

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."¹ 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.² He also generated political pressure and influenced public opinion in his role as Head of the Congo Reform Association,³ founder of the journal of West African Mail and co-founder of the Union of Democratic Control.⁴

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.⁵ 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.”⁶ 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.⁷

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”⁸ and an international political disgrace causing terrible distress to millions of people.⁹

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”¹⁰ 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,”¹¹ 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.”¹² Similarly, Morel mobilised in other newspapers, such as the *Daily Herald* against the “Black Scourge in Europe”¹³ and an allegedly associated “Prostitution of the Rhineland”¹⁴ (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

ONE PENNY

BIG RAIL WAGS DEMAND

Discussed by Centre
Moses Board

Wages Board
(An award under the Wages Act 1936)
£17,000,000* CLAIM

£17,000,000¹ CLAIM

As exclusively announced in

DAILY HERALD yesterday, the National Union of Railwaymen has in a demand for a flat increase of 61 per cent for all men engaged

the settlement of January, 1920. In conjunction with the Associated Society it has also asked for an increase

The DAILY HERALD understands

that these demands will affect whole of the men employed on all railways of Britain and Ireland.

work for all items covered by the new settlement works out at about £15,000,000 a year, whilst the c

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.¹⁵ It was welcome, even more, though, as the criticised coloured units were not 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.¹⁶

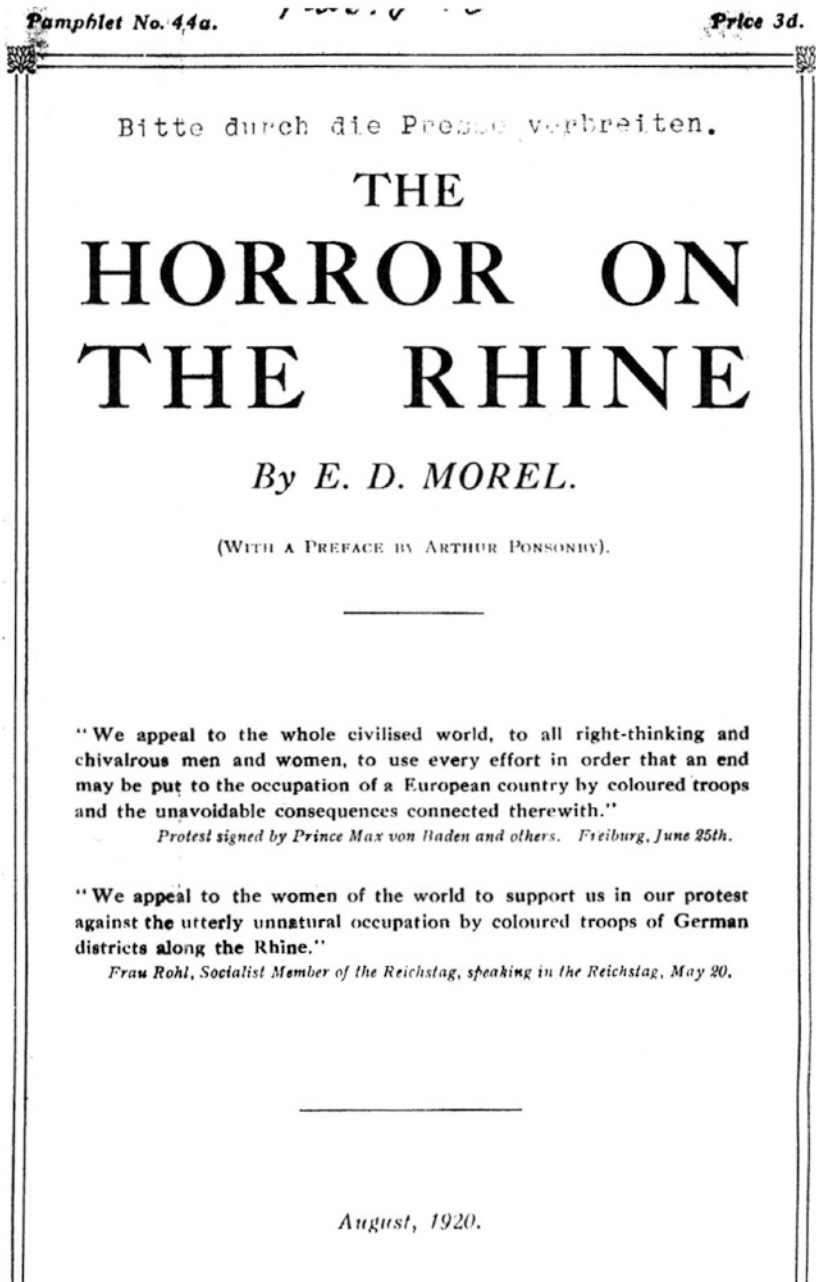


Fig. 2.2 Morel, Edmund D.: The Horror on the Rhine, London 1920

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.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ In its journal *Foreign Affairs*, the organisation attacked the Treaty of Versailles and the "Black Horror" in various articles¹⁹ and pointed public attention to the "widespread international support for Morel's protest."²⁰ 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."²¹

Other left-wing organisations and intellectuals joined in the protest.²² 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,²³ 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."²⁴

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."²⁵

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.²⁶ They wanted to know whether the government had received any complaints against the conditions on the Rhine²⁷ and whether it supported the use of colonial troops in Germany.²⁸ They also reminded the British government that using "black troops" against a white population was against "public opinion"²⁹ and put pressure on the government to issue an official protest against France's deployment of Africans on the Rhine.³⁰

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.³¹ 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.³²

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.³³

Strongly influenced by the views of the anthropologist Mary Kingsley,³⁴ 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.”³⁵ 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.”³⁶

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"³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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.³⁹

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"⁴⁰ would be based on a misguided policy, ignoring the indigenous natural needs of Africans and turning them into "slaves of European capitalism."⁴¹

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"⁴² and the further mental development of his "black ward,"⁴³ this "most helpless race of mankind."⁴⁴

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 people⁴⁵ and saw this corresponding with the interests of "European democracies."⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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.”⁵² 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.”⁵³

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.”⁵⁴ 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,”⁵⁵ let loose by men hunters (*Menschenjäger*)⁵⁶ and “cannibal troops.”⁵⁷

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.”⁵⁸ 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,”⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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"⁶¹ in the Rhineland. It seemed evident that they were "sexually uncontrolled and uncontrollable."⁶²

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."⁶³ Morel hence saw the "African race" as sexually "the most developed"⁶⁴ and was sure that in the "more primitive [...] races" the "sexual impulse" was still "instinctive, [...] spontaneous" and "less controllable" compared with "European nations."⁶⁵

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."⁶⁶ 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,”⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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.”⁶⁹ 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,⁷⁰ with terrible consequences for places in which they were stationed.⁷¹ 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.”⁷² The French “system of forced brothels, an increase in prostitution and a general feeling of degradation”⁷³ were deemed consequences of France’s decision to use African troops as “armed conquerors.”⁷⁴ 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.”⁷⁵

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.⁷⁶

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."⁷⁷

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.'⁷⁸

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.”⁷⁹

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.”⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹

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.⁸²

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.⁸³ Morel accused the French of having let loose a “sexual horror on the Rhine” with primitive African mercenaries.⁸⁴ Its “reign of terror”⁸⁵ was constructed as a “giant evil”⁸⁶ to spread the message of its “shame into all four corners of the world”⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ French militarism, for him, had exposed the women in the occupied territories to “conscious insults and crime”⁸⁹ and provoked sexual relations between whites and blacks within Europe.⁹⁰ Morel urged the civilised world to attack this policy, as it threatened the colonial consensus of white superiority and would lead to “race wars.”⁹¹ 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."⁹² 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."⁹³

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."⁹⁴

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.⁹⁵

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,"⁹⁶ 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."⁹⁷

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.⁹⁸

With the vision of a "United States of Europe"⁹⁹ 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."¹⁰⁰

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"¹⁰¹ prevailed and "Europe, inspite of her great subdivisions, represented a living economic whole."¹⁰²

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."¹⁰³ 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."¹⁰⁴

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."¹⁰⁵ Europe had to rediscover its lost "spirit of solidarity" to prevent this evil.¹⁰⁶ 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."¹⁰⁷

Nitti was convinced that the Versailles Treaties hindered as “instruments of oppression” the reconciliation of Europe¹⁰⁸ by creating a “permanent state of war”¹⁰⁹ 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 fabric¹¹⁰ attacking Germany’s “political unity.”¹¹¹ The French government was accused to target the German economy and to sharpen the separation of “minds, separatism, nationalism and communism.”¹¹² 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.”¹¹³ Nitti promoted the idea that France fomented and radicalised the German workers against their fatherland,¹¹⁴ driving them towards “Bolshevism,” a real danger especially given the weakness of the German government challenged in its authority.¹¹⁵

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.”¹¹⁶

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.¹¹⁷

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.”¹¹⁸ 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.”¹¹⁹

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”¹²⁰ (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."¹²¹ The Germans remained for Nitti, "[w]ith all the good and bad points of their race [...] still the most cultivated people on earth"¹²² 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.¹²³

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."¹²⁴ Within this community existing social divisions were meant to be abolished, so that German people could look at one another "without hatred,"¹²⁵ 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."¹²⁶ 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"¹²⁷ 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,"¹²⁸ to stop its "fall" and the destruction of the "highest ideals."¹²⁹ 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."¹³⁰

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"¹³¹ 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."¹³² The German Embassy in Rome considered the Italian opposition to the coloured troops "generally very strong."¹³³ 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.¹³⁴

Other European leaders, intellectuals and officials, such as the Social Democratic Swedish Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting, the Dutch Baron van Vredenbruch¹³⁵ and the British writer Lady Frances Evelyn Warwick,¹³⁶ 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,¹³⁷ members of the Czech Parliament, the Dutch doctors Dr. van Renesse and Dr. Römer, clerics such as the Swedish Pastor Martin Liljeblad¹³⁸ and his compatriot Chaplain Paul Nilsson.¹³⁹ Nitti's urgent appeal to the United States to stop watching the decline of Europe was also positively received.¹⁴⁰

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."¹⁴¹ 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."¹⁴²

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."¹⁴³ 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,"¹⁴⁴ 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."¹⁴⁵

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."¹⁴⁶ 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"¹⁴⁷ and to understand that now "the cause of Germany" had to be defended as "the cause of culture."¹⁴⁸ 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"?¹⁴⁹ 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,"¹⁵⁰ 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."¹⁵¹

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.¹⁵²

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!"¹⁵³

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"¹⁵⁴ 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"¹⁵⁵ "in the service of the Negro lust."¹⁵⁶ French hordes would loot, violate women and lock up Germans who attempted to "uphold the honour of their fatherland."¹⁵⁷ 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."¹⁵⁸

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.¹⁵⁹ 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"¹⁶⁰ 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."¹⁶¹

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.”¹⁶² 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.”¹⁶³

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*.¹⁶⁴ She had already joined the propaganda “for Germany's honour”¹⁶⁵ 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 States¹⁶⁶ 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”¹⁶⁷ 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.”¹⁶⁸ In Germany she had her photograph taken posing as a living Greek statue, enthusiastically posed as Venus or “Aphrodite of the Lenbach Festival”¹⁶⁹ and appeared in various German cabarets.¹⁷⁰

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.”¹⁷¹ She admired the former German Emperor,¹⁷² 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.¹⁷³ In contrast to Morel, she even valued King Leopold as a legitimate ruler. Her autobiography suggests that he was personally known to Ray Beveridge,¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵

Beveridge's upbringing in Evanston, Illinois, where she attended a German infant school, fueled her "love for Germany."¹⁷⁶ After travelling Europe with a German governess¹⁷⁷ 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"¹⁷⁸ adopt her and was baptised as "Ray Ilse Ellen Louise von Wrede"¹⁷⁹ before marrying a Bavarian Forester and former Corps student.¹⁸⁰ After the First World War, she became a German citizen and openly sympathised with the Nazi movement.¹⁸¹ 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,"¹⁸² she despised the German Weimar Republic, supported the Hitler Putsch¹⁸³ and seemed unimpressed by the fact that a "majority of German Americans" agreed "with the German republic."¹⁸⁴ She remained keen, however, to show Hitler her loyal devotion and thanked him in two letters "for everything" he "had done for our Germany."¹⁸⁵

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.¹⁸⁶ 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.¹⁸⁷ 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 1935.¹⁸⁸ The "Führer" was "the party," the "party" was "Germany" and her "life" seemingly belonged to "Germany."¹⁸⁹

With her intense agitation against the "Black Shame," the granddaughter of the Governor of Illinois¹⁹⁰ 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,"¹⁹¹ 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.¹⁹²

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.”¹⁹³ This was financed at least in part by the Pfälzzenrale, as a telegram from Ritter to her shows.¹⁹⁴

At mass rallies and protest meetings of numerous associations, Beveridge was a popular speaker.¹⁹⁵ These offered her the opportunity to lecture on the “unspeakable horror of the black shame”¹⁹⁶ and to agitate against the mass “Negro sins on the German Rhine”¹⁹⁷ 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”.¹⁹⁸ 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.¹⁹⁹ Her speeches were also extensively acknowledged and celebrated in German newspapers and journals.²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹ 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.²⁰²

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.”²⁰³ Its director, Magarethe Gärtner,²⁰⁴ 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.²⁰⁵ 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.²⁰⁶

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.”²⁰⁷ 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.”²⁰⁸

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”²⁰⁹ but at the same time a “traitor against the white race.”²¹⁰ She felt ashamed for the “German race” whenever she met a German man who did not bother “to protect” the “honour” of his woman.²¹¹ 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!”²¹²

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”²¹³ with a “wild sex

drive" who would assault "white women, white girls, white youths" en masse.²¹⁴ 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,"²¹⁵ ideologically underpinning her claim that, despite the forcibly established brothels in the Rhineland, "thousands of black men" were "walking around" "sexually unsatisfied."²¹⁶ 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,²¹⁷ and of contaminating the German people and white race.²¹⁸ Both were seen as under threat of contamination,²¹⁹ given that "nearly all of these men" were suffering from "venereal diseases."²²⁰

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.²²¹

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."²²²

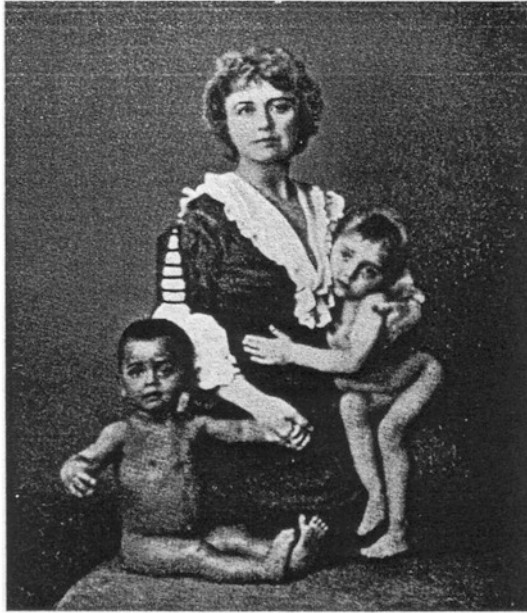
The creator of this perfidious horrific scenario had her picture taken at the Munich meeting with not one but two children. The photo was to "decorate" not only her brochure but also a protest postcard against the "Black Shame" (Fig. 2.3).²²³ The photo shows two roughly equal-sized children, "innocent 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.”²²⁴ The other child was presented as a 6-year-old but highly malnourished German child and “victim of the inhumane hunger blockade.”²²⁵

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!”²²⁶ 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.”²²⁷

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”²²⁸ and to put their country above all “party politics.”²²⁹ The Allied Forces had ensured that the Germans were “disarmed in chains” and “dominated” by “black beasts.”²³⁰ 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.”²³¹ 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,²³² 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.²³³ 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.”²³⁴

Born in a country where the “black danger” would threaten white women constantly,²³⁵ 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.²³⁶

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”²³⁷ and the “US government” to “free the highly cultured German people” from “this black plague.”²³⁸

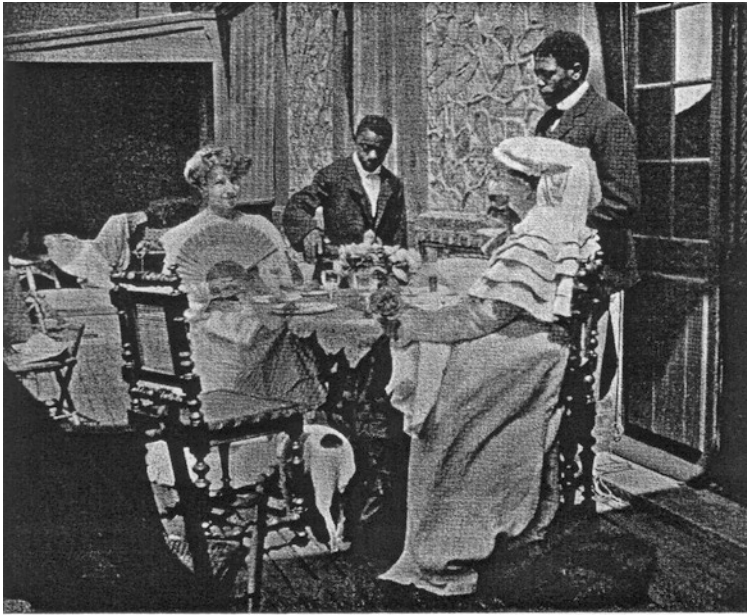
Beveridge considered patriarchally structured white rule legitimate not only in the United States but also in Europe. It seemed natural to her to obtain it by using violence, and the questioning of white rule itself alone seemed to justify the destruction of the “other.” In this context, she appealed 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.²³⁹ 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.”²⁴⁰

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.²⁴¹

Beveridge tirelessly mobilised white resistance against the alleged "terrorism of the Negroes"²⁴² 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."²⁴³ 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"²⁴⁴ 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."²⁴⁵ A photo in her autobiography shows (Fig. 2.4) that her family also enjoyed being served by "Negroes" in the family home.²⁴⁶

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.”²⁴⁷ 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,”²⁴⁸ 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.”²⁴⁹ She viewed other blacks subjected to white domination²⁵⁰ 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.”²⁵¹ “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.”²⁵² 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.”²⁵³

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!”²⁵⁴

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.²⁵⁵ 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.”²⁵⁶ 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 1921.²⁵⁷ The publisher announced the book as the “great novel of our times” and referred to various positive “press

reviews.”²⁵⁸ 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.”²⁵⁹

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.”²⁶⁰ The occupation of the Rhineland by French colonial troops also inspired other authors of popular colportage literature to protest against the “Black Scourge.”²⁶¹ 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.²⁶²

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.²⁶³ 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.”²⁶⁴ 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.²⁶⁵

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.²⁶⁶ 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."²⁶⁷

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.²⁶⁸ The expulsion of the general by the occupiers is despised as French humiliation of the German nation,²⁶⁹ 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”²⁷⁰ (Todfeindschaft).

The author stages the French as a “rotten and putrid nation.”²⁷¹ 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!”²⁷² 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*.”²⁷³

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.”²⁷⁴

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.²⁷⁵ 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.²⁷⁶

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".²⁷⁷

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.”²⁷⁸

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.”²⁷⁹ 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.”²⁸⁰

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.²⁸¹ 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.”²⁸²

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.”²⁸³ 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.²⁸⁴

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.²⁸⁵

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”²⁸⁶ (*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”²⁸⁷ 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.²⁸⁸ Kreutzer’s workers demonstrate that the nation can count on them. In their eyes too, the general is a “national hero”²⁸⁹ 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.²⁹⁰

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.²⁹¹ 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).²⁹² 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."²⁹³

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.²⁹⁴ Kreutzer’s workforce also follows his motto: “Blood—you keep your right”²⁹⁵ 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.²⁹⁶

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’ leader²⁹⁷—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"²⁹⁸ 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"²⁹⁹ 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."³⁰⁰ 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.”³⁰¹ 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.”³⁰²

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.”³⁰³ 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.³⁰⁴

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 intrusiveness³⁰⁵ and feels no sympathy for this “worldly little animal.”³⁰⁶

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.”³⁰⁷

The German woman was deemed ready to defend her purity against this “Black Horror” with all means.³⁰⁸ 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.³⁰⁹ 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”³¹⁰ 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!”³¹¹

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”³¹² he reveals to readers that her desecration should be above all a vendetta against her glorious father, the German general.³¹³

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"³¹⁴ when seeing Marlene. His immorality surpasses that of prostitutes of the lowest ranks³¹⁵ 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.³¹⁶

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.³¹⁷

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"³¹⁸ 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."³¹⁹ 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”³²⁰ 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.”³²¹

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.³²² 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.”³²³ 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.

The 'Black Horror on the Rhine'

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