

**“Vergiß es nie, daß die Juden uns vertrieben haben”:
Did Anti-Semitism Migrate with Germans
to the United States in the Nineteenth Century?¹**

The heaviest period of German emigration to the United States occurred in the 1880s, when nearly 1.5 million souls embarked on the journey across the Atlantic.² While an earlier wave following the failed 1848 revolution was politically motivated, the impetus for this second mass exodus consisted of declining economic conditions, which had been precipitated by both a stock market crash in 1873 and declining grain prices due to increased imports from abroad. Within just a few years of Germany's martial unification in 1871, the new country faced its first major socio-economic challenges. Although the imperial government returned to protectionist policies by raising tariffs by the end of the decade at the request of the agro-industrial “Eisen und Roggen” (iron and rye) alliance, these measures were not enough to alleviate the economic hardship of the little man. As a result, many Germans sought their fortunes elsewhere.

Another, more ominous, internal consequence of this economic situation in Germany was the genesis of political anti-semitism,³ which debuted following the coinage of the term in 1879, the deepest point of this “Great Depression” that continued until 1896.⁴ The 1880s thus became an incubation period of anti-semitism as numerous organizations arose with two goals. First, the anti-semites hoped to reverse Jewish emancipation, which had been granted throughout the Reich at the time of unification. Second, the anti-semites sought to combat the allegedly destructive influence of “Jewish” capitalism, which they claimed was the cause of the economic and cultural misery.⁵ By 1887, Otto Böckel became the first candidate to campaign on an anti-semitic platform and win a seat in the Reichstag for his district in Hessen, where he was referred to as the “Bauernkönig” (peasant's king), since he drew his support primarily from the impoverished farmers.

While the protectionist policy of the 1880s stabilized the German economy, the situation deteriorated when Bismarck's successor as chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, flirted again with free-market principles in the early 1890s. As a result, a second, more developed wave of anti-semitism crashed upon the scene. By 1893 the anti-semitic parties had reached their zenith, when representatives of both the Deutschsoziale Partei (German Social Party, DSP) and the Deutsche Reform-Partei (German Reform Party, DRP) attained 16 of 397 seats in the Reichstag – up from five in the election of 1890.⁶ Concurrently, anti-semitic literature began to flourish.

With the emergence in Germany of anti-semitic rhetoric in public discourse during the 1870s following both the emancipation of the Jews and the onset of economic problems as well as the genesis of anti-semitic political agitation in the 1880s, one might conclude that these sentiments also accompanied the swarm of German émigrés to the United States at this same time. Indeed, the very economic problems that compelled many to leave Germany also lead many to gravitate toward anti-semitism. In a speech to the Berlin-based Deutscher Antisemitenbund (German Antisemites League) in

1886, for example, Otto Böckel explained that he had become an anti-semite after only witnessing the foreclosure of numerous farms in Hessen.⁷ Even August Bebel, the co-founder of the social democratic movement in Germany, which vied with anti-semitic groups for the anticapitalist demographic, noted that animosity against Jews as well as the complaints of farmers were not simply invented:

Ihnen [den Bauern] tritt eben das Kapital hauptsächlich in der Gestalt des Juden entgegen. In Hessen und andern Teilen Südwestdeutschlands zum Beispiel, wo ich die Verhältnisse kenne – da sind die Hypotheken in den Händen der Juden und die Käufer agrarischer Produkte auf allen Märkten sind Juden. Dadurch erscheinen alle schlimmen Wirkungen des Kapitalismus den Leuten immer in der Gestalt des Juden, und da ist es ganz natürlich, daß diese Schichten, die nicht gewohnt sind, viel über das kapitalistische System zu grübeln, sondern sich an die Formen und Erfahrungen halten, in denen es ihnen gegenübertritt, dem Antisemitismus verfallen.⁸

Capital confronts them [the farmers] primarily in the shape of the Jew. In Hessen and other areas of southwest Germany, for example, where I am familiar with the situation, the mortgages are in the hands of the Jews and the buyers of agricultural products at all markets are Jews. In this way all negative effects of capitalism appear to the people in the shape of the Jew, and there it is completely natural that these groups – which are not used to brooding over the capitalist system, but rather hold onto the forms and experiences in which it confronts them – fall under the spell of anti-semitism.

In other words, the agricultural milieu was a hotbed of anti-semitism, and it appears that one would easily fall victim to its rhetoric. If this was the case then, one should also expect that a farmer who had lost his property and found it necessary to emigrate would carry the same animosity with him.

In standard works on German-American history, though, there is a dearth of information on anti-semitism within the German-American community and on its relations with Jews.⁹ This paper will therefore highlight how anti-semitic propaganda from the 1890s asserted that the Jews were the cause of German emigration and reveal a link to the German-American Waldemar Wernich who not only published his own anti-semitic novel in the United States, but also ultimately attempted to import an aggressive hatred of the Jews to his adopted homeland.

I

In addition to the birth of anti-semitic political activism in Germany during the latter part of the nineteenth century there was also a marked increase in anti-semitic fictional literature, whose authors sought to “enlighten” the reader on the so-called *Judenfrage* (Jewish Question). Two of the earliest literary works representing this renewed interest in anti-Jewish agitation that appeared in the early 1890s are Fritz Claus’s dark “comedy” *Der Wucherer* (The Usurer, 1890) and Clemens Kreisau’s short story *Bauer und Jude* (Farmer and Jew, 1891).¹⁰ Like many other works of this persuasion,¹¹ both portray

swindling, vengeful Jews and their peasant victims. However, while Claus's characters take matters into their own hands to regain their property, Kreisau's work begins to sing the praises of the anti-semitic movement and ends with an election, which promises to bring changes to the socio-political climate.

While these plaintive works strove to expose problems in rural areas and blame them on Jews, thus luring the reader into the anti-semitic movement, a thirteen-page illustrated pamphlet from this time entitled *Die Bauernwürger* (The Stranglers of Farmers, 1894) further blurred the line between fiction and political reality. Like the previously mentioned works, this piece of agitprop tells a textbook story of purported Jewish machination in the countryside. However, it further directs the reader to vote for an actual anti-semitic candidate in Franconia. Although no author is credited, national bibliographic catalogs attribute the brochure to Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, co-initiator of the "Antisemitenpetition"¹² and founder of the Deutschsoziale Partei in 1889, which he represented in the Reichstag from 1890 until his death in 1911.¹³

The pamphlet in question is unique in that it suggests – with text reinforced by image – how a German farmer might find his way to the New World. In this case, the casualties are Hans Groß and family, whom the powerful "Geldjude" (money Jew) Aron ensnares with the help of his lackey, Levy. The tone of the story is set early, as the narrator starkly juxtaposes the behavior of a collective plural, "wir Deutsche" (we Germans), with a collective singular, "anders der Jude" (in contrast the Jew).¹⁴ The cabal begins as Levy visits the Groß farm and learns about the family's financial affairs from the servants. Since he knows that Groß is in need of 200 Thaler, Levy enters the house and asks whether he can leave that amount with Groß for safekeeping until Shabbat, because – so he explains – he fears bandits. Naturally, Levy merely baits his hook with the thought of needed money, and Groß unwittingly bites. The naïve farmer happily agrees and even offers to pay interest, if he can keep the money until after the harvest.

After the harvest Groß attempts to repay Levy the amount of the loan, but the latter refuses and instead tells Groß about other investment opportunities to tie up the money. Only when he knows that Groß is not liquid, does Levy come by to actually collect. Since he is unable to meet his obligations at that time, Groß follows Levy's suggestion to approach Aron for a loan.

In this second phase of the swindle, Aron says he doesn't have cash in hand to create the illusion of a money shortage. However, after Levy's faux pleading, Aron agrees to visit his "neighbor Hirsch" and tells the two to come back in a few hours. Following the payout Levy takes Groß to a bar to celebrate the deal, and Groß consumes massive amounts of schnapps to calm his conscience as Levy drinks only water. Once Groß is sufficiently inebriated and mentally vulnerable, Levy tricks him into signing his name on mysterious sheets of paper.

After an indeterminate amount of time Aron's son, Aron the lawyer, comes to collect on the initial loan, and Groß pays it off in full. He tells Aron that the anti-semites in town have "enlightened" him on "Jewish" practices and that he will no longer deal with Jews. However, on a later day a different Jewish lawyer surfaces to collect a mysterious 2000 Thaler on two draft bills (the papers Groß unwittingly signed in the bar with Levy), and soon a letter from the court arrives. Based on these signed documents, the court forces Groß to pay the 2000 Thaler to Aron, from whom Groß must take out a mortgage on his farm to cover.

As holder of the deed to the farm, Aron has the power to plunder it, and Groß, it seems, is destined for financial ruin: “da ist der einst ganz unabhängige Bauersmann zum Sklaven des Juden herabgesunken” (the once completely independent farmer has sunk to a slave of the Jew, 11). Ultimately Aron forecloses on the farm, and we watch the eviction of the family (figure 1). Here we see an obese Aron, flanked by his son and Levy, reveling jovially in his latest conquest, while Groß scowls with contempt.



Figure 1: [Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg], *Die Bauerwürger* (Leipzig: Hermann Beyer, 1894), p. 12. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilung Historische Drucke

Like so many others the family is forced to leave Germany, presumably for the New World. The image accompanying this page illustrates the weeping, anxious family on the dock in Bremerhaven (figure 2). The narrator explains that this is not an isolated incident either: “So gehen alljährlich dem Vaterland viele tausend fleißige und tüchtige Menschen verloren. Durch Judenwucher, Judenlist und Judenbetrug, von Haus und Hof vertrieben in’s Elend gejagt” (The fatherland loses many thousands of industrious and virtuous people annually in this way. Through Jewish usury, Jewish deception, and Jewish fraud, chased from house and farm and driven to misery, 13).

The final page of the pamphlet advertises other anti-semitic publications and directs the reader to – among others – a work by W. Wernich, namely *Moderne Oekonomen: Erzählung vom Lande* (Modern Economists: Tale from the Countryside), and the description is replete with vague, nationalistic praise: “Ein vornehmer vaterländischer Geist weht durch diese herrliche Erzählung und macht das Herz eines Deutschen höher schlagen. Möge die lehrreiche und geistvolle Erzählung recht viele Leser finden und zu andauernder, deutscher That bewegen” (A distinguished patriotic spirit fills this marvelous story and makes the heart of a German beat stronger. May the instructive and spiritual story find quite a few readers and inspire continual, German deeds). Beyond that, neither the name of the author nor the title of the work are conspicuous. However,



Figure 2: Liebermann von Sonnenberg, *Die Bauerwürger*, p. 13. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilung Historische Drucke

further investigation of this work reveals a remarkable place of publication. Unlike nearly all German-language anti-semitic fictional works that were written at the end of the nineteenth century, Wernich's title originated in the United States, specifically in Milwaukee. Anti-semitic sentiment, it seems, had indeed migrated with the waves of Germans like the fictional Groß family of Liebermann's pamphlet.

II

Waldemar Wernich (1850–98), it turns out, entered the United States via Philadelphia in 1878 and settled outside Milwaukee, where he promptly initiated paperwork for citizenship. His activities for the next ten years are a mystery, but in 1889 he became a US citizen¹⁵ and began publication of the agricultural journal *Der Landwirth: Praktischer Ratgeber für Feld und Haus* (The Agrarian: Practical Advice for Field and Home).¹⁶ In 1894 Wernich merged the journal with the most widely-read German-language agricultural periodical in the United States at the time, the *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung: Zeitschrift für Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, Obstbau, Blumen- und Bienenzucht und den Familienkreis* (The Agricultural and Horticultural Newspaper: Journal for Farming, Cattle Raising, Fruit Growing, Bee Keeping, and the Family), which he edited with Anton G. Veith until 1 February 1896.¹⁷ At this time of increased visibility Wernich also wrote two books¹⁸ pertaining to agricultural issues, and by 1895 he had established a seed company.¹⁹ Although a seemingly prominent voice in the German-American agricultural milieu, *The Milwaukee Blue Book of Selected Names* from 1894–96 – a veritable *Who's Who* of its day – does not list Wernich as a member of the major German-American organizations such as the Deutscher Club, Deutscher Männer Verein, or the Germanic Society.²⁰

At the time Wernich also delved into fictional literature, and his novel, *Moderne*

Oekonomien (1892), was intended, the preface explains, for his fellow German-American farmer, whom he promised a "Spiegelbild seiner früheren Umgebung fast in jedem Kapitel" (a mirror image of his previous surroundings in nearly every chapter).²¹ Ironically, in twenty-two chapters (175 pages) the story recounts not the fate of a typical, poor farmer, but rather of a 40-year old widow, Freifrau von Kickeritz, and her 22-year old son, Curt, as well as the loss and reclamation of their estate Adelaue near Frankfurt/Oder. The story begins as Curt, who has spent unfulfilling years at university in Berlin, expresses his desire to be "nützlich" (useful) and productive (5).²² Consequently, he resolves to assist the manorial administrator, Knorr, and begins to modernize the estate. The first harvest, however, reveals that the new methods were not as productive as expected. Faced with mounting difficulties, Curt relinquishes control to Knorr and returns to Berlin, where he resumes his aristocratically prodigal lifestyle. He had never worried about money, because his mother always provided for him, but now she becomes concerned with cash flows after Curt squandered so much with his agricultural experimentation.

The precarious financial situation that develops by chapter nine, entitled "Das Judenfaktotum" (The Jewish Jack-of-all-trades), initiates Wernich's portrayal of Jewish machinations in the countryside. Rather than consulting with the family's long-time legal advisor Wegener, the Baroness approaches the Jewish middleman Isidor Schmul. Unlike Curt and his ancestors who exhibit animosity towards all "Semiten," the Baroness is less cautious. The reason for approaching Schmul for a loan is simple, the narrator notes: "sie wußte [. . .] daß die Juden den Geldmarkt beherrschen" (she knew [. . .] that the Jews rule the money market, 52). The Shylock myth continues. Ironically, there is a placard on the estate prohibiting Jews, yet Schmul had often circled around Adelaue "wie ein Habicht" (like a hawk, 53) waiting for such an invitation, implying his predatory nature.

Two years pass from the time that the Baroness acquired her first loan with Schmul, and Curt continues to waste money, because she failed to tell him of their financial troubles. Consequently, their debts accumulate, and the Baroness must assume additional loans. In chapter twelve, entitled "Lebenslauf des Juden" (Resumé of the Jew), the Baroness summons Schmul to prolong her loan once again, and during this visit she learns that, although she has borrowed merely 60,000 Thaler, the total of her debt amounts to 95,000. Schmul explains that this is the product of interest upon interest, the bread and butter of a legendary, despised "Wucherjude" (usurious Jew). The Baroness is taken aback and requests time to examine the calculations. On the way out Schmul encounters Knorr and exchanges hostile words, but afterward reassures himself: "aber schon naht die Rache in der Form kleiner Papierchen, die Euch noch zu meinen Füßen zwingen werden!" (soon revenge will come in the form of small slips of papers that with force you all to my feet, 67).

Wernich picks up on this notion of revenge in the latter half of chapter twelve, which is devoted to a lengthy description of the role of the Jews in Germany. Here the author cites freely from the traditional litany of anti-semitic stereotypes to elaborate on the career of "the Jew":

Beginnt der Jude seine Laufbahn in einem Dorf, natürlich stets als Krämer und Inhaber der Schenke, so hat er bald durch gefälligen Rath, durch gefällige

Vermittelung und durch gefälliges Pumpen die ganze Einwohnerschaft in der Tasche; doch alle diese Gefälligkeiten sind sehr teuer, denn Sem thut nichts umsonst, aber der deutsche Michel ist und bleibt vertrauensselig, bis er von Haus und Hof gejagt wird. Dieses hat sich nun in dem letzten Jahrzehnt so häufig wiederholt, daß der Michel Sem endlich doch erkannte; da wurde es diesem heiß und er siedelte nach der Stadt über. Der Beraubte blieb zurück und hat den einen, allerdings teuer erkauften Gewinn, er kennt den Juden und warnt Freunde und Nachkommen, was endlich dem platten Land im Ganzen heute zum Vortheil gereicht, denn dort werden die Juden weniger und sie sterben am Ende hoffentlich ganz aus (68).

If the Jew begins his career in a village, naturally always as a junk dealer or the owner of a bar, he soon has all the residents in his pocket thanks to a nice piece of advice or a good deal. But all of these pleasantries are expensive, because Sem doesn't do anything for free; but the German Michel is, and remains, trusting until he is driven from home and farm. This has occurred so often in the last decade that Michel finally recognized Sem, for whom life became difficult; thus he moved to the city. The one who was robbed remained behind with one costly gain. He knows the Jew and warns friends and subsequent generations; and this is now known throughout the country, because the Jews are becoming scarce and hopefully they will all die out in the end.

While the typical German attitude toward Jews is presumably one of mere antipathy, "der Jude [ist] dem Bauer verhaßt, weil er seinem Beruf am fernsten steht, denn ein wirklich mit den Händen schaffender Jude existirt nicht" (the farmer hates the Jew, because he stands furthest from his profession in so far as a Jew that really creates with his hands does not exist, 69). The narrator continues to elaborate on the typical rise of "the Jew" in language that reminds one of the notoriously crass newspaper by arch-Nazi Julius Streicher, *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer, 1923–1945), or the Nazi pseudo-documentary *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew, 1940):

Im ersten Stadium seines Hehler- und Schacherlebens ist der Jude wenigstens in Bedürfnissen leicht befriedigt und gewissermaßen bescheiden; doch sowie der 'gute Geschäfte macht,' bricht sein unedler Charakter in seiner ganzen Häßlichkeit hervor und aus den geöffneten Geschwüren der Wollust und Völlerei fließt ein Ekel erregender Eifer. Sowie der Geldsack gefüllt ist, wirft er auch die Maske der kriechenden Demuth ab und seine Züge starren von wildem Hasse gegen die Gojims. Er glaubt die Unbilden, die er und seine Vorfahren erfahren, rächen zu müssen. Zäh und ausdauernd in der Verfolgung seiner Pläne, persönlich feige, aber tückisch und hinterlistig, calculirt er: Geld ist das herrschende Element, durch unredlichen Handel am mühelosesten zu erlangen, folglich durch Schacher – Geld, durch Geld – Alles. Jede Bequemlichkeit, jeder Luxus, Ehre, Adel, sogar die Rache ist käuflich (69).

In the first stage of his life, as a haggler and dealer of stolen goods, the Jew is at least easily satiated and so to speak modest in his needs; but as soon as he "hits it

big" his vulgar character emerges in its total vileness and from the open sores of lust and gluttony flows a zeal that arouses disgust. As soon as the sack of money is full, he removes the mask of slithering humility and his facial features exhibit wild hatred against the goyim. He believes that he must avenge the hardships that his elders spoke of. Tough and tenacious in the pursuit of his plans, personally a coward, but malicious and cunning, he calculates: money is the ruling element, gained with dishonest trade and by the least effort, also by usury – money with money – everything. Every comfort, every luxury, honor, nobility, even revenge is for sale.

After assessing the amount of her debts the Baroness informs Schmul that she must sell Adelauf to cover her obligations. When she calls Curt home to inform him of the transaction, he is both stunned and chagrined. He cannot believe that his mother disregarded the wisdom of their ancestors by allowing Jews to enter the estate. Curt points out that his great-grandfather even wrote a book entitled "Adel und Judenthum" (Nobility and Jewry), in which he both predicted "daß die Semiten durch Geld die Welt regieren werden" (that the Semites will rule the world with money) and continued "daß sie die Monarchie und den Adel auf sich übertragen oder ausrotten werden" (that they will ultimately transfer the monarchy and aristocracy onto themselves or exterminate them, 88–89). Reminiscent of the first anti-semitic political speech by imperial court preacher Adolf Stöcker entitled "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum" (Our Demands on Modern Jewry, 1879), Kickeritz had listed his own demands in the book, namely "Menschenwürde, Wahrheit, Ehre und Arbeit" (human dignity, truth, honor, and work), and claimed that the Jews had delivered on none (89). The book notes that the naively trusting farmer "wird gerade deshalb zuerst die Beute des kriechenden und lauernenden, Netze werfenden und Fallen stellenden Juden werden" (will become the first victim of the slithering and devious, net-throwing and trap-setting Jew, 90–91) and concludes emphatically with the only boldfaced sentence in the novel: "Hüte dich, o Landmann, vor den Juden!" (Beware, farmer, of the Jews!, 91). But the Baroness had failed to heed this admonition, and consequently she must move into an inherited villa on the Rhine. In contrast, Curt vows to venture to America where he can surely earn enough money to buy his home back.

The story thus turns to Curt, who arrives in New York, travels through the US, and settles in Wisconsin. From the beginning the narrator is critical of American avarice, egoism, and alienation from the soil. While the Yankees are different than Germans though, one group remains constant: "der Jude [lebt] hier ebenso ausnahmslos wie drüben vom Schacher, [fängt] mit dem Handeln von alten Sachen an, [hört] mit Couponschneiden auf" (the Jew lives here, without exception, from haggling as he does back home; he begins by trading old goods and ends up cutting coupons, 121). All over the world it seems, the Jew begins his career as a haggling itinerate trader and ends up in the stock market.

In contrast to the selfish and materialistic Americans and Jews, Curt conducts experiments on his farm with different techniques and prints articles about his results in the paper to be "useful" for the community. Although he has seemingly integrated into American society, in correspondence with his mother, Curt reveals his preoccupation and sole purpose. He will not rest nor return to Germany "bis unser Erbe aus jüdischen

Händen befreit ist!" (until our inheritance is liberated from Jewish hands!, 117). If he is unable to accomplish this, then at the very least he hopes to replace the Jewish owners of Adelaу with someone "der einen deutschen Namen trägt und deutsche Interessen vertritt!" (who has a German name and represents German interests!, 117). Above all, the problem lies for Curt with the Jews, as he admits that "wenn unser Erbe unter germanischer Herrschaft geblieben, hätte ich mich über den Verlust leichter hinweggesetzt" (if our inheritance had remained under German rule, I could have overlooked the loss more easily, 151). The sole motivation for his actions thus seems to be directed at reclaiming Adelaу from a Jew. For the protagonist – and presumably also Wernich – the thought that a Jew owns German property is simply outrageous.

Since the farmland in Wisconsin produces no great riches, and Curt is unaware that his mother had regained Adelaу after Schmul's disastrous mismanagement of it, he decides to try his luck in California. Curt settles around Sacramento and buys another farm, but as picturesque as the surroundings are, thoughts of his native land still plague him. Soon Curt discovers oil while drilling on his property, and his purpose in America for the last four years has finally been fulfilled. In the end, Curt receives news that his mother had repossessed Adelaу, and he heads back to the Mark Brandenburg to reclaim the Kickeritz's family land.

Although the main reason for Curt's return to Germany lies in the reclamation of his ancestral home, his decision to return is made all the easier, because he suspects that he will always be a "Fremdling" (foreigner) in the German-American community. The reason he gives for this feeling is noteworthy. Indeed, he remarks: "ich weiß nicht, ob ich Deutschland liebenden Deutschen die deutsch-amerikanischen Kreise zum Einleben empfehlen kann, die zu stark vom Judenthum durchsetzt sind" (I don't know whether I can advise Germans who love Germany to live in German-American circles, which are infiltrated too deeply by Jewry, 165). Whether this comment refers to the existence of actual Jews in the German-American community or whether Curt feels that America too has become "verjudet" (Jewified) – to use the term of Richard Wagner or Wilhelm Marr – is unclear. Perhaps this sentiment explains why Wernich cannot be found as a member of the major German-American organizations in Milwaukee during his time.

III

While Wernich – like his protagonist – might have felt uneasy in his German-American surroundings, it seems that he was not content to accept the situation. Instead, he sought to bring kindred spirits from Germany who were willing to assist him, and in the winter of 1895 the anti-semitic movement attempted its first concerted efforts to expand across the Atlantic. To that end, as *The New York Times* reported on 22 November, Hermann Ahlwardt,²³ perhaps the most vicious, outspoken, and criminal Jew-baiter of the 1890s, was making preparations in Germany for a trip the United States.

Prior to this seeming spontaneous – and for the by then Reichstag representative²⁴ unauthorized – trip to America, Ahlwardt had made quite a name for himself through a series of highly-publicized scandals since 1890.²⁵ This year marked Ahlwardt's transition from school headmaster, hence his subsequent nickname "Rektor aller Deutschen" (headmaster of all Germans), to professional anti-semiter after financial mismanagement

led to the loss of his administrative position. With his academic reputation in ruins, he turned to the perceived cause of his misfortune, a Jewish conspiracy, and he began to focus his full energies on Jew-baiting. Because of his agitation contemporary supporters and followers of this *cause célèbre* hailed him as a “second Luther,”²⁶ while another contemporary, the initially conservative and later more liberally-minded politician, Hellmut von Gerlach, characterized Ahlwardt in his memoir as “the most powerful demagogue Germany possessed before Adolf Hitler.”²⁷

Ahlwardt entered the fray and struck first against the Jews and his political enemies in his pamphlet entitled *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Völker mit dem Judentum* (The Desperate Struggle of the Aryan People with Jewry, 1890), in which he both provided a veritable laundry list of alleged Jewish corruption and lashed out at the Berlin city councilmen and former colleagues who terminated his employ. The Berlin city prosecutor thought these unfounded allegations were serious enough to charge Ahlwardt with libel, which brought the case into the headlines in February 1892. Far from being intimidated, Ahlwardt followed up with what would become his typical defense tactic by making outlandish, but plausible counter-claims. Nevertheless, he lost his case and was sentenced to four months in Berlin’s Ploetzensee prison.²⁸

Yet for Ahlwardt and many in the anti-semitic movement, this defeat was interpreted merely through the lens of martyrdom. Soon after the *Verzweiflungskampf* trial he charged in the pamphlet *Der Eid eines Juden* (The Oath of a Jew) that Bismarck’s personal friend and banker, Gerson Bleichröder, had perjured in a trial back in 1881. While the prosecutor’s office might have temporarily humored Ahlwardt, it found insufficient evidence to file charges against Bleichröder. For his part, Bleichröder chose to avoid further attention through a libel case of his own against Ahlwardt. Undeterred by a lack of success, by April Ahlwardt set out to expose the supposed sabotage of the military by Jewish arms manufacturer Isidor Löwe. In two brochures entitled *Judenflinten* (Jewish Rifles) and *Neue Enthüllungen* (New Revelations) he claimed that the factory delivered faulty rifles to the army, which rendered the nation defenseless. In a country that was proud of its military tradition, this was tantamount to treason. This resulted in a second libel trial, which began in early December 1892 shortly before the Reichstag elections and ended with a second conviction for Ahlwardt with a sentence of five months.²⁹

Despite these legal defeats, all of this publicity helped to launch Ahlwardt’s political career. Already in 1891 he became a founding member of the Antisemitische Volkspartei (Antisemitic People’s Party), and in the early Reichstag election of 1892 he was able to secure a mandate even though he was serving his prison sentence during the campaign period. It should also be noted here that Ahlwardt’s success with an anti-semitic platform even convinced the aloof, aristocratically-minded Deutschkonservative Partei (German Conservative Party) to add an anti-Jewish element to its platform in the so-called Tivoli Program of 1892.³⁰

Perhaps due his reputation as *enfant terrible*, Ahlwardt supposedly received an invitation in 1895 from “a committee of German-Americans in Milwaukee” to bring his message to the United States.³¹ Just days after announcing this upon departure, however, the *New York Times* reported that no such organization in Milwaukee could be found.³² Yet once he arrived, Ahlwardt elaborated to reporters: “I come originally on the invitation of some friends in Milwaukee. Herr Wehrnich [*sic*] is their leader and representative. I

met Wehrnich [*sic*] in Dantzig [*sic*] and he proposed me to come here."³³ Although undocumented, an actual meeting between the two is conceivable. Advertisements for Wernich's seed company note that he traveled to Germany periodically to personally select seed varieties, and his *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung* republished a speech that he gave at the Danziger landwirtschaftlicher Verein (Danzig Agricultural Association) in October 1895.³⁴

Regardless of the relationship between Wernich and Ahlwardt as well as their expectations for this visit, the latter's arrival in New York City was met with "a reception colder even than the storm which has just swept with its freezing atmosphere into Nova Scotia."³⁵ The response in Milwaukee to Ahlwardt's professed goals for his trip as well as his claim of an invitation by citizens of the city was immediate, albeit differentiated. The *Milwaukee Abendpost* recorded the arrival of Ahlwardt without editorial commentary and merely relayed the man's message and intention by quoting him:

Ich komme hierher zum Zwecke die arbeitenden Klassen dieses Landes über die Juden aufzuklären, welche letztere einer Rasse angehören, die nicht das Geringste für die Arbeiter thut und nur den Wunsch hat, sie des Vortheils ihrer Arbeiten mit Hülfe von List zu berauben. [. . .] Ich hoffe, in diesem Lande den antisemitschen Geist aufwecken zu können.³⁶

I come here for the purpose of enlightening the working classes of this land about the Jews, who belong to a race that doesn't do the least for the workers and has only the wish to rob them of the advantages of their work with the help of trickery. [. . .] I hope to be able to awaken the anti-semitic spirit in this country.

Considering the matter-of-fact tone of the report and the headline announcing "Er ist bereit, das Land mit dem Antisemitismus zu beglücken" (He is prepared to delight the country with anti-semitism), one can only wonder whether the paper employed irony to mock Ahlwardt or whether it was equally delighted by his arrival. Other voices in Milwaukee's German-American press were openly skeptical of Ahlwardt's prospects in the United States and maintained a more critical stance vis-à-vis his message. While the daily *Rundschau* noted that one could easily assume what an anti-semite like Ahlwardt intended, he would be nevertheless bitterly disappointed, "denn für den Antisemitismus ist Amerika kein Boden" (because America is no place for anti-semitism).³⁷ Admittedly, the article was not philosemitic in tone, but it took issue with the typically collective judgment of anti-semites and explained that

es giebt ja in unserem Lande auch Juden, auch unangenehme Juden, denen ein anständiger Mensch, wie jedem anderen unangehmnen Kerl, gern aus den Wege geht; aber es wäre eine Unwahrheit, zu behaupten, daß die Juden bei uns irgendwie eine gefahrvolle Rolle spielten, welche es als angezeigt erscheinen ließe, gegen sie aufzutreten. Selbst in finanzieller Hinsicht über sie hier längst nicht den Einfluß aus, wie es in den Ländern der alten Welt der Fall – sein soll.

In our country too there are Jews, even unpleasant Jews, like any other unpleasant fellows, which an upright person avoids; but it would be an untruth to claim that

the Jews play any dangerous role, of which they are accused, that would lead one to rise against them. Even in financial terms they do not exert the influence that they do in the old world – or allegedly do.

The main German-language labor union newspaper based in Milwaukee, *Wisconsin Vorwärts*, reported on the arrival as well and noted laconically that Wernich is “hier als fanatischer Judenhasser bekannt” (know as a fanatical Jew-hater here).³⁸ Despite this alleged connection with Ahlwardt though, Wernich experienced no immediate repercussions as editor of the *Acker- und Garten-Zeitung*, and during the next two months it was business as usual for him in Milwaukee.

In initial interviews Ahlwardt announced that he intended to deliver five speeches,³⁹ which he in fact held between 12 December 1895 and 6 April 1896 in and around New York City. Every time, however, he faced hostile crowds that not only shouted him down but also pelted him with eggs. The disturbances even required police presence, and – as an intentionally disdainful and ironic gesture – the Police Commissioner at the time, Theodore Roosevelt, appointed a detail of solely Jewish officers to guard him.⁴⁰

During his final planned speech in April 1896 Ahlwardt even went afoul of the law, when he brandished a pistol following a melee with attendees. He was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon, but an Anti-Semitic Society bailed him out and the charges were eventually dropped in his hearing. However, in a foolish move in court, Ahlwardt pressed charges for perjury against his alleged attacker, Michael Aronsberg, who in turn pressed charges against Ahlwardt for assault. The *New York Times* apparently lost interest in the case on the day of Ahlwardt’s Grand Jury, and he dropped out of the public eye until September 1896, when the paper reported that he had started his own newspaper, *The Gentile Times*, to support the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan for president.⁴¹

Although Ahlwardt’s tour was ultimately a failure, he did enjoy some temporary success in securing a foothold and establishing a base of operations. Soon after his arrival, he formed an American Anti-Semitic Association in Brooklyn (the organization’s letterhead stated also Amerikanische Antisemitische Association, AAA) and a journal, *Der Antisemit* (The Anti-Semite),⁴² although this seems to have consisted of only one issue from 21 March 1896.⁴³ Due to his reception in the New York area and his own boorish behavior though, the previously established Democratic Anti-Semite Union soon felt the need to distance itself from him.⁴⁴ Eventually, even the AAA mutinied against him because of his financial parasitism.⁴⁵

IV

Beyond this episode there are no further reports as to whether Ahlwardt contacted Wernich while in America or whether Ahlwardt even traveled to Milwaukee. His efforts in Chicago on behalf of Bryan also seemed a failure, and by February 1897 Ahlwardt was back in Germany.⁴⁶ But in an ironic twist of fate, the man who invited Ahlwardt and himself attacked the Jews for alleged innate criminality and profit at the expense of others found himself accused of the same. On 18 January 1896 the *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung* reported that Wernich had just lost a court case on the charge of libel.⁴⁷ Apparently, Ahlwardt and Wernich share not only anti-semitism. It turns out

that while Wernich was editor of *Der Landwirth* in 1893, he had maligned the products of a drug manufacturer. The article reported that Wernich "nur deßhalb publicirte, um für sich selbst etwas Reclame zu machen" (only published [the article] to make advertisements for himself), and he certainly intended to profit "auf Kosten Anderer" (at the expense of others). As a consequence of this scandal, Wernich evidently lost his position in the *Acker- und Garten-Zeitung* by 8 February, because his name no longer appeared as co-editor. His serialized article, "Eine Kritik deutscher Landwirtschaft" (A Critique of German Agriculture), which began on 1 February, however, continued with a total of eight installments until 11 April. While his seed company continued on even after his death three years later, he seems to have never made a lasting impact in Milwaukee.

This collaboration to spread anti-semitism across the Atlantic is perhaps unique in German-American history. Admittedly, there is little, if any, specific scholarship on any hostility toward Jews in German-American circles. Perhaps this topic has been merely overlooked or perhaps the fresh start that immigrants experienced in the United States erased any painful memories from the land of their birth. Despite the expectations of Wernich and Ahlwardt, however, the reaction in the American press to the arrival of Ahlwardt and its ignorance or neglect of Wernich suggests that, until that time, the United States did not provide fertile ground for the importation of this specifically German variety of anti-semitism.

While there might have been receptive pockets of this ideology, anti-semitism did not gain the cachet that it did in a homogenous nation like Germany. Instead, despite any latent anti-Jewish sentiment, Jewry constituted merely one minority group among many other immigrant groups in the fabric of America. To be sure, "demonic and vile images" of Jews were present in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, but compared to other groups, "American treatment of Jews appears relatively mild."⁴⁸ Thus, anti-semitic sentiment in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century must be seen simply as an "integral part of a larger, more complex upswing of anti-foreign feeling," in which "hatred of Catholics, of Chinese, of the new immigration as a whole, and above all a diffuse nativist hostility to the whole immigrant influx overshadowed specifically anti-Jewish agitation."⁴⁹ Curiously, some anti-semites in Germany were even aware of this situation in the United States and equated European hatred of the Jews to US-American oppression of the Chinese, since both minority groups occupied a similar role in the economic life of the respective countries.⁵⁰ Perhaps, then, any lingering resentment against Jews from the Old World was rendered obsolete and simply supplanted by new relationships in the New World.

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Notes

¹ Arw Solano, *Überseer dabem: Eine Erzählung aus der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Friedrich Luckhardt, 1888), 393.

² For a graphical illustration see La Vern Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 75. Don Heinrich Tolzmann gives the total of 1,452,970 individuals for the decade in *The German-American Experience* (Amherst, NY: Huminty Books, 2000), 223.

³ In contrast to earlier forms of anti-Judaism and religious anti-Jewish arguments, which could be nullified by conversion to Christianity through baptism (the position of the clergy, e.g., Adolf Ströcker, author of "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum" from 1879), the concept of anti-semitism arose in Germany in the 1870s to combat the alleged Jewish spirit, which was held to corrupt the German economy, society, and culture. Wilhelm Marr is credited with popularizing the word anti-semitism in 1879 following both the publication of *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum*, which transcended the religious argument, and the establishment of a short-lived Antisemitenliga. In 1885 the economist Adolf Wagner indicated that "die antisemitische Tendenz [...] anderer, auch meiner, die wir gelegentlich vertreten, hat niemand gegen Juden als Religionspartei vertreten, sondern gegen die schlechten Praktiken im wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Leben, die leider von einer großen Masse unserer jüdischen Mitbürger ausgehen" (the anti-semitic tendency [...] of others, even myself, which we advocate from time to time, was not advocated against the Jews as a religious party, rather against the terrible practices in economic and social life, which unfortunately emanates from a large portion of our Jewish citizens). See the *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen vom 3. Januar 1885 einberufenen beiden Häuser des Landtages: Haus der Abgeordneten*, vol. 1 (Berlin: W. Moeser Hofbuchdruckerei, 1885), 581.

⁴ See Paul Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949) and Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1988).

⁵ See, for example, Matthew Lange, *Antisemitic Elements in the Critique of Capitalism in German Culture, 1850–1933* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007).

⁶ While the number of seats, sixteen, is uncontested, the number of votes varies. Peter Pulzer credits them with a total of 116,013 up from 4,708 in 1890, while Paul Massing lists a rise from 47,000 to 263,000 and notes that the actual votes may have been higher since some candidates campaigned as anti-semites but registered in the Reichstag officially as members of larger parties such as the Conservatives. See Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria*, 116, and Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction*, 71.

⁷ Otto Böckel, *Die Juden – die Könige unserer Zeit*, 5th imprint (Berlin: Selbstverlag von A. Rusch, 1887), 6.

⁸ Hermann Bahr, *Der Antisemitismus: Ein internationales Interview* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1894), 21–23.

⁹ In Rippley's *German-Americans*, there are no index references to either Jews or anti-semitism, and the chapter entitled "The Forces of Religion" focuses on the Catholic-Protestant divide. Likewise, in Tolzmann's *German-American Experience* there are no references to anti-semitism and the entry for Jews is limited to the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ Kreisau's work is available in the Max Kade Institute at the UW-Madison and it is stamped "Compliments of Ernst Goerner." Harry H. Anderson from the Milwaukee County Historical Society presented on this "Nazi from Milwaukee" at the MKI conference entitled "Defining Tensions: A Fresh Look at Germans in Wisconsin" in 1998.

¹¹ An agrarian theme has been central to previous and subsequent anti-semitic literary works, both obscure and best-sellers. The novel *Der Büttnerbauer* (1895) by internationally acclaimed author Wilhelm von Polenz ended with the suicide of the protagonist who had lost his farm to a Jew. In Arthur Dinter's fanatically perverse best-seller *Die Sünde wider das Blut* (1918) the protagonist's father lost his farm and hanged himself following a "Gauenspiel des Wucherjuden" (swindle of the usurious Jew). Interestingly, a pre-emancipation work such as the novel *Das Volk und seine Treiber* (1869) by Otto Glaubrecht was held to be so prescient by some as to merit a reprint with new introduction in 1926. Other anti-semitic works from the end of the nineteenth century include Arw Solano's novel *Überseer daheim* (1888), Karl Türk's novel *Die Ritter vom Gelde* (1891), and the drama *Itzig der Wucherer* (1900) by Jakob Hubert Schütz.

¹² Liebermann von Sonnenberg was a major figure in anti-semitic politics in Germany during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Following the coinage of the term anti-semitism in 1879, Liebermann circulated an "anti-semites' petition" with Bernhard Förster in 1880 to restrict Jewish immigration and block Jews from high-level government positions. The two also founded the Deutscher Volksverein the following year and participated in the first of three international anti-Jewish congresses in Dresden in 1882. See Thomas Weidemann, "Politischer Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Der Reichstagsabgeordnete Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg und der nordhessische Wahlkreis Fritzlar – Homburg – Ziegenhain." *Heimatvertriebene Nachbarn: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden im Kreis Ziegenhain*, eds. Hartwig Bambye, Adolf Biskmap and Bernd Lindenthal, vol. 1. (Schwalmstadt-Treysa: Verlag Stadtgeschichtlicher Arbeitskreis, 1993), 113–84.

¹³ Liebermann also created the *Deutschsoziale Blätter* (1884–1911) as a mouthpiece for his party.

¹⁴ [Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg], *Die Bauernwürger: Eine Geschichte mit 12 Bildern aus dem*

Leben (Leipzig: Hermann Beyer, 1894), 2. Subsequent references will be given parenthetically.

¹⁵ I would like to thank Steve Daily, Curator of Research Collections at the Milwaukee County Historical Society, for this documentation.

¹⁶ Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961), 687. The paper had a circulation estimated at 29,000.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 668–69. Following the merger the enlarged journal went by the title *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung, nebst Landwirth, Deutscher Farmer*. Although the journal focused nearly exclusively on technical issues of farming, letters from readers pled for a sense of community and urged the need for cooperation among the German speakers in the United States. In the 1894 Prof. Dr. Johann Hagen of Texas wrote in about the possibility of forming a “Deutscher Bauernbund” (German Farmers’ League) and related the story of how Jews robbed farmers in Russia by making them dependent on alcohol: “wenn Ihr gesehen, wie ich, wie der erbärmliche Jude ihm die letzte Kuh [. . .] aus dem Hause holt für schlechten Fusel, den er schon getrunken” (if you have seen, like I did, how the wretched Jew took the last cow from him [the farmer] with horrible will, which he had already drunk) 25.33 (11 August 1894), 524. One might also remember the use of alcohol in the pamphlet *Die Bauernwürger* to take advantage of the farmer Groß.

¹⁸ *Der Wald- und Fruchtbaum: Praktische Ratschläge für die Anpflanzung und Erhaltung der Bäume: Ein Handbuch für amerikanische Farmer, Garten- u. Hausbesitzer* (Forest and Fruit Tree: Practical Advice for the Planting and Maintenance of Trees: A Handbook for American Farmers, Gardeners and Homeowners, 2nd ed., 1894) and *Unsere Haustiere in gesundem und krankem Zustand nebst Anleitung zum Futterbau* (Our Pets in Healthy and Ill Condition with Directions for Feeding, 9th ed., 1919). Both were published by Excelsior Publishing Co. in Milwaukee, and the first edition of each seems to have appeared before 1892. A publisher-composed advertisement for *Der Wald- und Fruchtbaum* was inserted into the review book and requested that the recipient mention Wernich, “der sich in Farmerskreisen eines ausgezeichneten Rufes erfreut” (who enjoys an excellent reputation in farmers’ circles).

¹⁹ The Wernich Seed Company was incorporated on 12 March 1895 with the address of 605 Grand Ave. The other owners were Charles Wuelfling and Charles Maas. In 1913 the company changed hands to Edward Hunkel, who dissolved it in 1918.

²⁰ *The Milwaukee Blue Book of Selected Names* (Milwaukee: Elite Directory Co., 1894–96).

²¹ Waldemar Wernich, *Moderne Oekonomen: Erzählung vom Lande* (Milwaukee: Verlag der ‘Landwirth’, 1892). Subsequent references will be given parenthetically. A copy of the novel is available at the Max Kade Institute in Madison, WI.

²² It is no surprise that Kurt wishes to be productive. The “parasitic v. productive” dichotomy to contrast Germans and Jews played a significant role in anti-semitic propaganda, and the phrase “raffendes v. schaffendes Kapital” (rapacious v. productive capital) was employed to distinguish “Jewish” finance capital from “German” agro-industrial capital.

²³ See Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction*, 92–96, 240 and Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria*, 106–09.

²⁴ Ahlwardt represented the district of Arnswalde-Friedeberg near Frankfurt/Oder in Brandenburg from 1892–1903 and won 77.2% of the votes during early elections in the eighth legislative period from 1890–1893. In the next period from 1893–1895 his support dropped to 60.8%. Curiously, the Kickeritz estate Adelauf from Wernich’s novel was located near Frankfurt/Oder.

²⁵ See Barnet Hartston, *Sensationalizing the Jewish Question: Anti-Semitic Trials and the Press in the Early German Empire* (Boston/Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2005) and Christoph Jahr, “Ahlwardt on Trial: Reactions to the Antisemitic Agitation of the 1890s in Germany,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 48 (2003): 67–85.

²⁶ See Hartston, *Sensationalizing the Jewish Question*, 231.

²⁷ Hellmuth von Gerlach, *Erinnerungen eines Junkers* (Berlin: Die Welt am Montag, 1926), 114, quoted by Jahr, “Ahlwardt on Trial,” 67.

²⁸ See Hartston, *Sensationalizing the Jewish Question*, 231–35.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 244.

³⁰ Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria*, 112.

³¹ “May Ignore Dr. Ahlwardt,” *New York Times*, 22 November 1895, p. 9.

³² “No Invitation Sent to Ahlwardt,” *New York Times*, 27 November 1895, p. 3.

³³ “Dr. Ahlwardt Arrives,” *New York Times*, 6 December 1895, p. 1.

³⁴ *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung*, 30 November 1895, p. 758.

³⁵ “No Welcome for Ahlwardt,” *New York Times* (7 December 1895), p. 14.

³⁶ *Milwaukee Abendpost*, 5 December 1895, p. 1.

³⁷ *Die Rundschau*, 11 December 1895, p. 1.

³⁸ "Ahlwardt in New York angelangt." *Wisconsin Vorwärts: Offizielles Organ American Federation of Labor*, 6 December 1895, p. 1, 4.

³⁹ At least one was printed as *Die Judenfrage: Ein Vortrag gehalten zu New York im Januar 1896* (Hoboken, NY: Amerikanische Antisemitische Association, 1896). This must be his speech on 23 January at Proesser's in Jersey City.

⁴⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), 205–06.

⁴¹ "Ahlwardt for Mr. Bryan," *New York Times*, 15 September 1896, p. 9.

⁴² Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830–1914* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984), 230 and Naomi W. Cohen, "American Jewish Reactions to Anti-Semitism in Western Europe, 1875–1900," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978): 35. A facsimile of the letterhead can be found in Allan Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Cost of the New Scientific Racism* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 141.

⁴³ The text of this assumedly sole edition was re-printed by Karl Knortz of North Terrytown, NY in his anti-semitic booklet *Das amerikanische Judentum* (Leipzig: Gustav Engel, 1914), 24–35.

⁴⁴ "Ahlwardt Losing Standing," *New York Times*, 23 December 1895, p. 5.

⁴⁵ "They Denounce Herr Ahlwardt" *New York Times*, 17 March 1896, p. 5.

⁴⁶ "Dr. Ahlwardt Is Obstinate," *New York Times*, 22 February 1897, p. 7.

⁴⁷ "Wernich geschlagen," *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung*, 18 January 1896, p. 46.

⁴⁸ Robert A. Rockaway and Arnon Gutfeld, "Demonic Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century United States," *American Jewish History* 89.4 (December 2001): 381.

⁴⁹ John Higham, "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age: A Reinterpretation," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43.4 (March 1957): 570, 572.

⁵⁰ "Der europäische Antisemitismus ist ungefähr dasselbe, was in Amerika die Abneigung gegen die Chinesen" (European anti-semitism is approximately the same as the aversion against the Chinese in America). Anon, *Der Antisemitismus: Sein Entstehen, Wachsen und Vergehen: Briefe eines Ariers an einen Semiten* (Leipzig: E. Thiele, 1886), 10–11.