

WARNING CONCERNING COPYRIGHT RESTRICTIONS

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproduction of copyrighted material. Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research. If electronic transmission of reserve material is used for purposes in excess of what constitutes "fair use", that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

NO FURTHER REPRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THIS COPY IS PERMITTED BY ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION OR BY ANY OTHER MEANS.

4. Ludwig Boerne (1786-1837), German liberal political essayist. He used wit and irony to inject subversive political allusions into writings on the most harmless of subjects. Born into a prominent Jewish banking family in Frankfurt, he converted to Lutheranism in 1818. The idea that the freedom of mankind as a whole is inextricably bound up with freedom for the Jews recurs consistently in his writings.

5. Ahasuerus is the name given to the wandering Jew, who, according to legend, is doomed to wander eternally without hope of rest until the millennium as punishment for taunting Jesus on the way to crucifixion. The legend first appeared in a German pamphlet in 1602 and quickly spread in a variety of forms. It also received numerous applications in literary works.

The Jew in the Modern World
 eds Paul M. Flohr & J. Reinharz Oxford UP Press

WILHELM MARR

12. The Victory of Judaism over Germandom¹

990
 0-19-502631-4

There is no stopping them. . . .

Are there no clear signs that the twilight of the Jews [*judische Goetterdaemmerung*] is setting in?

No.

Jewry's control of society and politics, as well as its practical domination of religious and ecclesiastical thought, is still in the prime of its development, heading toward the realization of Jehovah's promise: "I will hand all peoples over to thee."

By now, a sudden reversal of this process is fundamentally impossible, for if it were, the entire social structure, which has been so thoroughly Judaized, would collapse. And there is no viable alternative to this social structure which could take its place.

Further, we cannot count on the help of the "Christian" state. The Jews are the "best citizens" of this modern, Christian state, as it is in perfect harmony with their interests. . . .

It is not a pretentious prophecy but the deepest inner conviction which I here utter. Your generation will not pass before there will be absolutely no public office, even the highest one, which the Jews will not have usurped.

Yes, through the Jewish nation, Germany will become a world power, a western New

Palestine. And this will happen, not through violent revolutions, but through the compliance of the people. . . .

We should not reproach the Jewish nation. It fought against the western world for 1800 years, and finally conquered and subjugated it. We were vanquished and it is entirely proper that the victor shouts "Vae Victis!"²

German culture has proved itself ineffective and powerless against this foreign power. This is a fact; a brute inexorable fact. State, Church, Catholicism, Protestantism, Creed and Dogma, all are brought low before the Jewish tribunal, that is, the [irreverent] daily press [which the Jews control].

The Jews were late in their assault on Germany, but once they started there was no stopping them.

Gambetta,³ Simon,⁴ and Crémieux⁵ were the dictators of France in 1870-1871. During the war, they drove thousands upon thousands of Frenchmen to their senseless deaths. After Sedan, the whole world believed in peace. But, no! Bismarck was lured by the rhetoric of a Jules Favre.⁶ "Blood and Iron" had to continue because of the frivolous, worthless, fanatical action of the Semites in Tours.

Poor, Judaized France!

Source: Wilhelm Marr, *Der Sieg des Judenthums ueber das Germanenthum vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet* (Bern: Rudolph Costenoble, 1879), pp. 30-35, Trans. here by P. Mendes-Flohr and J. Reinharz.

In England, the Semite Disraeli,⁷ a German-hater (*comme il faut*), holds in his vest pocket the key to war and peace in the Orient.

Who derived the real benefit at the Congress of Berlin from the spilled blood of the Orient? Jewry. The Alliance Israélite Universelle⁸ was first in line. Rumania was forced to open officially its doors and gates to destructive Semitism. Jewry did not yet dare to make the same demand of Russia. But, this demand, too, will soon come.

Dear reader, while you are allowing the German to be skinned alive I bow my head in admiration and amazement before this Semitic people, which has us under heel. Resigned to subjugation to Jewry, I am marshaling my last remaining strength in order to die peacefully, as one who will not surrender and who will not ask forgiveness.

Can we deny the historical fact?

No!

The historical fact, that Israel became the leading social-political superpower in the

nineteenth century, lies before us. It is already notorious to what extent we lack the physical and intellectual strength to Judaize ourselves. The raw, brutal, but completely unconscious protest against the real Judaization of society was Social Democracy. It sided, however, with the Jews, because Jewry has also infiltrated its ranks. After all, the founder of German Social Democracy, Lassalle,⁹ was a Semite.

Why are we so surprised? We have among us a flexible, tenacious, intelligent, foreign tribe that knows how to bring abstract reality into play in many different ways. Not individual Jews, but the Jewish spirit and Jewish consciousness have overpowered the world. . . .

All this is the consequence of a cultural history—so unique in its way, so grand that everyday polemics can achieve nothing against it. With the entire force of its armies, the proud Roman Empire did not achieve that which Semitism has achieved in the West and particularly in Germany.

unsuccessful resistance to the Germans in 1871. From 1879 to 1882 Gambetta was the president of the chamber of deputies, where he wielded considerable influence.

4. Jules François Simon (1814-1896), born to a Protestant father and Catholic mother. Marr, however, apparently assumed he was a Jew. Simon was minister of instruction in the government of national defense. Though himself an opponent of the monarchy, he forced the resignation of Gambetta after the capitulation of Paris in 1870 in order to avoid German retaliation.

5. Isaac Adolphe Crémieux (1796-1880), French lawyer and statesman and leader of French Jewry. He served several times in the chamber of deputies and in 1870 was minister of justice.

6. Jules Favre (1809-1880), leading republican statesman known for his oratorical powers. As foreign minister he was charged with negotiating peace with Germany. On September 6, 1870, he made the ill-considered statement that he "would not yield to Germany an inch of territory nor a single stone of the fortresses." Otto von Bismarck,

the German chancellor, quickly responded by declaring that the cession of Alsace and Lorraine was the indispensable condition of peace.

7. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881), British statesman and novelist. Although baptized at the age of 13, he was proud of his Jewish origins. During his second term as prime minister (1874-1880) he acted to strengthen the British Empire and check Russian penetration into the Mediterranean. He was a moving force at the Congress of Berlin (1878), where Russia was forced to relinquish her acquisitions in the Balkans.

8. Alliance Israélite Universelle, the first modern international Jewish organization, founded in 1860 and centered in Paris. The Jewish community of Berlin, supported by the Alliance and the Zion

society of Bucharest, petitioned the chairman of the congress and head of the German delegation, Otto von Bismarck, to raise the question of equal rights for Rumanian Jews at the congress. As a result, the German representatives were instructed to demand equal civil rights for the members of all religions in the Balkan countries and the inclusion in the peace treaty of a special paragraph to this effect explicitly providing for their implementation.

9. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), German-Jewish socialist leader whose latter years were devoted to organizing a political party of the workers of Germany; his efforts culminated in the establishment of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein in 1863.

KARL EUGEN DUEHRING¹

13. The Question of the Jew Is a Question of Race

A Jewish question would still exist, even if every Jew were to turn his back on his religion and join one of our major churches. Yes, I maintain that in that case, the struggle between us and the Jews would make itself felt as ever more urgent—although the struggle certainly is felt now even when the Jews have yet to convert [in large numbers]. It is precisely the baptized Jews who infiltrate furthest, unhindered in all sectors of society and political life. It is as though they have provided themselves with an unrestricted passport, advancing their stock to those places where members of the Jewish religion [Religionsjuden] are unable to follow. Furthermore, several doors are closed to members of the Jewish religion by our legislation, and more particularly, by the principles of our administration. Through these portals the racial Jew [Racenjude], who has forsaken his religion, can enter unhindered. A situation similar to the one involving the baptized

Jews results as soon as all civic rights and opportunities become available to members of the Jewish religion. Thereupon, they force themselves into all aspects of social and political life, just like those who have converted to Christianity. And, in this way, their contact with the nation in which they live becomes more pronounced. This takes place despite the fact that in society [as opposed to the state] there is never an instance in which the members of the Jewish religion are made completely equal. . . . I return therefore to the hypothesis that the Jews are to be defined solely on the basis of race, and not on the basis of religion. I dismiss all conclusions hitherto upheld. . . . The Mosaic attempt to locate within the base of our people a Jewish component only makes the Jewish question a more burning issue. The diverse admixture of our modern cultures, or in other words, the sprinkling of racial-Jewry in the cracks and crevices of our national abode, must inevi-

Source: Karl Eugen Duehring, *Die Judenfrage als Racen- Sitten- und Culturfrage* (Karlsruhe and Leipzig: H. Reuther, 1881), pp. 3-4. Trans. here by M. Gelber.

NOTES

1. Wilhelm Marr (1818-1904), German anti-Semite. His pamphlet, *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism: Regarded from a Non-Demoninational Point of View*—from which excerpts are presented here—reached its twelfth edition by 1879. As is reflected in its title, this influential pamphlet contrasts the Jew not with the Christian, but with the German; the two peoples, Marr holds, are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed to one another. Marr is considered to have introduced in 1879 the word *anti-Semite* into the political lexicon by the founding of the League of Anti-Semites (*Antisemiten-Liga*) which organized lectures and published a short-lived monthly. The league was the first effort at creating a popular political movement based on anti-Semitism.

2. "Woe to the conquered!" This appeared as the motto of the pamphlet.

3. Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), erroneously considered to be a Jew. A leader of the republicans, he was minister of the interior in the new government of national defense after the defeat of the French forces at Sedan in 1870. He organized an

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE

17. A Word About Our Jewry¹

Among the symptoms of a great change in mood in the German nation, none appears so strange as the violent movement against the Jews. Until a few months ago, the notorious *reverse "Hep-Hep call"*² was still dominant in Germany. About the national shortcomings of the Germans, the French, and all other

nations, everybody could freely say the worst things; but if somebody dared to speak in just and moderate terms about some undeniable weakness of the Jewish character, he was immediately branded as a barbarian and religious persecutor by nearly all of the newspapers. Today we have already come to the

Source: Heinrich von Treitschke, *A Word About Our Jewry*, ed. Ellis Rivkin and trans. Helen Lederer (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College—Institute of Religion, n.d.), pp. 1-7. Reprinted by permission of Dr. Ellis Rivkin.

point where the majority of the Breslau voters—obviously not in wild excitement but with quiet deliberation—conspired not to elect a Jew to the diet under any circumstances. Anti-Semitic societies are formed, the "Jewish question" is discussed in noisy meetings, a flood of anti-Semitic pamphlets appears on the market. There is only too much of dirt and brutality in these doings, and it is impossible to suppress one's disgust when one notices that some of these incendiary pamphlets obviously come from Jewish pens. It is well known that since Pfefferkorn³ and Eisenmenger⁴ there were always many former Jews among the most fanatical Jew-haters. But is there really nothing but mob brutality and business envy at the bottom of this noisy activity? Are these outbreaks of a deep, long-suppressed anger really only a momentary outburst, as hollow and irrational as the Teutonic anti-Semitism of 1819? No,—the instinct of the masses has in fact clearly recognized a great danger, a serious sore spot of the new German national life; the current expression "the German Jewish question" is more than an empty phrase.

If the English and the French talk with some disdain of the prejudice of the Germans against the Jews we must reply to them: "You don't know us; you live in happier circumstances which make the rise of such prejudices impossible." The number of Jews in Western Europe is so small that they cannot have any noticeable influence upon the morality of the nation. But our country is invaded year after year by multitudes of assiduous pants-selling youths from the inexhaustible cradle of Poland, whose children and grand-children are to be the future rulers of Germany's exchanges and Germany's press. This immigration grows visibly in numbers and the question becomes more and more serious how this alien nation can be assimilated. The Jews of the Western and Southern European countries belong mostly to the Spanish branch which looks back on a comparatively proud history and which always adjusted comparatively easily to the Western way of life. In fact, the great majority

of them have become good Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, as far as can be expected from a people of such pure blood and so distinct peculiarity. We Germans, however, have to deal with Jews of the Polish branch which bears the deep scars of centuries of Christian tyranny. According to experience they are incomparably more alien to the European, and especially to the German national character.

What we have to demand from our Jewish fellow-citizens is simple: that they become Germans, regard themselves simply as Germans, without prejudice to their faith and their old sacred past which all of us hold in reverence; for we do not want an admixture of German-Jewish mixed culture to follow after thousands of years of German civilization. It would be a sin to forget that a great number of Jews, baptized and unbaptized, Felix Mendelssohn,⁵ Veit,⁶ Riesser⁷ and others, not to mention the ones now living, were Germans in the best sense of the word, men in whom we revere the noble and fine traits of the German spirit. At the same time it can be denied that there are numerous and powerful groups among our Jews who definitely do not have the good will to become simple Germans. It is painful enough to talk about these things. Even conciliatory words are easily misunderstood here. I think, however, that some of my Jewish friends will admit, with deep regret, that recently a dangerous spirit of arrogance has arisen in Jewish circles and that the influence of Jewry upon our national life, which in former times was often beneficial, has recently often been harmful. I refer the reader to *The History of the Jews* by Graetz.⁸ What a fanatical fury against "arch enemy" Christianity, what deep hatred of the purest and most powerfulponents of German character, from Luther and Goethe and Fichte! And what hollow, offensive self-glorification! Here it is proved by continuous satirical invective that the nation of Kant was really educated to humanity by the Jews only, that the language of Lessing and Goethe became sensitive to bear the spirit, and wit only through Boerne

Heine! Is there any English Jew who would dare to slander in such manner the land which guards and protects him? And this stubborn contempt for the German *goyim* is not at all the attitude of a single fanatic. There is no German city which does not count many honest, respectable Jewish firms among its merchants. But it cannot be denied that the Jews have contributed their part to the promoting of business with its dishonesty and bold cupidity, that they share heavily in the guilt for the contemptible materialism of our age which regards every kind of work only as business and threatens to suffocate the old simple pride and joy the German felt in his work. In many thousands of German villages we have the Jewish usurer. Among the leading names of art and science there are not many Jews. The greater is the number of Semitic hustlers among the third rank talents. And how firmly this bunch of literateurs hangs together! How safely this insurance company for immortality works, based on the tested principle of mutuality, so that every Jewish poetaster receives his one-day fame, dealt out by the newspapers immediately and in cash, without delayed interest.

The greatest danger, however, is the unjust influence of the Jews in the press—a fateful consequence of our old narrow-minded laws which kept the Jews out of most learned professions. For ten years public opinion in many German cities was “made” mostly by Jewish pens. It was a misfortune for the Liberals, and one of the reasons of the decline of the party, that their papers gave too much scope to the Jews. The present weakness of the press is the necessary reaction against this unnatural state of things. The little man is firmly convinced now that the Jews write everything in the newspapers and he will not believe anything they say any longer. Our newspapers owe much to the Jewish talent. The acuteness and nimble quickness of the Jewish mind found the arena of the press always a congenial field. But here, too, the effect was two-edged. Boerne was the first to introduce into our journalism the peculiar shameless way of talking about

the fatherland [in an] off-hand [manner] and without any reverence, like an outsider, as if mockery of Germany did not cut deeply into the heart of every individual German.⁹ To this was added that unfortunate busybody “me-too” attitude, which has to have a hand in everything and does not even refrain from passing judgment on the inner affairs of the Christian churches. What Jewish journalists write in mockery and satirical remarks against Christianity is downright revolting, and such blasphemies are offered to our people as the newest acquisitions of “German” Enlightenment! The moment emancipation was gained the Jews insisted boldly on their “certificate,” demanded literal parity in everything, forgetful of the fact that we Germans are, after all, a Christian nation and the Jews are only a minority. It has happened that the removal of Christian pictures was demanded, and even the celebration of the Sabbath in mixed schools.¹⁰

If we consider all this—and much more could be added—then the noisy agitation of the moment appears only as a brutal and spiteful but natural reaction of the Germanic national consciousness against an alien element which has usurped too much space in our life. It has at least the one involuntary merit of having liberated us from the ban of a tacit falsehood. It is already a gain that an evil which everybody sensed but which nobody wanted to touch is now discussed openly. Let us not deceive ourselves: The movement is deep and strong. A few jokes about the words of wisdom from the mouths of Christian-Socialist soap-box orators will not be sufficient to suppress it. Even in the best educated circles, among men who would reject with horror any thought of Christian fanaticism or national arrogance, we hear today the cry, as from one mouth, “the Jews are our misfortune!”¹¹

There can be no talk among the intelligent of an abolition or even of a limitation of the Emancipation. That would be an open injustice, a betrayal of the fine traditions of our state, and would accentuate rather than mitigate the national contrasts. What made the

Jews of France and England harmless and often beneficent members of society was at the bottom nothing but the energy of the national pride and the firmly rooted national way of life of these two nations which look back on centuries of national culture. Ours is a young nation. Our country still lacks national style, instinctive pride, a firmly developed individuality; that is the reason why we were defenseless against alien manners for so long. But we are in the process of acquiring these qualities, and we can only wish that our Jews recognize in time the change which is now occurring in Germany as a necessary consequence of the foundation of the German state. In some places there are Jewish societies against usury which silently do much good. They are the work of intelligent Israelites who have recognized that their fellow-Jews must adjust to the customs and ideas of their Christian fellow-citizens. Much remains to be done in this direction. It is not possible to change the hard German heads into Jewish heads. The only way out therefore is for our Jewish fellow-citizens to make up their minds without reservation to be Germans, as many of them have done already long ago, to their advantage and ours. There will never be a complete solution. There has always been an abyss between

Europeans and Semites, since the time when Tacitus complained about the *odium gen humani*. There will always be Jews who nothing else but German speaking orient. There will also always be a specifically Jewish education; and, as a cosmopolitan power, has a historical right to existence. But contrast can be mitigated if the Jews, who so much about tolerance, become truly erant themselves and show some respect the faith, the customs, and the feelings of German people which has long ago aton for old injustice and given them human civil rights. The lack of such respect in m of our Jewish fellow-citizens in comme and in literature is the basic reason for passionate anger in our days.

It is not a pleasant sight, this raging quarrelling, this boiling up of unfinished ideas in our new Germany. But we can help our being the most passionate of nations, although we called ourself phlegmatics so often. New ideas never breakthrough in our country other than under convulsions. May God grant that we come out of the ferment and unrest of these existing years with a stricter concept of the state and its obligations and with a more vigorous national consciousness.

NOTES

1. Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896). In 1879 and 1880 this renowned German historian published a series of articles in the *Preussische Jahrbuecher*—a prestigious academic journal which he edited. These articles, entitled “Ein Wort ueber unser Judenthum,” justified the growing hostility toward the Jews in the wake of the unification of Germany. Treitschke held that the core of the problem was Jewry’s contradictory desire to preserve its national identity while simultaneously claiming the right to participate fully in the national life of Germany. Accordingly, he urged the Jews to rid themselves of their frivolous arrogance and to pursue a genuine and rapid assimilation into German culture and society. His articles on the Jewish question generated considerable controversy, particularly in educated circles.

2. “Hep! Hep!” A derogatory rallying cry against the Jews common in Germany. It is also name given to a series of anti-Jewish riots that broke out in August 1819 in Germany and spread to Denmark.

3. Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469-c.1521), German-Jewish convert to Christianity and writer anti-Jewish tracts. His knowledge of Jewish sources was minimal, and, as a result of a virulent controversy with the humanist scholar Johann Reuchlin, his name became proverbial for unprincipled denigrators of their own origin and faith.

4. Johann Andreas Eisenmenger (1654-1704) German Christian Hebraist who assiduously studied Jewish sources for more than ten years before completing his work denouncing the Jewish religion. Entitled *Entdecktes Judenthum* [Judaism

masked], this book, which purports to prove Judaism's intrinsic misanthropy, had a formative influence on modern anti-Semitic polemics.

5. Jakob Ludwig Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847), German composer and grandson of Moses Mendelssohn. Of Jewish birth, Felix was baptized and raised as a Protestant. He showed musical talent at an early age and became a brilliant pianist.

6. Moritz Veit (1808-1864), member of a wealthy Jewish banking family in Berlin. He was a prominent publisher, politician and leader of the Berlin Jewish community.

7. Gabriel Riesser (1806-1863), German-Jewish political figure and an indefatigable champion of Jewish civil equality. See chapter 3, document 20.

8. Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891), German-Jewish historian and Bible scholar. His monumental *Geschichte der Juden* (*History of the Jews*, 11 volumes) was the first comprehensive attempt to write a history of the Jews from a Jewish viewpoint and to regard the Jews as a living people. Treitschke is referring to the eleventh volume of Graetz's work (1868) in which the author's passionate desire to foster Jewish pride is particularly manifest. Graetz exuberantly celebrates the Jewish contribution to German culture and at the same time denounces German national heroes like Luther and Kant for their anti-Semitism. He also unhesitatingly discusses Christianity's role in the suffering of the Jews, and concludes that Christian ethics would be an inadequate basis for a healthy society.

THEODOR MOMMSEN¹

18. Another Word About Our Jewry

... It is the fate of our generation—an opportunity rarely provided by history—that the great goals we thought lay before us have now been reached by our nation. Anyone who still remembers the assemblies in which the Estates held a consulting vote, and the Germany which showed one lone color on the map, will consider no price too high for

Treitschke viewed Graetz's "Jewish nationalism" as parochial and indicative of his unwillingness to identify with the German nation and culture. In the public debate following Treitschke's attack on Graetz, most Jewish writers, while condemning Treitschke's anti-Semitic outbursts, nevertheless dissociated themselves from Graetz's brand of Jewish "national pride."

9. See chapter 6, document 7. Treitschke is apparently referring to Boerne's "Letters from Paris," containing ascerbic and radical criticism of German society. Published in a liberal newspaper in Frankfurt am Main, these letters were widely read and debated.

10. Cf. Treitschke's remarks in this paragraph to Bruno Bauer's argument (document 9 of this chapter) that the demand for Jewish emancipation would only be valid if the Jews were to fight for the de-Christianization—as well as de-Judaization—of the state.

11. This phrase was to become one of the slogans of German anti-Semitism—it was later adopted by the Nazis. Heinrich Class, a student of Treitschke and later the president of the Pan-German League once observed that his teacher's "phrase, 'the Jews are our misfortune,' became part of my body and soul when I was twenty years old; it essentially influenced my later political work" (cited in Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction* (New York: H. Fertig, 1967), p. 246, n. 37).

our parliament and our imperial flag come what may. But one has to be very steadfast and far-sighted in order to be happy under the existing circumstances. The immediate consequences [of the unification] remind one of the saying that fate punishes him whose wishes have come true. While Germany was still in the making, nobody—as befits those

who are fighting for a common goal—asked about religious or racial differences, about conflicting interests of rural and urban population, of trader and industrialist. . . .

How, then, does the status of the Jews within our people differ from that of the Saxons or Pomeranians? It is true that they are neither the descendants of Istaevo nor of Hermino and Ingaevø;² and our common descent from Noah will certainly not suffice if the genealogy is supposed to make the German. Our nation, however, would have to do without a lot more than just the Children of Israel if its current stock were to be corrected according to Tacitus' *Germania*.³ Years ago, Mr. Quatrefages⁴ proved that only the central states are of truly Germanic descent, while *la race prussienne* is a mass actually made up of depraved slaves and other human refuse; it so happened that *la race germanique* and *la race prussienne* later combined to become the trailblazers for the German nation, and that all those who were retreating before them did not seem to notice any difference between them. Anybody who is really familiar with history will know that the transformation of a nationality is a gradual development with numerous and manifold transitions. Historically as well as practically, only he who is alive is in the right; just as the descendants of the French Colony in Berlin are by no means Frenchmen born in Germany, so our Jewish compatriots are nothing less than Germans. . . .

What does it mean that [Treitschke (see preceding document)] demands that our Jewish compatriots become Germans? They are Germans already, just as I am, and just as he is. He may be more virtuous than they are; but do virtues make a German? What gives us the right to remove our compatriots who are of this or that group from our German ranks? Surely this right is not derived from the few defects which we attribute to this group, even if we do so with a certain amount of justification. However harshly we may judge these defects of our compatriots, however strictly we may deny them any mitigating circumstances—in the last resort, we shall merely

come to the conclusion, logically as we practically, that Jews are Germans who had to carry more than the normal share of original sin. Serious people who have understood this will have no doubt that harsh results of these defects ought to be preventive and punitive legislation. The status of German citizens, however, should not be defined by any supposed quantitative original sin on their part.

This insight, however, is not enough. There is a need for a clearer and more refined conception of the inequality between the German Occidentals and Semitic blood. With the war of the Jews, we—whose nation has been unified—enter upon a dangerous path. Our tribes are very unequal among themselves. None of them lacks their own special defects, and our mutual love is not so old that it would not easily corrode. Today we are concerned with the Jews—whether only the unbaptized or even with the baptized, and, in the latter case, to what degree, everybody cares to define. The question could be brought about the breakdown of the common understanding reached by the pastoral care of the Germanic orthodoxy. Any future relations concerning the mixture of blood must belong to the domain of Ernst Dohm.⁵

By no means do I wish to deny that the peculiarities of the Jews living among us are felt more sharply than those of other tribes or even nations. They are more distinct, the suppression of the Jews—which thousands of years has been equally harsh to German Jews and German Christians has led them to adopt an artificial, at times gruesome, manner. Our historical literary development bears the marks of this and no historian can keep quiet about it. From an international point of view, the history of the Rothschild family is more important than the internal history of the state of Saxony, and does it not matter that this is the history of a German Jew? Our century has not yet produced a poet more gifted than Heine; and who could understand his intellectual playing with the blood of his heart and his creative talent, so powerfully

Source: Theodor Mommsen, *Auch ein Wort ueber unser Judentum* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1880), pp. 1-16. Trans. here by J. Hessing.