “France’s treaty. The Black Shame.”<sup>633</sup>



A caricature in the *Kladderadatsch* associated the “Black Horror” with the Treaty of Versailles in similarly populist terms. It shows the Versailles peace as a black man sitting naked on a horse, grinning, riding over a field filled with the bodies of white men and women.<sup>634</sup> Another cartoonist participated in this symbolic dismantling of the Peace Treaty by drawing the Versailles Peace as a violent black who attacked in the service of France the German people. In the depicted scene, Poincaré personally transformed a peace statue into a black who thrusts his bayonet into the head of the German Michel, Germany’s popular national symbol. A caption on his apron reads: “la Paix, c’est la guerre,” “Peace is war.”<sup>635</sup>

Elsewhere, the phrase “This is Versailles” was illustrated with colonial soldiers.<sup>636</sup> Drawings were spread of “atrocities of the war in the so-called peace” and the allegedly various raids of coloured troops were used to illustrate how poor the “humanity of the grande nation” was.<sup>637</sup> On an international level, too, the demand to get rid of the “Black Shame” of the world was associated with the demand for a “revision of the Versailles peace.”<sup>638</sup>

It seemed likely that the garrisoning of coloured troops could be “used well and unobtrusively”<sup>639</sup> to denounce France politically. Hence a representative of the German Embassy in Stockholm was pleased to report that the Swedish public showed a strong interest in the “Black Shame.” He felt the topic was “outstandingly suitable” to “discredit” the French “Rhineland policy.”<sup>640</sup> During the expansion of the French occupation zone to the Ruhr area, it was incorrectly claimed that colonial troops had taken part in this. Here the already-established threatening image of primitive colonial soldiers was used to make the occupation of the Ruhr appear in a negative, threatening light.

The caricature of a black soldier in front of smoking industrial chimneys<sup>641</sup> dominated not only the title page of the art portfolio (Kuntmappe) “French in the Ruhr area” (*Franzosen im Ruhrgebiet*) (Fig. 3.16). The “Ruhr fight song” (*Ruhrkampflied*) ridiculed “Niggers, Kaffer, Tonkines”|“Wearing a turban and with red FEZ” who brought to the “Ruhr” France’s “high culture.”<sup>642</sup> That colonial soldiers were with white officers “wilder for prey” on the Ruhr was also assumed in the *Ruhrbilderbogen*.<sup>643</sup>

The *Kladderadatsch* represented on the cover of an album the “Rhine and Ruhr” under attack by a giant grim black face with bayonet knives threateningly protruding from his head<sup>644</sup> (Fig. 3.17). The *Rheinische Beobachter* knew of blacks who came to use in the French march into





**Fig. 3.16** Cay, A.M.: *Franzosen im Ruhrgebiet*. 10 Zeichnungen von A.M. Cay. Berlin (1923), cover page. In my possession

Essen, causing a miscegenation calculated by the French, as the colonial soldiers had already been given free tickets for brothels with white women.<sup>645</sup>

The policy of the entire Entente was occasionally attacked as cynical and violent with reference to the “Black Shame.” A cartoon, for example, shows the “Good Entente uncle” as a mischievous-looking Nicholas who took care of “security” and “firing” in the occupied territory. The security guaranteed by him is taken ad absurdum by an African soldier who as an ill-equipped guard holds watch with his large teeth and cigarette in the corner of his mouth. The firing consists of colonial soldiers who give off a rifle volley on a group of Germans trying to escape them.<sup>646</sup>





Fig. 3.17 ‘Rhein und Ruhr. Ein Album des Kladderadatsch.’ Berlin 1924, title page. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15 G126

### 3.3.3 *Excursus: “Childlike blacks” in the Service of Civilisation: The French Attempt to Justify the Deployment of Colonial Troops*

While propagandists of the “Black Horror” pointed with “fingers at the race-defiling France”<sup>647</sup> French politicians and military officials tried to justify their use of colonial troops in Europe. The international protests against the “Black Shame” were met with intense interest by the French public. The French government rejected the accusation of “Black Shame” as propagandistically inspired, exaggerated and unjustified.

It denied the image of the wild, angry colonial soldier summoned in the campaign and could in this way refer to the Inter-Allied Rhineland



Commission. It had investigated the offences put forward, refuted many of the allegations and pointed out that rape by colonial soldiers occurred only in few, isolated cases.<sup>648</sup> Even the German Reich Ministry of the Interior admitted, after it had reviewed official German materials about acts of violence, that repeatedly “[i]ncidents were based on ‘flawed proof’ and not useable.”<sup>649</sup> The French authorities, too, confirmed that the number of crimes perpetrated by coloureds was much lower than assumed by the German side and that each incident would be “punished” severely.<sup>650</sup>

Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink has demonstrated that the French military leadership in response to the campaign also changed their representation of the coloured troops in public. Influential representatives such as General Mangin, who is considered the “father” of the *armée noire* and campaigned for the intensive recruitment of natives, originally emphasised their wild “racial characteristics.” French colonisers and anthropologists had already attributed them with bluntness and robustness, an excellent physical condition, a strong fighting instinct and a “lack of nervousness.”<sup>651</sup> Due to these characteristics and other warlike qualities, they were deemed particularly suited for use as soldiers.

It was also seen as a strategic military advantage that the Africans in the field demoralised and frightened the opponents.<sup>652</sup> To maintain their warlike qualities it seemed appropriate to keep them away from “harmful and softening contacts” with the white society. According to Lüsebrink, the French press, however, judged the use of natives in Europe as “problematic,” “inhumane and illegal under international law.” This perspective was based on considerations of the experts in international law Frantz Despagne and Alexandre Mériqnac. Both had already stated at the beginning of the century that “[s]oldiers” from “wild tribes” were unfamiliar with the laws of European warfare and unable to acquire them.

Parts of the French Left condemned the deployment of colonial troops as an act of militarism. They feared that it would be internationally used to quell strikes of the working class in Europe.<sup>653</sup> Leo Trotsky considered the use of colored troops for the “imperialist war” an effort of European capital to mobilise “armed forces outside of the troubled Europe.”<sup>654</sup> French intellectuals such as Romain Rolland, John Longuet, Henri Barbusse and Maurice Maurin shared such assessment and supported from this perspective the “protest against the black troops.”<sup>655</sup>



After military leaders had initially positively highlighted the ferocity of Africans with their “innate aggressiveness” and “savagery,”<sup>656</sup> their strategy of representation changed as a result of a public problematisation of these properties. The colonial forces were now characterised as civilised and culturally adapted. General Charles Mangin accused the Germans of using civilisation as a propagandic term to fight the use of coloured units. This would, however, not obscure the fact that “the blacks gained for French culture” never had committed atrocities comparable to Germany’s war atrocities. Germany had to get used to the idea that France is not limited to its European territory but could put “100 million” people into the “service of civilisation.”<sup>657</sup>

The French public similarly no longer highlighted the “anthropological otherness” of the African soldiers, which the French military leaders had still in 1914 and during the war years considered as one of their most important properties. Rather, the Africans were now equipped with a capability for “intellectual development” and “cultural adaptability.” From this altered perspective the French army should no longer represent a “dressage machinery” but was, as Lüsebrink described, seen as an exemplary “model of a paternalistic acculturation policy.”<sup>658</sup> The use of colonial soldiers in Europe was now considered a civilising mechanism which reduced the cultural gap between France and its colonies.

This representation of the colonial troops followed the notion of the infantile savage who was perceived as inferior to the white but could be fostered through education. They were known as ward of the nation who would make progress under the civilising influence of the French colonial system. Under the command of white officers, they were regarded a disciplined force and served not at least as an exotic illustration of the successful colonial power France.

French officials sought to refute the nightmarish vision of the savage colonial soldier by classifying him as an in his infantilism noble, innocent naïve, quiet, unassuming, good-natured and helpful human being. They described Africans as “mild-mannered, kind children of nature” (Naturkinder) who were apart from very “rare exceptions” perfectly behaved and by no means “half or entirely wild people.”<sup>659</sup> Official French statements called the Africans in the Rhineland an “example of consummate discipline” and praised the “loyalty and dedication”<sup>660</sup> with which they served France. After the withdrawal of parts of the colonial forces, the only troops left in the occupied territories were “basically big children” with a “pure [ ] soul” characterised by their positive nature and



their “quiet habits.” They were known as people of “sentimental heart” and “naive goodness” who quickly won the sympathy of the population.<sup>661</sup> It would be “completely unfair to view the colonial soldier and especially the black as savages.” He was rather “very disciplined” and “generally a very gentle person” with a “very fun-loving, generous and good character.”<sup>662</sup>

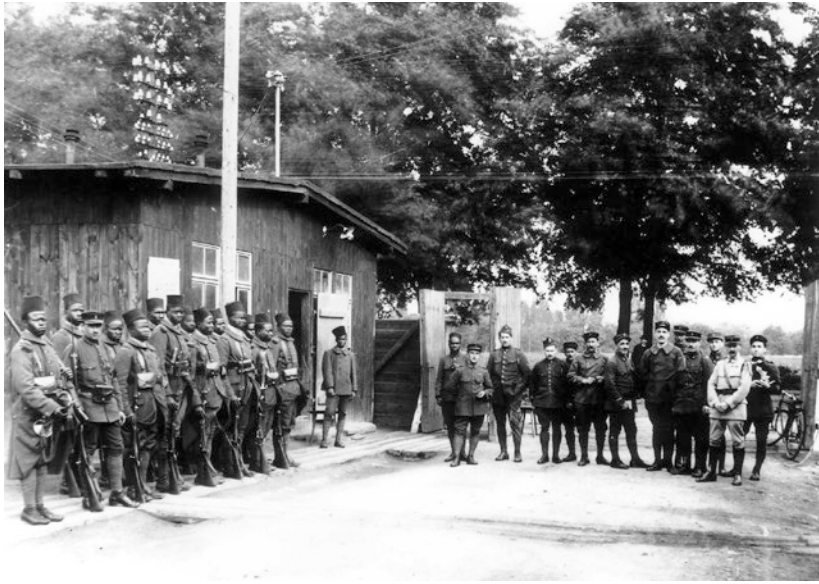
France was also trying to enhance the image of its colonial troops by pointing out their successful conversion to Christianity. The residents in the German cities occupied by them would see slowly that various coloured people were “not savages but rather devout Christians.” In Speyer, over 700 colonial soldiers had been baptised in two years and their religiosity had been praised in a municipality pamphlet.<sup>663</sup> They would now be regarded as “exceptionally serious and trustworthy.”<sup>664</sup> The newspaper *La République* promoted the idea that they also had internalised the Christian commandment of charity, when replacing the racist stereotype of the black rapist with a report about colonial soldiers who during a fire in Oppau rescued a German woman and a German man from danger.<sup>665</sup>

Moreover numerous studio portrait photos from the occupied territory opposed the accusation of “Black Shame” with the image of civilised colonial troops who were culturally adapted to Europe.<sup>666</sup> These show various French colonial soldiers posing as representatives of the occupying army without exception in uniform and mostly in military posture. Items such as riding crop, white gloves, military badges and order underline their role as legitimate representatives of a civilised army. Some group pictures of coloured troops who stand at attention under the supervision of white French officers likewise present the colonial soldiers as a disciplined part of the French Army (Figs. 3.18 and 3.19).<sup>667</sup>

This did not rule out, however, that such photographs could be used in the battle of images to attack the “mixed peoples of the occupation army”<sup>668</sup> (Völkergemisch) or to prove the shameful presence of Africa-born troops in Germany.<sup>669</sup> Therefore, for example, the photo of a Spahi regiment of the French army in their uniforms, which orderly rode across Mainz, seemed to be sufficient in the eyes of an author to illustrate the “coloured shame.”<sup>670</sup>

A photo album owned by a German baron, which is kept in the town archives of Worms and was the gift of a French captain, also clarifies this perspective. In it, various portraits and other photographs of colonial





**Fig. 3.18** Gruppenbild [group photo] Kolonialtruppen. StA Worms, Neg. No. CH2073

soldiers were “garnished” with handwritten comments in German. The comment “Peoples of Europe” (Völker Europas) can be found under the portrait of a sitting colonial soldier with book. Next to the photo of Asian soldiers peacefully seated around a table, we find the comment: “Lights out, knives out” (Fig. 3.20). Several Africans in uniform are commented on as “Coloured culture on the Rhine. Our masters in the Reichs- and Imperial City of Worms.” Another colonial soldier is known as “House Moor.” The sarcastic comment on the image of another colonial soldier, showing him with a smiling white woman, reads: “Don’t you anticipate my sweet scents?”<sup>671</sup>

The writer of these captions makes the substantialist option of racism very clear. It insisted on the primordial content of its prejudices and rejected all signs of cultural forms as staffage. Even the realistic medium of photography could not unsettle it in this position. The photographs might have attempted to portray acculturation. Postures, military formations and genres such as “thoughtful reading,” “sociable round” and “happy couple” signaled known patterns and relations. The racist views





**Fig. 3.19** Atelierbild [atelier photo] motive ‘Spahi-Offizier.’ StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, alphabetische Sammlung, Besatzung französische, 1918–1930, Soldaten (Atelierbilder)





Fig. 3.20 Page Fotoalbum [photo album] Baron Heyl, motives ‘Völker Europas’, ‘Licht aus! Messer raus...’. StA Worms



reversed their messages simply by seeing their familiar form as disintegrated by alien content. In this way, it only superficially turned the realism of perception against the realism of images. That the smell of the black was supposedly even clinging to his image referred not only to the idiosyncrasy of the beholder but also revealed the mode of viewing. It was not simply depicting but actually a process of construction.

The image of a colonial soldier and its—in the eyes of this racist construction—associated comical combination of the uncivilised with the cultural good was not considered disruptive because it could be seen, but because this construction knew about its impossibility and impertinence. Hence, the eye-catching contrast of their skin colours was welcomed but not crucial with regard to the image of the black man and white woman. It would have been used as evidence for miscegenation also with an in terms of colour less differential pair. As racial otherness was seen as substantial rather than accidental, its diagnosis depended not on the object but the subject of perception.

This subject was therefore not to be swayed by the, in their eyes, naïve measures with which the French occupying power attempted to address the growing protests against the “Black Shame.” In 1921 France had already withdrawn their Senegalese troops from the occupied territories and declared there were now “no black soldiers” anymore, but only colonial troops “on a relatively high level of culture.”<sup>672</sup> In this itself racially motivated reasoning, it was unsurprisingly overlooked that the blackness of the black as a racially constructed other could not be read off his skin but was ascribed to it. This was nowhere more clearly expressed as in the “one drop of foreign blood rule” formulated in the history of colonialism and shared by all cultured nations. “Black blood,” however, was a racist certainty and not a sensory impression.

This had also occasionally caused confusion in German colonial history. Ludwig Baumann, for example, who went to school in Germany, studied and graduated as an engineer, and who was not only culturally, but also externally virtually indistinguishable from a European, was still classified as “native” by the High Court in Windhoek.<sup>673</sup> The Court assumed that a single black in the family tree was sufficient for this classification, adding specifically that in this way the “degrees of consanguinity” were not significant. This judgment excited the chairman of the German Gesellschaft für Züchtungskunde (German Association for Eugenics) so much that he wrote to the government asking whether on its basis, spoken from a perspective of breeding, a “conversion to the



pure breed” was possible at all. According to the “insight of the Supreme Court” people with “15/16 blood,” “31/32 blood and also infinitely more extensive blood thinning would always have to be labelled as not belonging to the white race.”

### 3.4 FOR THE SAKE OF THE FATHERLAND: THE RECONCILIATION OF CLASS SOCIETY IN THE COMMUNITY OF THE PEOPLE

Although the German cinema film *Die Schwarze Schmach* (The Black Shame) was extremely controversial, it achieved “everywhere breaking full houses”<sup>674</sup> until its ban in 1921. Some thought the film portrayed the “outrage of the German people;”<sup>675</sup> others suspected it “set up” the German people.<sup>676</sup> For American observers of the scene, this had to remind them of a familiar memory. Only a few years earlier, David W. Griffith with his film *The Birth of a Nation* had triggered massive clashes regarding the racist character of the film there. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) achieved with intensive protests at least that its performance was prohibited in some states of the United States.<sup>677</sup> Tobias Nagl has examined this film in depth, providing a critical analysis of its racist and sexualised rhetoric.<sup>678</sup>

One of the sequences provoking particularly sustained protest shows the escape of a white girl from a black man and makes clear through facial expressions and cut that she can escape a rape in the end only by the suicidal leap from a cliff. While Griffith used these images to legitimate the Ku Klux Klan, the stereotype of the purity of white women threatened by black sexuality had another function in the German film *The Black Shame*.<sup>679</sup>

The film’s protagonists, a doctor’s daughter from a good home and a porter’s daughter from the lower classes, were staged by the director as “Leidensgefährtninnen”<sup>680</sup> (comrades in suffering) to invoke the men of all classes in the face of their misery to provide protection. The plot united outraged factory workers with the bourgeois groom of the raped daughter of a doctor in protest against the audacity of “ignorant Negroes.” In the face of the impending rape of German women whose “good and honour” were regarded as the “banner of the German man”<sup>681</sup> one should be able to find enough men even in the ghost of low pub (Kaschemme) of the factory district under the “disinherited” of society who were willing “to defend the honour of their race.”<sup>682</sup>





**Fig. 3.21** Standbild [still shot] Film 'Die Schwarze Schmach', motive workers are protecting the Doctor's daughter. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927

That the doctor's daughter was represented as "raped martyr" meant to make the willingness of the workers to defend her seem plausible. Three still shots from the film indicate this. Two show several workers who protectively shield the doctor's daughter from the black soldiers (Fig. 3.21). It was not a coincidence that the bourgeoisie daughter fled from them into the arms of the workers. She gave the German workers the possibility to defer the interests of their class and to demonstrate class-crossing unity. The other still shot highlighted their structure. It placed the doctor's daughter with her middle-class fiancé in the centre of demonstrating workers with raised fists. The young man is allowed to take the lead of the furious working masses who want to ward off the crimes of the "black race" and put an end to the "Black Shame" burdening on Germany.<sup>683</sup>

That working class families suffered equally under the coloured occupation and were able to rely on the support of the upper classes is demonstrated by efforts of the doctor's daughter's brother to rescue the





**Fig. 3.22** Standbild [still shot] Film ‘Die Schwarze Schmach’, colonial soldiers abducting the doctor’s daughter. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927

daughter of the porter family deported to a black brothel. His performance, too, is staged to facilitate class reconciliation. The film director had the doctor’s son shut down by a black in his attempt to free the beloved working class girl. Thus, it appeared as an obligation of the workers to show similar compliance in relation to his sister. The public response to this request was divided. Different from a newspaper and a film magazine, which had praised the film as a “good means of propaganda”<sup>684</sup> and an appeal addressed to the “proletarians of all countries,”<sup>685</sup> the *Vorwärts* distanced itself from this nationalist “tendency film of crudest kind.”<sup>686</sup> A fourth still shot in which the doctor’s daughter is abducted by coloured soldiers (Fig. 3.22) was meant to show how the French nation threw defenseless Germans to “black monsters.” The image was deliberately aimed to provoke outrage and press for a “German sense of honour.”<sup>687</sup>

This film illustrates a core theme in the campaign against the “Black Shame,” which is the tireless call for a reconciliation of all Germans in the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Rather than instilling “poison” into the seriously



injured racial body of their nation and disintegrating it,<sup>688</sup> they were pushed to realise that Germany was threatened by inner conflict and needed them to stand together against the “desecration” of a “defenseless people.”<sup>689</sup> To do so it was proposed necessary to forget the “party quarrel” and to form a closed “security front” against the “common enemy.”<sup>690</sup> This vision was represented as without alternative even to the working classes. The campaign hence repeatedly suggested that French rule meant slavery and stylised the coloured soldiers to the “Hangmen of the workers.”<sup>691</sup>

To convey this message and to create Germany’s cohesion as a people across party divides, on the one hand the attack on the German people, Volkskörper and Volksgemeinschaft was outraged with penetrating regularity. On the other hand, workers were often directly addressed, asked for the termination of the class quarrel and constantly reminded of the importance of the national united front in the face of the supposedly terrible threat of the “Black Shame.”

### 3.4.1 *“Black Shame” as German Degradation: The Staged Attack on the Volkskörper*

The “Black Horror” was to be perceived as a French threat to the German nation evoking the “outrage of all of Germany.” The colonial forces were constructed as a danger and humiliation hitting the Germans as a people beyond class boundaries. The “whole German people”<sup>692</sup> was prompted incessantly to tackle the coloured occupation as “degradation.”<sup>693</sup> The colonial soldiers were targeted as a “national shame for Germany”<sup>694</sup> through the “desecration of German blood, German freedom, German honour.”<sup>695</sup> They were deemed to violate “national feeling,”<sup>696</sup> were attacked as a shameful crime committed against the “German people”<sup>697</sup> and stood for “national humiliation.”<sup>698</sup>

The use of Africans as occupation forces seemed a “slap in Germany’s face,”<sup>699</sup> harming German “honour” substantially<sup>700</sup> and damaging the very “lifeblood” of the German national community.<sup>701</sup> This, in turn, was constructed from a sexist perspective, so that the “protection” of German women could be postulated as a “sacred, national legacy.”<sup>702</sup> Many campaigners were sure that no real German man was to accept that “wild Negro, Spahi—Turko gangs” made “hunt on Rhenish women.”<sup>703</sup> Only those ready to fight the “black executioner” who targeted the honour of German women<sup>704</sup> were deemed to deserve this label.



As with the politicisation of the relationship between gender and race, the supposedly endangered purity of women played a significant role also in the relationship of gender and nation. The biological function attributed to women to secure the continued existence of the people in connection with the weakness and vulnerability socially assigned to them made them the ideal symbolic projection screen of national exposure and an imperative class-crossing resistance. The French colonial forces were interpreted as instrument of biological warfare, which would, faced with only compromises and hesitation, inevitably lead to disaster. A weakened national body could be strengthened; a captured one, could be freed. A defiled *Volkskörper*, however, had to inevitably deteriorate in degeneration.

Fatima El-Tayeb has argued that the campaign against the “Black Shame” needs to be viewed in association with a wider “degeneration discourse” which warned of a “genetic deterioration” of the German people.<sup>705</sup> Christian Koller has pointed out that contemporary race scientists such as Hans F.K. Günther extended the rape allegation to the accusation that France was pursuing the “contamination of German blood” with a systematically driven policy of “race mixture.”<sup>706</sup>

Moreover, the warning of the dangers of miscegenation were by no means an exclusively German or *völkish* movement fantasy. It was widespread in societies such as Australia, South Africa and the United States, which propagated the ideology of white supremacy.<sup>707</sup> Alleged sexual assaults of black men on white women were a commonly listed reason for lynchings in the southern states of the United States.<sup>708</sup> Barbara Bair has shown with the example of the Racial Integrity Act, passed in Virginia in 1924, that the policy against racial mixture has occasionally resulted in strange coalitions. In this case, activists of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America, a branch of the Ku Klux Klan, worked together with Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association to politically implement the “message from white men who wish to keep the white race white, to black men who keep the black race black.”<sup>709</sup>

When the campaign against the “Black Shame” insisted France would degenerate the German people racially, it could hence actually hope to gain international sympathy. A member of the white community complained about the damage to Germany’s national integrity with contemporary racist arguments. With regard to the alleged biological threat in Germany, a warning was issued against the “infection with foreign race blood” (*fremdem Rasseblut*) which would take place on a large scale<sup>710</sup>



to “physically destroy the people.”<sup>711</sup> Different physicians, too, were convinced the coloured troops caused a “dangerous sexual contamination”<sup>712</sup> and saw syphilis as a “national epidemic”<sup>713</sup> (*Volksseuche*). France was under suspicion of having brought their black troops deliberately ill to Germany to pollute the people.<sup>714</sup> The *Notbund* deemed the “Black Shame” would “contaminate Palatinate, Saar region and Rhineland”<sup>715</sup> and protested rigorously against the increasing “racial deterioration” of its people resulting from the “mixing with alien blood.”<sup>716</sup>

Notions of gender, class, race and nation corresponded when the entire German nation was urged in the context of the racial purity of the German woman to pull together and not to rest until the “Black Shame” was removed.<sup>717</sup> This demand was linked to the eugenic conviction that the reconstruction of Germany could be accomplished only by a “robust, healthy people” not a “people of tainted mulattos.”<sup>718</sup> The destruction of the German “peoples’ health”<sup>719</sup> (*Volksgesundheit*) had to be prevented with “woman,” “child,” “people a[nd] future”<sup>720</sup> at stake.

A district physician from Landau had a fancy semantic idea in this context, when warning of the “deteriorating of our *Volksrasse*”<sup>721</sup> (people-race). He combined the general category of the white race with the specific of the German people in order to clarify the overarching importance of its endangerment.

Even politicians did not hold back with such blatantly racist comments. The German foreign minister condemned the use of colonial troops as a threat resulting in the ongoing “wasting away” of parts of the German national body.<sup>722</sup> The socialist German MP Elisabeth Röhl warned against the “exacerbated danger of physical contamination” and believed in accordance with the anti-discrimination principle of the Erfurt programme to be able to interpret the commitment against the coloured occupation as a necessary national self-defense against the racial attack of the external enemy.<sup>723</sup> Several members of Parliament had committed themselves earlier to oppose the French black outrages which would contaminate the German people, degrade it and spoil its “*Volkstum*”<sup>724</sup> (national character).

In addition, various associations ensured that the “Black Horror” was perceived as a biological and moral threat to the entire German people. They accused France of “hopelessly contaminating the German people”<sup>725</sup> with its black soldiers and of attacking it healthwise<sup>726</sup> as well as its “moral well-being.”<sup>727</sup> These troops were staged as a threat to



German public health,<sup>728</sup> which Germans were urged to oppose in an attempt to keep the German “people power” pure.<sup>729</sup>

The talk of the endangered German Volkskörper aimed not at least to ideologically unite the German population split into various classes. It was meant to provoke the resistance of Germans from the entire social stratum against the “Black Shame.” Women of different associations in Bremen hence felt the “Black Shame” had to finally teach the Germans “to stand together in hardship and suffering.”<sup>730</sup> Organisations gathering in Berlin similarly did not accept that the entire life of the German Volk was dominated by the black occupation.<sup>731</sup>

Black atrocities against “Volksgenossen” (national comrades) were not to be tolerated and had supposedly already adopted such dimensions that any form of reservation or hesitation was considered a “crime.”<sup>732</sup> The association of German students—a proud “carrier of the German people’s ideal” (deutscher Volksgedanke)—seemed hence particularly keen to protect the German woman against “animalisation and enslavement” and to fight “the pollution of the people” (Volkverseuchung) grounded in the Rhineland.<sup>733</sup> Women of the middle class, too, called for the protest against France, which with its blacks was trying to pollute the German people with “pestilential disease” and to morally compromise it.<sup>734</sup>

The issue of forced “mixing”<sup>735</sup> with the colonial forces was similarly omnipresent in the media. Here, too, concerns were articulated regarding the moral status quo of the nation. The German people were reportedly severely damaged by instigating its women into prostitution.<sup>736</sup> The presence of coloureds was feared to lead to a “breakdown of morality.”<sup>737</sup> Brothels made headlines as “breeding grounds” for “Black shame,” German “women’s misery”<sup>738</sup> and outrageous “cultural vulgarity.”<sup>739</sup> They too were doomed as an attack on the national honor of all Germans. Particularly degrading seemed the French command to set up a brothel in the public house “To the German flag.”<sup>740</sup>

Several representatives of the campaign claimed the black occupation had disastrous hygienic and moral consequences for the suffering German people and demanded their retreat to protect its “culture” and “health.”<sup>741</sup> They developed eugenically saturated and culturally chauvinistic scenarios in which the morally high-ranking Christian population of the Rhineland fell victim in the course of the occupation to a “debased and diseased race of hybrids.”<sup>742</sup> The report of the before mentioned Mainz police assistant Clara Schapiro hence recalled the supposedly horrific consequences of the occupation for German morale.<sup>743</sup>



France had promoted prostitution, let their “black beasts” keep the brothels and created “brothel streets” as “community colleges of vice.” Aiming to contaminate its inhabitants,<sup>744</sup> it would have transformed the occupied area into a “pesthole of immorality and sexually transmitted diseases.”<sup>745</sup>

The Bavarian state commissioner for the Palatinate similarly felt that the transfer of power to coloureds was an attempt “to morally smash the German people.”<sup>746</sup> A representative in the occupied territory agreed and mobilised against the “desecration of German customs” and “German blood” caused by black brothels. He was particularly concerned about their impact on the moral character of German children,<sup>747</sup> a concern shared by the Rheinische Frauenliga, amongst others. The latter came after an excursion to the conclusion that mainly children of the working class were threatened to derail morally under the occupation.<sup>748</sup> The government of the Palatinate also knew of the danger of “moral pollution.” Its claim that the German youth were exposed to the “perverse inclinations of coloured soldiers”<sup>749</sup> reinforces the stereotype of black sexuality as a threat and reinforces the colonial soldiers’ racialised exclusion as stereotypical “others.”

To provoke the common protest of the Germans, the use of colonial soldiers was attacked as a biological as well as a moral and cultural crime against the German people. The Notbund saw the “Black Shame” violating the “moral and cultural sensitivity”<sup>750</sup> of the Germans, and other organisations insisted that it was beyond the “tolerable”<sup>751</sup> for a cultured nation. Being under the watch of black soldiers from “culturally low-standing colonial peoples” was considered extremely humiliating for the whole German people<sup>752</sup> and their deployment in an “old cultured country” from the outset an “impossibility.”<sup>753</sup> This was clarified on different levels. An attempt to differentiate themselves from the supposedly degenerated France, for example, was referring to the musical understanding of both peoples.

The French marching bands made up by coloured soldiers were counted as an indication of the primitive character of French musical preferences. French Moroccans produced “Mischmusik”<sup>754</sup> (Mix music). The so-called Utschetöne of the colonial forces were the subject of numerous mocking defamatory verses, songs and poems. These promoted the message that such sounds were contrary to the German culturally trained ear. In contrast to the French nation, the German nation was not to be represented by “discordant squeaking African nigger bands,”<sup>755</sup> summarised



a disparaging report of the occupation and a Mainzer song associated a “shrieking” and extreme noisiness with them.<sup>756</sup>

Campaigners moreover condemned as culturally humiliating that the German nation as a former colonial power now was virtually colonised by France’s blacks. The French nation was suspected of attempting to absorb the Rhineland and the other German colonies.<sup>757</sup> In this sense, a poem reflecting on the loss of the colonies concluded: “It was [F]riendship what connected us|With the black comrades, |Today uninvited Negroes visit us in the whole country!”<sup>758</sup> Another author was concerned about France performing in the Rhineland as if they were in any “Negro settlement” and to “not” behaving any “better than [...] Congo Negroes or cannibals.”<sup>759</sup>

Even a newspaper which apologised for publishing unverified reports of “Black Shame” and several factions of the German Reichstag maintained the belief that it was against “German sentiment” to use blacks as occupation troops in an “ancient Christian cultured country.”<sup>760</sup> Organisations agreed and condemned it as a gross insult of “German national honour” to use blacks as supervisors over “a highly cultivated country.”<sup>761</sup> The idea alone that “semi-savages” were nearby and that one had to “obey” them, should convince every German that the “Black Shame” had to be opposed and that the Rhine had to be freed.<sup>762</sup>

A German woman in the occupied territory degraded and dehumanised the colonial troops as “scum” and “riff-raff” which should not be given authority over a cultured people and was sure that in past days they would have been led through the streets as exotic animals.<sup>763</sup> The police assistant Schapiro also saw the Rhinelanders as victims of “beasts” which one otherwise only “enjoyed in the aftermath of a wild animal show at exhibitions.”<sup>764</sup> These two women were amongst many Germans wanting to see coloureds in Europe clearly only exhibited as a primitive curiosity. They found outrageous that the German people were surrounded by “untamed beasts” which no longer were paid and “ridiculed objects on display” but the “rulers in the land”.<sup>765</sup>

Given such circumstances, it was repeatedly stressed that “all classes of people” suffered under the “Black Shame.”<sup>766</sup> Germany was called to gather its “fatherland-minded” forces and ensure an “unanimous closing of the ranks.”<sup>767</sup> The Germans were prompted to become “Volksgenossen”<sup>768</sup> (national comrades) to fight the “Black Horror” as a denigration of German honour<sup>769</sup> and to regard the suffering of the population in the occupied territories as that of the entire German



people.<sup>770</sup> In this context, a German professor openly counted on the unifying potential of black atrocities. At a protest meeting of women in Gießen, he hoped that the “Black Shame” would “clench them together to a steel-hard block.”<sup>771</sup>

Various organisations tried to infect the German nation with their indignation over the deployment of colonial forces and to awaken its “hatred and vengeance.”<sup>772</sup> Especially populist völkish-minded groups wanted to make their people form a “united front against these abusers of German honour” in times of “Black Shame.” It seemed outrageous that Germans had to endure what was considered a “deadly shame” amongst Europeans and Americans: the “rule of coloured races over whites.”<sup>773</sup> Several organisations saw the “black terror” as an opportunity to unite “men and women of all levels, professions and political directions” through a shared sense of wounded national honour. They called on the government to confront all national comrades with the “Black Horror” in an attempt to awaken their “sense of German dignity.” This path seemed without alternative; doubters were deemed guilty of “sins of omission” and a people which did not resist was to be dispised as “gravedigger” of Germany’s future.<sup>774</sup>

Such utterances were functional in different ways. They emphasised the distance between the races by insisting that primitive savages had no place in a cultivated land except as exhibits in “Human Zoos.” They emphasised the difference between the nations by accusing France of the severe crime of pursuing the desecration of the “most educated people of the Earth”<sup>775</sup> with its colonial troops. And they bypassed the divide between the classes by pointing out the need for common resistance in the face of such ‘atrocities’.

### 3.4.2 *Turning Class Enemies into White National Comarades*

An important message of the protests was that, in particular, workers suffered under the reign of the blacks and led a “European slave life.” A “decorative” letter-seal stamp with this title presented three workers who did their work in a flexed position under the duress of an armed African. He dominated them, raised the whip against one worker who stood in front of him defenseless, lowering his gaze and in a highly flexed posture.<sup>776</sup> The black man was turned into a slave-driver, the victim of colonial violence so distorted as the offender. He and his ilk were seen as jeopardising, in particular, the German “working classes,” as the



coloured troops allegedly made “streets unsafe”<sup>777</sup> and attacked women during fieldwork and other work.<sup>778</sup>

Even groups of women who went home from work were made out to be a popular target of black lust.<sup>779</sup> Interestingly, this lust was seen as usually not affecting girls and women of the upper classes but rather targeting the simple “daughter of the painter,” “seamstress,” “clerk,” “telegraph assistant,” “cashier,” “washerwoman,” the “maid”<sup>780</sup>, the daughter of the “simple woman”<sup>781</sup> or the “auxiliary worker.”<sup>782</sup>

Campaigners called for national unity against this threat. A Protestant parish vigorously appealed to the “union-affiliated employees and workers” to join the campaign against the “Black Shame.”<sup>783</sup> The German Notbund issued the slogan: “In the struggle against the Black Shame, there can be no difference of nationalities, parties or denominations!”<sup>784</sup> The medal “Bete and Ar.bete” by Karl Goetz accordingly represented the “people” by a worker digging with bare torso and head down, kneeling on the ground, and a praying woman. Both were dominated by an oversized colonial soldier, guarding them with sinister mien.<sup>785</sup> A Christmas poem saw the German people suffer because of “black fists” threatening it and “German labour” struggling under “foreign socage”<sup>786</sup> (*fremder Fron*).

A German caricature showed how to escape from such humiliation. It urged the German workers literally to crush the Franco-African occupiers. It shows in two images a hydraulic press, one in its everyday function, the other time closed, while the upper body and mournful faces of three white French officers and two colonial soldiers are sticking out of it.<sup>787</sup> This racist-nationalist tilt in which the oppositional connection (*Gegenbezug*) between capital and labour was perverted into one of German work against French exploiters with African henchmen occurred in numerous variations. The call to protest against the “rape of the German Saar Region”<sup>788</sup> was illustrated by the drawing of a German miner who is trying to fend off the attack of a black man. The situation on the Ruhr was to be improved by “all men” marching there and by the miners throwing out the “black-brown band” with their own hands.<sup>789</sup>

Women’s suffering was incorporated twice into this context, whilst on the one hand the common struggle against the “Black Horror” was meant to weld together women of all classes, and on the other, the common endangering of all women was meant to unite the men in their resolute defense. In this sense, the participants of assemblies of protest stood up as Germans against the black occupation.<sup>790</sup> A functionary



brought the unit-building purpose of these meetings to the point. They would motivate the German women to form a block, awaken their compassion for the women in the occupied territory, teach them to condemn France and unite all in a “single piercing call for liberation.”<sup>791</sup>

The suffering of women was closely connected to that of the nation, as the “Black Horror” supposedly threatened “Frauentum” (womanhood) and “Deutschtum (Germanhood) at the same time.”<sup>792</sup> Supporters of the campaign hoped that even the workers who to some extent were still going astray would recognise this and recollect the “virtues inherent in our race.”<sup>793</sup> This message was received well. Representatives of the Central Association of Christian textile workers in Germany, for example, counted on a mobilisation of the workers against the “Black Shame.”<sup>794</sup> Even the Social Democratic *Vorwärts* railed against the “cultural shame” and demanded radically “Away with the blacks!”

Christian Koller has concluded from this “that the campaign against the ‘Black Shame’ by no means was carried only by the nationalist right-wing camp,” because “the corresponding race images” were “widespread.”<sup>795</sup> In doing so, he underhandedly indicates that racism has to be taken into consideration also in the formation of workers’ identity and the political options mediated through it.

In settler societies founded by European colonialism, the “Black Shame” presented early a tool for the development of a white worker’s consciousness. Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus gathered contributions documenting the struggle of the Australian labour movement for the exclusion of non-white labour from the labour market. David R. Roediger has shown how skin colour in the United States has become not only a decisive criterion of access to numerous trade unions but practically an economic factor, which paid off as “Wages of Whiteness.” Peter Martin has demonstrated that in South Africa, the United States and beyond, the racist attitudes developed were strong enough to also influence the actions of members of Communist parties, despite contrary official positions.<sup>796</sup>

In Germany such mindsets were only expressed in the cast shadows of the international development. In this way, it only rarely came to the formulation of extreme positions. Michael Schwartz has stressed that positions such as those of Karl Valentin Müller “were within the trade union sector a total exception.” However, as Wulf D. Hund has pointed out, he was able to publish his extreme positions in the trade union press: “Müller’s insights clustered around the conviction that white workers



were 'part of the Herrenchicht of the Earth,' 'part of a race of higher gift.' He took this view with a blatant racist plea for the 'racial pride' of the workers belonging to the 'master race.' They had to guard themselves avoiding 'to fling their arms around the neck' of 'each mestizo, coolie or nigger in touching fraternity.' Certainly they would have to realise that any 'connection with one of those distant races' was a 'disgrace and Blutschande'"<sup>797</sup> (violation of the blood).

Other organisations stressed the need of protest beyond existing class conflicts by pointing out explicitly that their resolutions were supported by women and men of all social "layers of the population."<sup>798</sup> They emphasised that their struggle was carried by people "of all social ranks, professions, parties and confessions"<sup>799</sup> from all "circles of the people."<sup>800</sup> That was true also for signature collections in several cities in which signatories of different denominations and parties, trades and associations of different political opinions joined the "protest movement against the use of coloured troops."<sup>801</sup>

The Notbund, too, aimed to win Germans of "all social layers—all without distinction as to parties" for the protest.<sup>802</sup> Representing the "Black Shame" as a matter concerning the general public, it won the support of the bourgeoisie parties, major women's associations, various Berlin newspapers and others. With their help the Notbund wanted to pressure the German government to join the public protest and to present its goal of ridding Germany of the "Black Horror" as an "expression of the mood of the German people."<sup>803</sup>

Every decent German had, according to the Notbund, to resist the deployment of savages for "moral, hygienic and nationalist reasons."<sup>804</sup> The protest against the "Black Shame" was meant to stand above "party issues and religious disputes" and overcome "differences of rank,"<sup>805</sup> and "supporters of all parties"<sup>806</sup> were urged to understand that only the "unity and unification thought" could save the German nation.<sup>807</sup> All Germans were prompted to "strive" for their "Germaness" (Deutschtum), fear for the health of their people and take up the fight against the supposed bastardisation of Germany and the French criminals.<sup>808</sup>

The chairman of the Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" similarly tried to "hammer" nationalist solidarity against the "Black Terror" into the German peoples' heads. As a preacher, he sent 30 rhyming pairs to various newspapers for publication as notes. They provoked German resistance against the "Black Shame" and promoted the nationalist conviction that "only one thing: the national German unity" would help



the Germans “against all the villainy.”<sup>809</sup> The Bund der Frontsoldaten (Association of Frontline Soldiers) also called for a national attack against France and its colonial soldiers. It saw the “German fist” clenching against the “Black Shame” and preventing the “Volkstum” (national character) as the highest good from being stained by French sadism.<sup>810</sup>

Different organisations promoted German solidarity as a way out of the “Black Horror.” They demanded people’s sympathy for and solidarity with their “German brothers and sisters” as victims of “Black Shame” and wanted everyone to feel the national shame brought upon all Germans through this.<sup>811</sup> People were lured into preventing together that Germany was further “stained, disintergrated, de-germanised.”<sup>812</sup> A postcard supported these calls by showing Palatinate families being driven away by colonial soldiers with whips and guns accompanied by white officers. Its caption urges national solidarity and help: “Palatinate Land, which you suffered German anguish, resisting bravely. Give them a helping hand!”<sup>813</sup>

In Bavaria the German Democratic Party, Bavarian Central Party, majority socialists, Bavarian people’s Party, Bavarian Farmer’s Federation and the organised medical profession demonstrated national solidarity against the “Black Shame.”<sup>814</sup> Helene Weber from the ministry of welfare prompted the Germans to engage in common protest.<sup>815</sup> Mende, a female member of the German Parliament, campaigned for a national reconciliation beyond gender interests and party lines, convinced that with a view to the “Black Shame” there could be only one single standpoint of the people - “Volksstandpunkt”.<sup>816</sup>

From this perspective, discord and party strife in Germany seemed for some authors virtually a product of French policy, held responsible for the splitting of the German people and the impoverishment of wide strata of the population. They demanded the German nation to overcome its political turmoil in order to escape French oppression. Campaigners were fully aware of the increasingly severe social conflicts, deprivation and a rising class antagonism within the young German republic. Determined to fix these problems, they warned that “disunity” had already poisoned the “hearts of wide masses” who put the party above the people and hence were easy prey for the enemy and the “internationalism” he preached for purely egoistic motives.<sup>817</sup> The entire German people were urged to reflect, make German “unity” again their “highest good” and “duty” and stand “unanimously and united” against Germany’s enemies. Those unwilling to do so had to be excluded from the community.



Different newspapers criticised in this context the ban of a protest meeting against the “Black Shame” in Hamburg as anti-national and did not accept that it was imposed to not jeopardise negotiations between Germany and the Allies. Here, too, the campaign served, as Gisela Lebzelter put it, as an “indicator of national sentiment.”<sup>818</sup> So the press concluded that the ban showed a lack of “national self-confidence” amongst the Social Democrats, responsible for the misery of the Germans. To escape the misery, everyone should now show and act upon “national confidence” “from the top down to the last German!”<sup>819</sup>

The “Black Horror” was constantly linked to the call for a German closing of the ranks and a critique of a lack of national cohesion. The class-crossing unity of the divided German nation was demanded in order to save its culture, endangered by primitive colonial troops. Against this background, the stereotype of “Black Shame” had an integrating function. It was to serve as an ideological link—a hinge between the polarised forces within German Weimar society—that would allow the racist conciliation of different interests in a class-crossing community of the people (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

The frequent concomitant exclusion threats towards those who stood apart, did not want to join or even perpetrated betrayal, however, made it clear again and again that this was in many cases an ideological camouflage: the offer to let conflicts of interest rest was hypocritical. The call to form a *völkish* united front was not actually addressed to all. Its creators speculated, in fact, that it would not be followed by all to denounce those who rejected it, together with France and its colonial troops. The longed-for racial cleansing of Africans who had been marked as savages and the national cleansing of the French nation, declared to be “*vernegert*”—“Negrosised”—was to be supplemented by the domestic cleansing of stateless and internationalist elements. The promotion of German national solidarity also had the intent to brand its critics as collaborators of the race defilement. The reconciliation of the divided nation aimed at victims in its own ranks.

This was expressed particularly clearly in countless pamphlets and especially in popular plays which called on their audiences to protest against the coloured occupation and targeted the alleged traitors of the national cause with an—at the same time—anti-Semitic and anti-Communist demagoguery.

Benno Oppen’s drama *Die Schwarze Schmach* (*The Black Shame*), for example, spread aggressive nationalism directed against Jews and the



French, and claimed that the German people had to defend themselves against external and internal enemies at the same time. One of the characters was the Jew Silverstein, who worked for the French occupiers and was carved from the stereotype of the cunning moneylender, the “type of unscrupulous Jewish agent” who attracted attention through his “mumbling speech” and was represented as a “traitor of the country.”<sup>820</sup>

A district commissioner’s family facing him had “German marrow in the bones.”<sup>821</sup> Their daughter was pestered by a French officer and his black fellow billeted in their house. Her aristocratic fiancé saved her from a sexual assault by the black and killed him.<sup>822</sup> The author turned this into a matter of German honour and him into its avenger “free from any wrongdoing,” having revenged the “violated Germany [...] on this black beast.”<sup>823</sup> Oppen’s workers followed his example and stepped up as the daughter of the milk dealer was desecrated by a “black scoundrel.”<sup>824</sup> The district commissioner took matters into his own hands, stirred up the German people’s hatred, and announced a new St. Bartholomew’s Day, from which no black would escape alive.<sup>825</sup>

Another story, by Adolf Viktor von Koerber, hit similarly brutal nationalist-völkish tones, aiming at welding together the weakened and troubled German people into a “Sturmarmee” (storm army) against the “Black Shame.”<sup>826</sup> Its enemies were constructed as “racially foreign bacilli carriers” and advocates of the “Jewish democratic parliamentary system”<sup>827</sup> made up by “Negroes, Jews and Communists.” The author had “red guards and niggers” jointly occupy the Ruhr and “plunder, steal, defile, kill.” Their “terror and blood regiment” supposedly resulted in several deaths within the self-protection association, formed of citizens and workers.<sup>828</sup>

In this way, he split workers into two camps, a völkish valuable part which defended the country together with the bourgeoisie and a racially inferior part, making common cause with “primitive savages.” The racism served here not only to transcend the class category but also permeated it and served the racialisation of political opponents. Only the classes cleansed of them could come together in the Volksgemeinschaft.

The novel *Ruhr-Apachen* (*Ruhr Apaches*) anticipated this purified German national community and presented its readers a workforce which had overcome the class spirit with a few exceptions and embarked on the path of national unity. Workers openly promoted the reconciliation of



the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, wanted as Germans to “step in one for another” and avoided any “dispute” or “riot.”<sup>829</sup>

This author’s proletariat appears reformed—chastened in the time of the “Black Horror.” Class conflict was substituted with the dogma of a racially defined national community which ideologically transcended class difference and antagonism. While in the past several “threatening protest floods of class conscious proletarians” had flared up against the coal syndicate as a “stronghold” of capitalism, now the reformed workers would march in national unity with a “colourfully mixed convoy”<sup>830</sup> of workers, citizens, capitalists, employees, students, men, women and children marching through the streets against the French occupying forces.

When Ajax made the French lock up a group of prisoners of all classes and ranks he spoke again of liquidating “the class struggle [in order to] realise the united front”<sup>831</sup> (Einheitsfront). Everyone was urged to believe that all Germans shared the same fate and suffered alike, from the factory owner, battered by French, to the police man, beaten by the occupiers for saving a worker girl from the blacks. Even the “leftist worker” now saw himself as “Volksgenosse”<sup>832</sup>—national comrade—after he had several fingers broken by a soldier and “hardcore Social Democrats” changed their mind facing the enemy and were now ready to co-operate with the “nationalist circles of the people.”<sup>833</sup>

What was enforced here implicitly the author of another colportage novel *Die Schwarze Pest* ( *The Black Plague*) called by its name: the dissolution of class society in the Volksgemeinschaft and racial solidarity. He directly appealed to the “workforce” under which the black soldiers would find “most of the victims,”<sup>834</sup> urging workers to become “race comrades”<sup>835</sup> (Rassegenossen) and to forget all “party strife” in an “united people of brothers.”<sup>836</sup>

Although the author was undoubtedly familiar with the transnational significance of the category race, strongly stressed in the campaign against the “Black Shame” with views to the outside and especially to the United Kingdom and the United States, it seemed to him not a contradiction to use it as a medium of transfer of class consciousness to a völkish-defined community awareness. Especially given the massive social and political clashes after the German November Revolution, the merging of the classes to a united people required obviously not only a national enemy image but also a reformation of those involved, which was imagined substantially, but was nevertheless metaphysical. The path from the Klassengenosse (class comrade) to the Volksgenosse (people comrade) led via the Rassengenosse (race comrade).



And precisely because this process was seen as a reformation process it also claimed victims. As in the entire campaign against the “Black Shame,” also in its pseudo-literary variants, women were preferably offered, in the ideal case, who were daughters of the working classes.

In the lowliness of the popular literature, the mendacious ideology of the Volksgemeinschaft reached its peak and was reversed into the demand directed at the lower strata to sacrifice themselves for the protection of the more noble circles, and with that, the substance of the German people. Artur Landsberger and Magda Trott showed this in their colportage novels *Elisabeth* and *Freiwild am Rhein* (Fair Game on the Rhine).

Elisabeth’s family is conceptualised as German Volksfamilie (family of the people). In it, the head of the family, a profit-seeking, self-indulgent capitalist, influenced by his greedy Jewish son-in-law, opposes his own wife, who embodies national and Christian virtues, her similar daughter Elisabeth and Elisabeth’s communist brother and two sisters.

One of them is portrayed as the joy-driven unvirtuous wife of the Jew, the other, the youngest, mimes the innocent girl raped by “black animals.” In the course of the story, they align not only with the anti-Semitic, German nationalist fiancé of the youngest daughter but also with the die-hard communist leader and the Jewish son-in-law in the German Volksgemeinschaft against French oppression and “Black Shame.” Into this family, the war invalid Reinhart returns. Elisabeth presents herself to him as a symbol of the battered nation and sacrifices herself for his recovery. Through this, hostile parts of the family converge.

Landsberger too, mobilises the Frauenopfer (women sacrifice) to create unity amongst the Germans. Together with the scarred male body of Reinhart, beaten nearly to death by black soldiers, several violated women in the novel testify of the need for a national association against France. The title heroine brings the ultimate sacrifice by committing suicide to save Reinhart’s life when threatened by a white French officer.<sup>837</sup> Both figures are allegorically charged. Reinhart’s fate stood for the “whole German people”—sick in “body” and “soul.”<sup>838</sup>

He serves as a cipher and seismograph for an allegedly sick and tormented German people, is intended to reflect “German fate”<sup>839</sup> and is the “stove, on which the author lets the blacks fuel the ‘fire’ of German defense.”<sup>840</sup> Elizabeth represents the nationalist-völkish ideal of a German woman, who lives and is willing to die for her people.<sup>841</sup> Her mission is to expel class thinking, self-indulgence, greed, communism



and modern spirit within the disparate Volksfamilie (national family). Rather than being divided into “hostile parties,” its members were now to unite in the “firm belief” that they are “belonging together”<sup>842</sup> and so enable the “strengthening and recovery”<sup>843</sup> of their people.

Landsberger invented lusty French officers and atrocities of “black animals” on the working people to ideologically reinforce this claim.<sup>844</sup> Given these conditions, all family members were ready to “bury their opposition”<sup>845</sup> and stand “unanimous”<sup>846</sup> against the occupation. He even turned die-hard communists into “agitators of French shame” and national reconciliation.<sup>847</sup> That a people as badly mistreated as the Germans had to join forces was the morale of the staged “disaster”<sup>848</sup> of the “Black Shame.” Landsberger’s protagonists led the way. All of them had, through Elisabeth, “relearned” and now knew nothing more “urgent” than the immediate “consolidation” of all Germans.<sup>849</sup>

The family of the people (Volksfamilie) offered its members only an apparent unity. It blanked out existing rifts between them partially, without, however, overcoming them. Despite conspicuous unity in the fight against the “Black Horror,” existing barriers in the German nation, such as the barrier of marriage between members of different classes, remained intact. These continuously prevented from an eugenic perspective the mixture between people whom race hygienists classified as unequal racially. At the same time, a class racism was maintained which accused women of the lower classes indiscriminately of fornication and despised them for it.

Magda Trott’s novel on the “Black Shame” offered these women, too, an integration into the family of the people for the price of their voluntary submission to the rulers. Although she considered all German women “Fair Game on the Rhine,”<sup>850</sup> class restrictions were to remain in the respect that every woman had to fulfil her “hereditary” task in the national community.

The author pushed the worker’s daughter Hedwig in front of the socially dominant image of the libidinous worker’s woman and lets this quiet female worker show how Trott imagined the role of her class in the Volksgemeinschaft. Hedwig gratefully submits herself to the industrialist and his daughters, is loyal, devoted to them and persuaded to protect them at all costs. Obviously, the working girl has internalised the selflessness demanded of her class, given that she is prepared to “sacrifice her life” to prevent the factory owner’s daughters “loved by her above everything” from being ravished by colonial soldiers.



After the first daughter of the industrialist leaps to her death as a “martyr”<sup>851</sup> for the honor of the nation to avoid being raped by a French officer, the worker’s daughter is sketched determined to prevent the rape of his second daughter by offering herself as a “ransom” to the French for their black occupation brothel. A model of readiness to make sacrifices, she is prepared to give her virginal purity and honour, to live a “life of shame” and to be marked by the “plague”<sup>852</sup> in order to protect the upper-class heroine from just this fate.

The truth of the Volksgemeinschaft was the sacrifice of the lower-class woman. In this way the young female worker illustrated what price her class was meant to pay for the integration into this community. She represented workers who unconditionally submitted themselves and who had internalised the inferiority attributed to them and put their lives in the service of the ruling classes “in humble love.” The “good [] child”<sup>853</sup> had done her duty after preventing with her own sacrifice that “dirty hands” grabbed “luminous sanctuaries”<sup>854</sup>—the daughters of better homes. The worker’s daughter instead lets herself be defiled and has her own tainted body wiped out, as soon as she knows that the factory owner and his daughters are safe.<sup>855</sup>

Magda Trott let her audience clearly feel her eugenic conviction that there was a significant difference between workers and upper-class women. While the latter were sketched as beauties of “real Teuton type”<sup>856</sup> (Germanentyp), the former came from a sickly worker’s family, from which certainly no “German hero woman” (deutsches Heldenweib) could emerge because they were incapable of generating a “powerful stock.”<sup>857</sup> As long as the enemies chose the most beautiful of the women and defiled “good, noble blood forcibly,”<sup>858</sup> to dishonour the German nation, it was clear that only woman Frauenopfer (women sacrifices) of this “quality” could achieve the desired cleansing of the German Volkskörper.

While the factory owner’s daughter was suitable as an ideal of the endangered Germanic virgin, it was down to the female worker to avert the renewed threat of this ideal by her own sacrifice.<sup>859</sup> Against this background, the worker’s daughter prevents the industrialist’s second daughter from being raped. As representative of the subclasses considered inferior, she was supposed to make her sacrifice directly for the protection of the “Germanic beauties” of the upper circles but indirectly also for a German people, whose substance was deemed to depend on such “Teuton women”.



That the ruling classes earned such sacrifice in times of shared distress, the author hinted at with the behaviour of other representatives of the workforce. In the occupied territories generated in this novel, class society dissolved in the Volksgemeinschaft, people do not want to hear anything more about opponents in the “right or in the left party” but know the real “enemy” of all Germans in the “hateful France” and its blacks. While in the past there had been conflicts between manufacturers and workers, they now know that they are forged together by the “same chains.”<sup>860</sup> The call to let socially grown conflicts rest and place national interest above class interest promised national “salvation.” The Volksgemeinschaft could thrive only where social dispute was levelled by national concord and the subclasses were willing to submit to the supposedly superior strata of the population.

## NOTES

1. Poster “Jumbo, der Frauenfresser.” Zeichnung (drawing) K. Sohr, around 1920. Depicted in: Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, p. 355.
2. Die Schmach am Rhein. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Notbundes gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. 4. Vol., November 1924, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037.
3. Umschlagentwurf (draft cover page) “Die schwarze Schmach. Der Roman des geschändeten Deutschland.” Leipzig. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218. Kreuzer contacted the executive director of the Women’s League prior to the publication of his novel, who vigorously opposed the draft and feared it could be picked up by the French propaganda. See Brief (letter) Gärtner to Vogel & Vogel. 3.6.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218.
4. Karrikatur (caricature) associated with the newspaper article “Die Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Schmach verboten! Für Hamburg gibt es keine schwarze Schmach!” In: H.N. am Mittag. 29.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2235. Similar caricatures can be found in the file BArch Berlin, R1603/2223.
5. Postcard “Ihr Mütter der Welt, starben dafür Eure Söhne?” Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41, see also Die Schmach am Rhein. Nachrichten-Blatt des Deutschen Notbundes gegen die schwarze Schmach. 3. Vol., no year, No. 1. BayHStA, MA108037.
6. Briefverschußmarke “Die Schwarze Schmach. Schutzlos preisgegeben.” In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr. Ritter. München 1921. BArch Berlin,



- R1603/2221. Another original copy of this primary source can be found in the file BayHStA, MA108037.
7. Flugblatt (flyer) "Eine Menschheits-Frage! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, Vertreter beim Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete 7.
  8. "Franzosenliebchen! Ein ganz erschreckender Prozentsatz." Bayerische Staatszeitung. 22.23.12.1929. LA Speyer, R12/G93.
  9. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 29.
  10. Lee, *Schandfleck*, no page. BArch Berlin, R1602/1755.
  11. Liljeblad, *World's Shame*, p. 27. ("There are also hoydenish girls amongst the Germans who do not shun to enter into voluntary connections with both white and coloured troops without minding the unheard of sufferings, they in this way inflict upon the German people.").
  12. Zeichnung (drawing) "Die schwarze Schmach!" In: Cay, *Franzosen*. The Hamburg historian Dr. Peter Martin owns an original copy of this publication, which he kindly let me use in my research.
  13. Karrikatur (caricature) "Die Schwarze Schmach." In: Das Brennglas. Blätter für Humor und Kunst, 1920, No 13. BArch Berlin R1603/2223.
  14. Karrikatur (caricature) "Die schwarze Schmach." In Begleitschrift (brochure) associated with the film "Die Schwarze Schmach." Bayerische Filmgesellschaft Fett & Wiesel. N.D., title page. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927. Even after the decline of the campaign against the "Black Horror" this nightmarish scenario remained linked with the term, as two illustrations show taken from publications marking the end to the occupation of the Rhineland in July 1930. The first drawing pictures a "night robbery" in Trier, where a screaming white woman with exposed shoulder is haunted by a colonial soldier in uniform. The other focuses on the "rape of German women." Zeichnung (drawing) "Nächtlicher Ueberfall." In: Kentenich, *Fremdherrschaft*, p. 75; Karrikatur (caricature) "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Reichrath, *Vergewaltigung*, p. 9.
  15. On the confrontation between "Black Shame" and white women, also see Wigger, *Schwarze Schmach am Rhein*; Wigger, *Schwarze Schmach*; Wigger, *weiße Frau*; Wigger, "Black Shame"; Wigger, *Interconnections*.
  16. Briefverschlusssmarke "Die Negerbestialität." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschlusssmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr. Ritter. München 1921. BayHStA, MA108037. The Deutsche Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach sold copies of this folder for 3,-. See Bestellformular (order form) "An den 'Deutschen Notbund' München." BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.



17. "Die Zahl der farbigen Truppen im Rheinland." In: Frankfurter Zeitung. 14.5.1921. NRW HstA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
18. Resolution Evangelische Frauenhülfe im Namen von 3800 Vereinen der Frauenhülfe an deutsche Reichsregierung. 10.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
19. See, for example, Karrikatur (caricature) "Der schwarze Terror in deutschen Landen." In: Kladderadatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, no 22; Karrikatur (caricature) "Die Schande der Welt! Die Schwarze Schmach." Sascha Schneider. In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, no 25. A depiction of this caricature can also be found in Gräber and Spindler, *Pfalz*, p. 85; Caricature "Die schwarze Besatzung." Olaf Gulbrandsen. In: Simplicissimus. 24. Vol., 1920, no 11.
20. Gedicht (poem) "Die Schwarze Schmach in der Junihitze." In: Kladderadatsch. 75. Vol., 1922, No 25. Blacks are dehumanised here as "wild ( ) cats" from "Gambia and Senegal." Rhymes translated from American newspapers mobilised in a similar way against the "Negro Horde," let loose on the Rhine to rape "helpless women." They condemned the "bestial instincts" of the "horny savages" and represented the colonial soldiers as "demons" hunting German "virgins." Gedicht (poem) "Wie die weiße Frau den schwarzen Rheinland-Schrecken beenden kann." In: Die Nachricht. 1.5.1920. BArch Berlin, R1602/1755.
21. "Protest der Freiburgerinnen gegen die 'schwarze Schmach'." In: Freiburger Bote. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
22. "Die Negerpest am Rhein." In: Deutsches Abendblatt. 13.7.1921. PAAA, R74429.
23. "Die Schwarzen Bestien." In: Tägliche Rundschau. 29.6.1921. PAAA, R74429.
24. Josef Adolf Schmitt (pseudonym Volker): "Rheinische Runenblätter." In: Magdeburgische Zeitung. 17.2.1923. Beilage. copy, p. 2. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66.
25. "Die Afrikaner der 'Grande Nation'." In: Kreuz-Zeitung. 14.7.1921. PAAA, R74429.
26. "Die graziöse afrikanische Note." In: Der Reichsbote. 3.4.1922. PAAA, R74421.
27. "Frankreichs 'Kulturkämpfer'." In: Deutsche Tageszeitung. 22.4.1921. PAAA, R74429.
28. "Internationaler Mischmasch im Rheinland." In: Hannov. Kurier. 29.11.1919. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9076.
29. "Schwarze Schmach am Rhein." In: Völkischer Kurier. 3.3.1925. PAAA, R74436.



30. "Das besetzte Gebiet." In: Kieler Neueste Nachrichten. 1922 (exact date unreadable on copy). PAAA, R74421.
31. "Immer noch Farbige am Rhein. Was sagt die Welt zu dieser Kulturschande?" In: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 26.7.1927. PAAA, R74425; similarly "Immer noch farbige Franzosen in der Pfalz." In: München-Augsburger-Abendzeitung. 3.5.1929. LA Speyer, R12/684.
32. "Unerlöste Brüder. Ein barbarischer Schandfleck." In: Deutsche Zeitung. 6.11.1921. PAAA, R74421.
33. "Black Fiends Let Loose Upon German Women." Reprint New York American. 14.4.1920. PAAA, R74418.
34. "Schurkerei über Schurkerei." German translation of article "Infamia sobre Infamia." In: Transocean. 4.8.1920. PAAA, R122421.
35. "Black beasts Used as Auxiliary Troops Outrage and Murder German Women." Reprint of The American Monthly. May 1920. PAAA, R74418.
36. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Colored Frenchmen*, p. 3 ("With bestial ferociousness these black soldiers are thrusting themselves upon white women and girls in Germany, upon aged women and children.").
37. Gärtner, for example, criticised the publication of a brochure on the "Black disgrace" by Joseph Lang, because of the "abundance of unproven and freely invented allegations." "The real circumstances" where so bad, that "they did not need to be exaggerated." Brief (letter) Gärtner to Neudeutsche Verlags- und Treuhandgesellschaft. 30.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2185. She lamented about an increasingly difficult "battle against the black shame," caused by "the creation of private organisations, which, by using not authentic material, caused confusion, and exacerbated the reaction on the French side." Report (Bericht) Referat II., p. 3. BArch Berlin, R1603/2186. Her criticism did not include the work of the Heidelberger Vereinigung. As Managing Director of the Rhenish Women's League she cooperated with this organisation, which also worked together with E.D. Morel. She also made contact with Morel and his wife at the request of Graf (Count) Montgelas and provided Morel with the latest atrocities of the coloured troops. See Brief (letter) Gärtner to Graf Montgelas. 13.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2215; handwritten letter Graf Montgelas to Gärtner. 14.3.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
38. "Die schwarze Schmach. An alle weißen Frauen!" Aufruf des Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre." In: Der Mittag. 18.6.1920. PAAA, R122420.
39. See, for example, the resolution—Entschliessung Deutscher Frauenbund, Frauenstadtbund, 37 associations, including Deutsch-evangelischer Frauenbund, Kirchlicher Frauenverein, Gewerkverein der Heimarbeiterinnen, Flottenbund deutscher Frauen, Bürgerbund,



- Ordnungsausschuß, Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre," Volksbund der deutschen Bauhütte, Christliche Gewerkschaften, Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband Hannover, Deutscher Arbeiterbund Hannover. 11.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191. The Rheinische Frauenliga contacted several organisations and called them to join the protests against the colonial troops. The Executive Director of the Rhenish Women's League planned, coordinated and spoke also at numerous protest meetings or provided speakers from the member associations of the Women's League. She also prepared protest resolution templates against the "Black Shame," which were adopted by various associations. See, for example, Brief (letter) Gärtner to Frau Professor Droste. 25.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2190; Brief (letter) Gärtner to Therese Rösing. Vorsitzende des Neuen Frauenvereins Lübeck. 13.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2190. According to a work report, she organised protest meetings "in around 60 German cities" Bericht (report) Referat II., p. 1. BArch Berlin, R1603/2186. This report also contains a list of the then 44 member organisations of the League.
40. Aufruf (Call) Provinzialverband der Sächsischen Frauenhilfe und Verband der Vaterländischen Vereine der Provinz Sachsen. N.D. PAAA, R74426. See, for example, also the resolution Frauenverbände von Königshütte to Reichspräsident. 29.6.1920. PAAA, R74426; poster "Die Schwarze Schmach!" Protestversammlung Hamburgischer Landesverband gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2235; resolution Ring nationaler Frauen to Auswärtiges Amt. N.D. Arrived 22.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; resolution "Entschliessung" der Männer und Frauen von Hamburg und Umgebung. 16.6.1921. PAAA, R74426; Entschliessung Frauengruppen der bürgerlichen Parteien Augsburgs to Auswärtiges Amt. 23.2.1921. PAAA, R74419.
  41. Brief (letter) Verband Frankfurter Frauen-Vereine, Anna Edinger to Margarete Gärtner. 4.10.1920, p. 1f. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191.
  42. This was a popular accusation which was raised by several campaigners against the "Black Shame." See, for example, "Protestversammlung gegen die Schwarze Schmach in der Rembertikirche." In: Bremer Nachrichten. 23.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214; "Die Schwarze Schmach. Wie die Rheinländerinnen unter der Negerinvasion leiden." In: Mannheimer Tageblatt. 15.10.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41; Protestschreiben (protest letter) Deutscher Volksbund für Gerechtigkeit to Reichsregierung. 1920. PAAA, R74426; Telegramm Zusammenschluß Erfurter Frauen zur Bekämpfung der schwarzen Schmach to Reichsregierung. 30.6.1920. PAAA, R74426; Flugblatt (flyer) "An Alle!" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41; "Scheußlichkeiten farbiger



- Franzosen." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 9.8.1921. PAAA, R74429; Hobohm, *französische Schande*, p. 5f.; Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 13f; Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 14.
43. Schreiben (letter) Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern to Reichsminister für die besetzten Gebiete. 23.1.1925. BArch Berlin, R1603/2217. The following citation can be found in Brief (letter) Der Landrat, gez. Zimmermann to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 7.11.1925. PAAA, R74437.
  44. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 38; see also "Protest der Freiburgerinnen gegen die 'schwarze Schmach'." In: Freiburger Bote. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin R1603/2213; Vormerkung bayerischer Vertreter beim Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete. 12.12.1922. BArch Berlin, R1602/2152/319; also Trott, *Freiwild*, p. 62 and Flugschrift (flyer) "Die Schwarze Schmach. Zusammengestellt auf Grund amtlichen Materials und polizeilicher Vernehmungen." 1922, No 1. It is listing "sexual atrocities of coloured French against German women and children."
  45. Brief (letter) Zentralstelle für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz und Reichsministerium des Innern. 5.3.1921. BayHStA, MA107722.
  46. Brief (letter) Deutsches Generalkonsulat Spanien to Auswärtiges Amt. 7.11.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2152/318.
  47. ("In Europe to-day WHITE WOMEN AND GIRLS are being outraged and done to death by African savages.") J. Fowler Shone: "African Troops and European Women." Flyer League of Worldfriendship. London. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
  48. Bericht (Report) Telegramm Dudley Field Malone to Präsident Wilson. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213. The following citation can be found in letter vicar (Pastor) Landenberger, St. Louis to Privatdozent Dr. Hobohm. 2.3.1921. PAAA, R122423.
  49. Brief (letter) Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete to Präsident der Interalliierten Rheinlandkommission. July 1922 (exact date unknown). Draft. PAAA, R74431.
  50. Sigel, *gesundheitliche Gefahr*, p. 6f.
  51. "Weg mit den farbigen Truppen am Rhein!" In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 8.9.1921. Regarding the foundation of this association, see also letter Dr. van Renesse to Professor (Ritter). 4.4.1921. PAAA, R74410.
  52. Helm, *Ausgewiesen*, p. 7. See also Koerber, *Bestien*.
  53. Ajax, *Ruhr-Apachen*, p. 53f.
  54. Landsberger, *Elisabeth*, p. 132f.
  55. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 48.



56. Entschließung (resolution) hannoveranischer Verbände. 11.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191.
57. Gedicht (poem) "Die schwarze Schmach. Ein Aufruf an die weißen Völker." This poem has been found as a newspaper clipping in this file. The title of the newspaper is not included on the copy. 29.5.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
58. Gedicht (poem) "Die Schwarze Schmach in der Junihitze." In: Kladderadatsch. 75. Vol., 1922, No 25.
59. Gedicht (poem) "Die Schwarze Schmach." In: Stohge, *Rhein*, p. 11.
60. Notgeld aus der Stadt Sinzig, 1.8.1921. In: Haffke and Koll, *Sinzig*, p. 172.
61. Brie, *Frauen*, p. 35.
62. Gruschinske, *Besatzungszeit*, p. 20.
63. "Naumburger Kundgebung gegen die schwarze Schmach." In: Naumburger Tageblatt. 15.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213. See also Brie, *Frauen*, p. 29 and brochure accompanying the film (Begleitschrift zum Film) "Die Schwarze Schmach." Bayerische Filmgesellschaft Fett & Wiesel. N.D., p. 2. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927.
64. Molina, *schwarze Schmach*. part 1, p. 343. The German version of this novel was published in different parts in the magazine *Rheinischer Beobachter*. See also the Spanish original Molina, *Terror negro*.
65. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 4, 7. Similar examples include Trott, *Freiwild*, p. 14. The following citations *ibid.*, p. 24, 84. Oppen, *Schmach*, p. 27. *Ibid.*, p. 21. The next three citations *ibid.*, pp. 1, 31 and 38.
66. Brief (letter) Katholischer Frauenbund, Ortsgruppe Trier to Helene Weber. Mitglied der Sicherheitskommission der Internationalen Frauenliga (member of the security commission of the International Women's League). 23.11.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2219.
67. Josef Adolf Schmitt (pseudonym: Volker). "Rheinische Runenblätter." In: Magdeburgische Zeitung. 17.2.1923. Beilage. Abschrift, p. 2. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66.
68. Brief (letter) Zentralstelle für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten Mannheim to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz und Reichsministerium des Innern. 5.3.1921. BayHStA, MA107722.
69. Brief (letter) Regierung Birkenfeld to Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete. 16.6.1920; see Brief (letter) Bürgermeisterei Herrstein, Provinz Birkenfeld to Regierung. 11.6.1920; Brief (letter) Bürgermeisterei Niederbrombach to Regierung Birkenfeld. 12.6.1920. All these letters can be found in the file LHA Koblenz, Best. 393/No 4510.



70. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 250–261.
71. El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 166, with reference to Fidel, *réfutation*, p. 66.
72. Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 44f., with reference to Bericht (report) Reichskommissar für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete. 6.5.1920.
73. See Pieterse, *Blacks*, p. 172ff.
74. Hund, *Fremdkörper*, p. 353.
75. On Körpergeschichte—the history of bodies generally, see, for example, Lorenz, *Leibhaftige Vergangenheit*.
76. Dr Martin Hobohm: “Die französische Schande im Rheinlande.” In: *Neueste Morgenzeitung*. 18.11.1920. PAAA, R122421.
77. Gedicht (poem) “Die weiße Märtyrerin der schwarzen Schmach.” Ziska Luise Schember, in: *Gegen die schwarze Schmach! Deutsche Worte zur Warnung, zur Mahnung, zur Aufrichtung*. 18.10.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 89.
78. “Gegen die Schwarzengreuel im besetzten Gebiet.” In: *Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz*. 8.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
79. Flyer “British public opinion and the employment of coloured troops in the Rhineland.” N.D., p. 1f. PAAA, R74421. The citation originates from an article by Alan Lethbridge, which was firstly published in the *Westminster Gazette*, 3.9.1921.
80. Resolution Deutsch-Evangelischer Kirchenausschuß. 23.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
81. Distler, *Rheinpfalz*, p. 2f. PAAA, R74419.
82. Konopacki-Konopath, *Verrat*, p. 2. BayHStA, MA108037.
83. “Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!” No 2. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus “Ideal und Leben.” *Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken*. Barch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1.
84. Call (Aufruf) “An die Träger des deutschen Volksgedankens. An die Hochschulen und Studentenschaften der Kulturvölker.” *Die Deutsche Studentenschaft*. N.D. PAAA, R122420. The organisation sent its protest resolution to the German Foreign Office with the intention to spread it widely nationally and internationally. See Brief (letter) Vertretung der Deutschen Studentenschaft to Auswärtiges Amt. 27.5.1920. PAAA, R122420.
85. Brief (letter) Frauen-Ortsgruppe Hamburg des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland to deutsche Frauen im besetzten Gebiet, for the attention of the Rheinische Frauenliga. 19.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211. On the role of women organisations in the campaign, see also, for example, Collar, *Propaganda War*, Chap. 4, pp. 94–129; Roos, *Women’s Rights, Nationalist Anxiety*, and Roos, *Contradictions*.
86. Resolution Landesverband Brandenburg der Deutschen demokratischen Partei to Rheinische Frauenliga. 31.1.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.



87. "Die Schwarze Schande. Protest deutscher Frauen gegen die Missetaten der farbigen Besatzungstruppen." Kundmachung, gezeichnet u.a. von Prinz Max von Baden, Gräfin Pauline Montgelas, Graf Max Montgelas, Luna Richter, Marianne Weber. In: Neue Freie Presse. 2.7.1920. PAAA, R122420.
88. Brief (letter) Rheinische Frauenliga to Heilbronn. Presseabteilung der Reichsregierung. 1.10.1920. PAAA, R122421. The resolution of the Verband Norddeutscher Frauenvereine is included in this letter.
89. Brief (letter) Ausschuß Berliner Vereine für Fragen der Volksittlichkeit (59 Verbände) to Auswärtiges Amt. Arrived 28.4.1921. PAAA, R74426.
90. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Leitung der Zentrale für Pfälzischen Angelegenheiten. 8.9.1920. PAAA, R74418 and Resolution Evangelische Frauenhilfe im Namen von 3800 Vereinen der Frauenhilfe to deutsche Reichsregierung. 10.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
91. Flyer (Flugblatt) "Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach." signed Leonie Konopacki-Konopath (Vorsitzende), Frau Professor Kuhn, Frau Dr. Thielen (Vorstandsmitglied) and Frau Paula Müller Otfried (Vorsitzende des Deutsch-Evangelischen Frauenbundes), Margarethe Dammann (Vorsitzende des Deutschen Frauenbundes), Gräfin Pfeil (Vorsitzende des Vaterländischen Frauenvereins) et al. PAAA, R74423.
92. Resolution 45000 Frauen Breslaus. May 1921. PAAA, R74420 and Protestbrief (protest letter) Frauenstadtbund Weimar to Reichsregierung. May 1920. PAAA, R74426.
93. Telegramm Zusammenschluß Erfurter Frauen zur Bekämpfung der schwarzen Schmach to Reichsregierung. 30.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
94. Brief (letter) Frauenausschuß Deutschnationale Volkspartei to Reichspräsident. 20.5.1920. PAAA, R74426. See also the very similar Brief (letter) Sozialdemokratische Frauen-Gruppe Königshütte to Reichspräsident Ebert. 28.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; the resolution Frauenverbände von Königshütte (Frauengruppe der DNVP; Mädchengruppe des deutschen Jugendbundes; Israelitischer Jungfrauenverein; Jugendgruppe des katholischen Frauenbundes; Evangelischer Frauen- und Jungfrauenverein; Israelitischer Frauenverein; Katholischer Frauenbund; Verein katholischer deutscher Lehrerinnen) to Reichspräsident. 29.6.1920. PAAA, R74426, or the protest Anhaltischer Frauen gegen die Verwendung schwarzer Truppen im besetzten Gebiet to Reichsamt des Äusseren. 27.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
95. Antwort (answer) Reichsregierung to Anfrage 904. N.D. Abschrift IA 44712. BArch Berlin, R1501/102869. The German MP Elisabeth Röhl



- was sure, that the “use of coloureds” was “inseparably connected with atrocities.”
96. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Speech (Rede) Abgeordnete Röhl. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Vol. 333, p. 5691.
  97. “Die farbige ‘Wacht’ am Rhein.” In: Kreuz-Zeitung. 21.12.1921. PAAA, R74421.
  98. “Die Wahrheit ins Ausland! Die Schwarze Schmach.” In: Berliner Börsenzeitung. 4.2.1921. BArch Berlin, R1601/712. The following citation is taken from the article “Am deutschen Rhein.” In: Südtiroler Landeszeitung. 28.9.1920. PAAA, R122421.
  99. “Die farbige ‘Wacht’ am Rhein.” In: Kreuz-Zeitung. 21.12.1921. PAAA, R74421. The following citation can be found in article “Die ‘Schwarze Schmach’.” In: Der Tag. 20.12.1921. PAAA, R74421. Even in 1927 the newspaper *Fränkischer Kurier* warned its readers about the 400 “coloured soldiers” remaining stationed in the Palatinate, whose atrocities brought back memories of the nearly forgotten “Black Shame.” “German women and girls” still needed to be “on guard.” “Die Schwarze Schmach in der Pfalz.” In: *Fränkischer Kurier*. 11.11.1927. LA Speyer, R12/684
  100. On male phantasies (Männerphantasien), see Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, on War and male bodies, see Maß, *Kolonialsoldaten*; see also Maß, *Weisse Helden*.
  101. Pfalz-Zentrale Mannheim-Heidelberg, *Amerika*, p. 12f., 26.
  102. Caricature “Die schwarze Besatzung.” Olaf Gulbransson. In: *Simplicissimus*. 24. Vol., 1920, No 11.
  103. Caricature “Die Schande der Welt! Die Schwarze Schmach.” Sascha Schneider. In: *Kladderadatsch*. 76. Vol., 1923, No 25.
  104. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Farbige Franzosen*, p. 6.
  105. Gemeinsamer Aufruf Provinzialverband der Sächsischen Frauenhilfe und Verband der Vaterländischen Vereine der Provinz Sachsen. N.D. PAAA, R74426; see also resolution Evangelische Frauenhilfe im Namen von 3800 Vereinen der Frauenhilfe to deutsche Reichsregierung. 10.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  106. Caricature “1923. Germania zu Mutter Europa.” In: *Kladderadatsch*. 75. Vol., 1922, No 52.
  107. Deutscher Not- und Schmachtaler. N.D. The author owns an original copy of this medal. I would like to thank Mr Tyll Kroha from the Kölner Münzkabinett for bringing this coin to my attention. The second citation can be found in Brief (letter) der Berufsorganisation der Krankenpflegerinnen Deutschlands to British Foreign Office. 27.1.1925. PRO, FO371/10754.
  108. See Lorenz, *Körpergeschichte*; Gürtler, Hausbacher, *Körperdiskurse*.



109. Lorenz, *Körpergeschichte*, p. 21.
110. Ibid., p. 104 ff., here p. 104.
111. Omi, Michael, Howard Winant, *Racial Formation*, p. 54 f.
112. See McClintock, *Imperial Leather*.
113. Report (Bericht) Polizei-Direktor, Wiesbaden to Regierungspräsident. 21.6.1920. Hess. HstA Wiesbaden, Abt.405/No 5252. This was considered an improvement, as the building had been used by French troops as a premise for dancing and amusement before, which had attracted several "questionable German" women. The following Notbund citation can be found in Distler, *Rheinpfalz*, p. 2. PAAA, R74419
114. Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Report (Bericht) der früheren Polizeiassistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 127f., p. 132. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
115. Photo with caption "Es bleibt uns nichts erspart. Nordafrikanische Frauen (Bordell in Mainz-Kostheim), die nach Mainz verschleppt wurden." Depicted in: Schreiber, *Kampf*, p. 104.
116. Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht der früheren Polizeiassistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 132. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
117. Gilman, *Frau*, p. 138.
118. Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht der früheren Polizeiassistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 123. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
119. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 27.
120. Poem (Gedicht) "Den Mädchen an Ruhr, Rhein und Saar." Dr. Arthur Stiehler. In: Stiehler (Ed.), *Stammesbrüdern*, p. 31.
121. Poem (Gedicht) "Schmach." Ethel Talrot Scheffauer. N.D., German translation. BArch Berlin, R1603/2220.
122. See Landsberger, *Elisabeth*, p. 276. The following citation can be found in Trott, *Freiwild*, p. 89.
123. "Die Schwarze Schmach. Wie die Rheinländerinnen unter der Negerinvasion leiden." In: Mannheimer Tageblatt. 15.10.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41. The appeal of a physician to all German physicians also claimed, that "assaulted girls" were "bound onto benches or, held down by several blacks" and then "raped by the animalistic French" until their "senses" faded, "lying under such an animal." Rosenberger, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 2. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214. A brochure made the "defiled victims" of the "Black



- Shame" awake from "dull faint" to stumble into "hospitals" and "mad-houses" (Irrenhäuser). Gruschinske, *Besatzungszeit*, p. 20.
124. Molina, *schwarze Schmach*. part 1, p. 343.
  125. Molina, *schwarze Schmach*. part 3, p. 375. The following citations can be found in *ibid.*, p. 375 f.
  126. Molina, *schwarze Schmach*. part 6, p. 424. A newspaper similarly pointed out in connection with the daily black "atrocities against white women" their subsequent "life long infirmity" and "the frequent suicides of women and girls in the occupied territory." "Naumburger Kundgebung gegen die schwarze Schmach." In: Naumburger Tageblatt. 15.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
  127. Grosch, *Grenzlandjugend*, p. 64, 187f.; see also "Frankreich als Vorkämpfer der Zivilisation, Französische Truppen am Rhein begehen unglaubliche Verbrechen." Text clippings from La Union, Buenos Aires. No 1769. 2.8.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
  128. Poem (Gedicht) "Am deutschen Rhein!" Paul Zimmermann. Source unreadable. BArch Berlin, R8034II/7594.
  129. This and the following citations in: Hausmann, *Kindsmörderin*, p. 1ff. BayHStA, MA108037. This stage play comprised four pages and was already performed before going to press at a meeting of the Deutscher Notbund in Munich. The editor of the Münchener Zeitung was sure it "demonstrated the anguish of a victim of the black shame to its full extent," "left a deep impression" and "deserved the widest distribution in German lands." "Die Mulattisierung im besetzten Gebiet." In: Münchener Zeitung. 15.12.1921. BayHStA, MA108037.
  130. Martell, *Opfer*, p. 11, 13.
  131. *Ibid.*, p. 16f.
  132. See Jahoda, *Savages*, p. 91f. There, on p. 91 also a depiction of the photo "Negro Boy and Apes."
  133. See Martell, *Opfer*, p. 19f.
  134. See Massaquoi, *Neger*.
  135. Atelier photo motive "Algerier (Tirailleur-Algeriens)." This photo can be found in the archival collection StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, alphabetische Sammlung, Besetzung, französische 1918–30, 7, Soldaten Atelierbilder.
  136. See, for example, N.N., *Black Troops*, p. 365. The article refers to the American General Henry T. Allen, who as Commander of the American forces in the Rhineland, referred to many voluntary relationships and marriages between German women and black soldiers. See also Brief (letter) Preußischer Justizminister, signed on behalf of Lindemann to Auswärtiges Amt. 12.6.1929. PAAA, R74425. The letter communicates information about the planned marriage of sergeant Mohamed



- Kadem originating from Algeria with the German Gertrud Marie Roos in Trier. The *Rheinische Beobachter* reported with suspicion about "the engagement of a woman from Idstein with an Algerian soldier." N.N., *schwarzer Bräutigam*, p. 107. As an example for a love letter, see letter Salah, Sergeant 28. regiment de tirailleur to Maria, Hospital Bonn. 5.11.1921. Copy and letter Maria to her mother and sister. N.D. BArch Berlin, both in file R1602/2152/324.
137. Preface (Vorwort) August Ritter Mappe "Der Schrecken am Rhein." München 1921. BayHStA, MA108037.
  138. Report "Bericht über das Verhalten von Besatzungsangehörigen, die bei deutschen Fami( )lien, in Teilwohnungen, während der Besetzung untergebracht waren." Signed by Kiefer, Ermittler (Investigator). N.D. copy, p. 1. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 109.
  139. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 278; Nelson, *Black Horror*, p. 619f. An article in the Swiss Republican newspaper from 23.10.1920 was amongst many calls for a protection of "the coloured natives," these "poor devils" from German women and urged to "release" them "to Africa," "before they succumb to the constant chasing by German whores and poison their healthy natural people at home as degrading broken people." Letter of a number of appalled readers in Switzerland to Friedrich Ebert. N.D. (arrived November 1920). BArch Berlin, R1603/2213; also see "Eine Geste der Verlegenheit." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 27.5.1920. PAAA, R74427; Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Helsingford to Auswärtiges Amt. 3.3.1923. Copy. PAAAA, R74423. Its author refers with outrage to the brochure of a Finnish writer, who had dared to present "the morality of the blacks as quite impeccable" and to "revile the German woman" attempting "to prove her moral inferiority."
  140. Caricature "Infamie." Del Marle, in Le Rire. 10.7.1920. Depicted in: Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 15.
  141. Article "Die Schwarze Schmach." Übersetzt aus dem französischen Besatzungsblatt Echo du Rhin. (Translated from the French Occupation paper Echo du Rhin). 17.3.1922. NRW HstA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15148; also see "The 'Black Horror' Myth. True facts about French colonial troops. An infamous campaign. 'Black Shame or white?'" In: Cologne Post. 17.6.1921. PRO, FO371/5999.
  142. Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Kopenhagen, Von Lewetzow to Auswärtiges Amt. 7.9.1928. BArch Berlin, R1601/1455. The British Foreign Office too had heard in the French press about the morally concerning behaviour of German women. See letter Cecil Harmsworth to Townley, M.P. House of Commons. 26.6.1920. Draft. PRO, FO371/3787.



143. Brief (letter) Heilbron to Dr. Franz Genthe, (Chief editor) Chefredakteur der Zeitung "Der Tag." 16.8.1920. PAAA, R122420.
144. "Schurkerei über Schurkerei." Translation from Transocean. 4.8.1920. Anlage zu Bericht (Attachment to report) No 105. 10.9.1920, p. 1ff. PAAA, R122421.
145. "Die vertierten Neger am Rhein." In: Chemnitzer Allgemeine Zeitung. 9.8.1922. PAAA, R122423.
146. Caricature "Zur Erleichterung der Heiratsschließungen in Frankreich." In: Kladderadatsch. 71. Vol., 1918, No 34, zweites Beiblatt.
147. Distler, *Rheinpfalz*, p. 2. PAAA, R74419. On the contrasting ideological images of the honourless French woman and the honourable German woman, see Trott, *Freiwillig*, p. 41; "Prostitution im Dienste der französischen Kultur." In: Kolonie Rheinland. Nachrichtenblatt zur wahrheitsgetreuen Berichterstattung über den Fortgang der Kolonisierung und Afrikanisierung der besetzten Rheinlande und Nassaus. Bingen. N.D. LHA Koblenz, Best. 700, 12/No 90. A French Professor used a lecture in the occupied territory to argue that "the moral value of a nation" was directly linked to the "value of the woman" and to draw a far more civilised image of the French women. "Skizzen aus der französischen Frauenwelt." In: Generalanzeiger Kreuznach. 29.9.1919. LHA Koblenz, Best. 441/No 19909.
148. Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 21.
149. Martell, *Opfer*, p. 13.
150. Here and in the following Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 21. The quote linked to the Rhenish Women's League can be found in Rheinische Frauenliga, *Coloured French Troops*, p. 59. ("The kind of women referred to is international. In every country women will be sound ready to sell their honour to anyone for money or its worth.").
151. Brief (letter) Gärtner to Dr. Elisabeth Römer-Litzmann. 26.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214. A cover page of the German magazine Kladderadatsch also complained about relations between German women and blacks. It shows the caricature of a black man dressed with suit and cylinder, who hooked went for a walk with a white woman. In the background, the caricature of a Jew, a man wearing a turban and other people. Also part of the scene is a shocked and embarrassed looking German, commenting, "My old Berlin—how have you changed!" Caricature "Mein altes Berlin..." In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 18, Jubiläumsnummer (Anniversary edition) 1848–1923.
152. Here and in the following Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 41f.
153. See Stoler, *Race*, pp. 55–61. Also see Todd, *The Hun*, who explores the "discourse around sexually promiscuous women" in her discussion of the Black Shame and other wartime propaganda campaigns. Citation, Todd, *The Hun*, p. 149.



154. See Hund, *Philosophischer Rassismus*, p. 120f. and Hund, *Romantischer Rassismus*, p. 18ff.
155. See Martin and Alonzo, *Schwarze*.
156. Copy of an article by Maximilian Harden (Zukunft, June 1920). In: G. Marechal: "Die Hetze gegen die schwarzen Truppen. Farbige Franzosen am Rhein." Mainz 1921. LA Speyer. German authorities were obviously critical of Harden's position. Brief (letter) Bassewitz to Auswärtiges Amt. 3.7.1920. Copy, p. 2. PAAA, R74427.
157. Müller, *Bordellfrage*, p. 3f. PAAA, R74421.
158. Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht (Report) der früheren Polizeiassistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 60. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110. The report expressed concern about the growing "immorality" "amongst the young females." Ibid., p. 104. Even threats would have been unsuccessful.
159. Postcard "Schokolade-Promenade." StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, Umschläge Besatzung, französische, 1918–1930, 4.
160. "Die weiße Schmach." In: Freiheit. 7.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9079.
161. "Die weiße Schmach." In: Christlicher Pilger. 31.7.1921. BayHStA, Vertreter beim Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete 1.
162. Josef Adolf Schmitt (pseudonym: Volker): "Die Kohlenwacht. Momentbilder von Rhein und Nahe." Abschrift. In: Berliner Lokalanzeiger. 11.4.1923. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66.
163. Roos, *Contradictions*, p. 48.
164. Ibid., p.66.
165. Ibid., p.68.
166. Ibid., p.74.
167. Flyer (Flugblatt) "Schwarze Schmach." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221. Gärtner criticised the Notbund arguing that the claim of a threatening "mullattisation of the Rhineland" was untenable, and created the impression, that "a large part of the female population of the Rhineland cooperated with the coloureds." Brief (letter) Gärtner to Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. 2.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
168. N.N., *Französische Mohrenwäsche*, p. 2f. PAAA, R74423.
169. Stellungnahme des Notbundes to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern. Date unreadable. BayHStA, MA108037.
170. Brief (letter) Verband Frankfurter Frauen-Vereine, Anna Edinger to Margarete Gärtner. 4.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191.



171. Brief (letter) Bezirksarzt in Landau Pfalz, Schmitt to Regierung der Pfalz. 26.11.1927. LA Speyer, R12/693.
172. Brief (letter) Zentralstelle für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz und Reichsministerium des Innern. 5.3.1921. BayHStA, MA107722.
173. Schulze, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 301. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
174. Sigel, *gesundheitliche Gefahr*, p. 5.
175. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 39.
176. "Die 'Schwarze Schmach'." In: Der Tag. 20.12.1921. PAAA, R74421.
177. Flyer (Flugblatt) "Deutsche Frauen! Deutsche Mädchen!" In: Kölner Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit, *deutscher Rassismus*, p. 74.
178. See Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 85f.
179. "Meine Erlebnisse während der Besatzungszeit und der Zeit des Rhein- und Ruhrkampfes." Bericht einer Sekretärin des Wohlfahrtsamts Mainz, 1918–1930. 30.4.1934, p. 11. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
180. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 29. The following citations can also be found there.
181. Brief (letter) betr. Strafentziehung der Margot Schauss durch Flucht in das unbesetzte Gebiet. 12.9.1922. Copy BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 93.
182. Poem (Gedicht) "Ein trauriger Fall." N.D. Copy with commentary. BArch Berlin, R1603/2216. The manager of a travelling theater company in the Palatinate handed this poem over to the authorities.
183. "Würdelose Frauen." In: Völkinger Nachrichten. 14.6.1920. PAAA, R122421.
184. Information Note (Mitteilung) L'administrateur Militaire. Lieut. Colonel Romien. In: Wormser Zeitung. Amtsblatt für die Bekanntmachung sämtlicher Behörden des Kreises und der Stadt Worms. 15.7.1919, front page. StA Worms, Abt. 13/No 2281. According to the report of a German authority "voluntary intercourse of German female persons with occupation troops" had occurred in "very rare cases" in the Ruhr area "only right at the beginning." Women had been punished and "branded" "by their own people through cutting of their hair." Report "Einige authentische Zahlen und Tatsachen aus dem Ruhrgebiet." Attachment to Brief (letter) Bayerisches Innenministerium to Auswärtiges Amt. 17.1.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2219.
185. Brief (letter) Städtisches Krankenhaus to Polizeiverwaltung, Worms. 10.1.1921. StA Worms, Abt. 13/No 1255.
186. "Der Rhein ist frei." Sonderausgabe (Special Edition) Wormser Volkszeitung. Juli 1930, p. 7. Stadtarchiv Worms, Abt.204/No 3/19.



The Bayerische Staatszeitung was neither prepared, to put up with the “Franzosenliebchen” (French lovers), who in times of occupation had been “honourless” and turned themselves into “willing objects of the Alien soldiers.” The newspaper demanded the exclusion of these female traitors from the Volksgemeinschaft and saw the “day coming, where one will depart from all the elements” who had switched sides and deserted to the enemy, amongst them the “girls and women,” who had soiled the “fatherland’s (...) German honour and dignity.” Bayerische Staatszeitung. 22.12.1929. LA Speyer, R12/G93.

187. “Französische Gegenpropaganda.” In: Deutsche Tageszeitung. 8.4.1921. PAAA, R74419.
188. Brief (letter) Dr. Fleischmann, Bezirksarzt Pirmasens to Amtsvorstand des Bezirksamts Pirmasens. 1.8.1922. Copy. LA Speyer, R12/210.
189. “Zur Lage in Rheinhessen.” Report (Bericht) Rheinische Volkspflege. 3.10.1920, p. 97. BArch Berlin, R1501/102883. This reported message originates in the newspaper Jülicher Kreisblatt.
190. Clara Schapiro: “Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung.” Bericht (Report) der früheren Polizeiassistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 61. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
191. “Denkschrift über die nationalen Aufgaben der Frauen im besetzten Gebiet.” 23.6.1922. Copy, Attachment to Rundschreiben 2 Rheinische Frauenliga to mitarbeitende Frauenorganisationen, gez. Cilli Klein, p. 3. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 83–102, No 98, Rheinische Frauenliga.
192. “Warnung!” Advertisement Hattinger Zeitung. 25.4.1923. In: Petri und Droege, *Rheinische Geschichte*, p. 430. Contemporary complaints about the “racial shame” (Rassenschande) of relations between German women with turks also illustrate this context; see Kölner Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit, *deutscher Rassismus*, p. 73, 76.
193. Brief (letter) Frauenortsgruppe Hamburg des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland to Gärtner. 22.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191.
194. “Verlorene.” In: Mühlheimer Zeitung. 29.4.1921. NRW HstA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
195. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (Speech) Abgeordnete Zietz. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Vol. 333, p. 5694ff.
196. Ibid., p. 5696f.
197. Caricature “Frau Zietz” in “Rückblicke vom 1. April bis 30. Juni.” In: Kladderatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, No 27. Another critical voice came from the Social Democrat Maria Meyer, who fortified the allegations



- against the coloured troops in an article as “phantasmagorias of the torturing to death of German women,” which she saw rooted in unpunished crimes perpetrated by white colonizers against black women. Having lived in the occupied territory since 1918, she demanded the end of the “Black Shame” agitation as it was “to 98% a lie.” Meyer, *Schwarze Schmach*, no page. Another critique of the campaign was Lilli Jannasch; See Jannasch, *Schwarze Schmach*; Jannasch, *Weisse Schmach*.
198. “Die schwarze Schande. Neger am Rhein. Das ‘dunkelste’ Kapitel aus der Besatzungszeit.” In: Sonderbeilage zum Mannheimer Tageblatt. 1.7.1930. StA Neustadt an der Weinstraße, without file number.
  199. “Die schwarze Schmach.” In: Wittener Tageblatt. 10.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213. This phrase was used at a meeting of women in Witten.
  200. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichskanzler Wirth. 14.6.1921. PAAA, R74426. This letter contains the resolution of a protest meeting organised by the Notbund, which contains the citation.
  201. Scheidewin, *Rasse*. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214.
  202. “Protest der Freiburgerinnen gegen die ‘schwarze Schmach’.” In: Freiburger Bote. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213; See “Protestversammlung gegen die ‘Schwarze Schmach’ in der Pfalz und im Rheinland.” In: Volkswacht. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
  203. Albertoni-Tagliavini, *Frau*, p. 599.
  204. Hartwich, *Ruhrkampf*, p. 6f.
  205. Rosenberger, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 371.
  206. Mach, *Horror*, p. 11. The following two citations in Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 11 (natural drive) and “Eine Geste der Verlegenheit.” In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 27.5.1920. PAAA, R74427 (all cultured peoples).
  207. Brief (letter) Committee of Protest in the Argentine Republic against the Black Terror in Germany, signed Eleonore Lesser, Secretary; F. K. de Bohn, President to J.W. Ronald Macleay. 12.11.1921. PRO, FO371/5999.
  208. “Die schwarze Schmach. An alle weißen Frauen!” Aufruf (Call) Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre.” In: Der Mittag. 18.6.1920. PAAA, R122420.
  209. Protest Anhaltischer Frauen gegen die Verwendung schwarzer Truppen im besetzten Gebiet to Reichsamt des Äusseren. 27.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  210. “Meine Erlebnisse während der Besatzungszeit und der Zeit des Rhein- und Ruhrkampfes.” Bericht (report) einer Sekretärin des Wohlfahrtamts



- Mainz, 1918–1930. 30.4.1934, p. 4. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
211. Pfalz-Zentrale Mannheim-Heidelberg, *Amerika*, p. 26.
  212. “Die schwarze Schmach. An alle weißen Frauen!” Aufruf des Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre.” In: Der Mittag. 18.6.1920. PAAA, R122420.
  213. “Die vertierten Neger am Rhein.” In: Chemnitzer Allgemeine Zeitung. 9.8.1922. PAAA, R122423; See “Am deutschen Rhein.” In: Südtiroler Landeszeitung. 28.9.1920. PAAA, R122421.
  214. Clara Schapiro: “Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung.” Bericht (report) der früheren Polizeiassistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., Sp. 16. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, no 110.
  215. Albertoni-Tagliavini, *Frau*, p. 599; See Brie, *Frauen*, p. 8.
  216. N.N., *Negerzwangseinquartierung*, p. 4. PRO, FO371/5999.
  217. Brief (letter) 21 Frauenorganisationen to Regierung des Deutschen Reiches, for the attention of Reichspräsident. 18.5.1920. PAAA, R74426. On the racist stereotype of the primitive savage, see, for example, Milbury-Steen, *African Stereotypes*.
  218. Brie, *Frauen*, p. 11f. On the sexualisation and sexual pathologicalisation of black men and women, see Gilman, *Black Sexuality*; Gilman, *Difference*.
  219. Resolution Ring nationaler Frauen to Auswärtiges Amt. N.D. Arrived 22.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  220. Lichtenberg, *Deutsches Land*, p. 38.
  221. Flyer (Flugblatt) “Gibt es noch eine schwarze Schmach?” Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. N.D. p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037; see resolution Ausschuss Berliner Vereine für Fragen der Volkssittlichkeit to Auswärtiges Amt. Arrived 28.4.1921. PAAA, R74426.
  222. Brief (letter) Stadtratskollegium-Kaufbeuren gegen schwarze Truppen to Reichskanzler. 18.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  223. Poem (Gedicht) “E gutie Ausredd.” In: Der Rhein ist frei. Sonderausgabe der Wormser Volkszeitung. July 1930, p. 25. StA Worms, Abt. 204/No 3/19.
  224. Caricature “Die Kolonialtruppe.” Depicted in: Lackas and Lackas, *Besatzungszeit*, p. 53. This simianised motive can also be found in the caricature “Die Schande der Welt! Die Schwarze Schmach.” Sascha Schneider. In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, no 25; caricature “Die schwarze Besatzung.” In: Simplicissimus. 24. Vol., 1920, no 11; caricature “Letztes Aufgebot der ‘Grande Armee’.” In: Lustige Blätter. 29. Vol., no year, no 38. Depicted in: Demm, *Weltkrieg*, p. 162.
  225. Grosch, *Grenzlandjugend*, p. 66.



226. Caricature "Der schwarze Terror in deutschen Landen." In: Kladderadatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, no 22, Wahlnummer I.
227. Brief (letter) Nationalbund ungarischer Frauen to Rheinische Frauenliga. 6.12.1920. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.
228. Briefverschlusßmarke "Die Negerbestialität." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschlusßmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr. Ritter. München 1921. BayHStA, MA108037.
229. Landsberger, *Elisabeth*, p. 103.
230. Gedicht (poem) "Hermannsöhne." In: Kladderadatsch. 75. Vol., 1922, no 12.
231. See amongst others caricature "Frankfurter Würstchen." In: Kladderadatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, no 17; caricature "Herbstparade." In: Kladderadatsch. 78. Vol., 1925, no 39; caricature "Das edelmütige Frankreich." In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, no 37; Caricature "Mariannes Lieblingslied." In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, no 15; caricature "Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit!" In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, no 30; caricature "Gefährliche Abzeichen." In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, no 1.
232. Landsberger, *Elisabeth*, p. 110.
233. *Ibid.*, p. 132. Efforts to dehumanise blacks also played a central role in the context of the enslavement of the African continent. They can be already found in travel narratives and other early classifications of Africans which include labels such as "Blacke beasts" and "brutish blacke people." Davis, *Constructing Race*, p. 14f.
234. See Jahoda, *Savages*, pp. 53–96.
235. Hund, *King Kong Fantasies*, p. 43. This chapter is part of Hund's recent Racism Analysis Yearbook, a great collection of essays on the topic of Simianisation-Dehumanisation. See Wulf D. Hund, Charles W. Mills, Silvia Sebastiani (eds) *Simianization*. Apes, Gender, Class, and Race.
236. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
237. See Fredrickson, *Black Image*, pp. 256–282, especially p. 277.
238. See Dubow, *Scientific Racism*, p. 52 and passim.
239. See Luchau, *Völker*, p. 40 and Virchow, *Bericht*, p. 138.
240. Fischer, *Rehobother Bastards*, p. 302. On Fischer's work, see Lösch, *Rasse*.
241. El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 119 (without the emphasis).
242. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 366.
243. Oberst Petersens, cited in Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 13.
244. Myron Echenberg has used his study on Colonial Conscripts to critically examine the conditions of the recruitment and the use of French colonial troops in Europe since 1857 and has started to include their own experiences in the academic debate. See Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts*,



- See also Echenberg, *blood tax*; *Migrations militaires*; *French Colonial Army*; Lunn, *West Africa Experience*.
245. "Proteste." In: Fränkischer Kurier. 18.2.1921. PAAA, R74419. Carl Zuckmayer shared similar thoughts after the end of occupation. He attacked the use of blacks for military purposes as "slavery" and felt sorry for the "poor chaps," as many had suffered death during the occupation unable to cope with the cold "winter climate." "(T)he grave yards of Mainz and Coblenz" would be terrible proof of what had been done to "these Africans" in the name of "culture." Zuckmayer, *Franzosenzeit*. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 103–107, No 107.
  246. Olshausen-Schönberger, *Schwarzen*, p. 9. BayHStA, MA108037.
  247. Brief (letter) Auswärtiges Amt to Graf Bernstorff. 2.6.1920. PAAA, R74427.
  248. On representations of blacks in German history, see for example Martin, *Afrikaner*.
  249. Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 39.
  250. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
  251. Lackas and Lackas, *Besatzungszeit*, p. 39. Hagenbeck is an old well-established Zoo in Hamburg, which was well known not only for exhibiting exotic animals, but also for putting on some popular ethnological exhibitions—*Völkerschauen* creating "human zoos" from the 1870s onwards. On contemporary ethnographic exhibitions, see Thode-Arora, *Völkerschauen*; Thode-Arora, *Gestalten*; *Völkerschauwerbung*. A collection of historical images associated with such colonial "Human Zoos" can be found in Zeller, *Schwarze Körper*, Chap. XI.
  252. Paul Rohrbach, cited in Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 120.
  253. Hermann George Scheffauer: "Die schwarze Bastille." Rede (speech) gehalten auf einer Kundgebung in der Berliner Universität. 14.7.1920, p. 1. PAAA, R122421.
  254. Lied (song) Wandervogel Essen. Frei nach Detlev von Liliencron. In: Kladderatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 10. Interestingly, white French men were also incorporated into this classification. A longer version of the song can be found under the title "Essener Wachtparade" in: Spethmann, *Ruhrkampf*, p. 502f.
  255. Kurzbericht (short report) "Neueste Nachrichten über farbige Truppen." 4.6.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184. Frau Gärtner from the Women's League was equally sure that the "Malagasy" were "deeply black people" of a "quite negroid type" and she raised her concerns about the North Africans "from the lightest to darkest brown," who were "by far the most unpleasant." Brief (letter) Gärtner to Elisabeth Römer-Litzmann. 26.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214. A brochure similarly emphasised the negroid character of the coloured troops.



- While “natives of Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, i.e.” were perceived as “brown” in colour, it seemed clear that “(m)any of them have a strong mixture of negro blood in their veins.” Liljeblad, *World's Shame*, p. 26.
256. Brief (letter) Graf Montgelas to Margarete Gärtner. 4.6.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
  257. Hund, *Rassismus im Kontext*, p. 25.
  258. See Ignatiev, *Irish* and Brodtkin, *Jews*.
  259. Hund, *Weißheit*, p. 604 with reference to Markus, *Race Relations*, p. 146.
  260. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 26. The following citation in Hartwich, *Rubrikampf*, p. 6.
  261. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 4. The Reich Commissar for the occupied territories differentiated between “Brown” and “Black” and wanted to have established in regard to the crimes of coloured troops “to which race the perpetrator belonged, whether he was a Negro (Senegal Negroes, Malagasy, etc.) or was a brown colonial soldier (Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, Anamit, etc.).” The American representative on the Rhine also showed keen interest in the race of offenders. See Vertraulicher Brief (letter) Reichskommissar für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete, signed von Brandt to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz. 10.7.1920. BayHStA, MA107828.
  262. Brief (letter) Vertretung Reichsregierung München to Auswärtiges Amt. 18.5.1921. PAAA, R122423. The citation can be found in the attachment to the letter “Die farbigen Truppen im besetzten deutschen Gebiet einschl. Saargebiet.” 18.4.1921. Copy. A brochure similarly represented the “civilised savage” as the “worst of all savages.” Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 29.
  263. Brief (letter) Zentralfürsorgestelle für das besetzte Gebiet, Abteilung Preußen to Auswärtiges Amt. 19.5.1921. PAAA, R74429; see also Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 13f.
  264. “Auszug aus einem Privatbrief von glaubwürdiger Seite.” N.D. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/23008.
  265. “Schurkerei über Schurkerei.” Übersetzung des Artikels “Infamia sobre Infamia.” In: Transocean. 4.8.1920. PAAA, R122421.
  266. Vertraulicher Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete, signed l. Vorsitzende Gräfin Bothmer to Legationsrat Köpke, Auswärtiges Amt. 11.11.1924. PAAA, R74424.
  267. American Congress. Speech Senator Hitchcock. Congressional Record. Sixty-Seventh Congress, Second Session. Washington. 31.8.1922, p. 3. Copy. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt. 233/No 12112. Even children were meant to realise that one had



- to protect oneself from “these black beasts.” “Erklärung.” Horaz. In: Kladderadatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, No 21, Pfingstnummer; also see Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 37, where a little German boy calls the colonial soldiers “black devils.”
268. Albertoni-Tagliavini, *Frau*, p. 599.
  269. Pfalz-Zentrale Mannheim-Heidelberg, *Amerika*, p. 33.
  270. “Eine Schande für Frankreich.” In: Der Tag. 21.8.1920. PAAA, R122420.
  271. Flugblatt (flyer) “British public opinion and the employment of coloured troops in the Rhineland.” N.D., p. 2. PAAA, R74421. The citation can be found in an article by Alan Lethbridge, published firstly in the Westminster Gazette on 3.9.1921.
  272. N.N., *coloured troops*, p. 1. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
  273. Brie, *Frauen*, p. 13f. A Scottish gentleman shared these concerns, see Milligan, *Ferieneindrücke*, p. 541.
  274. “French Reign of Terror in Occupied Zone. Black Beast Used as Auxiliary Troops Outrage and Murder German Women.” Reprint Letter Western Orthodox Church, New York. In: The American Monthly. May 1920. PAAA, R74418.
  275. Brief (letter) Leipziger Graphische Werke to Reichsminister Koch, Reichsministerium des Innern. 23.1.1923, p. 1. PAAA, R122423.
  276. Ritter, *Weltproblem*, p. 35. The citation originates according to Ritter in the Norwegian newspaper *Molde Annonseblad*. The following citation can be found in “Die Pfalz in Not. Große Protestversammlung in Kaufbeuren gegen die Bedrückung der Pfälzer.” In: Kaufbeurer-Zeitung. 16.3.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
  277. Brief (letter) Frauenausschuß Deutschnationale Volkspartei to Reichspräsident. 20.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  278. Resolution “Entschließung” der Männer und Frauen von Hamburg und Umgebung. 16.6.1921. PAAA, R74426.
  279. Resolution der Frauenverbände von Königshütte to Reichspräsident. 29.6.1920. PAAA, R74426. The following citation can be found in Brief (letter) Landesausschuß der Frauenabteilung Evangelischer Volksbund für Württemberg to Reichskanzler. 14.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  280. Brief (letter) Evangelischer Frauenbund, Verein für Fraueninteressen, Israel. Frauenbund, Hausfrauenorganisation in Regensburg to Reichspräsident. 20.5.1919. PAAA, R74426.
  281. Entschließung Vorstand Ortsgruppe Deutschnationale Volkspartei Brand-Erbsdorf to Reichsregierung Berlin. 12.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; similarly Protestbrief (protest letter) Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Landesfrauenausschuß Berlin to Reichspräsident. 21.5.1920. PAAA,



- R74426. This organisation felt that “other countries” too would consider the situation in Germany a “disgrace for Christian culture” due to the “moral atrocities” of the colonial troops. Ibid.
282. Deutscher Not- und Schmachtaler. N.D., owned by the author.
283. Flugblatt (flyer) “Schwarze Schmach. Um einen Besatzungs-Soldaten zu ernähren müssen vier deutsche Kinder hungern!” Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/20. This flyer can also be found in BArch Berlin, R1603/2220.
284. “Die schwarze Schmach. Ein Notruf an die Münchener.” In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. Arrived in Reichsministerium des Innern 9.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1601/712. Different caricatures also represented colonial troops’ assaults of German women as a “disgrace for the white race,” “the shame of the world.” See, for example, caricature “Die schwarze Besatzung.” Olaf Gulbransson. In: *Simplicissimus*. 24. Vol., 1920, No 11, title page; “Die Schande der Welt! Die Schwarze Schmach.” Sascha Schneider. In: *Kladderadatsch*. 76. Vol., 1923, No 25.
285. Oberbürgermeister Dr. Weiß: Bericht (Report) “Zehn Jahre Besatzungsnöte.” StA Neustadt an der Weinstraße, no file number.
286. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 15f.
287. Brief (letter) Preußische Gesandtschaft München to Auswärtiges Amt. 12.5.1920. PAAA, R74426. On the connection between women’s bodies, the sacrifice of women, and patriarchal domination Theweleit, *Männerphantasien*, p. 382f.
288. “Satzungen des ‘Deutschen Notbundes gegen die schwarze Schmach’.” § 1. PRO, FO371/5999. The organisation unsurprisingly only accepted members with a “white skin colour.” Ibid. § 3. The following citation in N.N., *Französische Mobrenwäsche*, p. 2. PAAA, R74423.
289. Distler’s Weltflugblatt No 8. N.D. PAAA, R74422. The citation can be found in a protest note of the German-American Steuben Society to Foch and Briand, dated 15.11.1921.
290. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 3. The following citation can be found in Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Außenminister Köster. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd. 333, p. 5693.
291. N.N., *Wunde*, p. 11f. The following citation in Brief (letter) Preußische Gesandtschaft to Auswärtiges Amt. 12.5.1920. Abdruck. PAAA, R74426.
292. “Proteste.” In *Fränkischer Kurier*. 18.2.1921. PAAA, R74419. The Deutsche Notbund also appealed to “the white women of the whole Earth!” Flugblatt (flyer) “Schwarze Schmach. Um einen Besatzungs-Soldaten zu ernähren müssen vier deutsche Kinder hungern!”



- Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Barch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/20.
293. Brief (letter) Netherlands Women's Association for the Improvement of Morals to League of Nations. 1.2.1921. Translation. PRO, FO371/5999. The following citation in letter Comision de damas de protesta contra el terror negro to Deutscher Botschafter in den Vereinigten Staaten, Dr. Wiedfeldt. 12.9.1922. PAAA, R74423.
  294. "Ein Engländer über die schwarze Schmach. Die farbigen Truppen als 'Saat zu einem neuen Weltkrieg'." In: Tägliche Rundschau. 9.12.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9080.
  295. Gagel, *Rasse*, p. 93.
  296. Ritter, *Weltproblem*, p. 3f.
  297. "Völker Europas...!" In: Grenzland-Korrespondenz. 24.4.1922. PAAA, R74422.
  298. Gagel, *farbigen Truppen*, p. 214.
  299. H. Miller: "Frankreichs 'Schwarze Macht'." Sonderabdruck aus der München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 11.5.1922. BayHStA, MA108037. The following citation can be found in "Franzosen über die 'schwarze Pest' in Europa." In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. 28.5.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 35.
  300. Hermann George Scheffauer: "Die schwarze Bastille." Rede gehalten auf einer Kundgebung in der Berliner Universität. 14.7.1920, p. 1. PAAA, R122421.
  301. N.N., *civilization*, no page. HHI Düsseldorf, Nachlaß Niessen-Deiters. The following Ebert quote in Ebert, *Reden*, p. 290.
  302. "Eine Schande für Frankreich." In: Der Tag. 21.8.1920. PAAA, R122420.
  303. "Die farbige 'Wacht' am Rhein." In: Kreuz-Zeitung. 21.12.1921. PAAA, R74421. This citation originates with the preacher Paul Nilsson.
  304. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 38. The following citation can be found in Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 16. The author warned, the world was facing a "race war of Africans of all colors and tribes, the Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu against the white race" aiming at its "destruction." The danger of a race war was constructed in various sources; see, for example, Deutscher Fichtebund. Outcry against France's Crimes. Appeal No. 4 to all Americans. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1.
  305. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 37. Garvey's vision of a black emancipation, in which the black woman should be representative and mother of a race to be kept pure and rising did not emancipate itself from contemporary notions of racial segregation and implied segregation to be also in the interest of the black race. Beryl Satter has discussed this further in an essay, See Satter, *Marcus Garvey*.



306. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichskanzler. 30.1.1923. BArch Berlin, R1601/712. The Notbund and other campaigners considered this argument as well suited to support the German government in a call to all "the white peoples." The organisation dedicated an issue of its magazine to "Africa's Awakening" in 1925 with a reference to Oswald Spengler. He warned that "the negroes" had "become aware of their power and unity" and that "a wide area South of Europe had now been 'woken up' from its sleep." Section of Oswald Spengler's Würzburg Speech "Ueber die politischen Pflichten der deutschen Jugend" 28.2.1924. In: Die Schmach am Rhein. Monatsschrift des Deutschen Notbundes gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. 4. Vol., April 1925, no number, p. 3. BArch Berlin, R1601/1455.
307. In this context, different primary sources are referring to the concerning emancipation attempts of the blacks, which had been intensified by the misguided French colonial policy. See Konopacki-Konopath, *Verrat*, p. 2. BayHStA, MA108037.
308. Lothar Knud Fredrik: "Aus der Welt des Films. Die schwarze Schmach." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 20.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2220. The following citation can be found in resolution Deutscher Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" to Völkerbund. Unterzeichnet von 71 deutschen, österreichischen und niederländischen Frauenverbänden. N.D. PAAA, R74424
309. Ritter, *Weltproblem*. Stehle used the same phrase; see Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 32. The following citation in Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 5. Lang refers to an article of the "nordic poet Birger Mörner" which was firstly published in the Stockholms Dagblad.
310. "Die deutsche Not.—Die schwarze Schmach." In: Kaufbeurer Volkszeitung. 15.3.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
311. Ritter, *Weltproblem*, p. 1.
312. The citation originates from a handwritten note, which Gärtner added to a letter she received from the Catholic Women's association. In it Countess Montgelas, asked her to send material to Princess Clementine Metternich in Wiesen and Miss C.B. Ward in Cambridge, Peterhouse Lodge, who was "eagerly attempting" to "agitate against the coloured shame in England." Brief (letter) Katholischer Frauenbund Deutschlands to Gärtner. 9.4.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2216.
313. Brief (letter) Gärtner to Geheim. Rat Prof. Dr. Deissmann. 2.9.1921, p. 4. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214.
314. Students in Germany were amongst those who dehumanised the colonial troops as "half-savage negro tribes," who had been used as "police dogs against highly cultivated European peoples." The "great danger" was



- that they would stand up against their “tamers” in their newly learned “contempt for the white race.” Aufruf “An die Träger des deutschen Volksgedankens. An die Hochschulen und Studentenschaften der Kulturvölker.” Die Deutsche Studentenschaft. N.D. PAAA, R122420.
315. Brief (letter) Präsident Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft to Minister des Innern. 2.6.1921. Copy. BayHStA, MA107828. The Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Society) had already protested against the “use of coloured troops” at its annual meeting a year earlier and put the German government under pressure to act accordingly to “eliminate this disgrace” for “the white race.” Brief (letter) Präsident der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft to Auswärtiges Amt. 19.5.1920. PAAA, R74426. The following citation can be found in resolution Stadtbund Münchener Frauenvereine to Pfälzzentrale. 7.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
  316. “Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!” No 2. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus “Ideal und Leben.” Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1. The following citation in Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre”: “Gegen die Schwarze Schmach.” In: München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 14.5.1920. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.105/001227.
  317. Entschließung (resolution) einer “Versammlung zu Würzburg,” gez. i.A. Dr. Robert Piloty, Geheimer Hofrat, Universitätsprofessor. 13.12.1920. PRO, FO371/5999; also see “Schwarze Schmach und schwarzweißer Ufug.” In: Fränkischer Volksfreund. 14.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43. The following two citations in “Gegen die Schwarzen greuel im besetzten Gebiet.” In: Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz. 8.5.1920. PAAA, R74426 (consequences) and Resolution Deutscher Volksbund “Rettet die Ehre” an Völkerbund. N.D. PAAA, R74424 (rank).
  318. “Die schwarze Schmach.” In: Bayerische Staatszeitung und Bayerischer Staatsanzeiger. 19.10.1920. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt. 233/No 12112. This article refers to a speech, Distler gave at a protest meeting of the Notbund.
  319. Entschliessung Deutscher Frauenbund, Frauenstadtbund. 11.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191; see Entschließung (resolution) Hamburgischer Landesverband zur Bekämpfung der Schwarzen Schmach to Reichspräsident Ebert. 22.6.1921. PAAA, R74426. The following citation in “Die Not des besetzten Gebietes.” In Münchener Post. 24.2.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43; also see Stehle, *Shame*, p. 67; Brief (letter) Freistaat Bayern, Ministerium des Aeußern to Auswärtiges Amt. 11.5.1921. PAAA, R74420.



320. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Colored Frenchmen*, p. 3; see Entschliessung (resolution) Frauengruppen der bürgerlichen Parteien Augsburgs to Auswärtiges Amt. Arrived 28.2.1921. PAAA, R74419.
321. Brief (letter) Gärtner to Elisabeth Römer-Litzmann. 26.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214. Helene Weber explained at a protest meeting against the “coloured occupation” in Mannheim, that “the blacks” were recognised “as humans,” but that it was unacceptable to let them as “a people with a low culture” “rule over or occupy” a “cultured people” (Kulturvolk). Her thoughts were received with “rapturous applause” by her audience. “Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Besetzung.” In: General-Anzeiger. 6.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/814, 2.
322. Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 1; the following citation in *ibid.*, p. 33.
323. “Eine Lebensfrage für die weiße Menschheit! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?” Flugblatt (flyer) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037.
324. Heinrich Distler: “Die deutsche Presse im Kampf gegen die schwarze Schmach.” In: Fränkischer Kurier. 19.10.1920. PAAA, R122421.
325. “Die Untaten der Farbigen.” In: Deutsche Tageszeitung. 15.9.1921. PAAA, R74429. An article warned the German government rigorously to not allow a “capitulation” in the face of the “black cultural shame” (schwarze Kulturschande). In: München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 15.3.1922. PAAA, R74421.
326. “Mannhafter Pastoren-Protest. (Schweizer Brief).” In: Tägliche Rundschau. 19.8.1920. PAAA, R122420.
327. “Die Farbigen am Rhein.” In: Fränkischer Kurier. 18.2.1928. LA Speyer, R12/684; see “Immer noch Farbige am Rhein. Was sagt die Welt zu dieser Kulturschande?” In: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 26.7.1927. PAAA, R74425. The Kölnische Zeitung too, found it “unbearable” in 1927, that coloured troops remained in Germany, meaning that “half-civilised” had been granted “privileges” as members of the occupation troops in relation to “members of a cultured people” (Kulturvolk). “Immer noch Farbige im besetzten Gebiet.” In: Kölnische Zeitung. 9.11.1927. PAAA, R74425. Another newspaper urged “away with the coloured French on the Rhine,” reporting a Moroccan assault. Letting “coloureds” act as “masters” in the Rhineland, so rich in “civilisation and culture” was considered unacceptable and it seemed “a crime against the whole of Europe” (Gesamteuropa) that the French had still not “withdrawn its coloured troops entirely.” “Genfer Worte—Rheinische Praxis.” In: Tägliche Rundschau. 13.3.1928. BArch Berlin, R1602/1853.
328. Brief (letter) Committee of Protest in the Argentine republic against the Black Terror in Germany, gez. Eleonore Lesser, Secretary; F.K.



- de Bohn, President to J.W. Ronald Macleay. Translation. 12.11.1921. PRO, FO371/5999.
329. "Weg mit den farbigen Truppen am Rhein!" In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 8.9.1921. PAAA, R74420. This accusation was shared by the Dutch physician Dr. W.D. van Renesse and promoted in his public lectures against the coloured troops. The following citation can be found in N.N., *farbiger Truppen*, no page. BayHStA, MA108037. This citation originates with the British Major F.V. Blackwell.
  330. J. Fowler Shone: "African Troops and European Women." Flyer League of Worldfriendship, London. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213. He here refers to General C.B. Thompson. For more information on General Thompson's concerns about the use of colonial soldiers in Europe, see "Proteste." In: Fränkischer Kurier. 18.2.1921. PAAA, R74419.
  331. Report about an Opening Address (Eröffnungsrede) Söderblom. N.D. Copy. PAAA, R122423.
  332. "Franzosen über die 'schwarze Pest' in Europa." In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. 28.5.1920. BayHStA, Hauptthilfsstelle Pfalz 35. His comrade, the French socialist and feminist Luise Bodin, was similarly outraged about the "French militarists" and the "shame of the black occupation." She opposed the French government for using "negroes," who had even "camped in Frankfurt University" and "raped" "women and girls." "Die Schmach der schwarzen Besatzung. Die französischen Militaristen.—'Schandbuben und ihre Schandtaten.'" In: Neue Badische Landes-Zeitung. 15.5.1920. BayHStA, Hauptthilfsstelle Pfalz 35.
  333. Pfalz-Zentrale Mannheim-Heidelberg, *Amerika*, p. 8f. The following citation in *ibid.*, p. 20f. A Scottish cleric also attacked the colonial troops as "stain of shame" (Schandfleck) of Europe. Lee, "*schwarze Schmach*." selection, no page. BArch Berlin, R1602/1755.
  334. Hofprediger Paul Nilsson: "Die farbige Wacht am Rhein." In: Göteborg Dagblad. 3.12.1921. Translation, p. 1. PAAA, R74421.
  335. See Van Evrie, *White Supremacy* and Stoddard, *Color*.
  336. Van Galen, *Black Shame*, p. 132. See also for a brief discussion of Stoddard's work and its impact.
  337. Zöller, *Kulturgefahr*, p. 2. BArch Berlin, R1601/1455.
  338. Olshausen-Schönberger, *Schwarzen*, p. 9. BayHStA, MA108037.
  339. Bericht (report) über die Sittlichkeitsverhältnisse im besetzten Gebiete. N.D. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.105/001247, p. 208.
  340. Brief (letter) Bayerischer Vertreter beim Reichskommissar für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete to Reichskommissar für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete, No 24. 19.1.1921. Copy. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.105/001398. The Deutsche Fichtebund was outraged about the



- “negro,” who had “attended meetings.” “Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!” No 2. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus “Ideal und Leben.” Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken. PRO, FO371/5999. Frau Gärtner was also concerned about a “black officer” participating as “committee member” in court cases “against whites in Landau and Kaiserlautern.” Brief (letter) Gärtner to Elisabeth Römer-Litzmann. 26.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214. Similarly Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 17; Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 14.
341. Deutscher Fichtebund: Outcry against France’s Crimes. Appeal No. 4 to all Americans. N.D. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1.
342. Lichtenberg, *Deutsches Land*, p. 38. The following citation can be found in Norah Bentinck: “The Black Troops in the Ruhr.” In: Manchester Guardian. 6.12.1923. PAAA, R74424. (“That coloured troops should have authority over white people in Europe involves a situation which it seems to me no English citizen can willingly tolerate, for it threatens the whole fabric of civilisation.”).
343. “Unerlöste Brüder. Ein barbarischer Schandfleck.” In: Deutsche Zeitung. 6.11.1921. PAAA, R74421. The following citation in Brief (letter) Margarete Gärtner to Dr. Bruhn. 10.12.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2243
344. Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Haag to Auswärtiges Amt. 30.12.1920. PAAA, R122422. Attached to the letter is an article by the Dutch physician Dr. Römer, who was mainly concerned about these alleged consequences. He published the brochure “De Hel aan den Rijn,” which referred to Morel’s pamphlet “The Horror on the Rhine.” Elisabeth Röhl, a social-democratic member of the German Parliament also showed an interest in the “tremendously increased dangers of a physical contamination.” Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Abgeordnete Röhl. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd. 333, p. 5691.
345. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 11.
346. Artikel (article) Protestversammlung (protest meeting) Deutsche Demokratische Partei Auerbach gegen die farbigen Truppen (no title). In: Auerbacher Zeitung. 5.10.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2190. Resolutions similarly complained about “a deep contamination” and claimed, the colonial troops were spreading “the worst forms of venereal diseases.” Entschliessung (resolution) Deutscher Frauenbund, Frauenstadtbund. 11.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191; see also Brief (letter) Netherlands Women’s Association for the Improvement of Morals to League of Nations. 1.2.1921. Translation. PRO, FO371/5999; “Die Pfalz in Not. Große Protestversammlung in Kaufbeuren gegen die Bedrückung der Pfälzer.”



- In: Kaufbeurer-Zeitung. 16.3.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43; Brief (letter) Vereinigung Evangelischer Frauenverbände Deutschlands to Foreign Office. 4.6.1920. PRO, FO371/3786.
347. N.N., *Black Troops*, p. 366. The citation originates from the letter of a mayor in the occupied territory, published in this article.
  348. Larsen, *Rhein*, p. 35. The following citation can be found in Tätigkeitsbericht (activity report) des Deutschen Notbundes gegen die Schwarze Schmach bis 1.1.1922. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
  349. "Eine Schande für Frankreich." In: Der Tag. 21.8.1920. PAAA, R122420. The following citation in Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 17.
  350. "Eine Lebensfrage für die weiße Menschheit! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?" Flugblatt (flyer) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037; see also Flugblatt "Eine Menschheits-Frage! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, Vertreter beim Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete 7; Flugblatt "Schwarze Schmach." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
  351. Brief (letter) 21 Frauenorganisationen to Regierung des Deutschen Reiches to Reichspräsident. 18.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  352. "Die schwarze Schmach. Ein Notruf an die Münchener." In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. Eingang Reichsministerium Reichsministerium des Innern 9.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1601/712; see N.N., *Französische Mohrenwäusche*, p. 2. PAAA, R74423. The German Fichtebund also insisted, that black troops were violating German boys and contaminated them with syphilis. "Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!" No 2. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus "Ideal und Leben." Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1. The following citation in "Die Schmach der schwarzen Besatzung. Die französischen Militaristen".—"Schandbuben und ihre Schandtaten." In: Neue Badische Landes-Zeitung. 15.5.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 35.
  353. "Zur schwarzen Schmach. Medizinische Gutachten über die gesundheitliche Gefährdung im besetzten Gebiet." In: Weser Zeitung. 2.9.1922. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9081.
  354. See Sigel, *gesundheitliche Gefahr*. The following citation in Lichtenberg, *Deutsches Land*, p. 38. The Bavarian interior ministry also complained about the enormous "increase of venereal diseases" and had no "doubts" that this was due to the French occupation and "use of black and coloured troops." Brief (letter) Freistaat Bayern, Ministerium des Innern to Reichskommissar für die Pfalz. 17.1.1922. Kopie für



- Rheinische Frauenliga (copy for the Rhenish Women's League). BArch Berlin, R1603/2219.
355. "Zur schwarzen Schmach. Medizinische Gutachten über die gesundheitliche Gefährdung im besetzten Gebiet." In: Weser Zeitung. 2.9.1922. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9081.
  356. Brief (letter) Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.10.1922. PAAA, R74431.
  357. "Die schwarze Schmach im besetzten Gebiet." Sonderabdruck aus No 150 der Münchener Zeitung. 3.6.1921. BayHStA, MA108037.
  358. N.N., *Arzt*, p. 1ff. PRO, FO371/5999. Even in the late 1920s, after the withdrawal of the vast majority of coloured troops, different newspapers remained concerned about the "great health threats" linked to the "coloureds" on the Rhine. "Die Farbigen am Rhein." In: Fränkischer Kurier. 18.2.1928. LA Speyer, R12/684. Another paper urged to deport the remaining "coloured troops" to stem "the danger of sexual diseases." "Immer noch farbige Truppen im besetzten Gebiet." In: Tägliche Rundschau. 24.12.1927. BArch Berlin, R1602/1853.
  359. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 14 (Middle Europe) and *ibid.*, p. 19f (stems).
  360. A brochure made the "trafficking," "mainly operated by Galician Jews of both sexes" responsible for their fate, and hence entered an anti-Semitic stereotype into the discussion of the "Black Shame." Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 44.
  361. Bericht (report) Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern to Reichsminister für die besetzten Gebiete. No 1423. Betreff: Bordellwesen. 23.1.1925. BArch Berlin, R1603/2217.
  362. "Die Franzosen im Rheinland." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 21.12.1920. NRW HstA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624. The following citation in Bericht (report) Stadtmagistrat Landau, Pfalz to Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer des Innern in Speyer. 19.11.1920, p. 2. Copy. PAAA, R74418.
  363. See Weindling, *Health*, p. 181ff. and Weingart, Kroll and Bayertz, *Rasse*, p. 280ff.; there—on p. 281—also the citation from Max Christian: Die Rassenhygiene in der Gesittung, Gesetzgebung und Politik. Berlin 1923, p. 23. See also Sauerteig, *Geschlechtskrankheiten*.
  364. Niemann-Findeisen, *Fabian Society*, p. 212 (race-breeders), p. 175 (Tempel), p. 218 ("Rassedienst," "service to the State"), p. 209 (Volksgesundheit, Staat).
  365. Schwartz, *Sozialistische Eugenik*, p. 96 (on the position of the social-democratic member of the German Parliament Antonie Pfülf in 1923) and p. 107 (on an article by Gertrud Stern in "Volksgesundheit" from 1924—the citations can also be found here).



366. On the genesis of modern racism and its complex patterns of racist discrimination, see, for example, Ritter and Wigger, *Racism and Modernity*.
367. "Die Mulattisierung im besetzten Gebiet." In: Münchener Zeitung. 15.12.1921. BayHStA, MA108037; see resolution Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichskanzler. 13.12.1921. PAAA, R74421.
368. "Eine Lebensfrage für die weiße Menschheit! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?" Flugblatt (flyer) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037; also see Flugschrift "Farbige am Rhein. Eine Europäische Angelegenheit!" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. PRO, FO371/5999. The following citation in "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Berg. Märk. Zeitung. 2.3.1922. NRW HstA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
369. Rosenberger, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 371f.
370. Brief (letter) Gärtner to Deutscher Notbund gegen die Schwarze Schmach. 2.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
371. "Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!" No 2. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus "Ideal und Leben." Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1.
372. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Außenminister Köster. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd. 333, p. 5693. A professor expressed a similar concern and was convinced the occupied territories faced a "mulattisation." Lichtenberg, *Deutsches Land*, p. 38.
373. N.N., *Arzt*, p. 1ff. PRO, FO371/5999. For him, it was irrelevant whether the "race mixture" was brought about "through an act of violence or voluntary devotion." Ibid.
374. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 26. Rosenberger defamed these children as inheriting the most "unfavourite characteristics" of both parents, labelled them as "moody, fickle, unreliable, and without stamina." They were considered to be more likely to catch "diseases," and would, after a fast blossom, sicken more quickly than their parents. Ibid.
375. Dr Franz Rosenberger: "Gefahr der Mulattisierung." Sonderdruck aus der Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. No 163. 18.4.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221. The author of a brochure also spread this claim; see Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 75f.
376. The organisation addressed the Rheinische Frauenliga with this request. Brief (letter) Arbeitsausschuß deutscher Verbände to Rheinische Frauenliga. 2.5.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.



377. Brief (letter) Weltbund für Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen, Deutscher Arbeitsausschuss to Zentrale für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten. 21.8.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 72. The next citation in Brief (letter) Zentrale für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten to Weltbund für Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen. 25.1.1922. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 72.
378. Denkschrift der Kreisfuersorgerin der Pfalz. 1.9.1920. Attachment to letter Gosling, British Consulate to British Foreign Office. No. 123. 10.11.1920. PRO, FO371/4799.
379. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 24ff. The tracing of these children proved difficult and time consuming. The president of the Higher Regional Court in Cologne (Oberlandesgerichtspräsident), for example, attempted to follow up the request from the German Ministry of Justice. However, on the basis of “reports” he considered it impossible to investigate even the approximate “number of the illegitimate children of coloured occupation troops.” It seemed evident though, that “unfortunately” too many “German” women voluntarily engaged with the “colonial soldiers.” The exact number of children could not be found out, as the “illegitimate mothers” were anxiously attempting to prevent “the discovery of the father.” The appearance of the children did allow only “in the rarest cases” the “certain conclusion” “that the child” had been produced by a “coloured.” Brief (letter) Oberlandesgerichtspräsident Köln to Justizminister. Zur Verfügung vom 28.6.1923. 4.9.1923. Copy. PAAA, R74424.
380. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 28.
381. Martin Liljeblad, in: Nya Dagligt Allehanda. 22.12.1924, cited in Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 27f. Liljeblad invited scholars in 1924 to a congress on “race questions in Sweden,” and the German Foreign Office was keen to see Professor and expert for racial hygiene, Eugen Fischer attending. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 27.
382. Olshausen-Schönberger, *Schwarzen*, p. 9. BayHStA, MA108037. The author of this text notes that there are exceptions to this.
383. “Vaterländischer Frauenverein Langensalza-Stadt.” Source unreadable on copy. PAAA, R74426.
384. Meyers Lexikon. 7. ed., vol. 10, Bibliographisches Institut. Leipzig 1929, p. 1578.
385. Liljeblad, *Shame*, p. 28ff.
386. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 7f.; see Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 76.
387. Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 33.
388. Halling, Die Geburt unseres Hasses, cited in Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 50f.



389. "Auszug aus der 122. und 123. Sitzung" des Deutschen Reichstags (Notes from the 122<sup>nd</sup> and 123<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the German Reichstag). 24.6.1921. Drucksache No 2207, Reichstag I, Wahlperiode 1920/21, Anfrage No 869. Dr. Maretzky, Dr. Scholz, Dr. Luther, Döbrich, Keubler-Böhm, Harte, Dusche, Dr. Mittelmann. StaA Hamburg, 132–III803.
390. "Mulatto Europe. Ein Aufsatz aus einer britischen Kolonialzeitung, dem in Westaustralien erscheinenden Blatte Truth." No 2351, Bericht aus Montreal. 20.10.1921. "Milwaukee America früher Germania." 14.10.1921. PAAA, R74421.
391. "Ein Engländer über die schwarze Schmach. Die farbigen Truppen als 'Saat zu einem neuen Weltkrieg'." In: Tägliche Rundschau. 9.12.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9080. The Committee of Protest in Argentina was sure "(t)he high intellectual and moral culture of the British women" would provide them with "a clear comprehension of the dangers of negro contamination which threatens the white women in the occupied zone." It seemed beyond doubt that "the civilization and purity of the white race in Europe" was under threat. Brief (letter) Committee of Protest in the Argentine republic against the Black Terror in Germany, gez. Eleonore Lesser, Secretary; F.K. de Bohn, President to J.W. Ronald Macleay. Translation. 12.11.1921. PRO, FO371/5999.
392. Gärtner also communicated with the director of the Reichsfilmstelle about the film. For different primary sources associated with this film, see file BArch Berlin, R1603/2604. For a detailed discussion of the creation, content, role, rhetoric and reception of this film, see Nagl, *Rasse und Repäsentation*, pp. 199–205.
393. Brief (letter) Gärtner to Filmoberprüfstelle. 15.6.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2604.
394. Zensierungsgutachten zum Film "Die Schwarze Pest." (Censoring report about the film "Die Schwarze Pest" Film-Prüfstelle and Film-Ober-Prüfstelle, Berlin. 1.8.1921. DFI Frankfurt, Projekt Verbotene Bilder, manipulierte Filme. An online collection of censoring reports of the Film-Oberprüfstelle between 1920–1938 is available at <http://www.difarchiv.deutsches-filminstitut.de/dt2tai01lc.htm>.
395. Ibid., p. 6.
396. Ibid., p. 5. For a longer and more detailed explanation of these concerns, see ibid. p. 6f.
397. Dr Franz Rosenberger: "Gefahr der Mulattisierung." Sonderdruck aus der Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. 18.4.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.



398. Flugblatt (flyer) "Gibt es noch eine schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037, p. 1f.
399. See Barkan, *Scientific Racism*, especially the passages about Franz Boas and his School, p. 76 ff.
400. Pfalz-Zentrale Mannheim-Heidelberg, *Amerika*, p. 11. The following citation in Fanny Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: "Drei Fragen." Manuskript Artikel (article). N.D. PAAA, R74426.
401. On the origins and the development of this discussion in different countries, see Becker, *Rassenhygiene*; Bland, *Miscegnation Fears*; Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*; Fout, *sexuality*; Gilman, *Rasse*; Kaupen-Haas et al., *Wissenschaftlicher Rassismus*; Kevles, *Eugenics*; Kistner, *Rassismus*; Koch, *Racehygienje*; Kühl, *Rassenhygiene*; Mazumdar, *Eugenics*; Lemire, "Miscegnation"; Sieferle, *Menschenzuchtideale*; Soloway, *Eugenics*; Stone, *Breeding superman*; Thomson, *Mental Hygiene*; Waller, *eugenics in Britain*; Weindling, *Health*; Weingart, *Rasse*; on societal discussions about syphilis, venereal diseases and Health Policy in Germany and Great Britain, see Bland, *venereal disease campaign*; Sauerteig, *Krankheit*. On the foundations of the notion of racial degeneration, see Sloan, *Racial Degeneracy*. As a contemporary source on this topic, see Baur, Fischer und Lenz, *Erblichkeitslehre und Rassenhygiene*. For a collection of historical images on the subject of mixed-race relationships, see, for example, Zeller, *Schwarze Körper*, Chap. VII.
402. Plakat (poster) "Kongress für Biologische Hygiene zu Hamburg 1912." Farblithographie. A depiction of this poster can be found in Buchholz, *Rassenhygiene*, Kat. 6.59, p. 464.
403. See, for example, Kröner, *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut*.
404. Paul Grosse examines the link between colonialism and eugenics reflected in this discussion in his dissertation about colonialism, eugenics and bourgeois society in Germany. Other scholars who emphasise the close connections between racism and colonialism, include, for example, Horst Gründer, Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Henning Melber and Robert Ross. See Grosse, *Kolonialismus*; on the connection of racism and colonialism; see also Dietrich, *Rassenkonstruktion*; Gründer, *Rassismus*; Gründer, *Kolonialismus*; Friedrichsmeyer et al., *Imperialist Imagination*; Melber, *Weißheit*; Ross, *Racism and Colonialism*; Wildenthal, *German Colonial Empire*; on the question of mixed-race marriage in the colonies, see Gründer, *Kolonialismus*; Henrichsen, "Mischehen"; O'Donnell, *Colonial Women Question*.
405. Michael Schubert deals with the so-called mixed marriages question in his material-rich thesis, in the context of a complex parliamentary and journalistic colonial discussion. It was discussed not only in the German Parliament and on colonial congresses, but also by colonial experts,



- Governors, colonists and different associations. See Schubert, *Fremde*. Schubert has kindly presented me with a copy of his thesis. See Essner, *koloniale "Rassenmischehe"*; El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 156; Walser Smith, *Miscegenation*. On the question of race mixture in the colonial context, see Young, *Colonial Desire*, Henrichsen, *"Mischehen"*; Schulte-Althoff, *Rassenmischung*. After mixed marriages had been permitted in the German colonies at first, Governor Lindequist in 1905 adopted a legal prohibition of all mixed-marriages in South-west Africa. In 1906 and 1908 bans for East Africa and Samoa followed in accordance with the German colonial authority (Reichskolonialamt.) See El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 92 and p. 98. A German municipality socially sanctioned these relationships, by excluding "Mongrel children" from the Kindergarten and schools. White spouses were also socially sanctioned, sometimes excluded from club life, and partly even the right to vote was removed. See *Ibid.*, p. 95ff.
406. Leonore Niessen-Deiters: "Rassenreinheit! Eine deutsche Frau über die Mischehen in den Kolonien." N.D. (probably 1912). This article and a literary estate of Niessen-Deiters and her work can be found in the Heinrich-Heine-Institut in Düsseldorf.
  407. On the discussion of these relations in the contemporary German film, see documentary (Dokumentarfilm) "Pagen der Traumfabrik. Schwarze Komparsen im deutschen Film." Editor Annette von Wangenheim. Broadcasted on TV channel Phoenix, 10.6.2002; see also article: "Willkommen, ihr Trottel." Ein Dokumentarfilm erinnert an schwarze Schauspieler während des Nationalsozialismus' by Harald Keller, in: Frankfurter Rundschau. 1.3.2002, p. 21. On colonial magazines, see, for example, Bonn, *Rasse*; especially p. 118; Fuchs, *Mischehen*.
  408. A brief clip from these two movies can be found in documentary (Dokumentarfilm) "Pagen der Traumfabrik. Schwarze Komparsen im deutschen Film." Ed. Annette von Wangenheim. Broadcasted on TV channel Phoenix. 10.6.2002.
  409. Alice L. Conklin relates to the role of women in her innovative study on the French colonial discussion. See Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*. On the role of the white woman in colonial history, see also Eigler, *Colonial Writings*; Gouda, *Geschlechterverhältnisse*; Haggis, *Gendering Colonialism*; Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism*; Ware, *White Women*; Ware, *Gender* and in the German context Bechhaus-Gerst and Leutner, *Frauen*. On the image of white women in German colonialism, see, for example, Klotz, *Dark Continent*; Dietrich, *Rassenkonstruktionen*.
  410. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, p. 170. French women in the colonies were also warned to keep away from coloured servants. *Ibid.*, p. 170f.
  411. See Ferber, *White man falling*, Chaps. 3, 6, 7.



412. See James, *whispering gallery*.
413. Weatherly, *Race and Marriage*, p. 443.
414. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 448f.
415. Brief (letter) Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.10.1922. PAAA, R74431.
416. Gagel, *Rasse*, p. 93f. The following citation can be found in Brief (letter) Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.10.1922. PAAA, R74431.
417. Briefverschußmarke "Die Negerpest." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
418. Here and in the following *ibid.*
419. Ritter distanced himself later from this motive; however, he remained convinced, that even "tasteless," it was "historically true." Brief (letter) Ritter to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz. 6.11.1922. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43. The Rheinische Frauenliga was more critical and expressed her "concern" about certain motives. Brief (letter) Gärtner to Rondo-Verlag. 2.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
420. Other parties, amongst them the "Deutsche Volkspartei," the "Bayerische Volkspartei" and the "demokratische Partei" had already assured the publisher Karl Rondholz of their "support." Brief (letter) Ritter to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz. 2.5.1921. BayHStA, MA107828. Here also the following citation.
421. Poster in two parts "Der Schrecken am Rhein. Eine künstlerische Mappe mit 18 Briefverschußmarken. Unveröffentlichte amtliche Feststellungen." Text by Dr Ritter. N.D. Entwurf (draft). BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/53.
422. Brief (letter) Rondo-Verlag to Rheinische Frauenliga, z.Hd. Margarete Gärtner. 4.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
423. The Bavarian Staatsministerium des Aeußern (State Ministry of Foreign Affairs) mentions enquiries from July 1923, January 1925 and requested in 1926 to investigate "the current state of the illegitimate children of white and coloured members of the occupations in the Palatinate." Brief (letter) Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeußern, i.A. gez. Freiherr von Lutz to Staatsministerium der Justiz. 17.2.1926. Abdruck. LA Speyer, R12/693; see Brief (letter) Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeußern to Reichsministerium für die besetzten Gebiete. 16.3.1927. Abdruck. LA Speyer, R12/693; Brief (letter) Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden to Preußischer Minister für Volkswohlfahrt. 3.5.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395; Brief (letter) Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden to Preußischen Minister



- für Volkswohlfahrt. 5.7.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395.
424. Brief (letter) Der Pfalzkommissar, gez. Jolas to Ministerialdirektor Sperr. 6.2.1931. Abschrift. PAAA, R74425. He provided this information based on an enquiry from the German embassy in London. It requested the information for an English man, who wanted the actual correct numbers to be used in his book about his travels in Germany. Brief (letter) Deutsche Botschaft London to Ministerialdirigent von Friedberg, Auswärtiges Amt. 21.1.1931. PAAA, R74425.
  425. "Farbige Besatzungsfranzosen. Die Pfalz befürchtet die Vermehrung der farbigen Franzosen." In: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 7.11.1927. LA Speyer, R12/684.
  426. Brief (letter) Reichsminister für die besetzten Gebiete to Preußischer Minister für Volkswohlfahrt. 5.3.1927 Copy for Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395.
  427. Brief (letter) Pfalzkommissariat, cited in Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 30
  428. Olshausen-Schönberger, *Schwarzen*, p. 9. BayHStA, MA108037.
  429. Brief (letter) Pfalzkommissariat, cited in Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 30.
  430. Brief (letter) Landes-Polizeipräsident and Leiter der Abteilung Ia (Polizei) Hessisches Staatsministerium to Kreisämter und Polizeidirektoren. 7.8.1933. StA Worms, Abt. 13/No 443. See the answer letter from the Stadtschulamt Worms to Hessische Polizeidirektion, 25.8.1933 in the same file. This reports two children as "Fremdrasse: Neger" (foreign race: negro).
  431. See Brief (letter) Preußisches Ministerium des Innern, Ministerialrat Dr Ostermann to unreadable. 19.4.1933. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 3158. Eugen Fischer was then director of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity Studies and Eugenics (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Anthropologie, menschliche Erblehre und Eugenik); Abel published the results of this investigation later. See Abel, *Europäer-Marokkaner*. He also published already in 1934 an essay on the topic Rheinlandbastards, in which he did not refer to his secret examination. See Abel, *Bastarde*.
  432. Here and in the following Brief (letter) Preußischer Minister des Innern to Regierungspräsidenten in Koblenz, Köln, Aachen, Trier, Düsseldorf and Wiesbaden. 28.3.1934. Copy. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 3158.
  433. Abel concluded from his investigation that a great number of the "half-castes of Moroccan descent" were racially "inferiors" and expected to see these soon to be excluded from "reproduction" as "unwanted



- carriers of disease.” He was also anticipating a ban of marriages between “German” and alien “races” to “protect” us from the “without doubt contaminating” influence of “racially alien blood” (*rassefremden Blutes*). Unsurprisingly, his perspective was “entirely identical” with that of the “director” of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute, Eugen Fischer. Brief (letter) Preußischer Minister des Innern to Regierungspräsidenten in Koblenz, Köln, Aachen, Trier, Düsseldorf und Wiesbaden. 28.3.1934. Abschrift. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 3158.
434. Vertraulicher Brief (confidential letter) Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer des Innern to 1.) Bezirksämter und Bezirksamtsaußenstellen der Pfalz 2.) die Herren Bürgermeister der 8 kreisunmittelbaren Städte der Pfalz. 2.5.1934. LA Speyer, H39/No 2145. This investigation was initiated in the German Reichsministerium des Innern. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 58.
435. Brief (confidential letter) Reichsstatthalter Hessen, Landesregierung Abt. III, Innere Verwaltung, i.A. gez. Weiffenbach to Kreisämter (Worms). 17.10.1936. StA Worms, Abt. 13/No 443; see “Verzeichnis der in der Stadt Worms lebenden wohnhaften fremdrassigen Personen (farbige Besatzungskinder, Chinesen usw.).” Einwohnermeldeamt Worms to I. Polizeirevier. StA Worms, Abt. 13/No 443.
436. These examinations were carried out on the basis of a directive from 11.6.1935. Bericht (report) Stellvertretender Amtsarzt (Kreisarzt) Frankfurt zur Verfügung des Regierungspräsidenten Wiesbaden. 28.7.1935. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 3158; see Brief (letter) Gesundheitsamt, Amtsärztliche Abteilung, Frankfurt to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 24.7.1935. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 3158. Anlage (attachment) Listen und ärztliche Berichte über untersuchte Kinder; See “Untersuchungsbefunde der Marokkanermischlinge.” N.D. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden. Abt. 405/No 3158.
437. The Gestapo too received material on the topic for review. See Brief (letter) Geheime Staatspolizei, Staatspolizeistelle Aachen to Regierungspräsident im Hause. 26.6.1937. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Regierung Aachen, 23409. These children were of course not the only victims of the large scale forced sterilisations (*Zwangssterilisierungen*) in the German “racial state”; see Bock, *Rassenpolitik*; Simon, *Zwangssterilisation*.
438. Several reports concerning “investigations” regarding racial categorisation (*Rassezugehörigkeit*) and certificates of forced sterilisations of different children can be found in BArch Berlin, R1501/1271.
439. See Pommerin, *Rheinlandbastarde*, p. 78. Reiner Pommerin has investigated the horrific crime against these children in a monograph,



reflecting on their persecution and the ideological context of their sterilisation. A dissertation from 2002 focuses more extensively on the life of Afro-German “occupation children” (*Besatzungskinder*) in Germany, see Lemke Muniz de Faria, *Besatzungskinder*; see also Panzacci, *Die Kinder*. Different studies have started to investigate the history, experiences, identities and life of these and other “Afro-Germans”; see especially Camp’s dissertation, *Afro-German*; El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*; Oguntoye, *afro-deutsche Geschichte*; Oguntoye et al., *Farbe bekennen*. Two interesting German sources in this context are the documentary film “Schwarze Schmach am Rhein.” Rückblende. Broadcasted on German TV channel West 3, 20.3.1991. Redaktion: Fritz Breuer and the German radio programme “Besonderes Kennzeichen: ‘Neger’. Schwarze Lebenswege.” Author Berit Hempel. Editing and production Thomas Werner. Broadcasted on German radio channel WDR 5. 15.12.1999, 20.05–21.00 pm.

440. Der Magistrat, Magistrat Beschluß vom 28.4.27. Langenschwalbach, 29.4.1927, gez. Ingenohl. Abschrift. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395. After a follow-up enquiry, pointing out that it was sufficient to report on the number of children without reporting their actual names, the Regierungspräsident received the requested information from the Head of the Kreisausschuss, Kreisjugendamt (District Youth authority); see Brief (letter) Vorsitzender des Kreisausschusses, Kreisjugendamt, gez. Dr Pollack to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 6.5.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395. Other Youth Councils and officials did obviously not have any concerns and provided information on the number and residence of the children, see amongst others Mitteilung (Note) Kreisausschuß des Rheingaukreises, Jugendamt to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 28.4.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395; Brief (letter) Jugendamt der Stadt Wiesbaden to Regierungspräsidenten. 19.4.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395; Brief (letter) Landrat Diez to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 19.4.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395; Brief (letter) Magistrat Stadt Höchst am Main to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 12.4.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 5395. A local authority in the area of Wiesbaden even reported the names, date of birth, adress, parents, and information on who is paying for the keep of the children. Brief (letter) Kreisausschuß Landkreis Wiesbaden to Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden. 13.4.1927. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt. 405/No 405/5395.
441. Heinrich Distler: “Die deutsche Presse im Kampf gegen die schwarze Schmach.” In: Fränkischer Kurier. 19.10.1920. PAAA, R122421. The following citation in Prospekt (brochure) Deutscher Notbund gegen



- die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. Attachment to confidential Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete, gez. 1. Vorsitzende Gräfin Bothmer to Legationsrat Köpke, Auswärtiges Amt. 11.11.1924. PAAA, R74424.
442. Caricature in Flugschrift (flyer) "If the White Race has a Moral Mission Here is its Most Imperative Need!" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Unterdrückung der besetzten Gebiete. N.D. PAAA, R74425. Here also the following citation.
443. "Die schwarze Schande. Neger am Rhein. Das 'dunkelste' Kapitel aus der Besatzungszeit." In: Sonderbeilage zum Mannheimer Tageblatt. 1.7.1930. StA Neustadt an der Weinstraße, no file number.
444. Postmeister Klawun-Heiligenbeil: "Die schwarze Schmach am Rhein als Vorspann für König und Thron." In: Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung. 9.9.1921. BArch Berlin, R1601/712.
445. Gedicht (poem) "Rheinlands Glocken." Friedrich Wilhelm Hausmann. In: Deutsche Worte. No 6. 18.10.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 89.
446. Antwort Reichsregierung auf Anfrage Nr 904 (answer German government to parliamentary question No 904). N.D. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1501/102869.
447. Antwort der Reichsregierung auf Anfrage Nr 1467 (answer German government to parliamentary question No 1467) from the Reichstagsabgeordneten (member of the German Parliament) Dr Stresemann und Fraktion (and his party). N.D. Reichstagsdrucksache No 3675. Copy. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abteilung 233/No 12112.
448. "Schwarze Prätorianer." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 25.3.1926, Titelseite (title page). BArch Berlin, R8034II/9080; see "Die Wahrheit ins Ausland! Die Schwarze Schmach." In: Berliner Börsenzeitung. 4.2.1921. BArch Berlin, R1601/712.
449. Lothar Knud Fredrik: "Aus der Welt des Films. Die schwarze Schmach." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 20.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2220.
450. Gedicht (poem) "Die schwarze Schmach. Ein Aufruf an die weißen Völker." 29.5.1920. Source unreadable. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184.
451. Gedicht (poem) "Wie die weiße Frau den schwarzen Rheinlandschrecken beenden kann." In: Die Nachricht. 1.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1602/1755. The following citation is taken from Postkarte (postcard) "Ihr Mütter der Welt, starben dafür Eure Söhne?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Bay HStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41.



452. "Der schwarze Schrecken im besetzten Gebiet." In: Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz. 23.4.1920. BArch Berlin, R1501/102869; see also Artikel (article) Protestversammlung Pforzheimer Frauen (without title). In: Pforzheimer Anzeiger. 3.12.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213; similarly Resolution Stadtbund Münchener Frauenvereine to Pfälzzentrale. 7.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43. The following citation can be found in "Entschließung!" (resolution) Männer und Frauen von Hamburg und Umgebung. 16.6.1921. PAAA, R74426; see also Flugblatt (flyer) "Gibt es noch eine schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037.
453. Entschliessung (resolution) Deutscher Frauenbund, Frauenstadtbund. 11.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191. The following citation in Brief (letter) Deutsche Demokratische Partei to Minister des Aeussern Köster containing Entschliessung (resolution) einer "auf Einladung der Deutschen demokratischen Partei tagende(n) Volksversammlung." 15.5.1920. PAAA, R74426
454. "Notruf wider die schwarze Schmach!" No 2. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. Sonder-Abdruck aus "Ideal und Leben." Deutsche Monatsschrift für Fichtes Hochgedanken. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1. The following citation in Brief (letter) Presbyterium der deutsch-evangelischen Kirchengemeinde Bruenn to Leitung der deutsch-evangelischen Kirche in Gablonz. 1.2.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214.
455. Brief (letter) Preußische Gesandtschaft to Auswärtiges Amt. 12.5.1920. Copy. PAAA, R74426. The following citation in Bericht (report) Committee of the Ruhr, Hälsingborg, gez. Martin Liljeblad. June 1924. ("Down in the Rhine countries an army of 24000 men, coloured troops, are stationed, who, firstly, are a further suffering to the oppressed inhabitants and, secondly, a real danger to the white race.").
456. Brief (letter) Deutsches Ausland-Institut Stuttgart, Museum and Institut zur Kunde des Auslanddeutschtums und zur Förderung deutscher Interessen im Ausland to Auswärtiges Amt. 25.1.1921. PAAA, R74419.
457. "Die unerträgliche schwarze Schmach. Deutsche Frauen fordern Taten." In: Deutsche Zeitung. 20.11.1927. BArch Berlin, R1601/1455. The Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" also attempted in the same year to gain information from the German Auswärtiges Amt (Foreign Office) concerning the origin of the "coloured French" remaining in the occupied Rhineland. This information was to be used in its agitation in the US. Brief (letter) Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" to Auswärtiges Amt. 7.4.1927. PAAA, R74425.



458. Brief (letter) Hessische Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Ortsgruppe Darmstadt to Presseabteilung der Pfälzzentrale. 25.7.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 42.
459. Brief (letter) Max Bahr, Jute-Spinnerei und Weberei, Plan- und Sackfabrik to Reichsministerium des Innern, Staatssekretär für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete. 28.9.1922. BArch Berlin, R1601/1652.
460. "Protestversammlung gegen die 'Schwarze Schmach' in der Pfalz und im Rheinland." In: Volkswacht. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213; see also Resolution Volksversammlung Nürnberg to Reichskanzler Wirth. 24.2.1922. PAAA, R74426; Schreiben (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichskanzler Wirth. 14.6.1921. PAAA, R74426. This document contains the Entschließung (resolution) of a protest meeting in Munich.
461. Brief (letter) Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Landesverband Pommern, Landesfrauenausschuß to Reichspräsident Ebert. 31.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
462. Gemeinsamer Aufruf (Shared Call) Provinzialverband der Sächsischen Frauenhilfe und Verband der Vaterländischen Vereine der Provinz Sachsen. PAAA, R74426.
463. Brief (letter) Vereinigung Evangelischer Frauenverbände Deutschlands to Foreign Office. 4.6.1920. PRO, FO371/3786. ("[T]he occupation of German country by troops of foreign race (is) not only a crime against our people," "but a crime against the whole of civilised Europe.").
464. Resolution 25 Frauenvereine und Verbände Halberstadts to Reichsministerium des Äussern. 10.7.1920. PAAA, R74426. The following citation can be found in Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 2f.
465. Flugblatt (flyer) "Eine Menschheits-Frage! Was ist die Schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, Vertreter beim Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete 7. The following citation (own blood) in Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 34f.
466. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 4. The following citation (humanity) in "Das Verbrechen der schwarzen Schmach. Eine Sache der ganzen Menschheit." In: Berg. Märk. Zeitung. 29.9.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624
467. N.N., *coloured troops*, p. 1. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213. The following citation (Kulturmenschen) in "Die Verbrechen der Farbigen am Rhein. Ein Notschrei deutscher Frauen." In: Wiener Neue Presse. 10.11.1920. PAAA, R122421. On the demand for objection, see "Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Schmach in der Rembertikirche." In: Bremer Nachrichten. 23.4.1921. BArch



- Berlin R1603/2214; also "Das besetzte Gebiet." In: Kieler Neueste Nachrichten. 1922 (exact date unreadable). PAAA, R74421.
468. "Auswärtiges Amt und Schwarze Schmach." In: Tägliche Rundschau. 16.3.1922. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9080.
469. "Schwarze." In: Deutsche Tageszeitung. 12.11.1921. PAAA, R74421.
470. "Völker Europas...!" In: Grenzland-Korrespondenz. 24.4.1922. PAAA, 74422.
471. American Congress. Speech Senator Hitchcock. Congressional Record. Sixty-Seventh Congress, Second Session. Washington. 31.8.1922, p. 4. Copy. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt. 233/No 12112. Also see "Ein amerikanischer Senator über die farbigen Truppen in der Pfalz." In: Grenzland-Korrespondenz. 19.10.1922. PAAA, R74423; Mitteilung (notice) Deutsche Botschaft Washington, gez. Thermann to Auswärtiges Amt. 5.9.1922. Abschrift. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt. 233/No 12112.
472. Brief (letter) im Auftrag der Reichsregierung to Vermittlungsstelle vaterländischer Verbände, z.Hd. Vorsitzender Graf Baudissin. 7.6.1920. Draft. PAAA, R122420. The German government had already assured the Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" in May 1920, it would continue to appeal to "the conscience of the civilised world" in relation to the "atrocities" committed by colonial soldiers against "German women," calling these a "cultural shame" (Kulturschande). Telegramm (telegram) Reichskanzler Müller to Domprediger Hartwich. 24.5.1920. Reinkonzept. PAAA, R122420.
473. Ministerialrat Konopacki-Konopath: "Die farbige Besatzung. Die politische Seite der schwarzen Schmach." In: Berliner Tageblatt. 9.1.1923. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9081.
474. Quaiser-Schönbach, *französische Schande*, p. 1. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223.
475. Aufruf "An die Kulturwelt!," cited in Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 103.
476. See Brief (letter) Vereinigung Vergewaltigter Völker to Margarete Gärtner. 27.7.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223. This letter contains information about the protest of two members of the Parliament in Prague (Dr Lodgeman and Dr Baeran). See also Brief (letter) Deutscher Fichtebund to Auswärtiges Amt. 26.7.1922. PAAA, R122423; Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Lissabon to Auswärtiges Amt. 21.9.1922. PAAA, R122423; Brief (letter) Auswärtiges Amt to Deutscher Fichtebund. 19.10.1922. PAAA, R122423.
477. Brief (letter) Dr Hubert L. Tilsner, Milwaukee. N.D. PAAA, R74419.
478. Brief (letter) Dr van Renesse to Professor Ritter. 22.8.1921. BArch Koblenz. ZSg.105/001219. This letter can also be found in the file BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 72.



479. Bericht (report) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Kristiania to Auswärtiges Amt. 5.9.1922. PAAA, R74423. This document contains information about Lady Frances Evelyn Warwick, Ethel Talbot and the Norwegian writer Nanna With supporting the campaign against the "Black Shame." German authorities and other carriers of the campaign also agitated against the Black Horror in Sweden. Different Swedish women organisations went public with their "protest against the use of black troops" in Germany. Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Schweden to Auswärtiges Amt. 22.5.1920. PAAA, R122420.
480. Brief (letter) Gesandtschaft des Deutschen Reiches, Argentinien to Auswärtiges Amt. 30.11.1920. PAAA, R122422. The next citation in "Ein Burenurteil über die schwarze Schmach." In: Kieler Nachrichten. 22.11.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 63.
481. Brief (letter) Deutsches Generalkonsulat für Britisch-Südafrika to Auswärtiges Amt. 31.5.1921. PAAA, R74420. The letter also refers to a discussion of "the use of black and coloured troops" in the Parliament in Kapstadt. Reports about black atrocities moreover caused public concern in Tehran, according to the German embassy, where people expressed their "compassion" for the Germans and "disgust" about the crimes of the "coloured troops." Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft für Persien to Auswärtiges Amt. 16.11.1920. PAAA, R122422.
482. Meldung "Deutschafrikaner gegen die schwarze Schmach." In: Rheinischer Beobachter. 1. Vol., 1922, No 19, p. 275f. On another protest in South Africa, see Bericht (report) über die Reise des Herrn Van Broeckhuizen. 8.3.1922. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/2243.
483. Khorat, *Colored Soldiers*, p. 577f.
484. Caricature "An das Weltgewissen." In: Simplicissimus. 27. Vol., 1923, No 45.
485. On the following, see Pieterse, *Blacks*—there, p. 79, also the citation—see also Bindman, *Aesthetics* and Jahoda, *Savages*.
486. See Stehle, *Shame*, p. 66.
487. Anzeige (advertisement) "Schwarze Schmach. Die Schändung der deutschen Frau durch Frankreich." Zum gleichnamigen Vortrag Heinrich Distlers. In: Volk in Not! 1921, No 1. PAAA, R74419. Distler was the editor of this publication. The following citation (negroes) in Ritter (Theodor), *France*, p. 31.
488. See, for example, "Weg mit den farbigen Truppen am Rhein!" In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 8.9.1921. PAAA, R74420; "Immer noch Farbige am Rhein. Was sagt die Welt zu dieser Kulturschande?" In: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 26.7.1927. PAAA, R74425; "Vergewaltigungen im besetzten Gebiet." In: Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt. 6.8.1920. PAAA, R122420. The following citation (stake) can be found



- in Anzeige (advertisement) "Die Herausforderung der Kulturwelt." Zu Kreutzers Roman "Die Schwarze Schmach." N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2218.
489. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Auswärtiges Amt, Friedberg. Date unreadable. Arrived Auswärtiges Amt 21.10.1922. PAAA, R74423.
490. Meinel, *Geleitworte*, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037. Dr Wilhelm von Meinel was the Bavarian secretary for trade (Handelsminister).
491. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern. Date unreadable. BayHStA, MA108037.
492. "Frankreichs 'Schwarze Macht'." Sonderabdruck aus der München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 11.5.1922. BayHStA, MA108037.
493. Helm, *Ausgewiesen*, p. 7.
494. Brief (letter) Auswärtiges Amt to Graf Bernstorff. 2.6.1920. PAAA, R74427.
495. See "Sanftmut und Güte der farbigen Franzosen." In: Neue Rheinische Korrespondenz. 13.11.1919. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, 11729, No 117.
496. Quaiser-Schönbach, *französische Schande*, p. 1. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223; See "Die französische Schande im Rheinland." In: Der Telegraf. 20.11.1920. PAAA, R122421. A brochure calls the "Black Shame" "France's eternal, indelible shame." Brie, *Frauen*, p. 77.
497. Anzeige (advertisement) "Protestversammlung gegen die farbige Besatzung." In: Volksstimme. 2.11.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43; see also Anzeige (advertisement) "Protestversammlung Volksbund 'Rettet die Ehre'." In: General-Anzeiger. 2.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/1521.
498. "Die Schwarze Schmach." In: Neubrandenburgische Zeitung. 20.3.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II9078.
499. Brief (letter) Deutsche Botschaft Frankreich to Auswärtiges Amt. 4.9.1920. Draft. PAAA, R122420. The use of colonial troops was still in 1930 attacked as a "stain on France's honour." Bildbogen "Farbige am Rhein. Ein Flecken auf der Ehre Frankreichs." In: Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung. 28.6.1930. Depicted in Kölner Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit, *deutscher Rassismus*, p. 55.
500. Friedrich Wilhelm Hausmann: "Die Kindsmörderin." Manuskript zu einem Schauspiel (manuscript of a Play). München 1922, p. 3. BayHStA, MA108037. Hausmann brought the Play to the stage with the support of the Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach; see "Vergewaltigungen im besetzten Gebiet." In: Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt. 6.8.1920. PAAA, R122420.



501. Brief (letter) Sozialdemokratische Frauen-Gruppe Königshütte to Reichspräsident Ebert. 28.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
502. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Anfrage No 904. Drucksache No 2771. 23.4.1920. PAAA, R74427.
503. Helm, *Ausgewiesen*, p. 6.
504. Herman George Scheffauer: "Die schwarze Bastille." Rede gehalten auf einer Kundgebung in der Berliner Universität. 14.7.1920. PAAA, R122421.
505. Karrikatur (caricature) "Zum zweimonatigen Verbot des Kladderadatsch im besetzten rheinischen Gebiet." In: Kladderadatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, No 22.
506. Gruschinske, *Besatzungszeit*, p. 13.
507. "Schurkerei über Schurkerei." German translation of the article "Infamia sobre Infamia." In: Transocean. 4.8.1920. PAAA, R122421.
508. Helm, *Ausgewiesen*, p. 6.
509. Bericht (report) zum Telegramm Malone to Wilson. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
510. Gedicht (poem) "Wie die weiße Frau den schwarzen Rheinlandschrecken beenden kann." In: Die Nachricht. 1.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1602/1755; see also "Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Besetzung." In: General-Anzeiger. 6.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/814, 2; Bericht (report) zum Telegramm Malone to Wilson. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213; Rheinische Frauenliga, *Colored Frenchmen*, p. 3.
511. Resolution Biggles Wade & District Trades & Labour Council to British Foreign Office. 14.5.1920. PRO, FO371/3787.
512. Karrikatur (caricature) "Die Steuertonne." In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 39.
513. Karrikatur (caricature) "Foch im Inferno." In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 37. The caricature shows the French General Foch with Vergil—looking at the abyss of hell. He comments the sight of the tortured with the words: "Well, mon cher Vergil, this is quite nice, but you should see our blacks acting in the occupied territory!" My translation.
514. Brief (letter) Verband der deutschen Frauen Mexikos to Regierung Deutsches Reich, Reichspräsident Ebert. 30.7.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191.
515. "Nette Neutralität." In: Königsberger Hartung'sche Zeitung. 1.10.1920. PAAA, R74418.
516. Bric, *Frauen*, p. 7f.
517. Ibid., p. 15; see also Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht (report) der früheren Polizeiassistentin der



- Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 53. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110; N.N., *Französische Mohrenwäsche*, p. 1.
518. Molina, *schwarze Schmach Teil I* (part 1), p. 344.
519. Plakattext (text poster) “Anklage.” Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Copy. BayHStA, MA108037; see Stehle, *Shame*, p. 67. The following citation in Brief (letter) Deutscher Verband zur Förderung der Sittlichkeit to Reichsregierung, Reichsminister des Aeussern Köster. 14.5.1920. PAAA, R74426. The Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft too demanded the government to protest, see Brief (letter) Präsident der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft to Auswärtiges Amt. 19.5.1920. PAAA, R74426
520. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Farbige Franzosen*, p. 15. The following citation in “Die schwarze Schmach.” In: Wittener Tageblatt. 10.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
521. Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 19.
522. Karrikatur (caricature) “Gerechtes Gericht.” In: Kladderadatsch. 75. Vol., 1922, No 19.
523. See Molina, *schwarze Schmach*. Teil I, p. 344; Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern. Date unreadable. BayHStA, MA108037.
524. Medaille (medal) “Code Napoleon—Wüstlinge am Rhein.” Depicted in: Kienast, *Medals*, p. 192, Op.274, further information p. 80.
525. Brief (letter) Elenhorst to Hamburger Nachrichten. 1.7.1921. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/2185. The newspaper forwarded this letter to the Rheinische Frauenliga. See Brief (letter) Hamburger Nachrichten to Rheinische Frauenliga. 5.9.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2185.
526. Brief (letter) Gustav to Emil (No surnames). Anlage (attachment) Bericht Botschaft in Washington. 6.12.1922. Copy. PAAA, R74423; See “Die farbige ‘Wacht’ am Rhein.” In: Kreuz-Zeitung. 21.12.1921. PAAA, R74421.
527. Distler, *Rheinpfalz*, p. 2. PAAA, R74419. The following citation in Ehrlich-Erstein, *Elsaß-Lothringen*, p. 247; similarly Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 31f.
528. This caricature is attached to the report of the American embassy, and the citation can be found in the report. Report (Bericht) Embassy of America to Secretary of State, Washington. 18.11.1927, p. 3. LHA Koblenz, microfilm: National Archives Microfilm Publications. Microcopy No. 336. Records of the Department of State Relating To Internal Affairs of Germany, 1920–29. Roll 180.862t Rhineland (862t Government) Vol. 10. The National Archives. Washington 1961. (“I don’t know why the French are yelling about our abducting women; their Rhineland occupation first initiated us to white women.”).



529. "Quer durch die Kolonie." In: Kolonie Rheinland. Nachrichtenblatt zur wahrheitsgetreuen Berichterstattung über den Fortgang der Kolonisierung und Afrikanisierung der besetzten Rheinlande und Nassaus. Bingen. N.D., p. 2. LHA Koblenz, Best. 700, 12, No 90.
530. See the Sect. 3.3.2 on this issue.
531. Flugblatt (flyer) "Farbige am Rhein. Eine Europäische Angelegenheit!" N.D. PRO, FO371/5999.
532. Brief (letter) Hessische Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Ortsgruppe Darmstadt to Presseabteilung der Pfälzzentrale. 25.7.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 42.
533. "Das besetzte Gebiet." In: Kieler Neueste Nachrichten. Exact date unreadable, 1922. PAAA, R74421.
534. "Südafrika gegen die Farbigen am Rhein." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 3.3.1922. PAAA, R74421; see Brie, *Frauen*, p. 13; Brief (letter) Schriftleitung Reclams Universum to Rheinische Frauenliga. 30.9.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223. The following citation in "Der schwarze Schrecken im besetzten Gebiete." In: Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz. 23.4.1920. BArch Berlin, R1501/102869.
535. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 12.
536. See Rheinische Frauenliga, *Coloured French Troops*, p. 58.
537. N.N., *Black Troops*, p. 365. This citation originates from the here printed letter of a mayor from the occupied territory. ("Yet while all this must be admitted, it does not lessen the responsibility of a civilized people which utilizes such troops in exercising its sovereign rights against another civilized people, and in this way maintains a continual sexual menace.").
538. The American embassy in Berlin showed a keen interest in this resumee of an article published in the *Tägliche Rundschau* in 1927. The citation can be found in a report of the embassy, where it has been translated into English. Bericht (report) Embassy of America to Secretary of State, Washington. 18.11.1927, p. 3. LHA Koblenz, Mikrofilm: National Archives Microfilm Publications. Microcopy No. 336. Records of the Department of State Relating To Internal Affairs of Germany, 1920–29. Roll 180.862t Rhineland (862t Government) Vol. 10. The National Archives. Washington 1961. The citation in its original German form can also be found in the article "Immer noch farbige Soldaten in der Pfalz." In: Pfälzische Rundschau. 10.11.1927. LA Speyer, R12/684.
539. Heinrich Distler: "Die Schwarze Schmach. Wie die Rheinländerinnen unter der Negerinvasion leiden." In: Mannheimer Tageblatt. 15.10.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41.
540. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Coloured French Troops*, p. 4.
541. Ibid., p. 60. For a similar argument, see Stehle, *Shame*, p. 68.



542. Telegramm (telegram) Verein ehemaliger Schutztruppen in Leipzig to Reichspräsident Ebert. 14.7.1920. PAAA, R74426.
543. Francesco Nitti, cited in Flugblatt (flyer) "Weiß das Ausland was Angehörige der alliierten Staaten schreiben über die farbige Besatzung am Rhein?" BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
544. Resolution Deutscher Männer und Frauen in der Universität Kiel. N.D. PAAA, R74421.
545. "Die deutsche Not. — Die schwarze Schmach." In: Kaufbeurer Volkszeitung. 15.3.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
546. See Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 16. Vicar Martin Liljeblad dedicated a whole chapter of his brochure to the "French Negro-Policy" as an attack on the white race.; see Liljeblad, *World's Shame*, p. 15–27.
547. See Poliakov, *Mythos*, p. 299f.; Gollwitzer, *Germanismus*, p. 349f.
548. Smedley, *Race*, p. 269 and Trainor, *Nationalism*, p. 162.
549. A "decorative" letter seal stamp (Briefverschußmarke) with this caption shows a white French officer in his car and a German woman and her little child having been run over lying on the road behind his car. Briefverschußmarke "Weisse Franzosen! Die Henker der Zivilisation." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BArch Berlin R1603/2221.
550. A letter sealing stamp with this title contained the image of a German woman with her small child, who had—due to the negro menace—been thrown "onto the street" without a roof over their head. A colonial soldier kicks her with his foot, while a white French officer is lying in her bed. Briefverschußmarke "Die Negerwillkür." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
551. Plakat (poster) "Anklage!" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/51.
552. Briefverschußmarke "La Civilisation est en Marche." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
553. Karrikatur (caricature) "Werbeplakat für die französische Fremdenlegion." In: Kladderadatsch. 72. Vol., 1919, No 36.
554. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 3. People at the University of Kiel were in this context outraged about France's "racial shame" (Rassenschande), accused the French of not doing anything to prevent it, and were sure that France carried "responsibility for the defilement of the white race." Resolution Deutscher Männer und Frauen in der Universität Kiel. N.D. PAAA, R74421.
555. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 59.



556. Karrikatur (caricature) "Letztes Aufgebot der 'Grande Armee'." In: Lustige Blätter. 29. Vol., no year, No 38. Depicted in: Demm, *Weltkrieg*, p. 162.
557. Karrikatur (caricature) "Ein Kulturdokument!" In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 39.
558. Briefverschußmarke "Die Negerherrschaft." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschußmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
559. Karrikatur (caricature) "Les Atrocities Allemandes." Depicted in: Deutsche Lichtbild-Gesellschaft, *Propaganda*, no page.
560. "Die Schwarze Schmach—Deutschlands Schande." In: Grenzland-Korrespondenz. 23.1.1922. PAAA, R74421.
561. Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre." Vierter Arbeitsbericht für die Freunde und Förderer des Bundes. 1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2210.
562. Plakat (poster) "Anklage." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/51.
563. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 3. France was in this context often accused of a sadistic policy, see, for example, "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Bayerische Staatszeitung. 19.10.1920. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt.233, No 12112; Stehle, *Shame*, p. 25.
564. "Weg mit den farbigen Truppen am Rhein!" In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 8.9.1921. PAAA, R74420.
565. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 30.
566. Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 7.
567. Brief (letter) Verband der deutschen Frauen Mexikos to Regierung Deutsches Reich, Reichspräsident Ebert. 30.7.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191; similarly Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 3; "Protest der Freiburgerinnen gegen die 'schwarze Schmach'." In: Freiburger Bote. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin R1603/2213; Oppen, *Schmach*, p. 32.
568. "Unerlöste Brüder. Ein barbarischer Schandfleck." In: Deutsche Zeitung. 6.11.1921. PAAA, R74421.
569. See Brief (letter) Vorstand Deutsch-Evangelischer Frauenbund to Auswärtiges Amt. May 1920—no exact date provided. Attachment Entschließung der 12. Generalversammlung. PAAA, R74426.
570. Milligan, *Ferieneindrücke*, p. 541.
571. Resolution Deutscher Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" to Völkerbund. N.D. PAAA, R74424.
572. Resolution "Die Schwarze Schande. Protest deutscher Frauen gegen die Missetaten der farbigen Besatzungstruppen." Signed by Countess (Gräfin) Pauline Montgelas, Luna Richter, Marianne Weber et al. In: Neue Freie Presse. 2.7.1920. PAAA, R122420.
573. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Farbige Franzosen*, p. 23.



574. Löbe, *Opfer*, p. 182.
575. Text poster "Anklage." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Copy. BayHStA, MA108037. On the accusation of French militarism, see also "Outcry against France's Crimes." Deutscher Fichtebund. Appeal No. 4. N.D. BArch Koblenz, ZSg.1/153/1; "Schwarze Schmach und schwarzweißroter Unfug." In: Fränkischer Volksfreund. 14.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
576. "Frankreichs 'Schwarze Macht'." Sonderabdruck aus der München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 11.5.1922. BayHStA, MA108037.
577. Distler, *Rheinpfalz*, p. 3. PAAA, R74419.
578. "Schurkerei über Schurkerei." German translation of the article "Infamia sobre Infamia." In: Transocean. 4.8.1920. PAAA, R122421.
579. "Immer noch Farbige am Rhein. Was sagt die Welt zu dieser Kulturschande?" In: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 26.7.1927. PAAA, R74425.
580. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern. Date unreadable. BayHStA, MA108037.
581. Helm, *Ausgewiesen*, p. 6f.
582. "Frankreichs 'Kulturkämpfer'." In: Deutsche Tageszeitung. 22.4.1921. PAAA, R74429.
583. "Die Nacht am Rhein." Distlers Weltflugblatt No 7. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
584. Herman George Scheffauer: "Die schwarze Bastille." Rede gehalten auf einer Kundgebung in der Berliner Universität. 14.7.1920. PAAA, R122421; See "Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Besetzung." In: General-Anzeiger. 6.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/814, 2.
585. Helm, *Ausgewiesen*, p. 7.
586. N.N., *schwarze Schande*, p. 128; see also "Das Verbrechen der schwarzen Schmach. Eine Sache der ganzen Menschheit." In: Berg. Märk. Zeitung. 29.9.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
587. Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 14. See also *ibid.*, p. 29.
588. Hund, *Weißheit*, p. 604 with reference to Markus, *Race Relations*, p. 146.
589. Von zur Mühlen, *Rassenideologien*, p. 73 and 202. Grants "The Passing of the Great Race" was published in 1916 (1925 in German), Stoddards "Rising Tide of Color" in 1920.
590. Karrikaturen (caricatures) "Paris 1915" and "Ein farbiges Ehedrama in Paris." Depicted in: Demm, *Weltkrieg*, p. 100.
591. "Prostitution im Dienste der französischen Kultur." In: Kolonie Rheinland. Nachrichtenblatt zur wahrheitsgetreuen Berichterstattung über den



- Fortgang der Kolonisierung und Afrikanisierung der besetzten Rheinlande und Nassaus. Bingen. N.D. LHA Koblenz, Best. 700, 12, No 90.
592. Meinel, *Geleitworte*, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037.
  593. "Frankreichs 'Schwarze Macht'." Sonderabdruck aus der München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 11.5.1922. BayHStA, MA108037.
  594. "Was bezweckt Frankreich mit der Afrikanisierung der Rheinlande?" In: Kolonie Rheinland. Nachrichtenblatt zur wahrheitsgetreuen Berichterstattung über den Fortgang der Kolonisierung und Afrikanisierung der besetzten Rheinlande und Nassaus. Bingen. N.D. LHA Koblenz, Best. 700, 12, No 90.
  595. Plakattext (text poster) "Anklage." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Copy. BayHStA, MA108037. Similarly also Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Bayerisches Staatsministerium des Aeussern. Date unreadable. BayHStA, MA108037.
  596. "Die 'Schwarze Schmach'." In: Der Tag. 20.12.1921. PAAA, R74421.
  597. Karrikatur (caricature) "Ahnenkult." In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, No 28.
  598. Karrikatur (caricature) "Höherzüchtung." In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, No 8.
  599. Resolution Ring nationaler Frauen to Auswärtiges Amt. N.D. Arrival Auswärtiges Amt 22.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; see also "Gegen die schwarze Schmach." In: Berliner Lokalanzeiger. 21.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  600. See Stehle, *Fronvögte*, p. 13
  601. Ehrlich-Erstein, *Elsaß-Lothringen*, p. 247.
  602. "Die Schwarze Schmach." In: Neubrandenburgische Zeitung. 20.3.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II9078.
  603. "Schwarze Prätorianer." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 25.3.1926. BArch Berlin, R8034II9080.
  604. See Lösch, *Rasse*, p. 72f.
  605. El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 120, 93.
  606. Grosse, *Kolonialismus*, p. 154.
  607. See Sadjj, *Kolonialliteratur*.
  608. Here and in the following Bjely, *Negerrepublik*, p. 340f.
  609. Gagel, *farbigen Truppen*, p. 215. There also the following citations.
  610. Josef A. Schmitt (Pseudonym Volker): "Rheinische Runenblätter." In: Magdeburgische Zeitung. 17.2.1923. Copy. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66. A brochure defamed France as honourless "race of beasts." Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 13.
  611. "Die Besatzungsschmach am Rhein." In: Grenzland-Korrespondenz. 21.9.1922. PAAA, R74431; see also "Französische Kulturträger."



- In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 19.4.1921. PAAA, R74429; "Die schwarzen Bestien am Rhein." In: Tägliche Rundschau. 15.11.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
612. "Frankreichs 'Kulturkämpfer'." In: Deutsche Tageszeitung. 22.4.1921. PAAA, R74429.
613. Gedicht (poem) "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Stohge, *Rhein*, p. 11.
614. Gedicht (poem) "Die Senegalneger." In: Kladderatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, No 22, p. 1.
615. This accusation was visualised in a graphic, which pointed out the brothels as well as the high numbers of sexual atrocities of the "coloured French." They were represented in an oversized caricature of a colonial soldier, who violently grabbed a German woman. See Graphic "La civilisation en marche!" N.D. BArch Berlin, R1601/1623.
616. See "Augenblicksbilder aus dem besetzten Trier." In: Nachrichtenblatt. Französischer Pressedienst, Koblenz. Herausgegeben zur rein sachlichen Berichtigung französischer Falsch- und Hetzmeldungen über das besetzte Gebiet. N.D. LHA Koblenz, Best. 700, 12, No 90.
617. Gunter W. Kienast has depicted this and several other medals designed by Karl Goetz in a widely uncritical book with several illustrations. It also contains information regarding the artist's life and work. See Kienast, *Medals*.
618. The medal "Die Wacht am Rhein—Die Schwarze Schande" came out in 1920 for the first time and was then produced in different versions. These are depicted in: Kienast, *Medals*, p. 188, Op.262, 263, 264, commentary p. 79. This medal was received critically by several German officials. The Director of Public Prosecutions (Generalstaatsanwalt) in Karlsruhe was concerned that it had been spread "apparently" in larger quantities within Germany but also internationally. The "producers" and "distributors" of the medal were prosecuted. The German Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt) and other officials disapproved of the medal. Brief (letter) Der Generalstaatsanwalt, Karlsruhe to sämtliche Staatsanwaltschaften. 15.2.1923. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt.233, No 12112. The German interior ministry, however, did not think that a prosecution was justified. It explained that every illustration of "Black Shame" had to be "indecent," as it meant to stir up the "sentiment of shame and morality of the world" and provoke "revulsion and disgust." Brief (letter) Der Minister des Innern to Auswärtiges Amt. 14.8.1923. Draft. PAAA, R74424.
619. Medaille (medal) "Im Siegestaumel. Oktober 1918." Depicted in Kienast, *Medals*, p. 173, Op.213, comment p. 72. Kienast translated the medal inscription incorrectly when calling it "Flush of Victory" and also remained ignorant of its clear racist implications, when arguing



- its intention was “to commemorate the winning on all frontes for the Entente through the combined efforts of many nations.”
620. The letters RF depicted on this side of the medal also made clear that he was meant to represent the French Republic.
  621. Caricature “Die Bordellnation.” Depicted in Kienast, *Medals*, p. 202, Op.295, comment p. 84. The caption of this scene was “16. January 1923.”
  622. Karrikatur (caricature) “Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.” In: Notruf. No 10. N.D. Deutscher Fichtebund. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt.233, No 12112. A handwritten German commentary can be found on the margins of this caricature. It reads “Crazy dogs were shot, why do the French let these run around freely?”
  623. Karrikatur (caricature) “Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit!” In: Kladderatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, No 30.
  624. Karrikatur (caricature) “Interessanter geschichtlicher Vergleich.” N.D. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15 G126.
  625. Kalenderblatt “Rückblicke vom 1. April bis 30. Juni.” In: Kladderatsch. 73. Vol., 1920, No 27.
  626. Karrikatur (caricature) “Das edelmütige Frankreich.” In: Kladderatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, No 37.
  627. Bildbogen “Die ‘Culture’.” In: Kladderatsch. 71. Vol., 1918, No 7.
  628. Karrikatur (caricature) “An der Somme.” Depicted in Demm, *Weltkrieg*, p. 163.
  629. Brief (letter) Deutsches Generalkonsulat Spanien to Auswärtiges Amt. 31.1.1921. PAAA, R74419.
  630. Germany’s “enemies” had been accused already before and during World War I to use savages against the highly civilised Germany, standing at the peak of all civilised and cultured nations. See Stratz, *Weltkrieg*, p. 6. On the popularisation of national representations of the enemy (Feindbilder) in German and French caricatures and the delimitation of national identities in the controversy about civilisation and barbarism, see Siebe, *Caricature*.
  631. Quaiser-Schönbach, *französische Schande*, p. 1. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223.
  632. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Abgeordnete Röhl. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd.333, p. 5691.
  633. Postkarte (postcard) “Die Schwarze Schmach” collection A. Wolff, Leipzig. Depicted in Hirschfeld, *Sittengeschichte*, p. 353.
  634. Karrikatur (caricature) “Der Friede Versailles.” In: Kladderatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 4.
  635. Karrikatur (caricature) “Der Friedenspakt.” In: Kladderatsch. 75. Vol., 1922, No 21.



636. A depiction of this book cover can be found in Neyer, *Verführer*, p. 5. On attempts to link the Treaty of Versailles with the accusation of “Black Horror,” see also, for example, Plakattext (text poster) “Anklage.” Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Copy. BayHStA, MA108037; Oppen, *Schmach*, p. 32.
637. Scheidewin, *Schwert*, p. 114.
638. See, for example, Hofprediger Paul Nilsson: “Die farbige Wacht am Rhein.” In: Göteborg Dagblad. 3.12.1921. German translation, p. 4. PAAA, R74421.
639. Brief (letter) Max Bahr, Jute-Spinnerei und Weberei, Plan- und Sackfabrik zu Reichsministerium des Innern, Staatssekretär für die besetzten rheinischen Gebiete Landsberg. 28.9.1922. BArch Berlin, R1601/1652.
640. Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Stockholm to Auswärtiges Amt. 3.8.1922. PAAA, R74423. The letter reported that the Swedish provincial press had started a “systematic campaign against the use of coloured troops in the occupied territory.” Ibid.
641. Cay, *Franzosen*, title page.
642. Lied (song) “Essener Wachtparade.” Gottfried der Sanftmütige. Freinach Liliencron. In: Spethmann, *Ruhrkampf*, p. 502f.
643. “Ruhrbilderbogen.” N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/16; see also Karrikatur (caricature) “Wie oft noch?” In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 18. The Klebebild (sticker) “Die Angst vor der Ruhr” also used the colonial soldier as a deterrent image. It shows black soldiers with raised guns, who are guarding a toilet house, with a French white officer looking out of it. A sample of this sticker can be found in a collection of stickers in the file BArch Berlin, R1601/1710. Next to this sticker in the file, a handwritten comment implies, that it was spread publicly. It reads “120000 items stuck.”
644. “Rhein und Ruhr. Ein Album des Kladderadatsch.” Berlin 1924, title page. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15 G126.
645. N.N., *Ruhr*, p. 123.
646. Karrikatur (caricature) “Der gute Entente-Onkel.” In: Kladderadatsch. 72. Vol., 1919, No 51; this was a common motive; see, for example, “Kundgebung des Deutschnationalen Volksvereins Bielefeld zu den Entente-Untaten im besetzten Gebiet.” N.D. PAAA, R74426. A newspaper article similarly criticised that the League of Nations (Völkerbund) quietly tolerated the “racial shame” committed by France. Paul Dehn: “Der und die farbigen Truppen.” In: Der Krieg Tag. 27.2.1921. PAAA, R74420. A caricature portrayed the “Entente-Militarism” as a black colonial soldier and a white soldier. Caricature “Der neue Geßlerhut in der Schweiz.” In: Kladderadatsch. 74. Vol., 1921, No 2.



647. "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Berg. Märk. Zeitung. 2.3.1922. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
648. See Fidel, *Widerlegung*, p. 26.
649. Brief (letter) Staatskommissar für die Pfalz to Regierung der Pfalz, Fürsorgestelle für die besetzten Gebiete. 8.7.1921. BayHStA, Hauptthilfsstelle Pfalz 35. The interior ministry (Innenministerium) had already for a long time marked the propaganda against the Black Shame as "inappropriate and unwanted." Schreiben Der Minister des Innern to Auswärtiges Amt und Reichsminister für die besetzten Gebiete. 2.3.1926. PAAA, R74425.
650. Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Haag to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.1.1921. PAAA, R122422. Isolated atrocities by colonial soldiers were actually punished severely. The interior ministry explained in this context, that this was due to the perpetrators being black, whereas comparable crimes committed by "white French" would result in "considerably milder punishments." Brief (letter) Minister des Innern to Auswärtiges Amt. 11.12.1923. PAAA, R74434.
651. Lüsebrink, "*Schwarze Schande*," p. 58; see Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 271ff; Lunn, *Races Guerrières*.
652. See Grosse, *Kolonialismus*, p. 202. In the following Lüsebrink, "*Schwarze Schande*," p. 58f.
653. See Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 270, 280f. French socialists had already during the War opposed the creation of an African army with the argument, that this army could one day be used for the oppression of the working class. See Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, p. 144. Conklin's study examines the foundations, conditions, intentions and problems of the French recruitment of African colonial soldiers and critically reflects on the "civilising" intentions of French colonial policy.
654. "Frankreichs Kolonialmilitarismus." Abdruck Letter Trotzki to Mc Cay. In: Rheinischer Beobachter. 2. Vol., 1923, No 16, p. 246.
655. See Morel, *Horror*, p. 25.
656. Lüsebrink, "*Schwarze Schande*," p. 61.
657. Mangin, cited in Lüsebrink, "*Schwarze Schande*," p. 64. On Magin's role in the French deployment of colonial African troops and his agenda, see also Van Galen, *Black Shame*, pp. 19–23.
658. Ibid.
659. "Sanftmut und Güte der farbigen Franzosen." In: Neue Rheinische Korrespondenz. 13.11.1919. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, 11729, No 117.
660. "Eine Geste der Verlegenheit." In: Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. 27.5.1920. PAAA, R74427.



661. Brief (letter) Geschäftsstelle Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine to Bund der Asienkämpfer. 16.3.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2185. The citation originates according to this letter in a newspaper article, published end of February in the *Neuer Saarkurier*.
662. "Richtigstellung einiger Märchen über die französischen Kolonialtruppen." In: Generalanzeiger Kreuznach. 18.11.1919. LHA Koblenz, Best. 441, No 19909.
663. Brief (letter) Deutsches Generalkonsulat für Kanada to Auswärtiges Amt. 28.11.1921. PAAA, R74421.
664. "Germans find good in colored troops. Men sent to Rhine by France are Highly Religious." In: The New York Herald. 20.11.1921. Anlage zum Bericht aus Montreal vom 23.11.1921. BayHStA, MA107828. The article called the colonial soldiers "exceptionally serious and trustworthy."
665. Zeichnung (drawing) "Die 'Schwarze Schmach' in Oppau." In: La Republique. 21.10.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223.
666. A sizeable collection of such photos can be found in the Stadtarchiv Mainz. StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, alphabetische Sammlung, Besatzung französische, 1918–1930, Soldaten (Atelierbilder).
667. For examples of group photographs of colonial soldiers, see StA Worms, Neg. No CH2073 and CH2074 and BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 102/1645. Examples of studio photographs of colonial soldiers can be found in StA Mainz, Bild- und Plansammlung, alphabetische Sammlung, Besatzung französische, 1918–1930, Soldaten (Atelierbilder), Motivs "Algerier," "Marokkanischer Offizier," "Kolonialsoldat," "Spahi-Offizier."
668. Schreiber, *Kampf*, p. 105.
669. See Postkarte (postcard) "Schwarze Schmach." The Hamburger historian Peter Martin owns a sample of this postcard, which shows a number of colonial troops photographs. Other photos of colonial troops, which were used in this context in the campaign, can be found, for example, in BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 183/R11929, Bild No 146/71/15/36 and in BayHStA, MA108031.
670. Photo motive Spahi-Regiment. Depicted in Schreiber, *Kampf*, p. 93. The caption reads "The coloured Disgrace. A Spahi-regiment of riders marches through Mainz."
671. Photoalbum Baron Heyl. N.D. StA Worms. This album was according to a note in the album a present from Capitain G. Jaquart. Chevalier de la Legion d' Honneur. The German handwritten comments were most likely added after the album had been received by Heyls, who was a well-esteemed German leather industrialist.
672. Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Haag to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.1.1921. PAAA, R122422.



673. See El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 101f.—there also the following citations.
674. “Auslands-Wochenbericht des ‘Film’.” In: Der Film. Zeitschrift für die Gesamt-Interessen der Kinematographie. 1921, No 23, no page; see Illustrierte Anzeige (illustrated advertisement) “Die schwarze Schmach.” Zum gleichnamigen Film in den Kammer-Lichtspielen. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2220; Anzeige “Die schwarze Schmach.” Zum gleichnamigen Film im Imperial-Theater. In: Bayerische Staatszeitung. 10.4.1921. N.D. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 41; Anzeige der Direktion des Imperialtheaters. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2223; Kurzinformation zum Film “Die schwarze Schmach.” In: Paimann’s Filmlisten. Wien. No 267. 12.5.1921. DFI Frankfurt; illustrierte Filmwerbung “Die Schwarze Schmach. Eine Tragödie.” N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2185. Heinrich Distler put the Bayerische Filmgesellschaft Fett und Wiesel in charge of the production of this film. The screenplay was produced by John Freden and Heinrich Distler. Carl Boese was the film’s director.
675. Zensierungsgutachten (censoring report about the film) “Die Schwarze Schmach.” Film-Ober-Prüfstelle, Berlin. 13.8.1921. Deutsches Filminstitut Frankfurt, Projekt Verbotene Bilder, manipulierte Filme. An online collection of censoring reports of the Film-Oberprüfstelle between 1920–1938 can be found at <http://www.difarchiv.deutsches-filminstitut.de/dt2tai01lc.htm>.
676. “Die ‘Schwarze Schmach’.” In: Vorwärts. 29.4.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
677. See Bogle, *Blacks*, p. 15; see also Tyler, *Racist Art*, pp. 85–103. A complete summary of the film can be found in Lang, *Nation*.
678. For a competent detailed discussion of the film’s creation, content, role, and reception and a critical analysis of its racist rhetoric, see Nagl, *Rasse und Repäsentation*, pp. 169–199.
679. The film was shown in different cities, before being banned by the Film-Oberprüfstelle Berlin after an official complaint of the French ambassador. See Brief (letter) Reichsministerium des Innern. Der Leiter der Film-Oberprüfstelle to sämtliche Landesregierungen. 15.8.1921. StaA Hamburg, 132–III, 803. The Interalliierte Rheinlandkommission (Inter-Allied Rhineland Commission) too prohibited the sale and screening of the movie. See Brief (letter) Kreisamt Worms to Polizeiverwaltung Worms. 29.6.1921. StA Worms, Abt.13, No 2294. The Film-Oberprüfstelle decided to ban the film, overruling an earlier decision of the Film Prüfstelle München, which had approved the film on 14.3.1921. The Munich Prüfstelle examined the film again two years later and gave the producer the option, to



- cut out rejected scenes, which were feared to cause turmoil within Germany. Aufzeichnung (Note) zur Prüfung des Films "Die schwarze Schmach." Auswärtiges Amt. Ref. Sievers. 13.4.1923. PAAA, R74423. A diplomat feared a new approval of the film could provoke a "film war." Brief (letter) Deutsche Gesandtschaft Paris to Auswärtiges Amt. 31.7.1922. PAAA, R74422. This film is missing and has not been found until present. The film's plot can be reconstructed partly on the basis of an illustrated film brochure and a number of still images. On the role of the medium film in the German-French conflict about the occupied Rhineland, see Kreutz, *Film*. On the link between race and representation in the Weimar Cinema more widely, Nagl, *Rasse und Repräsentation*; on the German film campaign against the Black Shame, see *ibid.*, Chap. 2. This chapter contains several images related to the film "Die Schwarze Schmach."
680. Begleitschrift (accompanying brochure) zum Film "Die Schwarze Schmach." Bayerische Filmgesellschaft Fett & Wiesel. N.D., p. 5. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927.
  681. *Ibid.*, p. 1. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927.
  682. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
  683. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
  684. "Die schwarze Schmach im Film." In: Lokal Anzeiger. 29.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2220.
  685. "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Der Film. Zeitschrift für die Gesamt-Interessen der Kinetographie, 1921, No 15, p. 68.
  686. "Die 'Schwarze Schmach'." In: Vorwärts. 29.4.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624. The German workers protested against every "insolence of militarism," expressed in the rape of women. However, they distanced themselves from the "disgusting way" the film represented such protest.
  687. This citation originates in an article, which reflects critically on the film as an expression of the "chauvinist wave" crossing Germany. Ernst Kiesewetter: "Die weisse Schmach." In: Rheinische Republik. 7.5.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.
  688. "Protest der Frauen." Protestschreiben der deutschen Frauen der Schutzgebiete Südwestafrikas. In: Landeszeitung Windhuk. 4.9.1920. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.
  689. Heinrich Distler: "Die deutsche Presse im Kampf gegen die schwarze Schmach." In: Fränkischer Kurier. 19.10.1920. PAAA, R122421.
  690. "Die deutsche Not—Die schwarze Schmach." In: Kaufbeurer Volkszeitung. 15.3.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
  691. Briefverschlusssmarke "Europäisches Sklavenleben." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschlusssmarken und einem Vorwort



- von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BayHStA, MA108037; see also "Die Nacht am Rhein." Distlers Weltflugblatt. No 7. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
692. "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Die Post. 1.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
693. Brief (letter) Vermittlungsstelle Vaterländischer Verbände to Reichskanzler. 14.5.1920. PAAA, R122420.
694. "Farbige Besatzungsfranzosen. Die Pfalz befürchtet Vermehrung der farbigen Franzosen." In: Süddeutsche Zeitung. 7.11.1927. BArch Berlin, R1602/1853.
695. Dr Hans Peter: "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Neubrandenburgische Zeitung. 20.3.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II/9078.
696. Brief (letter) Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete to Reichsminister für die besetzten Gebiete, Auswärtiges Amt. 21.5.1928. PAAA, R74438.
697. Protestschreiben (protest note) Provinzialverband der vaterländischen Frauenvereine in Schleswig-Holstein to Reichskanzler. 19.8.1920. PAAA, R74426; see also Protestbrief (protest letter) Frauengruppe Schutzverband des Mittelstandes für Handel, Handwerk und Gewerbe to Reichsregierung. 29.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; Brief und Entschließung (letter and resolution) hannoverscher Frauenvereinigungen to Staatsminister des Auswärtigen, Dr Simonis. 5.11.1920. PAAA, R74426.
698. Brief (letter) Deutschnationaler Kolonialverein. Vereinigung für deutsche Siedlungs- und Bevölkerungspolitik e.V. to Reichspräsident. 25.4.1921. PAAA, R74426.
699. Telegramm (telegram) Verein ehemaliger Schutztruppen in Leipzig to Reichspräsident. 14.7.1920. PAAA, R74426.
700. Entschließung (resolution) Deutsche Volkspartei Wetzlar to Reichsregierung, Auswärtiges Amt. 30.10.1920. PAAA, R74426; see Brief und Resolution Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauen-Verein, Ortsgruppe Giessen to Reichskanzler. 31.10.1920. PAAA, R74426.
701. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichsminister des Auswärtigen. 21.5.1924. PAAA, R74424.
702. "Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Besetzung." In: General-Anzeiger. 6.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/814, 2.
703. This rhyme was accompanied by a drawing, showing a German woman being attacked by a colonial soldier in the company of a white officer. The rhyme and drawing can be found in "Rheinbilderbogen." N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/10.
704. Gedicht (poem) "Männer Deutschlands, schützet eure Frauen!" Alfred Rolnickak. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.
705. El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*, p. 168.
706. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 246.



707. See amongst others Matthäus, *Nationsbildung*, Fredrickson, *White Supremacy*.
708. See Tolnay and Beck, *Southern Lynchings*, p. 46ff.
709. Bair, *Black/White Body*, p. 407.
710. Gagel, *farbigen Truppen*, p. 215.
711. Lichtenberg, *Deutsches Land*, p. 38.
712. "Zur schwarzen Schmach. Medizinische Gutachten über die gesundheitliche Gefährdung im besetzten Gebiet." In: Weser Zeitung. 2.9.1922. BArch Berlin, R8034II9081.
713. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 6.
714. See, for example, Rosenberger, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 1f. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214; "Die Verseuchung der Pfalz durch die schwarzen Horden." In: Fränkischer Kurier. 22.2.1921. PAAA, R74418; Sigel, *gesundheitliche Gefahr*, p. 7.
715. Flugblatt (flyer) "Schwarze Schmach. Um einen Besatzungs-Soldaten zu ernähren, müssen vier deutsche Kinder hungern!" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/20.
716. Flugblatt (flyer) "Gibt es noch eine schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037.
717. "Die schwarze Schmach. Ein Notruf an die Münchener." In: Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. N.D. Arrival Reichsministerium des Innern 9.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1601/712.
718. Rosenberger, *Europa*, p. 29. See also Protestbrief (protest letter) Frauenstadtbund Weimar to Reichsregierung. May 1920. PAAA, R74426.
719. Lang, *Frankreichs Schande*, p. 5.
720. Flugblatt (flyer) "Farbige am Rhein." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037.
721. Brief (letter) Bezirksarzt Landau, Pfalz to Regierung der Pfalz. 26.11.1927. LA Speyer, R12/693.
722. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Außenminister Köster. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd.333, p. 5693.
723. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Abgeordnete Röhl. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd.333, p. 5691f.
724. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Anfrage No 904. Drucksache No 2771. 23.4.1920. PAAA, R74427.
725. Brief (letter) Evangelischer Presseverband für Westfalen und Lippe to Reichspräsident, enclosed Entschliessung Frauenschaft Bochums. 30.4.1920. PAAA, R74426.



726. See, for example, Resolution der "Frauen Lübecks." N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2190; Resolution von 25 Frauenvereinen und Verbänden Halberstadts to Reichsministerium des Äussern. 10.7.1920. PAAA, R74426; Brief und Resolution (letter and resolution) Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauen-Verein, Ortsgruppe Giessen to Reichskanzler. 31.10.1920. PAAA, R74426.
727. "Schwarze Schmach und schwarzweißroter Unfug." In: Fränkischer Volksfreund. 14.12.1920. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43; see also "Die Pfalz in Not. Große Protestversammlung in Kaufbeuren gegen die Bedrückung der Pfälzer." In: Kaufbeurer-Zeitung. 16.3.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 43.
728. See Protestbrief (protest letter) Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Landesfrauenausschuß Berlin to Reichspräsident. 21.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; see also Telegramm Zusammenschluß Erfurter Frauen. 30.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
729. Brief (letter) Präsident Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft to Minister des Innern. 2.6.1921. BayHStA, MA107828; see also Brief (letter) Präsident Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft to Reichsminister der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten. 2.6.1921. PAAA, R74420.
730. "Protestkundgebung gegen die schwarze Schmach in der Rembertikirche." In: Weser-Zeitung. 23.4.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214.
731. Resolution Ausschuss Berliner Vereine für Fragen der Volkssittlichkeit (59 Verbände) to Auswärtiges Amt. N.D. Arrived 28.4.1921. PAAA, R74426.
732. Entschliessung Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. Protestversammlung München. Mathäuserbräu-Festsaal. 19.1.1923. Attachment to Schreiben Hessische Gesandte und Bevollmächtigte zum Reichsrat to Reichsministerium des Innern. 1.2.1923. PAAA, R74424.
733. Aufruf "An die Träger des deutschen Volksgedankens. An die Hochschulen und Studentenschaften der Kulturvölker." Die Deutsche Studentenschaft. N.D. PAAA, R122420. Similarly, Telegramm Braunschweiger Studentenschaft to Reichsregierung Berlin. 25.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
734. Protestbrief (protest letter) Frauengruppe Schutzverband des Mittelstandes für Handel, Handwerk und Gewerbe to Reichsregierung. 29.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
735. Dr Franz Rosenberger: "Gefahr der Mulattisierung." Sonderdruck aus der Münchener Neueste Nachrichten. 18.4.1922. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
736. "Verlorene." In: Mühlheimer Zeitung. 29.4.1921. NRW HStA Düsseldorf, Best. Regierung Düsseldorf, 15624.



737. Ehrlich-Erstein, *Elsaß-Lothringen*, p. 247.
738. "Die Pfalz in Not." In: München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 26.4.1921. PAAA, R74419.
739. Von der Saar, *blaue Schrecken*, p. 38; see Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht (report) der früheren Polizeiasistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p.110. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
740. Plakattext "Anklage." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. Abschrift. BayHStA, MA108037.
741. Brief (letter) Verein Saarbrücker und Rheinpfälzer Landsleute, gez. Gewerkschaftssekretär Schneider to Staatsregierung, Reichskanzler Müller. 3.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
742. Mach, *Horror*, p. 12. ("What was the previous record for morality of the German population of the districts in question? It was very good. The population of the Rheinland was known to be devoutly Christian (...) What will be the effect of the continued occupation of the Rheinlands by uncivilized French colored troops? It will result in a debased and diseased race of hybrids under the very shadow of the Cathedral of Köln, Mainz and other famous cities.").
743. See Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht der früheren Polizeiasistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 2. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110. She accused France to systematically prostitute German women. See *ibid.*, p. 67.
744. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
745. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
746. Wappes, *Schmach*, p. 1. BayHStA, MA108037.
747. "Aus dem Bericht eines Vertrauensmannes." N.D. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1603/2219.
748. It was assumed that the brothels were mainly located in labourer quarters with many children - corrupting even the youngest. The remaining population was supposingly looking at the brothels as a shame and "moral danger." Brief (letter) Zentralstelle für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz und Reichsministerium des Innern. 5.3.1921. BayHStA, MA107722.
749. Brief (letter) Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer des Innern to Reichsministerium für die besetzten Gebiete. 10.12.1924. Copy. PAAA, R122420.
750. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichskanzler. 20.3.1922. PAAA, R74422.
751. Brief (letter) Vermittlungsstelle Vaterländischer Verbände to Reichskanzler. 14.5.1920. PAAA, R122420.



752. Bericht (report) über den Besuch Oberst Wimpfen, Kreisdelegierter Landkreis Wiesbaden bei Herrn Dr Kalle. Attachment to Brief (letter) Regierungspräsident Wiesbaden to Minister des Innern. 10.8.1921. Hess. HStA Wiesbaden, Abt.405/No 5559.
753. Brief (letter) Reichskommissar für die besetzten Gebiete to Präsident der Hohen Interalliierten Kommission für die besetzten Rheinlande. 17.3.1920. Copy. BArch Berlin, R1501/102869; see also Resolution Deutscher Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre" to Völkerbund. N.D. PAAA, R74424.
754. Schmeck, *Sadismus*, p. 2.
755. Gruschinske, *Besatzungszeit*, p. 13.
756. Lied (song) "Die Musi kommt." Peter Liebmann. N.D. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 83–102, No 96.
757. See caricature "Man muß sein Geschäft nur verstehen." In: Kladderadatsch. 75. Vol., 1922, No 51. Sondernummer Deutsche Wirtschaft.
758. Gedicht (poem) "Einst und heute!" Ibid.
759. Josef A. Schmitt (Pseudonym: Volker): "Rheinische Runenblätter." In: Magdeburgische Zeitung. 17.2.1923. Copy. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66. Similarly, Josef A. Schmitt (Pseudonym: Volker): "Die Kohlenwacht. Momentbilder von Rhein und Nahe." In: Berliner Lokalanzeiger. 11.4.1923. Copy. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66.
760. "Zur Frage der Verwendung schwarzer Truppen im besetzten Gebiet." In: Kölnische Volkszeitung. 15.6.1920. PAAA, R122420. See Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Interpellation Löbe, von Pauer, Triborn, Dr Graf v. Posadowsky-Wehner, Dr Heinzr, Leicht und ihre Fraktionen. Drucksache No 2995. 19.5.1920. PAAA, R74427.
761. Resolution Frauenverbände Görlitz. 11.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.
762. Vertraulicher Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete to Auswärtiges Amt, Legationsrat Köpke. 11.11.1924. PAAA, R74424.
763. "Hüben und Drüben. Aus einem Briefwechsel deutscher Frauen." Brief (letter) Maria to Gertud (surnames missing). 14.4.1923. In: Der freie Rheinländer. Nachrichtenblatt für das besetzte Rheinland und Nassau. N.D. LHA Koblenz, Best. 700, 12, No 90.
764. Clara Schapiro: "Franzosen am Rhein. Die Auswirkungen der fremden Besatzung auf Wirtschaftsleben und Moral der Bevölkerung." Bericht der früheren Polizeiasistentin der Stadt Mainz. N.D., p. 51. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 108–110, No 110.
765. Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 43f.



766. "Die Nacht am Rhein." Distlers Weltflugblatt No 7. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
767. "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Bayerische Staatszeitung und Bayerischer Staatsanzeiger. 19.10.1920. GLA Karlsruhe, Aktenmappe Die Schwarze Schmach, Abt. 233, No 12112.
768. "Protestversammlung gegen die Schwarze Schmach in der Rembertikirche." In: Bremer Nachrichten. 23.4.1921. BArch Berlin R1603/2214; see also "Die schwarze Schmach." In: Neubrandenburgische Zeitung. 20.3.1921. BArch Berlin, R8034II9078.
769. See, for example, "Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Besetzung." In: General-Anzeiger. 6.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/814, 2; Resolution der "Frauen Lübecks." N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2190; "Protest der Freiburgerinnen gegen die 'schwarze Schmach'." In: Freiburger Bote. 5.10.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
770. See, for example, Artikel über eine Protestversammlung Pforzheimer Frauen. In: Pforzheimer Anzeiger. 3.12.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213; Resolution der Frauenverbände von Königshütte to Reichspräsident. 29.6.1920. PAAA, R74426; Protest Anhaltischer Frauen gegen die Verwendung schwarzer Truppen im besetzten Gebiet to Reichsamt des Äusseren. 27.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
771. "Aus Stadt und Land. Die schwarze Schmach." 22.10.1920. In: "Gegenwärtiger Stand der Protestbewegung gegen die farbige Besatzung am Rhein." Bericht (report) Gärtner, Rheinische Frauenliga, p. 3f. Attachment to Brief Rheinische Volkspflege to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.11.1920. PAAA, R74418. The citation originates with Professor Schian.
772. Brief (letter) Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Landesverband Pommern, Landesfrauenausschuß to Reichspräsident Ebert. 31.5.1920. PAAA, R74426.
773. Brief (letter) Hessische Deutschnationale Volkspartei, Ortsgruppe Darmstadt to Presseabteilung der Pfälzzentrale. 25.7.1921. BayHStA, Haupthilfsstelle Pfalz 42.
774. Protestbrief (protest letter) Arbeitsgemeinschaft Leipziger Kolonialkrieger-Vereine, gez. Verein ehemaliger China- und Afrikakrieger Leipzig und Verein ehemaliger afrikanischer Schutztruppen Leipzig to Reichspräsident. 29.10.1921. PAAA, R74426.
775. Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 43.
776. Briefverschlusßmarke "Europäisches Sklavenleben." In: Der Schrecken am Rhein. Mit neun farbigen Briefverschlusßmarken und einem Vorwort von Dr Ritter. München 1921. BayHStA, MA108037. A brochure similarly spoke of "Black Slavedrivers" Stehle, *Shame*, p. 20. Another author called the population in the occupied territory "slaves" and considered



- the workers less free then ever. Josef A. Schmitt (Pseudonym: Volker): "Rheinische Runenblätter." In: Magdeburgische Zeitung. 17.2.1923. Copy. StA Mainz, Nachlaß Schreiber, Karton 35–69, No 66.
777. Brief (letter) Zentralstelle für Pfälzische Angelegenheiten to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz und Reichsministerium des Innern. 5.3.1921. BayHStA, MA107722.
778. Rheinische Frauenliga, *Farbige Franzosen*, p. 6; See "Die Pfalz in Not." In: München-Augsburger Abendzeitung. 26.4.1921. PAAA, R74419; Gemeinsamer Aufruf Provinzialverband der Sächsischen Frauenhilfe und Verband der Vaterländischen Vereine der Provinz Sachsen. N.D. PAAA, R74426.
779. See Flugblatt (flyer) "African Troops and European Women." League of Worldfriendship. London. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
780. Dr Martin Hobohm: "Die französische Schande im Rheinlande." In: Neueste Morgenzeitung. 18.11.1920. PAAA, R122421.
781. Begleitschrift zum Film "Die Schwarze Schmach." Bayerische Filmgesellschaft Fett & Wiesel. N.D., p. 2. BArch Berlin, Filmarchiv, Sig.14927.
782. "Ein bestialisches Verbrechen marokkanischer Soldaten." Nachricht Mirbachs Telegraphisches Büro. 27.7.1921. PAAA, R74429.
783. Presbyterium der deutsch-evangelischen Kirchgemeinde Bruenn to Leitung der deutsch-evangelischen Kirche Gablonz. 1.2.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2214.
784. Spendenaufruf (Call for donations) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. PRO, FO371/5999.
785. Medaille "Bete und Ar.bete—Der Staat." Depicted in Kienast, *Medals*, p. 206, Op.306, comment p. 86.
786. Gedicht (poem) "Deutsche Weihenacht." Zeitungsausschnitt. Source and date unreadable. BArch Berlin, R8034II7594.
787. Anzeige (advertisement) "Kammerich-Werke. Presswerk Brackwede in Westfalen." In: Kladderadatsch. 76. Vol., 1923, No 18.
788. Karrikatur (caricature) "Protestiert gegen den Raub des deutschen Saargebiets!" A.M. Cay. Depicted in: Schockel, *Plakat*, p. 58.
789. Gedicht (poem) "Wenn wir marschieren." In: Spethmann, *Ruhrkampf*, p. 502.
790. Entschließung Verband Deutscher Frauenvereine. 1.10.1920. PAAA, R122421.
791. Brief (letter) Heinemann to Rheinische Frauenliga, z.H. Gärtner. 17.11.1920. BArch Berlin, R 1603/2190.
792. Telegramm (telegram) Zusammenschluß Erfurter Frauen zur Bekämpfung der schwarzen Schmach to Reichsregierung. 30.6.1920. PAAA, R74426; see Entschliessung Deutscher Notbund gegen die



- schwarze Schmach. Protestversammlung München. Mathäuserbräu-Festsaal. 19.1.1923. Anlage zum Schreiben Hessische Gesandte und Bevollmächtigte zum Reichsrat an Reichsministerium des Innern. 1.2.1923. PAAA, R74424.
793. Nachricht "Die deutschen Frauen Mexikos gegen die Schwarze Schmach." 21.10. Year unreadable. PAAA, R74418; also see Brief (letter) Verband der deutschen Frauen Mexikos to Regierung des Deutschen Reiches, z.Hd. Reichspräsident. 30.7.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191.
794. See Brief (letter) Arbeiterinnen-Sekretariat des Zentralverbandes christlicher Textilarbeiter Deutschlands, gez. Papenheim (Gewerkschaftssekretärin) to Reichstag. 26.7.1921. PAAA, R74426; Brief (letter) von 21 Frauenorganisationen to Regierung des Deutschen Reiches, z.Hd. Reichspräsident. 18.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; Telegramm (telegram) Verband der evangelischen Arbeitervereine von Rheinland und Westfalen to Reichskanzler. 11.5.1920. PAAA, R74426; "Treugelöbnis für Ruhr, Rhein und Saar." In: Hamburger Fremdenblatt. 18.7.1923. StaA Hamburg, Staatliche Pressestelle, 135-1, I-IV, 1007. In this publication a trade union secretary from Saarbrücken calls for a "united front against the enemy."
795. Koller, *Kolonialtruppen*, p. 216; the *Vorwärts* citation, from 20.5.1920 can be found in *ibid.*, p. 215.
796. See Curthoys and Markus, *Racism*; Roediger, *Whiteness*; Martin, *Rassismus*.
797. Schwartz, *Sozialistische Eugenik*, p. 113; Hund, *Rassenhygiene*, p. 107.
798. Entschliessung Deutscher Frauenbund, Frauenstadtbund (37 Vereine). 11.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2191. This resolution was shared by amongst others the Deutsch-evangelischer Frauenbund, Kirchlicher Frauenverein, Gewerkverein der Heimarbeiterinnen, Flottenbund deutscher Frauen, Bürgerbund, Ordnungsausschuss, Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre," Volksbund der deutschen Bauhütte, Christliche Gewerkschaften, Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfenverband Hannover, Deutscher Arbeiterbund Hannover; see also Entschliessung Frauengruppen der bürgerlichen Parteien Augsburgs to Auswärtiges Amt. 23.2.1921. PAAA, R74419.
799. Resolution 25 Frauenvereine und Verbände Halberstadts to Reichsministerium des Äusseren. 10.7.1920. PAAA, R74426. The leader of the Rhenish Women's league considered it important that the protest meetings were joined by women of all social backgrounds, parties and confessions. See "Gegenwärtiger Stand der Protestbewegung gegen die farbige Besatzung am Rhein." Bericht (report) Gärtner, Rheinische



- Frauenliga, p. 3. Attachment Brief (letter) Rheinische Volkspflege to Auswärtiges Amt. 13.11.1920. PAAA, R74418.
800. Protestbrief und Entschliessung Bund der Frontsoldaten, Hauptstelle Magdeburg. 18.6.1921. PAAA, R74420; see, for example, also Brief (letter) Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft to Reichspräsident. 9.10.1920. PAAA, R74426.
  801. Auszug aus Unterschriftensammlung der Protestversammlung im Gasthof Grüner Baum, Grossröhrsdorf. 15.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2184. This protest meeting list of signatures contained several signatures and was signed by people from different social backgrounds and professions. Another protest meeting in Augsburg also organised the collection of signatures against the "Black Shame". It was supported by different organisations and also notes 1430 individual signatures. The file contains a considerable number of lists with around 766 individual signatures. It remains unclear, however, if these lists are complete. The file can be found in BArch Berlin, R1501/102870. A resolution against the "Black Shame", which circulated in Cottbus amongst other places, contained according to the count of the organisers approximately 1412 signatures. BArch Berlin, R1603/2213.
  802. Flugblatt (flyer) "Gibt es noch eine schwarze Schmach?" Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach und die Bedrückung der besetzten Gebiete. N.D. BayHStA, MA108037.
  803. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Reichskanzler. 30.12.1922. PAAA, R74423. The Notbund's flyer was supported by different parties amongst others. See Entschliessung Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. Protestversammlung München. Mathäuserbräu-Festsaal. 19.1.1923. Anlage zum Schreiben Hessische Gesandte und Bevollmächtigte zum Reichsrat an Reichsministerium des Innern. 1.2.1923. PAAA, R74424.
  804. Nachricht über Protestversammlung des Notbundes in Nürnberg und Entschliessung to Staatskommissar für die Pfalz. 24.2.1922. BayHStA, MA108037; see also Flugblatt (flyer) "Schwarze Schmach." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221.
  805. Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach to Rheinische Frauenliga. 18.8.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2221. Similarly Brief (letter) Deutscher Notbund gegen die Zwingherrschaft am Rhein to Auswärtiges Amt. 20.7.1926. Copy. PAAA, R74425.
  806. Plakat (poster) "Die Schwarze Schmach am Rhein. Grosser öffentl. Vortrag." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/44.



807. "Die schwarze Schmach im besetzten Gebiet." Sonderabdruck aus Münchener Zeitung. 3.6.1921. BayHStA, MA108037.
808. Plakat (poster) "Die Schwarze Schmach am Rhein. Grosser öffentl. Vortrag." Deutscher Notbund gegen die schwarze Schmach. N.D. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/44.
809. Schreiben Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre," Hartwich with attachment "Reimpaare für Kastennotizen." 9.12.1920. BArch Berlin, R1603/2210.
810. N.N., *Neger*, p. 1.
811. Offener Brief (letter) Rheinischer Katholiken und anderer deutscher Männer und Frauen in Argentinien to Bischöfe Deutschlands. Mai 1922. PAAA, R74423.
812. Brief (letter) Frauen-Ortsgruppe Hamburg, Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland to Rheinische Frauenliga. 19.5.1921. BArch Berlin, R1603/2211.
813. Postkarte (postcard) "Pfälzerland." Postkarte zur Pfalzwoche des Bayerischen Hilfswerks, March 1924, Veranstaltung zur Bekräftigung der Zusammengehörigkeit der Pfälzer rechts und links des Rheins. StA Mannheim, Bildsammlung, Kleinformat, Photosammlung No 36695.
814. Plakat (poster) "Deutsche Männer und Frauen!" Einladung zu einer Kundgebung im Auditorium Maximum der Universität München am 14.12.1920. BArch Koblenz, Bildarchiv, Bild No 2/12/45. For another protest resolution supported by several women organisations, see Protest anhaltischer Frauen gegen die Verwendung schwarzer Truppen im besetzten Gebiet to Reichsamt des Äusseren. 27.6.1920. PAAA, R74426.
815. See "Protestversammlung gegen die schwarze Besetzung." In: General-Anzeiger. 6.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/814, 2.
816. Deutsche Nationalversammlung. Rede (speech) Abgeordnete Mende. 177. Sitzung. 20.5.1920. Stenographische Berichte NV, Bd.333, p. 5696. See also Anzeige "Protestversammlung gegen die Schwarze Schmach." Volksbund "Rettet die Ehre," Ortsgruppe Mannheim, Vorsitzender Dr E. Lehmann, Pfarrer. General-Anzeiger. 2.11.1920. StA Mannheim, S2/1521.
817. Here and in the following Lichtenberg, *Deutsches Land*, p. 38f.
818. Lebzelter, *Schwarze Schmach*, p. 52.
819. "Hamburg und die Schwarze Schmach." In: Hamburger Nachrichten. 1.5.1921. PAAA, R74420.
820. Oppen, *Schmach*, p. 9ff., p. 14.
821. Ibid., p. 5.
822. Ibid., p. 41.
823. Ibid., p. 44f.
824. Ibid., p. 36.
825. Ibid., p. 37.
826. Koerber, *Bestien*, p. 8.



827. Ibid., p. 20.
828. Ibid., p. 109.
829. Ajax, *Ruhr-Apachen*, p. 6ff.
830. See *ibid.*, p. 9f.
831. Here and in the following *ibid.*, p. 62ff.
832. Ibid., p. 65f.
833. Ibid., p. 105.
834. Alexander, *schwarze Pest*, p. 8.
835. Ibid., p. 19.
836. Ibid., p. 30.
837. The novel's ending made clear that it was honourable for a German woman, threatened by French or blacks, to take her own life. Like the Roman heroine Lucretia, who committed suicide as a symbol of female virtue, after being raped, Elisabeth chooses death, when facing defilement (associated with a white French officer). The doctrine of purity is fulfilled in her blood sacrifice (Blutopfer), which leaves the German Volkskörper purified and strengthened. Her suicide also suggests to the readers that such unrestricted sacrifice was the price for the deliverance of a fatherland suffering under the "Black Shame."
838. Landsberger, *Elisabeth*, p. 33f.
839. Ibid., p. 114.
840. Ibid., p. 119.
841. See *ibid.*, p. 114f.
842. Ibid., p. 23.
843. Ibid., p. 60f.
844. Ibid., p. 92; see also *ibid.*, p. 103f.
845. Ibid., p. 105.
846. Ibid., p. 110f.
847. Ibid., p. 245.
848. Ibid., p. 108.
849. Ibid., p. 296.
850. Trott, *Freiwild*.
851. Ibid., p. 113.
852. Ibid., p. 111, 120.
853. Ibid., p. 77.
854. Ibid., p. 95.
855. Ibid., p. 120.
856. Ibid., p. 49.
857. Ibid., p. 13; see *ibid.*, p. 61f.
858. Ibid., p. 6.
859. See Trott, *Freiwild*, p. 90.
860. Ibid., p. 7f.; see p. 14f.



## Conclusions

Gender, race, nation and class distinguish as categories of difference between women and men, blacks and whites, French and Germans, the rich and poor. However, in the campaign against the “Black Horror” they interlink closely. Their intersecting shapes the racist construction of the “Black Shame.” Within it, these categories are interwoven closely, overlap each other, become amalgamated and to some extent even substitute for one another.

The category *gender* plays a central role in the “Black Horror” discourse. The image of the white woman as victim of black sexuality is central to the construction of a “Black Shame.” It interlinks sexist and racist patterns of discrimination. Campaigners linked the notion of the black race with a deep-seated, essential racial primitivity and lustful nature, as reflected in associated degrading terms such as “Nigger bestiality,” “black blood suckers” or “wild hordes” attributed with animalist sexual drives and a hunger for white women.

On the basis of this racist stigma, the colonial soldiers could be staged as a threat to white women, and even liberal campaigners could argue that the Africans had to be considered a sexual danger to them. The image of the black rapist and his white victim could be promoted and spread easily across Germany’s borders, as it was closely associated with well-established occidental racist stereotypes of blacks and seemed plausible on their basis.

Different elements in the discourse on the “Black Horror,” however, support the thesis that women in the occupied territories were predominantly not real victims of colonial troops but symbolic victims of the campaign.



I have hence argued in this monograph that it was the propagandists of the “Black Shame” who sacrificed women in their rape scenarios. An indication in support of this argument is the campaigners’ gross exaggeration of the quantity of sexual assaults by colonial soldiers on German women. Although such crimes occurred only occasionally, they are represented as a mass phenomenon. This is documented in countless cases of desecration improperly attributed to the colonial forces and their regular listing as well as fictitious mass rapes by blacks.

It is moreover nationally and internationally known that several voluntary relations existed between German women and members of the colonial troops. The carriers of the campaign, too, know about German-African love relationships, marriages and women who prostitute themselves also to “coloureds.” Such relationships do not fit the image of the white woman violated by the “black animal.” Although government agencies felt it was best to not mention them in the propaganda against the “Black Horror,” a number of campaigners problematised them publicly and fought them in the occupied areas. Women who did not want to be symbolic victims of “Black Shame” and ‘dared’ to have relationships with the colonial soldiers, were turned into real victims when threatened with violence and attacked by their fellow Germans as traitors of their nation and ‘race’.

Another indication of the aimed sacrifice of women in the campaign is the campaigners’ veritable call for sacrifice and martyrdom. German men saw these obviously as the only escape after they had been disarmed themselves and used their women as a guise. This is reflected in particular in popular media. They represented the “Black Shame” as a fatality, which would naturally demand mass victims amongst the women; they considered who had to make a sacrifice and familiarised women of different classes with the victimhood intended for them.

The crude sexist dimension of the atrocities attributed to the colonial troops, too, makes clear who sacrifices whom here. The descriptions of black desire and its white victims are constructed pornographically. It was the protagonists of the campaign who gave free rein to their own violence-soaked sexual fantasies under the false pretense that it was the “other”—the black man—who did something so horrible to women.

Projecting their notions of sexuality onto the “Negro,” they could write freely about women who lie in their blood, are desecrated to death or turned insane by rape. By imagining them as victims of the black man, they can turn women and girls into defenseless victims of mass rapes, sadism, sex murder, perversions and brutal sexual violence. However, it



is their own male fantasies, not those of colonial soldiers, in which the bodies of women are subjugated to raw violence, bitten and torn open, sucked dry and desecrated, in which young girls and boys as well as old women and even corpses of women are violated in the most brutal ways.

Such rape scenes reflect the everyday violence against women common in patriarchal society. They document the willingness of the “Black Horror” campaign to make the woman a victim, to humiliate her, to drive her into madness and to torture her to death.

The sacrifice of women was also charged metaphorically. As Germans, the women were symbolically exposed to the colonial troops as the representatives of a shattered, downtrodden people. They are representative of Germany as alleged victim of “Black Shame” and violent French policy, and serve as a metaphor for an allegedly ruined desecrated nation.

This is not at least documented in the connection between womanhood and Germanness constructed in the protests. It was promoted on all levels of the campaign that women’s honour and German national honour are directly connected and are under attack by the black occupation. The rape of the German woman by blacks was considered as desecration, pollution and contamination of the German people. With her honour and purity, the well-being of the nation was considered at stake.

The woman was suited for several reasons as a symbol of a disarmed and defenseless German nation. First, this role fits with the dominant contemporary stereotype of women according to which they represented the weak gender. Women can be used as a metaphor for a helpless nation, because the element of weakness was part of this stereotype and the woman without a man on her side was regarded as helpless—defenseless. This image of feminine vulnerability and weakness can be equated easily with that of a weakened, victimised German population incapable of helping itself, as its men were emasculated by disarmament.

Moreover, women can embody a threatened Germanness because the principle of the German nation is determined genealogically, and the German concept of nation is grounded in the idea of a *völkisch*—racially determined community. This concept of the German nation was suited to be linked with the German woman, as it defines nation on the basis of blood and considers reproduction to be important and the herewith closely connected image of the woman as a guardian or vessel of life.

The pollution metaphors used in the campaign against the “Black Shame” make sense only against the background of this particular concept of the nation. One can only stain something for which cleanliness



plays a role. A nation can only be damaged by the sexual intercourse of its women when it defines itself genealogically and is constructed as a unity determined by the elements *Volk*, blood and lineage.

A notion of nation so constituted already contains a racist element in the idea of a *Volkskörper*—a racial body of the nation. The German woman was also, beyond this, important from a racial perspective. In her sacrifice, she was meant to symbolise not only the threatened nation but also a white race under threat. Against this background she was turned into the white martyr of “Black Shame,” whose desecration not only dishonoured the noble German people but violated at the same time every instinct for the preservation of the white race.

With the German woman being staged as symbol of an attacked white racial and cultural community, her rape was interpreted as a crime against white humanity itself. Similarly, the idea that the violation of the white woman by coloured troops was sounding the bell for the downfall of the white race illustrates the symbolic interlocking of gender and race in the discourse on the “Black Shame.”

The construction of the woman as a representative of *Volk* and race was crossed by the suspicion that women were naturally lustful. The presentation of women as guardians of the purity and honour of these collectives ideologically collides with the sexist stereotype of women according to which all women had to be considered lascivious and hence suspicious in order to get involved voluntarily with blacks and other “lascivious savages.”

Opponents of the campaign, too, saw the woman on the basis of this Western common sense gender stereotype as a creature ruled by sexual instincts who would not regard the intercourse with coloureds as a shame. Like the lustful black, she was considered a creature driven by her impulses, in contrast to the white man.

To facilitate the mediation of this sexist image of women with the postulate of the white woman as carrier of female honour, national honour and racial honour, campaigners referred to a well-tested distinction between honourable and honourless women. The first category relates to the domesticated woman who keeps her desires under control and her body free from alien influence and blood. The second category is used to stigmatise women who engaged in relations with colonial soldiers as undisciplined and promiscuous traitors of the white race. They lose their honour as white women and are perceived as lecherous and unable to control their sexual instincts, just like the Africans. Both are positioned



in direct opposition to the intellect of white males and are reduced to physicality and instinct.

The close intersecting of the categories “woman” and “race” in the campaign was possible in the context of a dominant racialised discourse in which the stereotype of the white woman is embedded. I have shown how the question of how to keep her pure played an important role in the context of colonialism. It was familiar in colonial nations such as Britain and France but also in the United States, which tried to prevent sexual contact between black men and white women by lynching.

The concerns expressed in the protests against the “Black Shame” regarding a threatened contamination of the white woman on the Rhine served a racist ideology of mixing and contamination, which was worryingly widespread beyond the borders of Germany. Drawing on the sexist definition of the woman as a creature of instinct (*Triebwesen*), it is linked to the certainty that the white women surrounded by black men in the colonies had to be left with no choice. This is reflected in colonial discussions and laws which punished the sexual assault of black men on white women in the colonies as a particularly serious crime and aimed at preventing relations between them.

Colonial societies were working hard to monitor the sexual behaviour of white women. They combined the persecution of the sexuality of black men with controlling the sexuality of white women. Their anti-rape laws were actually racial laws because they neither punished sexual crimes against black women nor sexual assaults of white men.

I have examined how the campaign against the “Black Horror,” too, sought to control the sexuality of the black man, seen as aggression, by means of the sexual disciplining of the white woman. Attempts to control the sex lives of women in the occupied territory were frequent. They manifested themselves in threats, stigmatisation, victimisation and exclusion of German women who did not avoid contact with colonial troops and other occupation troops. Proponents of the protests warned women to under no circumstances give their bodies to coloured soldiers and threatened them with persecution and ostracism. Love relationships between German women and colonial soldiers were represented and condemned as national shame and miscegenation. Women who engaged with coloured soldiers were treated as a stigma for the German Volk and race, denounced, publicly humiliated and excluded from both communities.

Based on the stereotypical sexist notion of female unscrupulousness, the antagonism of the black rapist and his white female victim



was underlaid with the antagonism of male self-discipline and primitive impulsiveness. The first subsumes women of different social classes. The second unites them with inferior races to a counterpart of the white man.

Those who did not fit the image of the endangered white woman and refused the role of victim of black violence ran the risk of being placed on the same level with the primitive colonial soldiers. Women who ignored reminders to keep the race pure were exposed to denunciations and attacks in an attempt to jar their memory of female and racial honour. Only women who did not give their bodies to colonial troops and were therefore considered respectable could rely on being looked upon favourably by the racially defined national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). The others were considered lost and harmful to this community. To make their exclusion from the nation and race outwardly visible, their bodies were marked as impure, painted black, beaten and disfigured.

The second important dimension in the discursive construction of a "Black Horror" is the category *race*. With its help the occupation of European territory with coloured troops is represented as a humiliation and desecration of white civilisation. The linking of biology and culture, characteristic of all forms of racial discrimination, is in this way also reflected in the campaign.

The terms race and culture are inseparable in the discussion of "Black Shame." Although the category race referred to biological elements of natural difference, it was also always used as a culturalist category. The carriers of the protests hence represent the white race as a cultural community and epitome of all culture, and culture as a feature and expression of white civilisation.

The lecherousness attributed to the colonial troops highlighted from the perspective of race in the campaign a contrast between their supposedly primitive nature and white culture. On the level of gender, their unbridled sexual instincts and their representation as voluptuous beasts meant to prove the alleged inability of Africans to control their drives and illustrate an enormous cultural gap between the black and the white race.

I have demonstrated how this characterisation of the colonial troops as primitives could draw upon several elements of a well-established Western racist stereotype of black inferiority. The image of the colonial soldier is constructed mainly in close association with the racially charged image of the primitive savage. Moreover, the perception of the black as an infantile natural being influences that of the colonial soldier, where he is regarded as a childlike creature, alienated from his natural life, who turns into a beast, once his primitive instincts are stimulated. Both



descriptions are grounded in the chauvinist conviction that blacks represented a lower race to be subordinated to the cultivated white race. They could ideologically build upon a wide stock of images and theories of black primitivism and bestiality which were rooted in the Enlightenment.

The concept of race is used in the campaign to flexibly generalise and differentiate. It is drawn upon to group Africans with different skin tones, recognised as physically differentiated, as armed savages. Based on pseudo-anthropological and philosophical assumptions, colonial troops, perceived as brown, coloured, or yellow, are subsumed under the type "Negro."

This racist generalisation could be connected with the internal differentiation of the category race. In this connection the propagandists of the "Black Shame" conceded that not all members of the colonial troops did look like blacks. At the same time they claimed that these troops were comparable in their primitive nature. The open scaling of colours down to "real Negroes" in the campaign documents the conceptual arbitrariness of the topos race. On this scale also people could be attributed to be black who were not externally perceived as black.

The concept of race proved flexible in the discourse on the "Black Shame," and it could be extended to such a degree that even the French fell under the notion of coloured races, and the French army was made up by "white and coloured Negroes." This was achieved, as I have shown, through a combination of biological and cultural topoi. The contrast between white and black, reputedly readable on skin, was formed into an argument which linked nature and culture and could also be extended to alleged whites. Some campaigners, hence, no longer wanted to distinguish between white, brown and black soldiers. They attributed them with a comparable cultural primitivity and argued that the French were all the same in their immanent lack of culture. Then the notion of race was split up and overlaid with origin myths so that skin colour became less significant and one could from a perspective of racial hierarchy distinguish between colonial troops from India or Aryan origin and Africans.

Campaigners criticised the deployment of colonial troops to guard a white nation on cultural, authoritative and eugenic grounds. The high and dominant cultural standing of Europe was deemed at risk through sexual relationships between Africans and white women. Such relations were represented as a subversion of the colonial consensus of white superiority. They were supposed to threaten the authority of the white man and his hegemony, and were considered a crime against the whole white race. It was feared that Africans who commanded white women would lose faith in white superiority and the associated respect for white rule.



I have highlighted in my discussion of the “Black Horror” that the concept of race on which such considerations were based was obviously highly sexualised and that the idea of white supremacy was closely linked to the possession of the white woman. On the level of race, keeping the white woman pure became a cultural duty. White women have to, on the basis of patriarchal power structures, biologically reproduce what white men represent culturally. As biological foundation of white culture they have to be sexually available to the white man alone.

To emphasise this racial border, campaigners were prepared to open other borders. Social boundaries between women of different classes were blanked out when the German woman was staged as the bare white victim of primitive blacks. Without clothing she was no longer identifiable as belonging to a particular social class. Even prostitutes could be included in the category of the white woman. The path of German women’s virtue was considered, in principle, open to all German women who stayed away from the colonial troops and kept their “race” pure.

Moreover, the naked victims depicted in caricatures could have just as well been white women of another nation, as they are not recognisable as Germans. That their skin colour symbolises the last frontier, and the category campaigners were most concerned about—race—also becomes clear in the exclusion of black women from the category of victims.

Based on the strong sexualisation, primitivisation and dehumanisation of the colonial forces associated with the racist Western stereotype of black men, it was possible to classify their presence as an occupying power independently from their behaviour as humiliation and danger to the dominance of the white race. This stigmatisation of colonial soldiers made it possible to complain about the threat the black occupiers posed to the colonial power structure without having to refer to any black crimes in particular.

From the perspective of white authority, it was constructed as an unbearable cultural shame and threat that primitive black Africans acted as masters over a European cultured people. Campaigners feared that colonial troops would lose their respect for the imperial claims of their colonisers and that their use in Europe would enhance the opposition to colonial rule. Therefore, the opponents of their use warned against triggering a black sense of power, predicted a race war and declared the “Black Shame” to a question of survival for the white community. They in this way referred to the occidental cultural doctrine of not placing representatives of a lower culture in command of a higher culture and



promoted as white consensus that blacks should see whites as their superior masters. In this context, the rule of black occupation troops over a white population in the Rhineland was condemned for driving the coloureds further into the hands of the black emancipation movement.

This cultural and authoritative dimension of the “Black Shame” discourse can be interpreted as an expression of a growing uncertainty about the previously as self-evident accepted hegemony of white imperialism. The system of colonial rule shattered in the war was increasingly struggling due to the emergent resistance of the colonised and their emancipation efforts. The topoi of domination and control were pushed, as campaigners anticipated the loss of white rule. To protect white dominance, the campaign demanded to maintain strict racial boundaries between blacks and whites. As long as these were kept up and the black race was submitted to the white race, different critics of the use of colonial troops perceived the Africans as devoted and useful servants of the whites.

That the situation on the Rhine violated this boundary in a disastrous way seemed clear to many within the white community. Representatives of race societies demanded in particularly aggressive tone to immediately put an end to the black domination of whites in Europe. Liberal campaigners, too, saw the whole fabric of civilisation threatened by the deployment of coloureds in Europe. Although they criticised the brutality with which white colonialism exploited the African continent, they showed no intention of questioning the principal dogma of white supremacy.

The “Black Shame” was staged not only as a cultural and authoritarian problem but also as an eugenic issue. I have examined how on all levels of the campaign the colonial soldiers were accused of contaminating the white population racially and infecting it with sexually transmitted diseases and other serious illnesses. The racial pollution and contamination of the German nation was in this way constructed as a threat to Europe, and the white race and protesters loudly complained about Germans as representatives of this race being defiled by blacks. Some even went so far as to claim that the progressive syphilitisation, mulattisation and bastardisation of the population would lead to the downfall of culture itself.

This argument can build on a wider political and medical discussion about venereal disease. The obvious epidemics rhetoric used here to protest against the use of Africans could unfold against the background of a Western eugenic doctrine, which was widespread even in leftist political camps, according to which a direct connection existed between the behaviour of the individual, the health of the people and the welfare of the nation.



Based on this discussion, relations between white women and black men could be developed into a scenario of racial threat. Because all elements of the eugenic threat associated with the "Black Shame" were sexist, syphilis could in the campaign simultaneously represent the rape of women and the German people, threatened by contamination.

The colonial troops were demonised as a seat of disease. As "Black Pest" they were under suspicion of endangering not only the German woman but also her Volk, Europe and the whole white race. This is illustrated, for example, in the claim that "contaminated Negroes" were spreading syphilis and tropical diseases rapidly throughout Europe, or in the phantasmagoric warning of an increasing contamination or syphilitisation of the white race. Syphilis was also represented as a signifier of the alleged cultural primitiveness of colonial soldiers.

The garrisoning of coloured troops on German soil was moreover associated with a racial contamination of the population. In this context, the campaign constructed the danger of a "mulattoisation" (Mullattisierung), "bastardisation" (Bastardisierung) or "Negroisation" (Vernegerung) in the heart of Europe. It is perceived as an attack on the white race leading to cultural and racial degeneration.

The racist motive of a mulattoisation could be propagated in accordance with a concept of race associated with ideas of purity and impurity. On its basis, different campaigners claimed, the white race would be contaminated by the mixture with colonial troops for a long time, and they saw the racially pernicious occupation resulting in a "Mulatto Europe" (Mulatteneuropa).

Various elements in the discussion of the "Black Shame" illustrate that the colonial troops and their children with German women were in this way perceived as a biological threat and source of racial degeneration. In 1920 already efforts were made to collect statistical material on the so-called half-caste children (Mischlingskinder) and to care for the alleged consequences their birth could have for racial hygiene.

The children of colonial soldiers were stigmatised as a growing racial problem in Europe. They were in racist terms classified as biologically and morally inferior bastards and seats of disease, just as their fathers. So constructed, their existence was considered evidence of the mixing, contamination and deterioration of the white race.

I have shown how, from this eugenic perspective, the desecrated white female body, too, became a danger in accordance with its previous symbolic charge. Women who had sexual intercourse with the colonial soldiers were,



on the level of race, considered contaminated and not allowed to live on with their stained bodies. Popular media especially called on any German woman raped by coloureds to commit suicide. Based on this perverse eugenic logic, they had as honourable white women rather to kill themselves than live on with the shame of their defilement by blacks. In their role as martyrs of women's honour and racial purity, German women were encouraged to look at suicide as their salvation. Whoever dared to stay alive was, in the eyes of the authors, doomed to turn insane and to degenerate slowly. Particularly aggressive voices in this chorus of eugenic racist ideology advised such women also to commit infanticide. In order to prevent a further deterioration of their race, they were called to become practicing eugenicists and kill not only themselves but also their children with colonial soldiers.

Race and culture were closely intertwined in this perception of degeneration. The assumption that sexual relationships between Africans and Germans threatened the white race with decline could build on the socially established eugenic assertion that every race mixture leads to a cultural decline of the superior race. The eugenic dimension of the "Black Shame" was deployed in the context of an international discussion, conducted on a pseudo-scientific level, about sexuality, public health, pollution and degeneration. It manifested itself in colonial societies and the United States in a taboo of relations between members of different races and also warned on the colonial level against racial mixture threatening the white race with deterioration.

Based on such shared eugenic concerns, the campaign could excessively insist on the culture-damaging effect of a mixture of German women and coloured soldiers and set the "Black Shame" in a dramatic scene of murder and betrayal of the white civilisation. The white race could be described as soiled and degenerated by such sexual relations, because it was at once constructed as a blood community and cultural community. It defines itself through descent, blood and purity, and as the epitome of all culture.

The staging of the "Black Horror" as a cultural, authoritarian and eugenic problem of the white race was linked to the attempt to ideologically bridge the enormous gap between Germany, politically isolated after losing the war, and the community of white nations. The terrible news concerning a white community, threatened by the "Black Shame" in its domination, purity and culture, was aimed to win the solidarity of all white peoples with the former German war enemy and generate



a sense of community amongst the civilised nations. Propagandists refer in this context to phobias of racial mixture which were shared beyond the borders of Germany, made up a miscegnation of terrifying scale and declared the "Black Shame" a world problem (Weltproblem), which would destroy the entire white race and culture.

The construction of a "Black Shame" was counting on the racial pride of the white nations and demanded their united resistance. Those who did not participate in the protests, were accused of being accomplices in the "Black Shame." Anyone who did not want to show solidarity with the Germans and the campaign, was in danger of being excluded from the white community as a traitor.

In addition to gender and race, the category *nation* is the third core dimension of the racist conglomerate "Black Shame." On its basis, the accusation of a "Black Shame" is equated with that of a "French Shame." Different anti-French arguments show that on the level of nation, the criticism of the use of coloured troops targeted France.

The protests identified the "Black Shame" as directly linked to the French nation and joined the racist depiction of colonial soldiers with a nationalist blame. The colonial troops were depicted as an expression of French aggression against Germany, and were seen as a tool of French sadism, allowed to commit mischief on behalf of the *grande nation*.

France was blamed and held responsible for the crimes of its primitive savages. I have suggested that in this context the "Black Horror" was represented as expressing the French nation's will to destroy the German nation. France was accused of violating the foundations of white civilisation by placing their coloureds in a position of power over a white people and by doing so encouraging their crimes. Some protagonists even suspected France of pursuing an Africanisation of the German people by forcibly mixing it with the colonial troops.

The concept of nation underlying this rationale was racially charged. Underlaid by the white consensus that a cultured nation of integrity would not raise blacks over whites, France's "Negro domination" on the Rhine seemed to suggest that it was no longer to be considered a cultured people. Modest voices kept appealing to France's sense of culture, urging the French government to not endanger Europe's civilised order with their deployment of blacks and to recognise that it was unacceptable to expect the Germans as a white population to put up with the rule of black troops. More radical voices, often originating from the nationalist-völkish camp seemed by contrast already certain that culture served the



French only as a façade. They constructed France accordingly as a degenerated nation that was trying to disguise itself with the mask of white civilisation.

The eugenic suspicion that France was a degenerated nation could in the campaign against the “Black Horror” be based on the connection between miscegenation and degeneration already drawn on the level of race. On its basis, the racial downfall of the French nation was proclaimed, signified by an allegedly declining national strength and its lost status as a cultured nation. France was depicted as a fallen nation which interfered with its colonies to stop its demographic decline and had to base its hegemony in Europe on a black army. The French were in this context accused of breaking the dogma of racial segregation and of destroying the basis of their culture.

The biological degeneration of the French nation was supposed to go hand in hand with its cultural decline. Campaigners discredited France morally by representing it as a traitor of Western culture. The colonial soldiers were ridiculed as representatives of French culture, and their alleged crimes were cynically identified with the core ideals of the French civilisation *en marche* and its values—*liberté, égalité, fraternité*. Black sexual assaults and atrocities, too, were considered an expression of French culture.

These attacks on the racial and cultural state of the French nation were compacted to the thesis that France was no longer a white people but a mixed nation of inferior race. Several protesters denied France white racial status, called her a “Mulatto republic” and suspected her of wanting to prepare Germany for the same fate.

The German nation was in this context represented as a positive counterpart to the French nation and considered a disarmed and defenseless cultured people in the hands of France and their “savages.” In this direct confrontation of the German and French nations, the “Black Shame” turns into an expression of an aggressive French policy towards Germany. Colonial soldiers act as black Frenchmen and are attacked as sons of France who contaminate the German people on behalf of the *Grande Nation*.

In order to destroy France's prestige as the largest cultural nation, various “Black Horror” protagonists accused the French of assaulting the Germans with their “Negroes.” I have argued in this context that culture at the level of the nation meant something different to culture at the level of the race. While the “Black Shame” was condemned on a racial level as a crime against the whole white cultural community in order to



stress the unity of the white race and culture, on a national level the particular cultural significance and high cultural status of the German nation was emphasised. The German people were, in this context, placed at the peak of civilisation, formed the centre of white Europe, and were made out to represent the very heart of white culture, science and education threatened, defiled and offended by French savages.

The accusation that France let its blacks rape the most educated people in the world was obviously meant to weigh heavily and give the impression of a particularly high cultural status of the German nation. At the same time, it meant to point to the cultural decline of a nation that believed itself at the peak of civilisation while allowing savages to represent it.

The connection of the "Black Horror" with the construction of a French enemy image (Feindbild) emphasised the instrumental dimension of the campaign. It shows that the issue of colonial troops was also used to fuel a propaganda attack on the French nation. The desecration of the German nation by the "Black Shame" had supposedly already been preceded by its political desecration based on the Versailles Treaty. From this perspective, the condemnation of the use of colonial troops in Germany was connected with a critique of the so-called Shame of Versailles, the infamous French occupation policy and the Entente.

The equating of "Black Shame" and "French Shame," too, aimed to help shifting existing boundaries between Germany and its former enemies. The phantasmagoria of a German nation raped by France's black troops put the Germans into a more favourable light. They hoped to appear no longer as a military aggressor and warmonger but as a victim of a "Black Terror" under the control of the French nation.

The campaign linked the spectre of the "Black Shame" with that of a violated German cultured nation pushing for its political reintegration into the civilised community. Protests in this way exploited existing racist reservations against a black occupation to allow Germany to switch from the role of the defeated to the camp of the victors. The staging of the German people as victim of a Franco-black shame distracted from Germany's own war guilt. It attempted to suppress the traumatic defeat of the German nation and to pave the way for a political rehabilitation of warmonger Germany. At the same time, it allowed the Germans to stir up public opinion against the French nation in the name of the white cultural community and racial honour. France was no longer meant to belong to Western civilisation, let alone be allowed to march at its peak, having betrayed culture by making itself equal with Africans.



The “Black Shame” campaigners sketched France as the counterpole to Germany and other civilised nations. I have argued that they in this way not only transformed offenders into victims by insisting the German nation, which had driven the world into a war in its militarist megalomania, was actually a victim of French sadism and its “Black Horror.” They also turned the victims of a German aggressive war, fuelled by *Großmacht* fantasies, into offenders, by misrepresenting the French nation and its colonial troops as executioners of the German people and civilisation.

The “Black Shame” and a French militarism and imperialism assisted by “primitive savages” meant to prove that not the Germans but the French were to be excluded as barbarians from the community of civilised nations. Such reasoning illustrates the politically calculated dimension of the campaign. It connects the call for a reintegration of Germany into the circle of civilised nations with an attempt to slander France and isolate it from its allies.

How variable the categories race, nation, gender and class were handled and how easily they could be interlocked illustrates the embedding of the category gender in this French enemy image. Like the German woman, the French woman is a member of a nation, the white race and different classes. In the construction of the “Black Shame,” however, she is construed as a stereotype, and no distinction is made between different French women. This portrayal differed significantly from that of the German women. Amongst them, protesters regularly differentiated according to class. Although in principle all German women were seen as threatened by the “Black Shame,” it was mostly those of the lower classes who were turned into victims of “Black Horror.”

The sociological fantasy used by the protagonists of the “Black Shame” to make a class differentiation on another level disappears when they look at French women because the point here was to construct a French opponent, an enemy that must be homogeneous in itself. Unlike German women who may be honourable or honourless as women, French women were without exception represented as vulgar. The campaign hence knows of no decent French women, only those who seek to hide their primitive nature and activities under a thin layer of cultural varnish.

The image of the French woman is part of the construction of France as a negative counterpart to the German cultured nation and must therefore not allow any differentiations nor leave open any questions. Because French women represent the feuding French nation, and so stand on



the other, opposing side, the sexist stereotype of women as a creature of instinct does not have to be controlled in her staging. On its basis, all French women can be described as lecherous and instinct-driven, only because they are women. The accusation of uncontrolled sexuality fits as a racist element of this sexist stereotype with the enemy image (Feindbild) of France that the German nation was meant to promote.

In the case of German women, campaigners differentiated between women of integrity and fallen women in an attempt to make this image of women compatible with the construct of the German woman as guardian of nation and race. When it comes to French women, they could directly refer to the sexist stereotype of the woman reduced to body and desire. On its basis, French women could be denounced as primitive wenches who, unlike the mostly decent German women, did not shy away from intercourse with blacks, gave their bodies voluntarily to men of every race and gave birth to numerous half-caste children (Mischlingskinder).

The message of France's "Black Shame" and the associated suffering of the German nation was not only tailored to target the outside world but was also meant to reach the population within German post-war society. I have discussed the crucial role the category *class* played in this context as the fourth dimension of the social construction of a "Black Shame." The complaint about Germany being attacked, humiliated and defiled by French colonial troops was closely linked with calls for the class-crossing unity of a deeply divided nation. It was to urge the Germans to form a united front against the "Black Horror" beyond existing deep social and political divisions between different social strata of the population.

The demand for a national closing of the ranks dominates the everyday discourse on the "Black Shame." Brochures, poems, cartoons and popular fiction novels tirelessly promote the motive of a lack of cohesion within the German nation and use the "Black Horror" as a national wake-up call for the Volk. In these protests, appeals to all Germans accumulate to resolve their party disputes and bury any conflict between employers and employees under the given circumstances and to start putting their people's welfare first.

To push for the united protest of the German Volk, different protagonists of the campaign drew, on the one hand, on the perception of a biologically attacked Volkskörper. No decent German was supposed to be able to watch the alleged impending infestation and racial degeneration



of his people idly. Eugenically charged concepts of pollution such as the infection with blood or the deterioration of the German people's race were extensively spread to demand the help and solidarity of all Germans.

At the same time, the cultural integrity of the German people was deemed at risk by the "Black Shame." The colonial forces were often described as primitive initiators of immorality and meant to awaken a sense of cultural degradation in the Germans. Their deployment was represented as an intentional humiliation, degradation and attempt to dishonour the cultured German nation.

The sufferings of the occupied territories were staged as those of the entire nation in an attempt to convince the German population that this problem affected everyone. Popular media were claiming frequently that the Germans could only overcome the "Black Shame" by joining forces as national comrades (*Volksgenossen*). Plays, moral dramas, novels and pamphlets released the "Black Terror" on the German nation and promoted its internal unity as the only way out of oppression. To combat it in a closed racial community of the people (*Volksgemeinschaft*) was deemed the only way to prevent the German people from further disintegration and pollution.

This evocation of unity was based on an organic image of German society. The "Black Shame" is designed as an attack on the German people imagined as a (racial) body. It is staged as a *völkish* humiliation and massive threat to the life of the German people and their national strength. Such formulations are touching upon the idea that the German people were essentially part of an organic unity. It draws upon the traditional metaphor of the social body, which became popular in the context of social hegemony discourses and implies that a nation is not a legally defined, socially formed community, but a natural organism. This organic view of society is fed by a logic of domination, which perceives classes as different parts of a social body (*Gesellschaftskörper*). They were supposed to have a distinct position within the nation perceived as an organism, a place, allegedly intended for them by nature, fulfil different roles and to be dependent on one another.

The campaign promotes, on the level of class, the cohesion of the individual parts of the *Volkskörper* as the only way out of the "Black Shame." Women can stand as a metaphor for the organism *Volk* because they are predestined to symbolise collectives, constructed as social bodies (like *Volk* and race)—and to symbolise these bodies being under threat.

My argument reflects on how Western gender images have virtually inscribed the representation of the physical onto the woman's body. She



represents the body as the counterpart to the male intellect and is not defined, as the white man, by intellect and spirit but through physicality and sensuality. Furthermore, violence was already inscribed in women's bodies at the time of the campaign. Women lived under the power relations of a patriarchal system in which their submission and rape were part of social life and in which not they, but white men, have power over them and their bodies.

Various aspects of the discourse on the "Black Shame" suggest that the tale of the attacked organism Volk and the call for the national community were mainly aimed at a reintegration of the working classes into the German Volkskörper. It was no coincidence that the campaign made German workers and women suffer the most under the colonial troops. Protests turned them into the slaves of coloured domination and scandalised about the colonial soldier as hangman of the German workers. He should find most of the victims amongst them, and popular media accused him of raping predominantly girls and women of the lower classes.

The suffering of the workers is portrayed as that of the whole German people. German workers were told to not see it as a problem of their class, but to feel targeted as Germans by the "Black Shame." Different organisations and media involved in the campaign urged the worker to identify with his nation, punished by black rule, raise his German fist against the black troops and the French enemy, and popular fictional media saw him joining protest marches in which all classes united in the fight against the black occupation. The campaign postulated that in order to end the "Black Terror" workers had to co-operate and pull together with all Germans and whites.

I have hence suggested that class solidarity was meant to turn into racial solidarity in times of "Black Horror" and that the former class enemy was meant to become the new Volksgenosse. Instead of causing their employers trouble, German workers were urged to fight the primitive blacks and their French masters. Popular literature, therefore, is teeming with workers who have transformed and now fully concentrate on their racial and völkish "virtues." They offer their factory masters the hand of reconciliation, are fully committed to the national community and provide together with their German brothers and sisters opposition to France's "Black Shame." The real German workers were meant to follow their good example, take up the task assigned to them and allow through tireless work the revival of their nation.

Supporters of the campaign, however, knew too well that parts of the lower classes had other things in mind than the reconciliation of class



society in the national community. These workers were warned to leave their wrong path, and popular media assured them that France was to blame for their misery and the division of the German nation. Existing social conflicts were no longer to be recognised as an expression of social relations and social declassification but interpreted ideologically as evidence of the French plan to overthrow the German people by attempting to create division amongst them. The workers who bought into this were meant to know only one enemy from now on and bury their internationalist communist ideals for the sake of the unity of all Germans against the French arch-enemy (*Erzfeind*).

I have argued in this monograph, and in consensus with other researchers in the field, that the extraordinary energy used here to insist on the unification of the German people against the alleged threat from the outside has something to do with the state of the German nation. The call for a reconciliation between the Germans against France's "Black Shame" was aimed at a nation that was tested, torn and fundamentally challenged not from the outside by French and Africans but by its own internal conflicts.

The intensity and aggression used in the campaign to propagate German national spirit (*Volksgeist*) is understandable in the light of the German November Revolution and the international orientation of the labour movement. The racist construction of the "Black Shame" was used to help to unite a society ideologically, a society in which various political camps were opposing one another irreconcilably. The postulate of the national community tried to stabilise a political order rocked by heavy fighting around the social question and the question of women. The German national community was in this context propagated to problematise a class solidarity of the German workers extending beyond national boundaries and urge them to overcome class boundaries and close ranks with their allegedly equally suffering fellow Germans.

At the level of class, the "Black Shame" can hence be interpreted as an ideological link between the polarising forces within German society. It was possible in this discursive correlation, too, to create simultaneously integration and cohesion as well as exclusion with the help of the illusion of a "Black Horror." Those amongst the Germans who did not understand it as a patriotic duty to participate in the protest against the colonial troops had to prepare themselves for being vilified, like the French, as traitors, abusers and exploiters of Germany. Engagement within the campaign was seen as an expression of national sentiment, and every



German who did not want to help rescuing his people from the "Black Shame" was considered partly to blame and comparable to outcasts and criminals alike in his or her lack of national consciousness.

All those who did not want to help build the national community or betrayed it were confronted with massive threats of exclusion. These illustrate that the united nationalist German front was only superficially to include all Germans and was meant only to apparently let conflicts of interest rest. The German people actually were seen as being in need of being cleansed, and not just racially from African soldiers, represented as primitive savages, and to distinguish itself nationally from the French "Negro nation." The German people needed also to clean its *Volkskörper* from all internationalist and unpatriotic elements.

The appeals to the closed national community, therefore, were often an ideological camouflage. German propagandists speculated that not all would follow their call to demonstrate national solidarity, to accuse their critics of treason and to defame them as collaborators of the French race polluters and their savages. The reconciliation of the divided nation also aimed at victims in their own ranks.

The contemporary popular literature extensively used the class motive and staged the reconciliation of labour and capital in defence against the "Black Shame." Authors invented brutal communists who collaborated with the black and French in their attack on Germany and countless cases in which the "ordinary woman" was raped by colonial soldiers in a bestial manner. Workers who still refused to reconcile with their nation were isolated as obstructionists and traitors, while the great mass of former proletarians in the novels renounces the International and fight together with the bourgeoisie for the cause of their national community against France's "Black Horror."

In this context, I have examined how racism is not only used to transcend the category class but also penetrates into this category in order to racialise the political opponent. The workers are split into a *völkish*—racially superior—part which merges with other population groups in the national community and a racially inferior part, which treacherously collaborates with the French and their black troops. Only the classes cleansed of all the critics of the national front were meant to really come together to form the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

To present German resistance against the black occupation as a necessity, the campaign frequently referred to the motive of the white woman as a victim and that of the honourless woman. Both were meant to fuel



the anger of the people and to mediate between Germans. Colportage literature uses the image of the German woman threatened by rape constantly in an attempt to generate national cohesion. Because their honour was under attack by blacks, the national union against France seemed without alternative. While the protection of German women against black desecration is from the perspective of race considered as a cultural duty, it is on a class level presented to Germans of different social backgrounds as their sacred national legacy.

However, the grand gesture, with which the women of all social classes in the campaign were prompted to feel as representatives of women's honour, German honour and white racial consciousness, is relativised at this class level. In fact, from the perspective of gender, no differentiation is made on the basis of the sexist stereotype of women. Here, women of different social layers are seen as suspicious to mingle with colonial troops precisely because they are women. Moreover, on the level of race, all German women could be integrated into the category of white women and called to show decency and racial honour. However, from the perspective of class, campaigners clearly differentiated between them and discriminated against women of the lower classes in particular. It is alleged that women who indulge in voluntary relations with colonial troops mostly come from working class backgrounds. The accusation of prostitution is directed against them. Predominantly women of the working population are suspected of acting in an indecent manner with the blacks, of becoming involved with black brothels and they and their children are considered morally particularly vulnerable.

These accusations against women of the lower classes in society can build upon the eugenically established perception that society is divided into superior and inferior groups. The latter are attributed with an excessive impulsiveness, finding expression in their strong proliferation. Based on the racist assumption that women of the working classes were inferior to the women of the ruling classes, the campaign demanded special sacrifices of the former.

Author Magda Trott therefore imagined, in conjunction with other propagandists of the "Black Shame," a female representative of the working classes who had internalised the inferiority attributed to her. She can be integrated into the national community, because she is willing to sacrifice herself without taboo for the daughters of the upper classes and their families. The price her class had to pay for the integration into the national community was high. Conflicts between Germans rested in the



sketched national community—*Volksgemeinschaft*. However, social differences were by no means abolished. It was hence the task of the worker's daughter to offer herself in place of the daughter of the industrialist for a black brothel and to sacrifice her own life to protect her from being defiled by colonial troops.

The female worker is here obviously treated as an expendable part of the national community, and it seems that what matters is primarily the racial purity and reproduction of women of the ruling classes. While the decent female worker had to humbly look up to them, they had no intention to sacrifice themselves for the lower classes. They rather seemed to follow a higher calling and are conscious of their alleged special eugenic significance. In this perverse racist scenario, women from the upper classes only had to die when their desecration could not be prevented by the sacrifice of the working class woman. Constructed as women of "better blood" and Germanic blondes bursting with racial pride, they chose to kill themselves to prevent being dishonoured by any soldier of the occupation forces.

The social construction of the "Black Shame" in the context of gender, race, nation and class demonstrates the complexity and flexibility of racial discrimination. In the racist conglomerate "Black Horror," these categories are combined with one another and are closely intersecting. As a product of their symbiosis, it illustrates that in racist arguments they constantly interlock as categories of social distinction. The four categories are combined flexibly with one another and communicate processes of social inclusion and exclusion between sexes, classes, nations and races in complex contexts of discrimination.

The racism associated with the "Black Shame" is not only based on the category race. It is also fuelled by other categories of inclusion and exclusion. Racism is embedded in the category gender, where women are claimed to be lecherous just like Negroes, and are seen as a vessel for the propagation of the white race. It is included in the category nation already, where the nation is defined in racial—*völkish* terms and constructed genealogically. It is inscribed into the category class, where a eugenic differentiation is made between inferior and valuable members of the *Volkskörper*.

The use of the category gender in the discussion of the "Black Shame" in particular makes clear that these categories are not only flexibly connected in racist discourse but can also partially replace one another. Race and (female) gender lose their conceptual selectivity with respect to sexuality, where the category gender directly replaces the concept of race in sexualised contexts. This was possible because the social



construction of women already contained a racist element which could be updated as appropriate. The “Black Shame” did, in this context, not only refer to atrocities of black soldiers against white women but also to voluntary relationships between white women and black men.

In both cases, the term “Black Shame” signaled as a scandal that the authoritarian relationship between the sexes was disturbed and the dominance of whites threatened. African and female sexuality—out of control—were meant to be indistinguishable. The lack of intellectually controlled self-discipline, ascribed to both, “feminised” African men just as it “racialised” European women. Therefore, the images of the black man simianised as an ape and of the white woman turned into a sow were compatible in this racist context.

The complex discursive intersecting of sexist-, racist-, nationalist- and class-specific patterns of discrimination in the racist construction of a “Black Horror” on the Rhine enabled the ideological integration of dissimilar interests. Its development and social popularisation was linked to the attempt to shift political and social boundaries at different levels.

In order to bridge boundaries between social classes, the “Black Horror” was interpreted as a French attack on the entire German people, and the community of all Germans was invoked. In order to overcome political boundaries between the isolated German nation and the alliance of Western civilised nations, the “Black Shame” was constructed as France’s attack on the white race, and the community of all whites was implored for help.

On a level of class, the message of a Germany scourged by France’s savages called for a solidarity of all Germans. They were urged to stop drawing boundaries between social classes and to start to distinguish and defend themselves in a community of the German people against the French nation and its black troops. Critics of national solidarity were excluded as traitors of this community.

At the level of the nation, the French were represented as traitors of the white race and culture by the interpretation of the “Black Shame” as “French Shame.” While some actors were content to put political pressure on the French nation and to push it towards a withdrawal of its coloured troops, others wanted to use the accusation of French shame to demand a change of political camps. They demanded not only an exclusion of France from the community of civilised white nations but also Germany’s reintegration into this community. The Germans were in this way staged as the defenseless victim of “Black Shame” and French aggression.



At the level of race, too, the construction of a “Black Shame” was used to promote the international rehabilitation of the German nation. The equation of woman’s honour, German honour and the honour of the white race in this way underlined the threatening image of a white race endangered in its purity and supremacy. It called for the solidarity of all civilised nations with their former German war opponent and tried to unite them in a front against a crime, allegedly committed against the entire white civilisation.

Frequent public, political and academic concerns raised about a racial decline of the white race through miscegenation, formulated in this 1920s campaign, were combined with demands to keep the white race and the German Volkskörper pure. The associated claims of the degrading of children from relations between colonial soldiers and German women, associated with hostile calls to stop them from breeding, make a particularly uncomfortable and difficult read, not least due to their alarming similarity to eugenic doctrines and racist ideologies associated with the German Nazi state. The racist campaign against the “Black Horror” and its eugenic dimension, in particular, helped prepare the ideological ground for 1930s Fascist Germany’s brutal and ferocious racist eugenic demagoguery, white supremacist dogmatism and deadly terror.

As a case study, my monograph explores the “Black Horror” as an important chapter in the popularisation of racialised discourse in European history promoted through modern media and has offered an in-depth discussion of a widely forgotten chapter of popular racism in Europe. I have examined the racist logic of the campaign in historical context and have in this way explored how it combined race, gender, nation and class as categories of social inclusion and exclusion, which intersected, reinforced one another and could to some extent substitute for one another, forming a racist conglomerate of interlinked discriminations.

My analysis of this construction of the “Black Horror” provides an insight into the complexity of racist discourse in historical context and the close intertwining of narratives of race, gender, nation and class within it. It is my hope that the research I conducted on the “Black Shame” discourse provides an original contribution to a growing number of studies in the field of racism analysis, which explore the benefits of a historically grounded and reflexive study of racialised discourse and its intersectionality.



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## CITATION METHOD

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The newspaper articles as an important primary source have also been subsumed under Archival materials, as the newspaper articles used in this study were predominantly sourced from newspaper clippings collections of different archives.

### *Printed Sources [Gedruckte Quellen]*

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### *Electronic Sources and Audiovisual Media*

Electronic sources and audiovisual Media are cited in the footnotes with the complete reference and have been listed in a separate list in this Bibliography.



# LIST OF ARCHIVAL ABBREVIATIONS [SIGLEN]

AEK	Historisches Archiv Erzbistum Köln
BArch Berlin	Bundesarchiv Berlin
BArch Koblenz	Bundesarchiv Koblenz
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München
BLPES	British Library of Political and Economic Sciences, London School of Economics
DFI Frankfurt	Deutsches Filminstitut Frankfurt
GLA Karlsruhe	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe
Hess. HStA Wiesbaden	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden
HHI Düsseldorf	Heinrich-Heine-Institut Düsseldorf
HistA Köln	Historisches Archiv Köln
LA Speyer	Landesarchiv Speyer
LHA Koblenz	Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz
NRW HStA Düsseldorf	Nordrheinwestfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes
PRO	Public Record Office London
StA Hamburg	Staatsarchiv Hamburg
StA Ludwigshafen	Stadtarchiv Ludwigshafen
StA Mainz	Stadtarchiv Mainz
StA Mannheim	Stadtarchiv Mannheim
StA Neustadt	Stadtarchiv und Museum Neustadt an der Weinstraße
StA Worms	Stadtarchiv Worms



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## LIST OF FREQUENT ABBREVIATIONS

a.M.	am Main
Abt.	Abteilung
Bad.	Badische
Best.	Bestand
ca.	circa
DDP	Deutsche Demokratische Partei
Diss.	Dissertation
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
Dr.	Doktor
dt.	deutsche
DVP	Deutsche Volkspartei
e.V.	eingetragener Verein
Ed.	Editor
e.d.	edition
et al	et alii (and others)
etc.	et cetera
FO	Foreign Office
f.	following
Frl.	Fräulein
G.m.b.H.	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung
gez.	gezeichnet
H.N.	Hamburger Nachrichten
Hannov.	Hannoverscher



i.A.	im Auftrag
ibid	ibidem
i.e.	id est
i.V.	in Vertretung
Israel.	Israelitischer
Jg.	Jahrgang
Kat.	Katalog
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
Lieut.	Lieutenant
M.P.	Member of Parliament
Neg.	Negativ
N.N.	No name
No.	Numéro
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei
NV.	Deutsche Nationalversammlung
n.d.	no date
n.y	no year
op.	Opus
Prof.	Professor
Ref.	Referat
Rev.	Reverent
RF	Republique Francaise
S.	Seite
Sig.	Signatur
s.l.	Sine loco
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
St.	Sankt
städt.	Städtischen
Techn. Univ.	Technische Universität
U.D.C.	Union of Democratic Control
USA	United States of America
USP	Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei
USPD	Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Vol.	Volume
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk



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