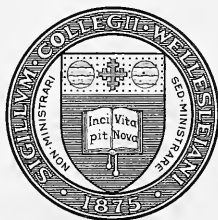


# RACE



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RACE  
*A History*  
*of*  
*Modern Ethnic Theories*

BY

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1939

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1939

L.T.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO MY WIFE, TO WHOM I OWE  
SO MUCH, THIS BOOK IS  
AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED  
AS A SLIGHT MEASURE  
OF APPRECIATION

*“Man is nothing but a heap of errors.  
Nothing shows him truth, everything deceives.”*

PASCAL.

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## PREFACE

SIR NORMAN ANGELL once characterized political nationalism as the most important thing in the world for the European of our age, "more important than civilization, humanity, decency, kindness, pity; more important than life itself". The word "race" might well be substituted in Sir Norman's observation for its intellectual twin, nationalism.

No longer is race an academic phenomenon. An entire nation in the heart of Europe has adopted Race and Blood as the *sine qua non* of its existence. Italy, the other end of the Rome-Berlin axis, has been informed by Mussolini that she must maintain the purity of her Aryan blood, an amazing and not at all amusing discovery. In the conglomerate Balkans, powder keg of Europe, in the Holy Land and in Asia Minor, people who never before were aware of racial identity have found a community of interest based upon newly discovered ethnic homogeneity. Oppressed nationalities everywhere have turned to the Race credo in order to bolster demands for self-determination. In the United States race prejudice against the Negro continues unabated, with social discrimination and sporadic lynchings. Racialism in virulent form has even penetrated into the Far East, where yellow men knew nothing of race theory until its creation in the West. The entire world has become race-conscious, so much so that the long-prophesied white-yellow-black race war is regarded in many quarters as inevitable.

The purpose of the present volume is to describe and analyze the various racial theories of the last century and a half, as well as to consider the rôles played by individual theorists in constructing the race myth. The analysis is basically historical. By the very nature of the subject, it is impossible to avoid trespassing upon the ground of the anthropologist, paleontologist, ethnologist, biologist, philoso-

pher, psychologist and even physician. The task, therefore, is an extraordinarily difficult one, especially in this age of academic specialization; even the versatile man of the Renaissance would feel lost in this broad and comprehensive field of race, as mysterious as life itself. The territory is debatable and the concept of race so surrounded by vagueness and mysticism that the historian finds himself in a hornet's nest.

For the impetus that set me to work on this particular task I am indebted to Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University. I wish to acknowledge my general debt for their encouragement and kindness to Professor Hans Kohn, of Smith College; Dr. Ira M. Freeman, of Central College, Chicago; Dr. Koppel S. Pinson and Dr. Henry David, of Queen's College; Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes; to my colleagues at the College of the City of New York, Acting President Nelson P. Mead, Professors Holland Thompson and J. Salwyn Schapiro, and Drs. O. I. Janowsky, Michael Kraus, Walter Brandt, Walter A. Knittle, Richard B. Morris, Joseph E. Wisan, John G. Hazam and Francis T. Williamson; and to Mr. A. V. Gentilini, Mr. J. R. Moss and Miss Dorothy Waring. All errors of omission and commission are my own.

LOUIS L. SNYDER.

New York City,  
May 15, 1939.

## PART I—THE PROBLEM OF RACE

### CHAPTER I

### THE MEANING OF RACE

#### INTRODUCTION: RACIALISM AS A FACTOR IN CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

The emergence of racialism as a dynamic factor of almost immeasurable political and cultural significance in the life of contemporary humanity makes imperative a re-examination of that doctrine and a re-appraisal of its place in history. In a world of chaos, a world apparently drifting without hope or help into war once more, racialism stands beside its twin and *alter ego*, the religion of nationalism, as one of the most potent of the forces affecting man's destiny. It is subjecting to its mighty gravitational pull the economic and political struggles of the "satisfied" and "unsatisfied" nations, the ambitions of the dictators, the strains and conflicts of classes.

No longer does it matter that the serious student of historical development, the honest ethnologist, the realistic sociologist and anthropologist, look upon the pseudo-science of racial biology as the fantastic invention of mystics and romanticists. The erection in Germany of racialism as the legal basis of the state has conferred upon it a pragmatic political reality. The Nordic myth, once in the eyes of competent scientists merely the ludicrous, fallacious fantasy of Count Arthur de Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain and similar savants, is now something by which millions of men and women are compelled to shape their lives.

As a political and cultural movement, Race Craft has been developing in its modern form since the period directly before,

during and after the French Revolution. It has gained ground slowly but surely in the shadow of a rising nationalism and its concomitant romanticism. In the early nineteenth century, the discoveries of philologists led to the identification of race with language and to the belief that groups speaking the same language were descended from hypothetical common ancestors. Chauvinists and patriots began to claim the racial superiority of their own people and to deprecate the inferior heritage of other nations. Of especial significance in this movement was the work of a group of scientists who used the new methods of craniological measurements as "proof" of racial superiority. Linguistic paleontologists, ethnologists, biologists and historians, an impressive array of scholars and publicists, aimed to show that race was the dominating force in determining the nature of human development. The whole complexity of history was reduced to a simple formula of race.

In the flowering of nationalism which preceded the World War, as expressed in Germany's desire for a place in the sun, Great Britain's Anglo-Saxon mission and the demand of small states for national autonomy, racialism gathered increasing momentum. The Wilsonian Fourteen Points demanded "clear recognizable lines of nationality" and "autonomous development according to historically established lines of allegiance and nationality". The map of Europe was re-made on lines of so-called "ethnic realities". In the confused atmosphere of Versailles, "racial minorities" sought for the intervention of President Wilson on the basis of racial (cultural or linguistic) identity. "Self-determination of racially intact peoples" was an idea understandingly popular among small nations striving to achieve national independence. As a consequence of the war, the identification of race with language became more and more accepted until it became engrained in the consciousness of whole nations. Although racialism made headway in most countries, it was particularly virulent in Germany, where a hopeless and miserable people suffered from defeat in the war. Adolf Hitler, capitalizing upon German's spirit of helplessness, preached racialism as national salvation, achieved power, and immediately lifted the racial myth to a plane of legality.

We shall trace here the historical development of racial theories from the French Revolution to the present day, with especial emphasis upon the Aryan, or Nordic, myth and its development in Germany. The opening chapters are devoted to problems of race, its meaning and its association with other historical factors. The second section is concerned with the origin of the Aryan myth and the resultant controversy over Aryan origins. In subsequent sections, the racial myths as they developed in the most important countries and the United States are considered, as well as the origin of the pan-movements and the ethnic aspects of anti-Semitism. It will be seen that the development is not altogether a haphazard one, since the thread is fairly clear throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when nationalism as a historical force came to fruition. The history of racial theories has been treated in the past by such capable scholars as Finot, Simar, Hertz and Hankins,<sup>1</sup> who have demolished the precarious structure of racialism. Recent developments, however, particularly the spread of Race Craft to the Far East, call for an additional treatment of the subject, based to a great extent upon the effects of racial myths to the growth of contemporary intellectual life.

Because of ineffective arguments advanced by race theorists, it has long been considered well and proper to meet them with satire, scorn or ridicule. In the past, many writers have preferred to treat with scorn the fundamental inaccuracies of racialists. The work of race scientists was dismissed as "the compilations of naked prejudice" and as "false history and sham science".<sup>2</sup> Such ridicule, however, has had no effect whatever upon the strength of the racial movement, which has grown by leaps and bounds. While some of the defenders of racial superiority were, and are, swayed not by scientific arguments but by prejudice, it is equally true that the

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Finot, "Le préjugé des races," Paris, 1906; Théophile Simar, "The Race Myth," New York, 1925; Friedrich Hertz, "Race and Civilization," New York, 1928; Frank H. Hankins, "The Racial Basis of Civilization," New York, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. M. Robertson, "The Illusion of Race," *Contemporary Review*, July, 1928. Other examples of this type of criticism are: Russel Burkhard, "Blockhead versus Nordic," *Education*, April, 1926; Malcolm H. Bissell, "Race or Place: The Doctrine of Nordic Superiority Challenged," *Scientific American*, December, 1933; Cedric Fowler, "Racial Prejudice, A Racket," *New Outlook*, October, 1934.

upholders of race equality and the critics of race theory are, and have been, no less influenced by a desire to defend the position of those races designed as inferior.<sup>3</sup> It is at once apparent that on the subject of race, so closely affected by the prejudices of mankind, it is difficult to maintain an unbiased point of view. In treating this highly inflammable subject, comparatively few writers have been able to match the calm objectivity of a Pittard, who is able to say: "Let us be wise and reserve judgment", "we must not fear to be honest and say that we do not know", and "many a time we shall have to cry 'Beware!' to the imagination".<sup>4</sup>

One of the most difficult barriers in a fair treatment of the subject of race is the extent of ignorance upon it. Like history itself, race cuts straight through the varied strata of the sciences, being of interest to the sociologist, anthropologist, economist, archaeologist and biologist, as well as to the ethnologist and, of course, to the historian. By its very nature, ethnology has never been, and probably never will be, an exact science. Yet many ethnologists, both trained and untrained, have been strongly dogmatic in their opinions on race and at times attempt to overwhelm the reader with vehement assumptions and assertions. The limitations of the human mind are especially evident in the treatment of so complex a factor as race and race relations, which require a prudent and humble approach. Conclusions on the subject must of necessity be provisional in character, since many seemingly satisfactory "proofs" tend to become worthless as scientific progress is made.

The roots of history usually lie deep. To show the whole background of the contemporary organized exploitation of racial antagonisms would involve the whole story of mankind. Only a small part of this background can be treated within the limits of this volume. Conflicts between peoples have existed throughout recorded history, between Romans and Christians, Christians and Muslims, Latins and Teutons, Protestants and Catholics, Anglo-

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<sup>3</sup> Franz Boas, "The Question of Racial Purity," *American Mercury*, October, 1924. Boas includes Finot, Zollschan and Hertz as belonging to this category. (Finot, *op. cit.*; I. Zollschan, "Das Rassenproblem," Vienna, 1912; Hertz, *op. cit.*)

<sup>4</sup> Eugène Pittard, "Race and History," New York, 1926, p. 72, 27, 9.



Saxons and Germans, but never before on the planned, disciplined scale of racial differences. For the first time in history, racial antagonisms have been grounded on definite political doctrines. Previously, racial conflicts were bitter but sporadic. To-day, the danger of war between the so-called races becomes more and more intense. And although the background of racial prejudice may be as old as man, its methodology is distinctly modern. With the modern evolution of the myths responsible for the growth of Race Craft this book will concern itself.

#### WHAT IS RACE?

The indiscriminate and loose use of the term "race" in many kinds of literature has long led to confusion.<sup>5</sup> The abuse of the term to justify national or political ambitions has resulted in a nebulousness, a disorder and lack of precision, which confuse the individual, whether scientist or educated layman. On occasion even capable scholars have used the term carelessly in a sense that could not possibly be accurate. Like the words "language", "people", "culture", "nation", and "civilization", the term "race" has no exact meaning which is acceptable to all—to anthropologist, biologist, philologist, paleontologist, ethnologist and historian. It is doubtful, moreover, whether such an exact meaning satisfactory to all scholars will, or indeed can ever be, agreed upon.<sup>6</sup>

Race has been used as a synonym for a people, a nationality, a language, or artificial group customs. There never was, nor is there to-day, a German *race*, but a German *nation*, no Aryan

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<sup>5</sup> According to Jean Finot, the first writer to use the word "race" was François Taut, who, in 1600 ("Trésor de la langue française"), derived it from *radix*, a root. Taut conceived the term to mean "the extraction of man, dog or horse". ("*Race vient de radix, racine, nous dira-t-il, et fait allusion à l'extraction d'un homme, d'un chien, d'un cheval; on le dit de bonne ou de mauvaise race.*") Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> For definitions of the term "race," *vide* Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. IX-X of the introduction by Henri Berr; Julian S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon, "We Europeans," New York, 1936, pp. 7-9; Roland B. Dixon, "The Racial History of Man," New York, 1923, pp. 3-4; Hans F. K. Günther, "The Racial Elements of European History," New York, p. 3; A. C. Haddon, "The Races of Man," New York, 1925, p. 1; W. Z. Ripley, "The Races of Europe," New York, 1910, pp. 1-14; J. de Morgan, "Prehistoric Man," London, 1912, pp. 6-7; Marcellin Boule, "Les hommes fossiles," Paris, 1921, p. 320.

*race*, but Aryan *languages*, no Roman *race*, but a Roman *civilization*. In classifying the peoples of the earth, it is important that physical characteristics, culture and language be differentiated. Failure to obey this simple and fundamental rule has resulted in extraordinary confusion which has seeped from scientific sources into the public mind. The literature of integral nationalism has been responsible to a great extent for the lack of uniformity in the concept of race. In the desire to prove the superiority of one group of people, the terms Aryan, Nordic, Anglo-Saxon and Alpine, which are simply convenient abstractions used in arbitrary fashion to help understand broader facts, are applied in widely divergent senses to prove that all compatriots of a given country are of one race.

Although race is used loosely to indicate groups of men differing in appearance, culture or language, in the scientific sense it should be applied to the biological grouping of human types.<sup>7</sup> This is the meaning of race as commonly used, without pedantic obscurantism, by the most capable scholars. The definition of Marcellin Boule is interesting: "By race we should understand the continuity of a physical type, expressing affinities of blood, representing an essentially natural grouping, which can have nothing, and in general has nothing in common with the people, the nationality, the languages, or the customs corresponding to groupings that are purely artificial, in no way anthropological, and arising entirely from history, whose actual products they are."<sup>8</sup>

Used in this sense, the term "race" still retains a vagueness which is impossible to overcome. It is possible that people may acquire a number of similar traits by isolation or by inbreeding, and, when mixing with another group of acquired different traits, a population

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<sup>7</sup> The word "human" expressed here should be carefully noted. Giorgio Pasquali, an Italian journalist, makes the following observation: "I prefer the word *nation* when I speak of human beings, and the word *races* when I speak of Pekinese, racing horses, chickens and Yorkshire swine". It must always be remembered that man, although an animal, is a unique animal. From the biological point of view, his outstanding characteristic is his ability to transmit experience by tradition and without physical inheritance. The characteristics of man which are biologically of most importance, such as speech, habit and cultural traditions, are those which no other animal possesses. Yet they cannot be connected with genetic composition. (Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.)

<sup>8</sup> Boule, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

may result that possesses some characteristics of one parent group, of the second parent group and of an intermediate, intermingled group.<sup>9</sup> However, it is impossible to measure these variable factors. It becomes impossible to find a definition which could be used *in an exact sense*. Günther's definition holding that "a race shows itself in a human group *which is marked off from every other human group* through its own proper combination of bodily and mental characteristics, and in turn *produces only its like*"<sup>10</sup> (italics mine), is not acceptable because such differentiations have never been successfully proven.<sup>11</sup>

For our purposes we must distinguish in this complex problem between use of the term "race" based to some extent upon physical characteristics, plus language, culture, and historical and political unity, and use of the word based upon defined but generalized physical characteristics. In the first sense, the word "nation" would be appropriate;<sup>12</sup> in the second, roughly, "race".

#### RACE CLASSIFICATION: EARLY ATTEMPTS BASED ON BIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Since the eighteenth century era of rationalism, many attempts have been made to arrange the ethnic groups of mankind in some ordered classification. The work of all scientists in this respect has been handicapped by the fact that distinct lines of demarcation between the races do not exist. Hence any classification must necessarily be subjective and arbitrary. The continual pressure of

<sup>9</sup> A. C. Haddon, "The Races of Man," pp. 1-2. There is ground even here for serious objection.

<sup>10</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> "The important fact about races, so far established, seems to be that, despite a degree of general overlapping in practically all physical traits, and despite the statistical stresses of common traits sufficient to recognize different populations, no single trait or known combination of traits appears to have any biological significance." (W. D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, "Race Relations," New York, 1934, p. 7.)

<sup>12</sup> This view is not accepted by all scholars. Sir Arthur Keith, for example, objects to Huxley's distinction between nation and race. The former maintains that when a land is peopled with a mixture of old races, a new effort at race-building is initiated sooner or later, just as a wren's nesting instincts are re-awakened as soon as the first nest is destroyed. "A nation always represents an attempt to become a race; nation and race are but different degrees of the same evolutionary movement." (Sir Arthur Keith, "Ethnos, or the Problem of Race," London, 1931, pp. 26-28.)

migrations and the resulting ethnic intermixture have made it virtually impossible to ascertain any sharp lines of racial division.<sup>13</sup>

The first attempts to classify races were based upon simple biological differences. Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), a Swedish pioneer naturalist, referred to the human species of *homo sapiens* as a fixed entity and unchangeable, and divided man into four varieties, or "races": European Man, Asiatic Man, African Man, and American Man.<sup>14</sup> The chief distinction he made use of was colour of skin. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), a German naturalist, proposed the division of mankind into five races: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, Ethiopian and American, and originated the term Caucasian (European).<sup>15</sup> Although Blumenbach's classification was valuable as a stepping-stone, it took into consideration only distinctions of colour, hair, skull and face. Later, in the nineteenth century, the most important criteria used in distinguishing races were form of hair, colour, form of nose and shape of skull.<sup>16</sup> The number of races thus obtained varied from two or three to thirty-five. In 1865, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) divided living humanity into eleven races: Australian, Tasmanian, Negrito (Pacific Negroids), Amphinesian (Pacific Islands, Malay Archipelago and part of Madagascar), American natives, Eskimos, Mongolians, Negroes, Bushmen, Xantochroi (Northern zone), and Melanochroi (Mediterranean zone).<sup>17</sup> Later on, Huxley changed this grouping to five major races and fourteen secondary races.<sup>18</sup> In 1900, Deniker, using the combination of criteria described above, derived seventeen races, divided into twenty-nine sub-races.<sup>19</sup> In 1911, Sergi, using the cephalic index, divided mankind into long-heads and round-heads—Eurafricans and Eurasiatics.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Yet racial divergences are commonly accepted as the basis for social and political disturbances. When one nation occupies territory held by another and finds it impossible to frame laws to satisfy the subjected peoples, the difficulty is nearly always dismissed as due to sharp "racial differences".

<sup>14</sup> Carl Linnaeus, "Systema Naturae," London, 1747.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Franz Boas, "Race," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 7, pp. 25-37.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 50-51.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. G. Sergi, "L'Uomo," Milan, 1911.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

Nearly every scholar of the subject has suggested his own racial classification: Cuvier found three varieties of man, as characterized by the three sons of Noah—Ham, Shem and Japheth; Ripley claimed three types for Europe—Nordics, Alpines and Mediterraneans; Fritzsck used three races in his classification, many mixed races being derived from these three; Topinard decided on sixteen in 1878 and nineteen in 1885; Haeckel divided the races into twelve in 1873 and thirty-four in 1879. It is obvious that opinion on the number of existing human races is widely divided and that the number depends upon the standard of differentiation adopted.

In most attempts to classify races, the divisions were based upon anatomical characteristics, although the linguistic paleontologists, stimulated by Friedrich Max Müller, mingled anatomical and linguistic traits in deriving racial types. Dissatisfied with a purely biological treatment, other scholars later attempted classification based on the *geographical method*, by observing populations in given areas and searching for common characteristics; on the *historical method*, by studying the migrations of ethnic groups; and the *cultural method*, by ascertaining racial mentality from cultural conditions. Examples of this last method are Carus' division into four races: European, African, Mongoloids and Americans, based on day, night, Eastern dawn and Western dawn, and Klemm's division into active (male) and passive (female) groups (later accepted and elaborated by Gobineau).<sup>21</sup>

All these methods of classification present difficulties that are not easily solved. Anatomical, linguistic, mental and cultural traits are generally so deeply intertwined that the scientist endeavoring to isolate them as distinct phenomena finds himself unable to

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<sup>21</sup> This theory was espoused by Leo Frobenius and by the ex-Kaiser, William II, of Germany. According to the latter, not only individuals, but races are endowed with sex. Races inhabiting valleys incline to be feminine, while nations from the highlands and the mountains, foster masculine attributes. An example of "feminine" culture, he held, is France, while Germany is the chief bearer of "masculine" culture. England represents a combination of both sexes, with the French or "feminine" component dominant. Thus, the reason for Franco-German enmity is not political but anthropological. (George Sylvester Viereck, "The Kaiser on Trial," New York, 1937, pp. 240-242. Cf. Leo Frobenius, "Schicksalskunde im Sinne des Kulturwerdens," and William II, "The Sex of Nations," *Century Magazine*, June, 1928.) William II's scientific capacity is, of course, open to question.

achieve any scientifically valuable results. Until more satisfactory evidence can be presented, the problem of the classification of races remains an open one.

#### SOMATIC DIFFERENTIATIONS <sup>22</sup>

##### *A. Craniological Measurements and Facial Form.*

We have seen that early investigations to classify races were not successful. With the development of anthropology in the nineteenth century came the introduction of quantitative methods of distinguishing between ethnic groups, an approach that at first seemed to be productive but which later gave room for strong criticism. Daubenton's and Camper's measurements of angles led in 1842 to Retzius' introduction of the cephalic index, or the relation between the length and breadth of the skull. This method, based upon the use of that physical feature apparently most resistant to environment, attained great popularity among anthropologists. The relative ease with which head-forms can be measured was an attractive feature to anthropologists searching for some convenient standard of racial classification. The index was arrived at in simple fashion, according to the ratio of maximum breadth to maximum length of the head, expressed in a percentage.

It was found convenient to arrange the cephalic index (C. I.) in three arbitrary major groups, which include almost all living, as well as dead, types:

(a) *Dolichocephalic*: long- or narrow-headed, with C. I. under 75.

(b) *Mesocephalic* (or *mesaticephalic*): the middle group, or medium headed, with C. I. ranging from 75 to 80.

(c) *Brachycephalic*: short-, or broad-headed group, with C. I. of 80 or above.<sup>23</sup>

Although the cephalic index has been used as above or in

<sup>22</sup> For an excellent treatment of this subject, see Finot, *op. cit.*, chapters VI, VII.

<sup>23</sup> The average cephalic index for mankind as a whole is around the figure 79. On the use of the cephalic index, see Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-23; Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38, 591-594; Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42.

similar form by anthropologists during the last hundred years, the difficulties associated with this type of cranial measurement at once become apparent. The brain-case of a given people may possibly remain unchanged, but the brain inside may be subject to modification. If the people of a certain area appear to fall within one of the three major classifications, the variation within that group may be so great as to make the classification without value.<sup>24</sup> The use of the cephalic index requires a most precise recording of *averages*, a procedure which many anthropologists, who utilize the cephalic index, fail to take into consideration. The cephalic index may be of some value in comparing skeletons of the past with living peoples, but its value in determining the racial composition of contemporary peoples has thus far been negligible.

Ripley made use of the cephalic index, but he admitted that a lack of uniformity in the mode of taking measurements has so far prevented exact results.<sup>25</sup> Both Dixon and Pittard also expressed skepticism on the use of averages. Pittard, for example, warned of the use of averages when the mean alone is given without at least showing the extremes within which it is contained.<sup>26</sup> Dixon pointed out that the method of averaging the various indices of the cranium, face, nose, orbs and palates is unsatisfactory: "If the actual combinations of head, face, nose, orbit and palate forms in the individual skulls are examined, hardly a single skull will show the association of characters stated on the basis of averages to be typical of the group. . . . All such contrasts are blurred or concealed when the measurements are averaged, and so the series of crania may in reality be in no sense uniform, but made up of several clear-cut and radically different groups, each marked by its own specific combination of characters".<sup>27</sup> The caution of these anthropologists in the use of the cephalic index is a warning that the investigator of racial problems must be careful of seductive theories and hypotheses which, on the surface, appear to provide a long hoped for solution.

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<sup>24</sup> Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>25</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>27</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Anthropological research has not yet progressed to a point where any positive results can be ascertained through the cephalic index alone about so complex a study as race.

### B. *Skin-Colour.*

We have seen that skin-colour was a popular means of racial identification among the earlier students of race. From the earliest times it has been used in distinguishing between peoples, since it is this characteristic that at once arrests the attention. It has been found from inscriptions that the Egyptians distinguished themselves from other peoples by the colour of the skin. Skin pigmentation is still used as most important in the rank of racial characters, but recent study has indicated that here, as well as in craniological measurements, there is great room for error.

To-day, we still speak loosely of white, yellow, black, brown and red men.<sup>28</sup> Yet, within each of these groups there are graded variations of different tints.<sup>29</sup> For example, there is no really black man among the Negroes, Australians, or Melanesians.<sup>30</sup> Differences in colour are due to the frequency of various granules in the deeper layer of the epidermis. Anthropologists have never been able to learn the reasons for these differences in skin pigmentation, since they are not able to measure accurately the effects of heat, humidity, altitude and food.<sup>31</sup> Finot believed that colour is the direct effect of environment,<sup>32</sup> while Haddon held that variations in pigmentation arose spontaneously and independent of the action of environment, at a period when variability and mutations were

<sup>28</sup> In the popular mind the three distinct races are white-skinned (*Leucodermi*), yellow-skinned (*Xanthodermi*) and black-skinned (*Melanodermi*).

<sup>29</sup> Broca, for example, found thirty-four shades of skin-colour. (Broca, "*Instructions craniologiques et craniométriques*," Paris, 1879). Deniker listed nine variations of man according to color: 1) pale white (Scandinavians, Germans); 2) brownish-white (Mediterraneans); 3) yellowish white (Chinese); 4) olive yellow (South American Indians, Polynesians); 5) dark yellow-brown (Malays); 6) copper (Bejas, Tulaks); 7) chocolate brown (Australians); 8) very dark brown; 9) black (Deniker, "*Les races et peuples de la terre*," Paris, 1900).

<sup>30</sup> "There are millions of Caucasians who are darker in complexion than millions of Mongoloids." (A. L. Kroeber, "*Anthropology*," New York, 1923, p. 42.)

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-173.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*



more prone to occur.<sup>33</sup> In Ripley's estimation, coloration is due to the combined influences of a great number of factors of environment working through physiological processes, none of which can be isolated from the others.<sup>34</sup> Ripley's thesis appears to be useful. Certainly heredity alone cannot explain the phenomenon of skin-colour. This can be ascertained by the most casual observation: the children of sailors are not darker than the offspring of bankers or clerks, even though their fathers may have gone to sea like their ancestors.

A tremendous amount of research has been done on the question of skin pigmentation, but the problem remains to this day one of the least understood problems of physical anthropology. The grouping of human beings into white, yellow and black races should be regarded merely as a convenient framework used in arbitrary fashion, since the variations within each group make it impossible to ascertain sharp, clear-cut differentiations which might distinguish it from other groups. The consistent use of skin-colour alone in classifying races leads to confusion, unless it is combined with other characteristics.

### C. *Stature.*

Quite as variable in the matter of classifying races is stature. There is no doubt that some ethnic groups are predominantly tall, or short, in stature, but there is no proof to show that there is homogeneity in them. For example, it is incorrect to assume that all Chinese are short and all Scandinavians tall. We have seen that human groups vary greatly in craniological measurements and skin-colour, and here, too, in stature, there is a considerable variation

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<sup>33</sup> Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9. "Various attempts have been made to correlate the different hues of the skin with geographical and climatic conditions, but the subject is a very complicated one and generalisations are occasionally found to break down where particular areas are concerned." (P. 8.) Haddon's observation appears correct. It is often said that deep blacks are more fitted to bear tropical conditions. Yet many deep blacks in Africa live in the dry Sahara region, while the natives of the Congo basin, one of the most humid and torrid regions on earth, are much lighter in pigmentation.

<sup>34</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-62.

in each group. No matter what divisions of mankind we select, it will be found that they pass into each other by insensible gradations.<sup>35</sup> To be of value in determining racial classification, the stature of the members of every racial group considered must be similar, which is not often the case.

Although the average stature of man lies within a range of a foot and a half, normally between four feet four and five feet ten inches, within these limits are wide variations. The causes of these variations are described by Ripley as environment (acting directly through limitation of the food supply),<sup>36</sup> natural or artificial selection,<sup>37</sup> habits of life, and "sportiveness of Nature", or chance.<sup>38</sup> No exact causes for differentiations such as exist in stature can be ascertained.<sup>39</sup> Boas maintains that stature, like the cephalic index, can be considered as a fundamental racial criterion in exceptional cases only, notwithstanding its value as characterizing local varieties.<sup>40</sup> Stature may persist as a racial trait, but no satisfactory conclusions have been drawn thus far as to its value in determining differences between groups. Scientists are faced with a number of difficulties in this field: in measuring the stature of given groups of peoples a distinction must be made between those who reach maturity at different times; height tends to diminish with old age; and differences in stature exist between males and females. It is found, for example, that retardation of maturity and an open wandering life seem to be favourable to increased stature.<sup>41</sup> Until

<sup>35</sup> J. C. Prichard, "The Natural History of Man," London, 1885, p. 644.

<sup>36</sup> A people may be dwarfed by unfortunate conditions of life, but their off-spring may gather size in more favorable economic surroundings. A pertinent example is the case of the children of Polish Ghetto Jews, who gain stature in the favorable environment of the United States.

<sup>37</sup> Pittard, however, considers that height, considered as an *average*, is hereditary. (Cf. Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 37.)

<sup>38</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-102.

<sup>39</sup> Environment is not necessarily the only explanation for difference in stature. It is possible that a short people may have been driven to its locality by a tall people.

<sup>40</sup> "Stature and cephalic index can be considered as fundamental racial criteria in exceptional cases only. . . . Since they occur in almost all races with the same values, they must be regarded as late developments." (Boas, *supra*.)

<sup>41</sup> Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

the effects of such factors are more carefully studied, stature as a means of racial identification necessarily remains unsatisfactory.

#### D. Hair.

Still another method of classifying the races of mankind is the nature of the hair. Human hairs differ in the manner in which they are embedded and by the differing forms of the transverse sections when cut open, straight hair being circular and wavy hair being elliptical in section. Some anthropologists use these divisions of hair:

(1) *Lissotrichy*: stiff, wiry, straight hair characteristic of the American and Asiatic aborigines, particularly the Chinese and Asiatic Xanthoderms.

(2) *Cymotrichy*: smooth, wavy and curly hair typical of the inhabitants of Europe, Northern Africa, Asia, India and Australia.

(3) *Ulotrichy*: crisp, or woolly hair, characteristic of Negroes ranging from American Negroes to Hottentots and Bushmen.

Every variety of these commonly accepted divisions may be found in one area, the types of hair varying in color from black, brown, chestnut and blond to red. Certain hair traits may be persistent through generations of ethnic intermixture, but they do not by any means serve as a satisfactory distinguishing mark between races. It is commonly believed that Jews are usually dark-haired, but even among them red hair is moderately common. It is not yet quite certain just what causes the character of the hair. Climatic conditions, probably, play an important part.<sup>42</sup>

While the grouping of mankind according to the nature of the hair may be a convenient method in a preliminary approach to the problem, it is, when considered alone, of little value.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> "The ulotrichous form is due to two main factors, the great curvature of the hair follicle and its compressed lumen, so that the emerging hair is started in a spiral, and is a narrow oval in section. These conditions and the slack skin muscles may be due to life in a warm moist climate." (Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 6.)

<sup>43</sup> The thesis that cross-sections of the hair indicate race is now generally rejected by most scientists. *Vide* Madeline Kneberg's discussion of this subject in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, April-June, 1935.

*E. Eye, Nose and Face.*

Other methods of ethnic classification deal with certain characteristics of the face. In Europeans, for example, the slit, or opening of the eye is horizontal and full, while in Asiatics it is almond-shaped. In the Mongolian peoples, a fold of skin covers the inner angle of the eye. In some cases this fold may sag down over the whole upper lid and cover it completely, so that the eye-lashes cannot be seen, forming the so-called "Mongolian eye-lid". The typical Asiatic eye is oblique-, or slant-eyed. In the popular mind, the Mongolian eye-lid is commonly accepted as a sure distinction between the yellow and white races.

There exist, also, several different shades of pigmentation of the eyes: light (blue or grey), dark (light brown to dark brown), and intermediate (green, yellow and grey). These colors are extremely varied among the peoples of the earth, especially among the white-skinned peoples of Northern Europe. Among the yellow-skinned and black-skinned peoples, the pigmentation of the iris is mostly dark brown in color. Here, again, there may be some connection with climatic conditions, but further study is required to ascertain the effects of environment upon eye colour.

Another characteristic that immediately attracts attention is the nature of the nose. The root of the nose may be pinched or broad, and its bridge may be low (*platyopic*), medium (*mesopic*), or high (*proscopic*). When considered in profile, the nose may be long, short, concave, aquiline or straight. The tip may be rounded or flat, the nostrils narrow, broad or round, and the base depressed, horizontal or reflected. The nasal index (N. I.) used by anthropologists refers to the ratio of the length of the nose and the wings. When the wings are broad (*platyrrhine*), the nasal index is over 85; when moderate (*mesorrhine*) 85 to 70; and when narrow (*leptorrhine*) 70 or less. In general, white-skinned peoples have a nasal index of less than 70, yellow-skinned peoples 85 to 70, and blacks above 85.

It appears by observation that ethnic groups differ greatly in the nature of the nose, but it is difficult to find anthropometric

proof for such casual conclusions. For example, in the popular mind a distinctive feature of the Teutonic peoples is a prominent and narrow nose, while the Jews possess humped, or hooked appendages. There is no statistical proof of this popular assumption. It may be true that a narrow nose is generally associated with tall stature, but not all Germans are tall. As in other peoples, the range of variation in the fleshy parts of the nose seems to be very great. The theory of the so-called "Jewish nose" has no basis in fact.<sup>44</sup> Weissenberg and Weisbach have demonstrated conclusively that the hooked nose is as frequent outside the Jewish people as among them. The "Jewish nose" is not typical of all Semitic peoples, although it was common among the ancient Hittites and is apparent among contemporary Armenians.

The shape of the face usually corresponds with the form of the head. Narrow-headed peoples, in general, possess narrow faces (*leptoprosopy*), while broad-headed persons have broad faces (*chamaeprosopy*). There are, however, many exceptions to this rule. For example, Eskimos sometimes possess long heads and broad faces. In the evolution of modern man from the pre-literary men (*pithecanthropus erectus* to *Cro-Magnon Man*), there was a gradual development from a flat, low and retreating forehead to the higher brow of contemporary man, while the jaw developed from prognathous character to its present type. A high forehead does not necessarily denote intelligence, nor a low forehead lack of intelligence.

In the persistent effort to determine satisfactory bases for racial classification, scientists have gone far afield into other branches of knowledge. Experimentation is now being made in agglutinative reactions of the red blood corpuscles, body temperatures, respiration, susceptibility to disease, basal metabolism, the time and effects of puberty and menopause, colour vision, reaction of the endocrine glands, constitutional types, brain size and structure, mental types, speed of nerve conduction, nature of the sense of smell, and body odours.<sup>45</sup> Although much valuable work is being done in these

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<sup>44</sup> *Vide* chapter 20: "Are the Jews a Race? A) Physical Character."

<sup>45</sup> Sir Arthur Keith finds differentiation of racial traits controlled by "a material

relatively new fields in clarifying the ramifications of racial forms, the surface remains scarcely penetrated.

At the present time any demarcations between the races must be considered purely arbitrary and used simply to facilitate comparison. The one important lesson to be learned from this brief treatment of attempts at racial classification is that no one somatic characteristic is alone sufficient to demonstrate the demarcation lines between races. Ripley understood this in his arrangement of three major European types, Teutonic, Alpine and Mediterranean:<sup>46</sup>

## EUROPEAN RACIAL TYPES

	Head	Face	Hair	Eyes	Stature	Nose	Synonyms	Used by
1. Teutonic	Long	Long	Very light	Blue	Tall	Narrow; aquiline	Dolicho-lepto <i>Reibengräber</i> Germanic Kymric Nordic <i>Homo-Europæus</i>	Kollman Germans English French Deniker Lapouge
2. Alpine (Celtic)	Round	Broad	Light chestnut	Hazel-gray	Medium; stocky	Variable; rather broad; heavy	Celto-Slavic Sarmatian Dissentis Arvernian Occidental <i>Homo-Alpinus</i> Lappanoid	French Von Hölder Germans Beddoe Deniker Lapouge Pruner Bey
3. Mediterranean	Long	Long	Dark-brown or black	Dark	Medium; slender	Rather broad	Iberian Ligurian Ibero-Insular Atlanto-Med.	English Italians Deniker

mechanism centred in glands of internal secretion" (hormones). He admits, however, that our knowledge is only beginning in this field. (Cf. Sir Arthur Keith, "The Differentiation of Mankind into Racial Types," *Nature*, v. 104, p. 301, 1919; "The Evolution of Human Races in Light of the Hormone Theory," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, v. 33, pp. 55, 195, 1922.)

<sup>46</sup>Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Ripley, however, is by no means dogmatic in his classification. At the outset he "boldly confesses" that in the greater number of cases no invariable association of traits occurs. "Let us beware of the example of the monkey in the fable. Seeking to withdraw a huge handful of racial nuts from the jar of fact, we may find the neck of scientific possibility too small." (P. 105).

## THE PROBLEM OF RACIAL PURITY

Now that we have considered some of the problems of racial classification, let us turn to the most persistent thesis of race theorists—the conception of *purity of race* and its decisive rôle in historical development. The advocates of “racial purity” hold that the decay of nations is always the result of race-mixture and that the historical fate of a nation depends upon its ability to maintain its racial purity. The extreme importance of racial purity is emphasized by such race theorists as Arthur de Gobineau, by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who wrote of the “sacredness of pure race”, and by Adolf Hitler, who maintains that the man of Germanic race must not fall into “the shame of mixing his blood”.

The thesis of racial purity was effectively demolished by Otto Ammon, himself a leader of the anthropo-sociological school which sought for a solution to the racial problem through head measurements and other morphological characteristics.<sup>47</sup> In a mathematical analysis aimed at finding a pure racial type among mixed people, Ammon came to a conclusion that offers little hope to the proponents of racial purity. If two races, A and B, have intermingled in the proportion of two-thirds to one-third, then, with the provision that there has been no intervention of artificial limitation, the number of pure racial types of A and B after N generations will be  $(2/3)^{2N}$  and  $(1/3)^{2N}$ , respectively. Within the fourth generation there will be a mixture of 96% and in five generations of 100%. Ammon concludes that in a people which has been mixed for 300 years there could not possibly be any individuals of a pure type.<sup>48</sup> The verdict of biologists is much the same.<sup>49</sup>

During the last twenty-five hundred years, the various peoples of Europe have become so intermingled that there is scarcely any possibility of the existence of a pure race anywhere on the continent.<sup>50</sup> The historian, who is able to trace folk migrations across

<sup>47</sup> *Vide* chap. 10. Cf. Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 44, 47, 104, 263.

<sup>48</sup> Otto Ammon, in *Zeitschrift für Anthropologie*, v. 2, p. 279.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>50</sup> “The only group which would have any chance of maintaining absolute purity of blood would be one all of whose women were too hideous to attract the men of

the heart of Europe, cannot find evidence of the existence of fixed tribal groups.<sup>51</sup> Europe, even as the United States, is an ethnological melting pot, a continent of "energetic mongrels". Boas points out that there exist to this day in Europe village communities in which the land has been held for centuries by the same families and in which the resident population is largely inbred. Yet biologists who have examined these groups find that even in such inbred communities the family strains are usually not by any means identical, but show considerable differences in bodily as well as mental characteristics.<sup>52</sup>

If the doctrine of the creation of man be accepted in its literal sense, which the contemporary scientist is not usually willing to grant, there may be some ground for the existence of a pure ethnic group at the earliest stage of history. The ancient philosophers of the East divided mankind into "races" (Book of Genesis). Their theory was that the descendants of the three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham and Japheth, spread abroad into various continents of the earth and then underwent racial transformation.

But since the researches of modern biologists, the entire problem has taken on a different complexion. Pierre Maupertuis (1698-1759) was among the first to show the importance of selection for human beings. In 1859, Charles Darwin published his "Origin of Species", which laid the foundations of modern biology and showed the effects of selection upon human beings.<sup>53</sup> Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton (1822-1911), the "father of eugenics",<sup>54</sup> attempted

any other tribe and all of whose men were too cowardly to steal the women of any other tribe. . . . Every civilized group of which we have record has been a hybrid group, a fact which disposes effectively of the theory that hybrid peoples are inferior to pure-bred ones." (Ralph Linton, "The Study of Man," New York, 1936, p. 34.)

<sup>51</sup> "When mankind consisted of nomadic tribes, each possessing its own medium of intercourse, there can scarcely have been a pure-blooded race in the strictest sense of the word, for the capturing of women and children must have introduced a mixture of blood at a very early date." (S. Feist, "The Theory of Race and the World War," *International Review*, June-December, 1915, v. 1, p. 365.)

<sup>52</sup> Franz Boas, "The Question of Racial Purity," *American Mercury*, Oct., 1924.

<sup>53</sup> Darwin's chief work was elaborated upon by his "Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex," published in 1871. Darwin took over from Lamarck the thesis that acquired characteristics are transmitted hereditarily, a viewpoint that has been questioned by later biologists.

<sup>54</sup> In proclaiming the exclusive influence of race in human evolution, the work of Galton was decisive in the development of race theory. (Cf. Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 25ff.)



to show that it was not environment but heredity which is the decisive factor for humans. Galton's views were extended into a scientific theory of heredity by Gregor Mendel (1822-1884), an Augustinian father in Brunn, now a part of Germany. According to Mendelianism, in heredity certain characters may be regarded as indivisible and apparently unalterable units. With Mendel, a kind of atomic conception was introduced into biology.

Darwinism was of extraordinary influence in the scientific age of which it was a part. The work of Darwin was supplemented by the geologist, Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) in his "Antiquity of Man" (1863) and the French naturalist, Count George de Buffon (1707-1788). Thomas Huxley and Ernst Haeckel strongly defended the structure of Darwinism, while August Weismann (1834-1914) attacked it on the ground that heredity consists of the transmission of pure germ plasm in germ cells having nothing in common with acquired characteristics.

While the Darwinian theories were defended hotly, attacked and modified, race theorists built up their conception of race on the framework of Darwinism. The compelling motive here was the connection of race problems with the evolution hypothesis and the arrangement of races in a hierarchy.<sup>55</sup> With the progress of Darwinism during the nineteenth century came the work of the racialists, who saw in the new biology a proof of racial purity and of the feeling that races cannot be of equal capacity.

If the racialist finds but little biological support for race purity, he finds even less historical evidence. We shall not discuss this problem in detail at this point.<sup>56</sup> It may be said that historians now usually accept the thesis that man from the beginning of recorded history was a variable animal, among whose chief characteristics was a propensity for nomadic wandering resulting in ethnic intermixture. Racial groups as they existed at the beginning of recorded history are no longer "pure"; in place of homogeneous Semites and the later Aryans there appear amalgamations of various stocks.

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<sup>55</sup> From this arrangement there followed the thesis that the race cannot be of equal capacity. (Cf. W. D. Wallis, "Race and Culture," *Scientific Monthly*, Oct., 1925.)

<sup>56</sup> *Vide* chap. 2.

Thus, biological and historical evidence for the existence of pure races is lacking. Any attempt to predicate racial purity upon geographic isolation leads likewise to unsatisfactory results. There have been peoples, of course, who have remained isolated because of the impossibility of leaving their natural environment. In this category fall various tribes of Eskimos. It would seem that long continued inbreeding among them would result in racial purity, but such is not the case. The researches of Boas, Goldenweiser, Kroeber and others indicate that although homogeneous populations have developed among the Eskimos, in which every family seems to be a fair example of the whole population, bodily and mental traits are seldom identical from generation to generation. That the Eskimo peoples are not unmixed is indicated by the widespread disharmonism between head and face. The relation between dolichocephalic and brachycephalic factors does not seem to be fixed.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, there are similar cultural characters between Eskimos and Magdalenians of the Old Stone Age in France, as for example, the harpoon, spear-thrower, lamp, carving and graphic art. This fact has led some anthropologists to believe that the Eskimos are undeniably the descendants of the Magdalenians.<sup>58</sup> The lay mind, not acquainted with the ethnological distribution of Eskimo tribes (or with that of the American Indian, Russians, Chinese or Japanese), often imagines that the Eskimos must be a pure race because of their isolation. Nothing could be further from the truth. In an account of the geographical distribution of the Central Eskimo in the region of Cumberland Sound and Davis Strait, Boas listed some twenty-one tribes.<sup>59</sup> While these groups may remain *relatively* homogeneous, there is no doubt but that ethnic intermingling has been taking place for centuries.

Leading ethnologists and anthropologists, without any im-

<sup>57</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-5. According to Ripley, the Greenland Eskimos resemble the Lapp in squareness of face, although they are supposed to be one of the longest headed race known to anthropologists. (*Cf. Ripley, op. cit.*, p. 39.)

<sup>58</sup> *Cf. Kroeber, op. cit.*, pp. 146, 390; Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 65.

<sup>59</sup> In the "Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," (1884-1885), Washington, D.C., 1888, p. 470. *Vide* further Franz Boas, "*Baffin-Land; Geographisches Ergebnisse einer in der Jahren 1883 und 1884 ausgeführten Forschungsreise,*" *Ergänzungsheft Nr. 80 zu Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Gotha, 1885.

portant exceptions, now agree that the juxtaposition of races has resulted in an inextricable tangle of ethnic cross-currents and eddies from which it is totally impossible to secure a "pure race".<sup>60</sup> Advocates of racial purity may select from complex, heterogeneous groups one type that they assume to be pure, but they are generally guilty of faulty methods based upon irrelevant political or cultural desires.<sup>61</sup>

#### RACIAL SUPERIORITY

Closely allied with the conception of racial purity is the thesis of racial superiority. The notion of ruling ethnological stocks is as old as history itself.<sup>62</sup> It had its origin in the prejudices of prehistoric man, who, motivated by the urge for survival, looked with fear and hatred upon the stranger. Although the doctrine of race-characters and the racialistic interpretation of history are of comparatively recent manufacture, the idea of racial superiority in one form or another has been persistent throughout the course of history.<sup>63</sup> It is found in the ancient conception of the Jews as a chosen people, in the contempt of the Greeks for all non-Greek "barbarians", and in every large group of people during the course of historical development. In the constant impact of peoples—Babylonians versus Kassites, Assyrians and Hebrews, Persians and Greeks, Romans and Carthaginians, Teutons and Romans, Muslims and Carolingians, Anglo-Saxons and Normans—the problem of maintaining a feeling of superiority over the opposing group appeared vital. Similarly, the claim of superiority seems to have

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<sup>60</sup> The only people who might with some justification be called a "pure race" are the Pygmies, but even here there is no adequate proof for the connotation.

<sup>61</sup> "*La pureté de sang n'est ainsi qu'un myth.*" (Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 503).

<sup>62</sup> "The conviction of human inequality, generalized into the sense of race or class superiority, appears to be universal. It surely is very ancient. No one race or class is left alone in the possession of the feeling of privilege and pride. It was and is an unessential defect of the heathen temper in men that they disbelieve in equality in the interest of the assertion of their superiority of status or privilege over other races. The ancient world was under this curse and the spirit of race superiority in the modern world perpetuates it." (Robert E. Speer, "Race and Race Relations," New York, 1924, p. 66.)

<sup>63</sup> "Practically every large group of people in the world believes itself equal if not superior to all others, perhaps with the exception of those who, like the American Negro, have been taught to accept their unproved inferiority by a dominant class." (Donald Young, "American Minority Peoples," New York and London, 1932.)

been a natural endowment of man in distinctions of class (aristocracy versus proletariat, bourgeoisie versus proletariat), in sex (men versus women), in religion (Christians versus Jews and Muslims), in color (blacks versus whites) and in geographical distribution (Prussian versus Bavarian, Northerners versus Southerners in the United States).

Normally it was cultural uniformity and not the realization of ethnical integrity that underlay these antagonisms which form the stuff of historical development. Although "racial differences" did play a part in these clashes of civilizations, peoples, religions and classes, it is probable that they were unconscious prejudices. At least they were not promoted as a recognized ideology. The Roman who was faced with ethnic infiltration of the invading barbarians looked down upon the invaders as *cultural* inferiors, probably not as racial inferiors. The Spanish conquistadors ruthlessly slaughtered native Americans because they were strangers and pagans, not because they were of a different ethnic stock. These peoples had no conception of race such as exists in modern times.

With the origin of racialism in its modern form after the French Revolution came a new motivation for conflicts between peoples. Differences which had hitherto been based predominantly upon cultural factors were now widely attributed to race. The superiority of white over black took the form of the "white man's burden" and the Anglo-Saxon "mission" to civilize backward peoples. The struggle of the disunited German states for national unification and a place in the sun found a justification in the myth of Nordic supremacy. The neo-Roman complex of Fascist Italy, the Japanese drive for leadership of the Orient as expressed in Pan-Asianism, these and many other doctrines were closely associated with the rise of the new racialism. The claim of biological superiority became a significant factor in modern civilization, contributing to economic, political, religious and cultural currents to alter the pattern of history. Fundamentally, this feeling of ethnic superiority still maintains precisely the same characteristic of primitive times—fear and scorn of the unfamiliar.

While fear and scorn of the strange and unfamiliar thus play an

important part in the development of a feeling of racial superiority, another universal human trait is of significance—the urge towards rationalization. The desire for self-preservation has always been a determining factor in history. To survive in a world of chaotic conflict, the individual and the nation (as well as the animal) tend to look upon strangers as natural enemies. Thus it becomes a matter of prime importance to build up a sense of superiority. The process may be conscious or unconscious, but it goes on constantly. The individual believes—because he wants to believe—that he, his race, his religion, his country or his political party, are inherently superior to all others. It is a comparatively simple matter to find indications of this fancied superiority, even though such “evidence” may be pseudo-scientific and without actual foundation. The works of Gobineau and Chamberlain betray this type of *a priori* reasoning. So convinced is the racial theorist of the superiority of his own race that he searches diligently for scientific and historical facts in order to rationalize his original assumption. He will reject as inconsequential those scientific facts that tend to demolish the theory at its root.

The doctrine of racial superiority has been justified on three major grounds: historical, biological and psychological. The *historical* “evidence” of the superiority of the white race, for example, is found in the assumption that all the great civilizations of the world have been the product of this one race. It is claimed that the Indo-European Aryans, or Nordics, penetrated into India and from there wandered to China, Egypt and the Mesopotamian valley. The Greeks and Romans, it is claimed, owed their highly developed civilization to the white race. The blood stream of the white race was then “purified” further by the entrance of the Teutons into Western civilization. All modern culture is derived from these virile Teutons, it is asserted. Where a high culture has appeared in non-white races, it is dismissed as a mere imitation of the superior culture of the whites. The rise and fall of civilizations may be attributed, it is said, to the fact that the superior white stock was diluted or destroyed by non-white racial elements. Thus, Egyptian civilization disappeared when the white race became mongrelized;

Greece and Rome were corrupted by racial mixture; interbreeding of races in South America led to its cultural disintegration; German civilization is doomed unless the Teutons destroy any further contamination of blood; and so on.

The *biological* "evidence" of the superiority of the white race is sometimes based upon purely physical characteristics. It is assumed by Gobineau, Chamberlain, Günther and others, as we shall see later, that the white man is more "beautiful" than the yellow, black or red man. The Spencerian concept of brain weight and size is used to bolster the theory (the brain of the white man is furthest removed in weight and size from that of the ape). Without regarding the more pertinent problem of the function of the brain, it is inferred that the brain of the white man is superior to that of coloured men. It is argued that the white man is furthest advanced physically on the road of evolution, and this argument is presented as an irrefutable evidence of his racial superiority.

The *psychological* "evidence" of the racial superiority of the white man is found in experimental tests measuring the comparative mental abilities of white and coloured races. It is assumed that differences in behavior, which cannot be regarded as due to differences in environment, must be looked upon as due to innate differences. The superiority of white culture over that of other races must be regarded as due to differences in mentality. Experiments based upon intelligence tests have led to the conclusion that, in general, whites are superior in native ability to other groups.<sup>64</sup> It is found that Germans, Englishmen, Scotch, Danes and other whites have high mental levels, while Negroes and other coloured people are mentally inferior.

Critics of the thesis of racial superiority have refused to accept the historical, biological and psychological "evidence" advanced by race theorists. These critics assail the methods used as illogical and

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<sup>64</sup> The literature of psychological tests is enormous. *Vide* as examples, S. D. Porteus, *Psychological Review*, 1917, p. 38; D. S. Herrick, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1921, pp. 253ff; A. C. Strong, *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1913, pp. 500ff; A. H. Arlitt, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1921, pp. 179ff; L. M. Terman, "The Measurement of Intelligence," New York, 1916.

superficial, and the conclusions as unscientific. If anything, they say, racial intermixture invariably results in an improved race and culture and that it will invariably lead civilization to a higher plane.<sup>65</sup> They hold that in the ancestry of most human beings can be traced elements of early negroid races as well as every important racial element of prehistoric times. No case can be made for the superiority of the white race over other races, they say, because of the simple fact that it is interbred with all others.<sup>66</sup>

This school of anti-racialists rejects the historical evidence submitted by racialists as false and unscientific. They maintain that by no stretch of the imagination can the ancient civilizations be called Nordic, rather being almost completely non-Nordic. They point to the fact that the art of writing, agriculture, the use of the wheel, and capacity to build structures in stone were all introduced by non-Nordic peoples of antiquity, yet it is claimed that all creative impulses came from the Nordic whites.<sup>67</sup> The rise in culture of Greece and Rome was preceded by centuries of conquest, assimilation and ethnic amalgamation, hence the entire culture of the modern world rests on a foundation of blended stocks.

The anti-racialists also reject the biological evidence of white racial superiority as inconclusive. They hold that there is no reason

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<sup>65</sup> *Vide* chap. 2. The Swiss are usually portrayed as a classic example of moral cohesion and civilization as a result of the union of four different races (in reality several dozen). "The conclusion as to the essential mental equality of all racial groups seems to be borne out by historical evidence. The growth and spread of civilization has gone on with a serene indifference to racial lines. All groups who have had an opportunity to acquire civilization have not only acquired it but also added to its content. Conversely, no group has been able to develop a rich or complex culture when it was isolated from outside contacts." (Ralph Linton, *op. cit.*, chap. 3.)

<sup>66</sup> "A plotting of racial characteristics on the basis of their degree of evolutionary advance shows such an even balance between the various races and breeds that we are forced to conclude that all of them stand at about equal distances from their common ancestor." (*Ibid.*, chap. 3.)

<sup>67</sup> Nordic theorists hold that the Nordic race has remained relatively constant from the ethnic point of view and that "denordization" has resulted in Germany in cultural decadence. Weidenreich, however, pointed out that the greatest Germans, including Beethoven, Kant, Schiller, Leibnitz and Goethe, were all moderately or extremely round-headed, with cephalic indices from 84-92. This would place them outside the Nordic classification.

to presume that white stocks are superior to others on purely physical grounds. The size of the brain is relatively unimportant, they say, when compared to the efficiency of its functioning. Furthermore, the matter of "beauty" is purely esthetic and allows for a wide difference of opinion. That the degree of resemblance to the simian form be accepted as a measure of evolutionary development is, they say, a highly debatable point.

The psychological evidence for white racial supremacy is dismissed with even more vehemence. The anti-racialists say that mental differences shown by intelligence tests are demonstrably due to various social levels and economic differences rather than to inherited mental traits. Objectors to racial theory criticize the technique and findings of psychologists who have tested for racial differences on the ground that the science is still in an infant stage. The Army Alpha, Army Beta and Stanford-Binet tests used in the United States during the War did not show any great accuracy in measuring intelligence. It is said furthermore that tests by such psychologists as McFadden, Derrick, Terman, MacDougal, Mayo and others are inconclusive and still leave the entire question of mental differences open. The occurrence of hereditary mental traits belonging to a particular race has never been proven. "The available evidence makes it much more likely that the same mental traits appear in varying distribution among the principle racial groups. The behavior of an individual is therefore not determined by his racial affiliation, but by the character of his ancestry and his cultural environment. We may judge of the mental characteristics of families and individuals but not of races."<sup>68</sup>

Finot concluded that the differences between men are only individual and not racial.<sup>69</sup> Where differences do exist between peoples, they may more properly be traced to political or social, rather than ethnic causes.

<sup>68</sup> Franz Boas, "What is a Race?" *Nation*, 1925.

<sup>69</sup> "*Les différences entre hommes n'étant ainsi qu'individuelles, il n'y aura plus théoriquement de place pour les haines intérieures et extérieures, de même qu'il n'y en aura plus pour les infériorités sociales ou politiques des classes.*" (Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 505.)



## CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions can be drawn from this brief treatment of the meaning of race?

1. The term race is often used loosely to indicate groups of men differing in appearance, language or culture. As used in this book it applies only to the rough biological groupings of human types.

2. There exist no satisfactory data regarding the classification of peoples of the earth. All methods of classification, whether based upon craniological measurements, facial form, skin-colour, stature, hair or eye or nose, present difficulties.

3. The thesis of purity of present races is untenable, since the juxtaposition of peoples has resulted in an ethnic tangle.

4. The concept of the innate superiority of certain peoples has not been proven.

## CHAPTER 2

### RACE AND HISTORY

#### THE RACIAL INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

The tendency to utilize one element in political life and institutional development to explain the development of civilization, the laws of nature and new principles is nowhere more obvious than in the racialists' interpretation of history. Race dogmatists ignore or minimize all other factors forming the mosaic pattern of history. The racial interpretation is simple and appealing to the lay mind: nations arise when a superior race conquers an inferior one, the conquerors becoming aristocrats by race, while the conquered remain inferior. Only when aristocratic racial thoroughbreds allow themselves to become mongrelized through miscegenation with the lower races do nations begin to weaken and eventually to decline.<sup>1</sup> The whole history of civilization, say the racialists, may be traced to this simple ethnic basis. Furthermore, they warn that racial bastardization provides a lesson of history which must be regarded as vital for the continued existence of the present dominant races. They are certain that mongrelization, "denordization" and indiscriminate ethnic intermixture will lead to the decadence of the dominant white, and particularly the Nordic culture, unless the disintegrative process is arrested.

The necessity for understanding this "lesson of history" and applying it as a basis for future action has been placed upon a high moral plane: "The question put to us is whether we have courage enough to make ready for future generations a world cleansing itself

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to the racialist position, degeneration, *i.e.*, a heavy increase in inferior hereditary tendencies, and "denordization", *i.e.*, disappearance of Nordic blood, have brought the European peoples of Indo-European speech to their decay and fall.

racially and eugenically . . . Where selection is in question, it is many generations that must be taken into the reckoning, and the Nordic-minded men of the present can expect one reward in their lifetime for their striving; the consciousness of their courage. Race theory and investigations on heredity call forth and give strength to a New Nobility: the youth, that is, with lofty aims in all ranks which, urged on like Faust, seeks to set its will towards a goal which calls to it from far beyond the individual life.”<sup>2</sup>

From the racialist viewpoint, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome arose as dominant civilizations side by side with inferior and mediocre peoples, and then faded into insignificance because they allowed themselves to become diseased by ethnic intermixture. The process was not altogether a deliberate one, since these powerful civilizations, faced by the loss of their best manhood through interminable warfare, were forced to adopt the dangerous method of accepting racial infiltration of weaker stocks. Disregarding racial determinism as one of the unassailable laws of history, they permitted the blood of the creative dominant races to run dry, thereby signing their own death warrants.

The anti-racialists attribute this position to sentimentality, unscientific and unphilosophical spirit, and political expediency. They are unwilling to accept the thesis that all history may be understood by an examination of racial development. They point to the difficulties of ethnic classification, to the confused ethnic relationships of all peoples, to the constant intermingling of racial cross-currents that has proceeded through every generation at every stage in history, and to the fact that no great civilization was ever composed of a pure ethnic stock. Here are imposed insoluble problems, they say, which make an intelligible understanding of history on the basis of race virtually impossible.

According to the racialist position, the rise and fall of the Greek civilization provide an example of the race factor at work. It is claimed that the original Hellenes were a fair race, whose heroic sagas reflected those of the Nordic peoples, and whose institutions,

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<sup>2</sup> Hans F. K. Günther, "The Racial Elements of European History," New York, p. 267. Günther's book is an excellent example of the work of the race "scientist".

houses and styles of weapons pointed clearly to a Nordic heritage. "Greek history might be represented as the play between the spirit of the Nordic upper class and that of foreign lower orders . . . The Spartan state kept itself in existence mainly by the strict and truly Nordic discipline under which all freemen were held for their whole lives . . . In the history of Sparta a certain pride in the racial inheritance is always to be seen, a feeling among Spartans that they were the only pure-blooded Hellenes."<sup>3</sup> But then, say the Nordacists, "denordization" and ethnic degeneration turned Spartan freedom to license, while Athenian enlightenment and individualism—products of decadent races—led to the decay of Nordic culture. As soon as the structure of the state came to rest on wealth and not status, the Nordic land-owning nobility lost its power, fell into wars and died in duels (a characteristic of the Nordic class), and finally left themselves open to mixed marriages. In fraternal strife and foreign conflicts (for example, the Persian wars), the warrior upper class lost its strength. Thus, the Hellenic civilization sank in the same measure that the blood of her Nordic upper class ran dry. Those Greek states in which the Nordic element predominated, Sparta and Thebes, outlived the other city-states which practiced miscegenation.

The anti-racialist school refuses to accept this interpretation. Far from being the cause of degeneration, it is more probable, they say, that racial intermixture was among the factors responsible for the extraordinarily high development of Greek culture. The Greeks were a racial amalgam, composed of a blend of Mediterranean long-heads and Alpine round-heads, as well as long-headed Nordics. It was not until several hundred years after the invasion by Northern peoples that the Greeks began an industrialization period in place of the early agricultural economy. By the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., when Greek culture reached its heights, the conglomerate ethnic groups in the Greek city-states were ethnically confused. It is true that the Greeks were the first people after the Jews to formulate the conception of differences between peoples (Greeks and barbarians), but these differences were based not on

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164-166.

racial contrast, but on traditional and cultural unlikeness.<sup>4</sup> There was no Greek "race." If demographical statistics can be taken as a criterion, Greek colonization in Asia Minor and Southern Italy was carried on by a mongrelized people, certainly not by men of a Greek race.<sup>5</sup> Günther's identification of Nordic and Greek races, they say, is arbitrary and dogmatic and will not bear scientific scrutiny.

Similarly, in the desire to show race as the determining factor in history, it is claimed by the Nordic school that the Romans, final inheritors of power in the ancient Mediterranean region, were sprung from Nordic blood. It is said that the early Romans were even more Nordic than the Hellenes, as indicated by their greater earnestness, their new and decisive concept of freedom and their turbulent restlessness.<sup>6</sup> Always giving evidence of their Nordic origin, the Romans gradually expanded as a dominant, conquering race. With the Twelve Tables and subsequent legal adjustments between patricians and plebeians began the disruptive force of racial intermixture. Nordic blood slowly ran dry, losing its potency in the Punic and civil wars. In correspondence with these racial changes, the Empire took on the features of Eastern despotism as the superior blooded nobility gradually faded out of Roman life. The true Roman-Nordic creative powers were exhausted and the Empire declined into "a racial morass arising from the decomposition of peoples and every kind of mixture, a mob wherein now and again Nordic characteristics might appear".<sup>7</sup> This heedless dilution of Nordic blood meant the death of a great culture.

The anti-Nordic school condemns this concept as inaccurate. It is impossible to prove a pure Nordic racial strain in the original community on the hills of Rome, say the anti-Nordics. From the

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<sup>4</sup> The fact that Aristotle distinguished between Greeks and barbarians is sometimes stressed as an indication that racial animosity existed even during the Greek era. The Aristotelian concept, however, is hardly equivalent to the present-day notion of race. In his estimation, barbarians were different in that they were destined "by nature" to become slaves. The social exclusion was based on culture, not blood. (Cf. Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.)

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

middle of the eighth century B.C., through the decline of the Republic and the emergence of the *principate*, to the decline of the Empire in the fifth century A.D., racial intermixture was a continuous process, varying in degree, but always going on. The early Italic peoples conquered the Italian peninsula within two centuries, subduing in order Etruscans, Celts and Greeks. With the conquest of Greece and the Hellenistic Orient, any desire upon the part of these early peoples to maintain ethnic purity was lost in the greater desire to establish a world empire.<sup>8</sup> From the viewpoint of the anti-Nordicist, the greatness of Roman civilization first began when ethnic intermixture took on a more rapid pace. In the accumulative ethnic intermixture that went on with conquest and expansion, Rome was converted from a simple agricultural economy of relatively few mixed ethnic groups to a highly imperialistic state including most peoples of the then known Western world, to a remarkable racial amalgam.<sup>9</sup> The great contributions to culture of the Romans were products of a period when the process of ethnic amalgamation was well under way and when all people living in the Roman Empire were members of the Roman state, not of the Roman *race*.

The critics of the racialist position maintain that to attribute the decline of Roman civilization to racial mongrelization alone is to disregard the most simple facts of history. Geographical, political, economic, religious, cultural and psychological factors all entered into the decay of Roman civilization: among other factors the impossibility of handling so huge an empire, the failure of the Roman despots to solve the problems of land distribution, the economic competition from the provinces, the decline of commerce and industry, the invasion of the barbarians, the Roman moral disintegration, the introduction of Christianity, and a host of subsidiary causes.

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<sup>8</sup> From the time of Alexander (336-323 B.C.) up to the end of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.), the idea of a single, *fused* race ("*oikumene*") was considered the goal of humanity. Alexander himself took two wives from the Persian royal house.

<sup>9</sup> According to Tenney Frank, ninety per cent of the free plebeians at the end of the first century A.D. had Oriental blood. (Cf. F. G. Detweiler, "The Rise of Modern Race Antagonisms," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1932.)

Characteristic of the racialist position is the tendency to confuse conquest with ethnic change in favor of the conquering peoples. It is assumed as a matter of course that the invading race impresses its superior physical and mental attributes upon the conquered peoples, and that the latter, biologically speaking, tend to disappear from history. Only when the conquering race loses its racial character does it disintegrate. The Teutonic invasions provide a good case in point. It is held by racialists that the barbarian infiltrations of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. were sudden and cataclysmic, that physically virile Teutons wiped out the decadent Roman peoples, regenerated Western civilization and introduced new concepts of liberty and democracy. This is a perversion of historical fact. The barbarian invaders—Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Langobards, Burgundians and others, did not move in large-scale migrations and they did not overcome Romans and substitute for Roman culture one of their own. The movements were of barbarian peoples already settled within the Empire or in close contact with it. The process of infiltration from the outside was slow and measured. There was no pure strain left once this interbreeding, assimilation and amalgamation began. In some instances, it is true, where the invaders moved quickly (for example, the Visigoths in Rome, Southern France and Spain), the ethnic results were altogether negligible and unimportant. The invading barbarians, however, disappeared ethnically in a confused tangle of races and became, like other peoples, Romanized in culture.

Perhaps the most striking example of the fallacy of the racial interpretation of history may be found in the character of medieval European civilization. Here the idea of a universal spiritual monarchy (*sacerdotium*) was fused with that of a universal temporal monarchy (*imperium*) under the banner of Catholic Christianity. Church and State were one, and all national differences disappeared under the dominant concept of Christianity. One of the important reasons for the widespread appeal of Catholicism was the fact that it cut straight through the stratification of society and offered spiritual aid and comfort, as well as immortality, to every person, regardless of his "race" or place in society. Faith was considered of

inestimably more importance than biological barriers. The Church accepted into its fold whites, blacks and yellows, any human being who was willing to join the kingdom of God.

The race credo, as we understand it to-day, did not appear until after the division between Church and State during the Reformation and the developing territorial consolidation and rise of national states. In the sixteenth century began a struggle for supremacy between the various European national states, a conflict that has raged on almost uninterruptedly down to the present day. In the building of national states and the concomitant Europeanization of the world, each nation sought to emphasize its own peculiar national traits as an evidence of superiority. Historians and kings, theorists and men of action, discovered national (later racial) characteristics that had existed in each nation from its inception. But the racial-national concept was always artificial in nature. To interpret the history of Europe since the sixteenth century on the sole basis of racialism is as fallacious as attempting to understand it purely on the ground of personal relations between monarchs.

#### RACE AND CULTURE

To the race theorists the laws concerning the hygiene of races are fundamental and must be obeyed or else the human species will destroy itself. They maintain that since races of different colour are fundamentally different and each race is governed by its own "law of growth", miscegenation will retard the progress of human development. Moreover, racial amalgamation will result in cultural decadence. The thesis presented by racialists is as follows: the glory of ancient Rome was due to the Nordic race; Rome maintained a high cultural level only so long as it kept its Nordic blood pure; the rise and fall of Spain were obviously due to the infiltration and later decadence of the Nordic strain; the Renaissance, both in Italy and in Northern Europe, was a purely Nordic cultural phenomenon. Since races are "thoughts of God", those peoples who attempted to mix and muddle ethnic strains brought catastrophe on themselves.

Although we shall discuss the Nordic myth in detail later, it may be said at this point that while Mediterranean and Alpine peoples



have dominated Western civilization for some six thousand years, the Nordic influence was important only during the last few hundred. The Nordic tribes which settled in ancient India, Greece and Italy reached their full development only after they had mixed with the native population. In any case, the first great steps in Western civilization were first taken in the Near East by peoples who cannot in any way be identified as Nordic.

The contention that racial intermixture invariably leads to cultural decadence may be seriously questioned on the ground that if racial amalgamation could have ruined mankind it would have completed the disintegrative process many thousands of years before the first recording of history.<sup>10</sup> Historical evidence points the other way: if anything, ethnic mixture in the past has heightened the civilizing process and has led to improved cultures. The present cultural status of mankind has behind it centuries of the most involved ethnic intermixture. The countless wars, migrations and invasions characteristic of the development of civilization have resulted in a thoroughly mongrelized human race which, far from being destroyed by racial intermixture, appears capable of even greater cultural achievements.

Even a superficial examination of the history of culture reveals that all nations have been of mixed blood.<sup>11</sup> The building of the early Egyptian civilization was the work of a people who had been undergoing ethnic amalgamation since the close of the Old Stone Age. Predominantly Mediterranean, and certainly not Nordic, the Egyptians were an ethnic conglomeration including round-heads

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<sup>10</sup> The question of mixed races is closely tied up by some with the conception of pure races. How can race mixture occur, it has been asked, if there are not pure races to mix? From the standpoint of the anthropologist and as here used, the term "race" refers to a biological group based upon community of physical characters. While each race is presumably sprung from a common ancestry, there exist to-day few, if any, tribes or individuals of unmixed origin. Race mixture does not necessarily refer to intermingling of pure races, but rather to mixture of amalgamated groups of human beings set apart from others by one or more marks of physical differences and to whom we arbitrarily apply the term "race".

<sup>11</sup> "Sexual attraction is no respecter of racial lines . . . where any two human groups meet, cross-breeding results even when the most rigorous social restrictions are imposed." (M. J. Herskovits, "Race Mixture," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 7, p. 41.)

from Anatolia, Semites from the northern part of the Fertile Crescent, Negroes from the Sudan region, and various other stocks. It was a mixed people which in the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates contributed the calendar, cuneiform script, the sexagesimal system, the Code of Hammurabi and Zoroastrianism to civilization. The successive waves of Sumerians, Babylonians, Kassites, Assyrians, Chaldeans and Persians, which swept across the plains, left a miscellaneous culture in their wake. To attribute the culture of this region solely to Nordic conquests is manifestly absurd. The commercial, legal and cultural achievements of this area, one of the cradlelands of Western civilization, were products of ethnic intermixture.

It was a third mixed race which forged the high culture of Greece. Here again there was a succession of hybridized stocks: of long-headed Euraficans and Mediterraneans and of round-headed Alpines, either Indo-Europeans from the North or Alpine-Armenoids from northern Asia Minor. Achaeans, Dorians, Ionians and Aetolians, either Alpines or semi-Alpines, tempered the Greek stock.

Similarly, it was a mixed Roman people who gave to the world new and important concepts of law, government and engineering. Although it is not possible to ascertain the original ethnic components of ancient Italy, it is believed that the country was originally inhabited by a long-headed Paleolithic people. About 2500 B.C., Neolithic lake-dwellers, *Terramares*, who were probably round-headed Alpines, penetrated from the north. A millennium later came various Italic tribes—Samnites, Latins and Umbrians—over-running the peninsula and intermingling with Etruscans, a Mediterranean stock who probably came from the Tigris-Euphrates region.<sup>12</sup> Greek tribes were established in Southern Italy; Celts penetrated from Northwestern Europe; finally Germanic invaders came from Northern Europe. The cultural greatness of Rome by no means

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<sup>12</sup> Various theories have been advanced as to the origin of the Etruscans, who at one time or another have been connected with Armenians, Basques, Canaanites, Egyptians and Tartars. However, divination by Etruscan *haruspices*, unless it be an evidence of parallelism in culture, indicates a Babylonian origin. Here is an excellent example of the difficulty in tracing ethnic origins.

began with the barbarian invasions; it was more likely a product of racial intermixture.

The same conclusions can be drawn in the consideration of nations in present-day civilization. When two or more divergent groups intermingle to produce a divergent type, the intermediate group as a whole appears to be superior to the ancestral types.<sup>13</sup> There are, of course, political, social, and economic factors which, singly or in combination, may lead to political degeneration of a nation, but on the whole most nations now on a high plane of cultural development consist of blended stocks which may rise or decline without regard to the race factor.

Probably the most convincing evidence that ethnic intermixture makes for cultural advancement may be found in the negative process of examining those groups which have maintained an approximation of racial purity. Those primitive tribes of Africa and Asia which practice endogamy, or inbreeding, appear to be the lowest of all peoples in degree of cultural advancement. Even the most primitive tribes of Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Asia, Polynesia and North America, sometimes rejected the principle of racial purity as harmful to the existence of the tribe, forcing their hereditary social units to be exogamous to one another by making all persons born in one unit to take mates born in another tribe. Another example of the cultural degradation of relatively pure ethnic stocks may be found in the mountaineers of the Southern states in America. Here generations of inbreeding because of contempt for, or fear of, the stranger have led to retardation which compares unfavorably with the progress of the ethnically amalgamated nation as a whole. Moreover, mulatto Negro stock appears to be culturally higher than the comparatively unmixed Negroes. Given equal economic and social status, mulattos compare favorably with whites of equal environmental conditions. Hybrids of Mexico, Central America, Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines appear to be culturally more progressive than native stocks. It ap-

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<sup>13</sup> Madison Grant dissents from this viewpoint: "Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type." (Madison Grant, "The Passing of the Great Race," New York, 1920, p. 18.)

pears that the man of mixed blood is more mobile, more alert, and more emotionally responsive, as indicated by the fact that mixed bloods gravitate to cities, "which have always been the final refuge of the detribalized, denationalized, and emancipated . . . the 'marginal man'".<sup>14</sup>

#### RACE AND PSYCHOLOGY: HEREDITY VERSUS ENVIRONMENT

One of the greatest difficulties revolving about the problem of race lies in the fact that two separate sets of factors, biological and cultural, both extremely variable and often inseparable, influence the development of ethnic groups. The problem of heredity versus environment has thus far defied successful analysis, although millions of words have been written to justify the importance of one at the expense of another. If experiments in breeding and rearing human beings could be carried out, some valuable results might be achieved. Experiments on animals prove nothing, since animals are without culture and do not meet everyday problems with feelings, either morally or emotionally.<sup>15</sup>

The age-old question of the effects of heredity and environment were discussed at the First Anthropological Congress held in London in 1911. Anthropologists and psychologists were confronted with such questions as: "Do you believe that physical and mental characteristics are inherited and can only be modified in centuries through environmental influences?" and "do you believe that environmental conditions, as expressed in education, public opinion and cultural development, can change the physical and mental characteristics of a race within one or two generations?" These questions cannot be dismissed lightly even to-day, since their answers form the very core of race-thinking. The basis of the racialist position is that racial characteristics, whether they be physical or mental, are inherited and that environment plays little or no part in the

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<sup>14</sup> Vide Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 33, 1928, pp. 882-883.

<sup>15</sup> Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86. Race theorists often show regretfully that great value is attached to the thoroughbred qualities of horses or dogs, but that the same is not demanded of the human animal. Anti-racialists point out that thoroughbred dogs degenerate within an incredibly short time.

process. It is assumed that every individual inherits his physical and mental characters at birth, that they remain unchanged, and that they are typical of the race to which he belongs. His heredity, it is asserted, sets an unvarying and unchanged standard. It is claimed that human reactions will always be automatic and instinctive, and that reason plays no part in determining his behavior. The influence of home, school, church, public opinion and cultural environment is dismissed as negligible, since the character of the individual from birth is predestined by membership in a particular racial group. This idea is extended to show that complicated historical traits of an ethnic group are innate, acquired through the immutable laws of heredity.

Although a product of the pre-Mendelian era, this concept has become the stuff and substance of racial theory. The error lies in the assumption of hereditary racial characteristics from isolated cases of individual inheritance. Superficial facial or bodily resemblance between parents are given as proof of racial character, with disregard for environmental conditions. While the double genes outfit of an organism inherited from father and mother may remain unaltered, its expression tends to change according to environment. Any character is the product of an interaction between hereditary and environment, not the sole result of one. The problem is considerably aggravated by variations produced by environment. This was made clear by Julian Huxley: "Variation merely implies difference, and the difference between two individuals or strains of men or other organisms may be due to three essentially distinct factors: to difference in environment, as when differences in exposure to sunlight tan one child and leave the other bleached and pallid; to differences caused by mutation of the genes, as between bearded and beardless varieties of grain (cumulative mutations are responsible for most differences brought about in evolution); to recombination, *i.e.*, to re-shuffling of old genes in new constellations among the independent assortment after a cross (this accounts for most of the differences observed between brothers and sisters in the same family). Man, owing to crossing of the different stocks, shows an unusual degree of recombinative variation; further, owing to the

plasticity of his mind, he shows an unusual degree of environmentally produced variation."<sup>16</sup>

Another "proof" offered by the racialists on the all-importance of heredity is closely connected with the doctrine of the superiority of races. They claim that observation of black races indicate that the black child is always mentally inferior to the white, which may be attributed to hereditary factors.<sup>17</sup> Psychological tests are given to prove the inherent inferiority of black (or coloured) children. A French anthropologist, Rivet, tested this theory in convincing fashion. He sent one of his assistants to the most backward region of South America, where there lived a tribe economically and socially still in the Stone Age, with instructions to bring back with him an Indian baby arbitrarily selected. The child was then transferred from a primitive region to modern France and given precisely the same environment as a French child of the same age. In 1937, the Indian child reached the age of twelve, thought, spoke and reacted precisely like any white child in the same environment.<sup>18</sup> Residents of New York City may observe that Chinese, Negro, Italian, Jewish, Polish, German, Scandinavian and Greek children develop similar likes and dislikes in the American melting pot. The home environment may cause each of these groups to retain certain parental characteristics, but generally the American ideas predominate in the new generations.

Race credo holds that genius arises from heredity, being simply a combination of superior qualities passed down through generations. In keeping with this theory, extensive research has been undertaken into the genealogical background of such figures as Goethe, Napoleon and Bismarck, with negligible results. Although it is unreasonable to presume that inherited tendencies do not have some effect in producing genius, it is erroneous to attribute the phenomenon to a simple biological explanation. It is significant

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<sup>16</sup> Julian Huxley, "The Concept of Race in the Light of Modern Genetics," *Harper's*, May, 1935.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. pp. 238-239.

<sup>18</sup> Alfred Döblin, "*Anthropologen-Kongress in Paris*," *Das Neue Tagebuch*, August 14, 1937, p. 782. It is unfair to assume that every Indian child would react in the same way, but the experiment is none the less striking.

that men of genius appear mostly in groups: "Every people has its century of genius, the glory of which is its greatest pride. With the Greeks it was the fifth century (and its aftermaths), then came the time of Christ and Augustus, the Crusades, the Renaissance, the great century of 'enlightenment.' All these were cosmopolitan epochs, in which belief in spiritual progress, freedom and humanity, awakened enthusiasm, in which the examples of the high cultural development of certain nations spurred the energies of the other just awakening peoples to noble rivalry. The phenomena of 'great centuries' show that genius cannot be separated from environment."<sup>19</sup> A German biologist, Brunold Springer, investigated the genealogy of the genius among all peoples and periods in a work entitled "*Die Blutmischung als Grundgesetz des Lebens*," and concluded that they were all products of intense ethnic intermixture.

Quite as difficult to digest is the contention of race scholars that racial stocks always inherit the same characteristics. If the so-called Nordic race is actually composed of similar physical and mental qualities, how can the cultural differences between German Nordics and English Nordics be explained on rational grounds? Or the cultural differences between Norwegian and Swede, between Swiss and German, between Prussian and Bavarian, between Teuton and Nordic American? These peoples are said to be of kindred biological composition, yet their temperaments and cultures vary widely.

The evidence of anthropology and psychology favors the thesis that no one race can be discussed as an individual unit and that every case must be evaluated according to its own character. Franz Boas believes that while it is likely that there are differences in the distribution of genetic elements determining personality in different ethnic groups, the study of cultural forms shows that such differences are altogether irrelevant when compared with the powerful influences of the cultural environment in which the group lives.<sup>20</sup> In other words, cultural achievements of different peoples might be explained adequately on other grounds than on innate superiority

<sup>19</sup> Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>20</sup> Franz Boas, "Race," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, *supra*.

or inferiority. Descent of the individual plays a comparatively insignificant rôle in his behavior. The human organism is so plastic that it follows more closely the pattern of cultural environment in its behavior.<sup>21</sup>

It must always be kept in mind that the differences between various racial dispositions are generally less than the differences between normal and diseased predispositions. The hereditary substance of most people is so mixed that it becomes altogether impossible to estimate the proportions of each parent-race in an individual.<sup>22</sup> Until there appears a fool-proof method of measuring accurately the exact importance of hereditary and environmental factors upon human beings, there is little use in guessing the percentage of their composition in individuals and nations.

#### RACE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Much of the misunderstanding surrounding the problem of race may be attributed to the false analogy between race and the individual. It is often assumed that a race, like the human individual, goes through a life development from birth, adolescence, middle age, old age and death. This analysis, also applied by Spengler to the history of civilizations, is accepted by racialists as an accurate explanation of the rise and fall of races.

Note the difficulties which immediately arise in this analogy. In the first place, it is altogether impossible to know exactly where and when any ethnic group originated. It is probable that all races are one and are of the same age. There appear to be no races among mankind whose genes are incompatible or whose intermingling inevitably leads to decadence. To say that a racial unit grows like the individual is to presume that all the stages of its development are clear-cut and easily discernible, which is obviously not the case.

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<sup>21</sup> "The only safe conclusion to be drawn is that careful tests reveal a marked dependence of mental reactions upon conditions of life and that all racial differences which have been established thus far are so much subject to outer circumstances that no proof can be given of innate racial differences." (Boas, *ibid.*)

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Bauer, Fischer and Lenz, "*Grundrisse der menschlichen Erblichkeitslehre und Rassen-Hygiene*," 1927, pp. 521, 573.



It is apparent that ethnic groups have always been conditioned by social qualities, which vary from time to time. Among primitive men, competition was largely a matter of physical qualities. The men of strongest physical endowment usually survived in the battle for existence and their strength of body, as well as of mind, was vital in the conflict. With the development of complex cultures, the place of the individual in society became more and more determined by social environment and social inheritance.

In the attempt to further the analogy between race and the individual, the race credo attributes to one people a "soul", claimed to be characteristic, just as each individual is said to possess an innermost soul. This type of reasoning is based upon a form of mysticism which the scientist cannot very well accept. No method of observation or experimentation is possible for measuring the nature of such "racial souls".

#### RACE AND LANGUAGE

Probably the most striking fallacy in the race credo is the identification of race with language. This tendency, initiated by linguistic paleontologists and comparative philologists in the early nineteenth century,<sup>23</sup> has continued down to the present day. In current speech, the phrases "the Germanic race", "the French race", "the Latin race", and "the Slavonic race" are widely used, even in scholarly circles. What is meant is that certain groups of peoples speak certain languages of common origin. Nevertheless, "race" and "language" have been used interchangeably without the slightest justification.<sup>24</sup>

Because of this propensity for confusing race and language, it is sometimes assumed that the race of a people can be inferred from the language they speak. It is asserted that various languages can

<sup>23</sup> *Vide* pp. 58 ff.

<sup>24</sup> "If we can once thoroughly convince ourselves that race, in its only intelligible, that is, biological sense, is supremely indifferent to the history of languages and cultures, that these are no more directly explainable on the score of race than on that of the laws of physics and chemistry, we shall have gained a viewpoint that allows a certain interest to such mystic slogans as Slavophilism, Anglo-Saxondom, Teutonism and the Latin genius, but quite refuses to be taken in by any of them." (Edward Sapir, "Language, Race and Culture," in "The Making of Man," New York, 1931, p. 143.)

be traced back to an original parent tongue; that the superior qualities of the mother tongue indicate superior mental and physical qualities; that a language widely distributed throughout the world is an obvious proof of the civilizing capacity of all those who have the good fortune to speak the tongue; and that all people who speak one language are rigidly united by identical anthropological characteristics. All these assumptions are incorrect.

A clear exposition of this fallacy was written by Havet in a letter to Salomon Reinach: "The truth is that language and race are two entirely distinct notions between which one must not for a single instant admit even the shadow of a likeness; no anthropological argument, under the smallest pretext, should contain a single word of linguistics, nor should any linguistic argument contain a single word of anthropology. When this essential separation has been resolved upon, both sciences may be made to progress. Till then we shall be only wasting paper and ink."<sup>25</sup> The criticism is just, since the structure of language is determined almost exclusively by accidental factors quite apart from ethnic considerations. A nation may include people who speak the same language, but it may at the same time include people of diverse ethnic strains. Probably the best example of this may be found in the United States, where there has been built up a nation of conglomerate ethnic groups, including English, Germans, Italians, Poles, Jews, Swedes, themselves all racially intermingled, and many others. All these ethnic groups tend to become bi-lingual in the first generation, speaking an Americanized form of English. This great mass of people remains heterogeneous as a racial group, but linguistically they are all one. In the far-flung English colonies and possessions, natives have begun to speak English. Visitors to the French Colonial Exposition in Paris in 1931 found the natives on display speaking fluent French, although these natives could not by any stretch of racist imagination be called French by "race." Other examples may be found at will.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Salomon Reinach, "L'Anthropologie," 1900, p. 483.

<sup>26</sup> One example of the lack of correspondence between race and language concerns the Malayo-Polynesian peoples of the South Malay peninsula and the island world to

The linguistic anomalies existing throughout Europe indicate the fallacy of linking race with language. The Scandinavian Northmen adopted the French language when they settled in France and the English tongue when they appeared in England. In northern Italy to-day there is a percentage of Germanic blood, but no survivals of Teutonic tongues. The Franks in Gaul and the Goths in Italy adopted vulgar Latin as their language. The Slavic peoples of the Balkan states who came under the influence of Islam still speak Turkish dialects. Bulgarians have given up their original Finnish speech in favor of Slavic. Likewise, the Roumanian language, originally Latin in form, is tending to become more and more Slavic. Natives of northeast Russia, ethnically Ugrian, have adopted the Russian tongue. Negroes in all European countries have invariably adopted the language of their residence. The list is almost endless. Language, by its very nature, never has been, and cannot be, a test of race. It rather reflects socio-political developments, such as migrations sweeping over countries regardless of ethnic boundaries.<sup>27</sup>

If the language of one nation appears to be similar to that of another, we may assume that these two countries have been in contact with one another at some time. A people speaking one particular language may expand among another people. If it remains but a short time, its linguistic influence upon the invaded nation may be negligible, but if, on the other hand, it settles down and assimilates the culture of the conquered region, it may leave a lasting linguistic effect. The Indo-European family group which invaded most of Western Europe acted in this latter fashion, settling for a long period, absorbing the conquered peoples and then marching on. The prevalence of Indo-European tongues and their derivatives

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the south and east. There are three ethnic groups in this area: Papuans of Negro blood in New Guinea and Melanesia; Malays in Indonesia; and Polynesians in the outer islands. Polynesians and Malays speak languages of their own group, while the Papuans' speech belongs partly to the Melanesian group and partly to the unrelated language group of New Guinea. The racial division is Papuan-Polynesian, but the linguistic division is Malayan-Melanesian-Polynesian. (*Cf.* Sapir, *op. cit.*, p 146-147.)

<sup>27</sup> A language may die out in its primary area and live on among a people whose interests are strongly inimical to the original speakers.

may be explained by this process.<sup>28</sup> Since the racial factor remained entirely distinct from the element of language, it is unreasonable to assume that the parent Indo-European family was ethnically pure and that it remained pure during its long migrations.

#### RACE AND NATIONALISM

Race as a factor in history did not achieve a position of importance until relatively recent times.<sup>29</sup> It came into being as a concomitant of the nationalism upon which the political, economic and cultural structure of modern civilization rests. In the ancient world, medieval times and the modern era up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, race played a comparatively insignificant rôle.<sup>30</sup> Until the rise of national states, antagonisms between peoples were caused by cultural, religious and linguistic differences, while comparatively little was understood about the biological implications of intermarriage and race intermingling. According to Lord Bryce, self-conscious racial feeling hardly existed in any country down to the days of the French Revolution. "However much men of different races may have striven with one another, it was seldom any sense of racial opposition that caused their strife. They fought for land. They plundered one another. They sought glory by conquest. . . . But strong as patriotism and national feeling might be, they did not think of themselves in terms of ethnology, and in making war for every other sort of reason never made it for the sake of

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<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the range of Semitic languages was much smaller because of the predominantly settled existence of the early Semitic tribes.

<sup>29</sup> "Prior to the sixteenth century the world was not race conscious and there was no incentive for it to become so. The ancient world was a small world, and because of the gradual transition in physical types which is to be found in all contiguous areas, the physical differences between the classical and barbarian peoples were not marked. From the sixteenth century onward, Europeans were everywhere conquering native peoples and setting themselves up as ruling aristocracies. Since any white man was a member of a ruling group and any brown or black man a member of the subject group, both sides became increasingly conscious of their physical differences." (Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 46.)

<sup>30</sup> It was not until the eighteenth century that the term "race" came into common use. The philosophers of the Age of Reason commonly made a distinction between civilized man and savages. With the age of exploration, the process of colonization and enslavement brought new concepts of inferior "races".

imposing their own type of civilization . . . In none of such cases did the thought of racial distinctions come to the front."<sup>31</sup>

Nationalism, receiving its most potent stimulus from the French Revolution, arose out of the desire of peoples to live together. Those who lived in a defined territory and who were affected by similar traditions, culture, morals, language and perhaps religion, sought to gratify a gregarious feeling by national unity. During the Middle Ages, the international Church had dominated political society, but with the final separation of Church and State as a result of the French Revolution, nations grew, became strengthened and were consolidated. Nationalism, which vividly expressed a community of interests, was a realistic conception, based upon grounds of human experience rather than metaphysics. "Continuity of national character is a natural and intelligible process, and is due to the fact that the mental environment, the social, political, literary, artistic, religious and philosophical tradition of one generation in the series becomes the subject-matter of the intelligence, the mental activity, of the next generation, which in its turn adds something, smaller or greater, to the current which then flows onward, constantly deepening and broadening, but retaining for the whole period of the national existence some portion of the environment of habit and custom which surrounds its source."<sup>32</sup>

#### RACIAL PREJUDICE AND RACIAL HATRED

In the building of national states, racial egotism and racial distrust, extensions of the prejudices of primitive man, were utilized. No age has been free from prejudice and apparently no society has continued to exist long without it. While not always the cause of differences between peoples, race prejudice appears to have been characteristic of every period of historical development.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> James Bryce, "Race Sentiment as a Factor in History," Creighton Lecture, London, 1915, pp. 25-26.

<sup>32</sup> John Oakesmith, "Race and Nationality," New York, 1916, p. 89.

<sup>33</sup> According to John Dewey, what is called race prejudice is not the cause of friction. It is rather a product and sign of friction which is generated by other deep-seated causes. (John Dewey, "Racial Prejudice and Friction," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, March, 1922.)

Racial antagonism may be based upon two distinct factors, those which are immediate and fickle, and those which are derived and justified by national feeling. In the first category may be placed revulsions that appear to be immediate and almost instinctive.<sup>34</sup> Examples are primitive man's immediate fear of a stranger of unaccustomed appearance, the child's fright upon first seeing a Chinese, and the white man's aversion to the Negro. Adolf Hitler's explanation of the origin of his personal anti-Semitism provides a good case in point: "Once, when I was walking through the inner city (Vienna), I suddenly came across a being in a long caftan with black side-locks. My first thought was: Is that a Jew? In Linz they did not look like that. I watched the man stealthily and cautiously, but the longer I stared at that strange countenance and studied it feature by feature, the more the question in a different form turned in my brain: Is that a German?"<sup>35</sup> Here was expressed in striking form the roots of immediate racial hatred. This feeling of aversion in the presence of other peoples is by no means a new one in history. The ancient Hebrews based their immediate aversion for strangers on religious grounds, since all Jews were supposed to have been chosen of God while all strangers were outside the fold. The Greeks considered all who did not speak the Greek tongue or who were not subjected to Hellenic cultural environment as barbarians, thus utilizing linguistic and cultural grounds.

With the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century, racial antagonisms became derived and justified from the viewpoint of nationalism. Signs of racial revulsion now accompanied socio-political movements and race hatred became a deliberate, tangible force. The new racial prejudice, derived from national considerations, was systematic and virulent. Race scientists were called upon

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<sup>34</sup> "In the Aristotelian view racial conflicts are not historical or sociological phenomena but belonging to an eternal order of God or nature: there is no hope of changing racial inequality into equality by patient educational and social work or by revolution: race conflicts can be avoided and a natural harmony arrived at only if the inferior races accept the status imposed upon them by eternal law." (Hans Kohn, "Race Conflict," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 7, p. 36.)

<sup>35</sup> Adolf Hitler, "*Mein Kampf*," Munich, 1934, p. 59.

to find scholarly justification for newly discovered racial antipathies, since man as a rationalizing animal sought for scientific explanations of what was an emotional and intuitive feeling.<sup>36</sup> The whole picture of ethnology was distorted by the new manipulators of knowledge.

Let us search more deeply for the causes of racial prejudices and hatreds which have played so great a part in recent history. How did these deep chasms between men originate?

The first and basic cause appears to be economic.<sup>37</sup> The struggle between master and slave not only cuts through the strata of nations, but also governs the relationships between dominant and "inferior" peoples. With the expansion of European civilization in America, Asia and Africa in the sixteenth and later in the nineteenth centuries, the antagonism between peoples took on a racial aspect. In an endeavor to maintain an economic strangle-hold over the coloured peoples, the white race adopted the rôle of oppressor.<sup>38</sup> The English attitude towards India and that of the various Western powers towards China betray a deep fear that the "inferior races" may one day rise in economic strength and destroy Western dominance.

The second cause of racial hatred is political in nature and is closely allied with the rise of nationalism. Once the national state was constructed, its members began to look upon themselves as a privileged and dominant group. Since some national states have

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<sup>36</sup> "The apparently theoretical beliefs held as to race capacity by people who are actually confronted by a race conflict or problem are by no means the outcome of impartial examination and verification, but are the result of the decisions taken and emotions experienced in the course of acts performed toward the other race." (Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 60.)

<sup>37</sup> Hans Kohn, however, holds that although it is bound up in many ways with economic consequences, race prejudice often proves more significant and more persistent than economic considerations. "The economic roots of race conflicts are certainly strong, but there is also an irrational element, the belief in the superiority of chosen races, which cannot be explained in economic terms." As an example, Professor Kohn points to South Africa, where all differences of nationality or class among the whites receded quickly into the background once the native problem arose. (Hans Kohn, *supra*, pp. 38-39.)

<sup>38</sup> This is the theme of Georg Friedrici's monumental work, "*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer*" (3 vols., Stuttgart-Gotha, 1925-1936), in which the conquest of the Americas is characterized as "barbarisch". The natives were "ausgerottet oder gewaltsam entfernt" in raw fashion.

been cut straight through ethnic boundaries (as witness the pre-war conglomerate Austro-Hungarian Empire), the subjugated peoples looked upon themselves as being controlled by powerful and arrogant aliens. They were strongly prejudiced against those who would have their children attend schools where the national but not the minority tongues were taught. The hatred of the underdog for his political master almost invariably took on the form of racial antagonism.

Thirdly, racial prejudice and hatred may grow as a result of cultural differences between peoples. Oriental peoples resisted the influx of Western customs because they dreaded a change in their long-established institutions. The cultural attributes so heartily despised are looked upon as typical of the white race. Such cultural antagonisms may also exist between peoples of the same colour, between Japanese and Chinese, Germans and French, Italians and English, Spanish and Italians. Barriers of language accentuate these cultural differences.

In the fourth place, racial antagonisms may be caused by a feeling of biological superiority in physical and mental capacity. It is assumed by members of the white race that they are as a matter of course superior in physical character and mental quality. It is believed that evidence of the white man's superiority is to be found in the great progress of white civilization, in its remarkable discoveries in the sciences and contributions in the arts. Thus it follows that he has the right and duty to extend his influence over millions of backward, coloured peoples. Since the white man has covered the earth, opened new continents, conquered the sea and air, built up world-wide commerce and industry and contributed the individual genius, he must be a race apart destined by divine Providence to play a dominant rôle in the relation between races.

A fifth cause for racial prejudice may be found in psychological considerations. It appears that the individual invariably seeks for an escape mechanism permitting him to secure full satisfaction for his ego. But since the human being finds it difficult to express alone the driving urge for survival and since he is a gregarious animal, he finds in group egoism a compensation for the paucity of his per-



sonal ego. He tends to magnify the virtues of the group to which he belongs and even finds that what may be personal vices become group virtues. In the struggles of competitive society, he alone, as a Nordic, Celt or Anglo-Saxon, is of comparatively little importance, but he receives a satisfying stimulus when he considers that his racial brothers together with himself form a superior group to carry the brunt of "the white man's burden" or "the battle against disintegrative Judaism".

In the sixth place, religious differences are apt to create racial antagonisms. The story of religions throughout the historical process has been a bloody one, as Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and others slaughtered others in the name of a preferred God. Christianity, in its centuries of missionary work, has brought into its fold millions of coloured peoples, on the assumption that the equality of all races before God is an indestructible truth. But the politico-economic actions of Western white men have largely negated this well-intentioned attitude.

A seventh factor is the repugnance of specific peoples to inter-marriage. This is true despite the fact that human beings are naturally exogamous by nature.<sup>39</sup> It is always feared that the biological effects of racial intermixture may lead to degeneration. Much of the prejudice of whites against blacks and yellows is due to this dread of biological consequences. Kipling's "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet!" expressed this deep-rooted prejudice. Such aversions also exist among related peoples, such as the Chinese and Japanese: "China is not reckoning with the current popular theory of 'racial absorption,' but with preventing the Japanese from being absorbed into Chinese blood. Large numbers of Japanese girls have married and will marry Chinese husbands, but no Chinese girl will marry a Japanese."<sup>40</sup>

These various causes may exist in part or in combination in the

<sup>39</sup> "Romantic interest invariably attaches to the strange, the distant, and unfamiliar, and the disposition of men to go abroad for wives and of women to welcome these roving strangers is probably a part of original nature." (R. E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in "Race and Culture Contacts," E. B. Reuter, ed., New York, 1934, p. 81.)

<sup>40</sup> Lin Yutang, "Can China Stop Japan in her Asiatic March?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 29, 1937, p. 4.

building of racial hatreds. The explanation that race prejudice is merely instinctive or inborn and that racial antagonisms are deeply situated in the primitive organization of the human brain is unsatisfactory. If this generalization were correct, then all children would show racial prejudice in their early contacts with other ethnic types, which is obviously not the case. Moreover, individuals who do not show the slightest evidence of racial intolerance will adopt it when they move to an environment where prejudice is strong.

#### ETHICS OF RACIAL THEORISTS

Thus far in this chapter we have discussed the racial interpretation of history and we have attempted to associate various historical factors with race. At this point a question concerning the writers on race arise. What can be said of the ethics of racial theorists?

It is generally agreed that the characteristics of the genuine scholar include reservation of judgment, restraint of the imagination, intellectual honesty, recognition of the changing physiognomy of knowledge, modesty of expression and passionate desire for truth. To approximate the truths of science, the scholar must subjugate his personal desires and idiosyncrasies and accept facts for what they are worth.

As a group, the racial theorists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries do not possess these characteristics that distinguish the scientist from the pseudo-scientist.<sup>41</sup> If we assume these qualities to be typical of the orthodox scientist, there is ground to assume that

<sup>41</sup>In "Race, a Modern Superstition," New York, 1937, pp. 278-284, Jacques Barzun makes an excellent list of the objections to the work of racial theorists. Dr. Barzun summarizes these objections as follows: 1) *General inconsistency*, since race-thinking is beyond the pale of logical and scientific verification; 2) *pretense of materialism*, i.e., racialists fail to distinguish between the physical gap and the mental overtone; 3) *actual mysticism*; 4) *elusiveness*, i.e., no system of race stays within its natural limits; 5) *statistical fallacy*, in that no exact groupings of qualities of man are apt to be valuable; 6) *fallacy of exception*, in that "exceptions" to the rule are too often admitted by the systematic racialist; 7) *duplicity of motives*, i.e., race theories are often motivated by irrelevant interests; 8) *rhetorical devices*, or unscientific use of figurative language; 9) *tautology*, in that use of race-epithets merely dismisses understanding the problem of race and does not add to it; 10) *predestination and obscurantism*; 11) *absolutism*, i.e., race stands as an absolute, first cause, in politics and philosophic materialism; 12) *utopianism*, i.e., the keen desire to mould the actions of others rather than explain facts.

much writing on the question of race is scientific heresy. Hemmed in by inexorable demands of environmental conditions, whose effects they are the first to deny, racial theorists often commence investigation from the premise of the racial interpretation of history. From this point on they are possessed by a kind of intellectual Machiavellianism which arrogantly denies any contrary theories and dogmatically rejects any thesis which is not based upon racial grounds.<sup>42</sup> The method of argument employed is that any means may be used to win the argument at hand. Any failure to accept their conclusions on the ground that the results do not admit of scientific evidence is dismissed as the work of spineless and insipid scholarship typical of the racial chaos.

Scholarship based upon so fragile a structure as "intuitive rationalization" is bound to become inextricably submerged in contradictions, inconsistencies, paradoxes and fallacies. The most striking fact about the works of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Günther and the entire school of racialists is the tendency to substitute wishful thinking for logic. If this be true, why is it necessary for any scholar, who understands the ethics of racial theorists and who considers their conclusions to be obviously false, to busy himself with their refutation? What is the sense of setting up racial theory as a straw man to be pounded down when, if let alone, it will fall of its own accord? And, furthermore, is not the entire theory of race so hopelessly jumbled that even the conclusions of reputable ethnologists, anthropologists and historians can settle nothing?

The answers revolve around a significant development in recent history. Racial prejudice and racial hatred among the peoples of the earth have progressed so rapidly that belief in race has become a dominant factor of contemporary times.<sup>43</sup> In the face of this de-

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<sup>42</sup> "The task of evaluating a race is almost always selected and carried out so one-sidedly and tendenciously that it gives the impression of a caricature." (Ernest Kretschma, "*Geniale Menschen*," pp. 73-74.) It must always be kept in mind that racial theorists are seldom susceptible to argument or any machinery of the intellect.

<sup>43</sup> "The philosopher sees movements which might have passed away with change of circumstances as casually as they arose, acquire persistence and dignity because they had taken cognizance of them and given them intellectual names. The witness of history is that to think in general and abstract terms is dangerous; it elevates ideas beyond situations in which they were born and changes with we know not what

velopment it would be suicidal to dismiss racial theory as an unimportant brain-child of philosophers with sour-stomachs. Deplorable antagonisms between contemporary peoples have their origin in economic, political and social differences, but they have been intensified immeasurably by the introduction of the artificial racial factor. Irrational race madness was undoubtedly one of the contributory psychological causes of the World War, and will most certainly play a significant part in the outbreak of the widely expected future wars. For a very real reason, then, it becomes imperative for the intellectually honest scholar to examine patiently, and with as little bias as his personality permits, the ideology of racial theorists.

It is idle to question the sincerity of racialists. When Houston Stewart Chamberlain wrote that he was constitutionally incapable of lying, he expressed a deep, innermost conviction that is characteristic of most racial theorists. The important fact is that the racial theorist may be constitutionally capable of stupidity. The racialist, invariably chauvinist and super-patriot, is moved by basic national considerations; he is always certain that his views represent the truth and that he is intellectually honorable.<sup>44</sup> His conception of race as the ultimate key to history is held tenaciously. He becomes as the inventor of a perpetual motion machine who refuses to believe that his product can be proven unsatisfactory by the most simple laws of physics. Sincerity, however, is not always the measure of truth.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. From the racialist point of view the rhythm of history as expressed in the rise and decline of civilizations may be explained on a purely racial basis. Nations arise when a superior race conquers an inferior one; they decline when the blood of the creative dominant race runs dry through miscegenation with lower races.

2. Critics of this position deny of the validity of the simplistic

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menace for the future." (Mildred Wertheimer, "The Pan-German League," New York, 1924, p. 19.)

<sup>44</sup> "At best, however, belief in race dogma is just the same as national chauvinism, a symptom of immaturity, lack of experience, and in general an intellectually poor individuality." (*Hertz*, op. cit., p. 233.)

factor of race as dogmatic and unscientific. They dispute the contention that racial intermixture invariably leads to cultural decadence.

3. Race theorists hold that the traits of ethnic groups are innate and acquired through immutable laws of heredity.

4. The opposing school rejects this assumption and emphasizes environmentally produced characteristics.

5. Anti-racialists reject the analogy between the life of a race and the life of an individual as inaccurate.

6. The identification of race with language is characteristic of the racialist school. It is more accurate to say that language and race are two distinct notions, since the structure of language is determined almost exclusively by accident factors apart from ethnic considerations.

7. Self-conscious racial feeling is a relatively recent phenomenon in history, dating from the days of the French Revolution and arising as a concomitant of modern nationalism.

8. Racial antagonisms and hatred are artificial factors derived and justified in their modern form from nationalism.

9. The work of racialists is based upon "intuitive rationalization" and consequently is often beset with inconsistencies and fallacies.

Now that we have treated briefly some of the most important problems of race and history, let us turn our attention to the development of Race Craft in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We shall handle these various racial myths in rough order of importance and chronology. Parts two and three will be concerned with the development of the Aryan and Nordic myths in Germany, the cradle-land of modern racialism. Since we are concerned with the history of racial theories of specific types, there will be no attempt to trace the historical development of racialism as a whole, except within the frame-work of each theory at hand. Wherever it is possible, close attention will be paid to those personalities whose writings have been of significance in the fashioning of race theory.

## *PART 2—THE ARYAN MYTH*

### CHAPTER 3

#### LINGUISTIC PALEONTOLOGY CREATES THE ELUSIVE ARYAN

##### THE "INFERIOR" RACES

The dawn of modern history witnessed the disintegration of the feudal system, the gradual consolidation of national states, the rise of a town economy, and the transfer of commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and the New World. This shift of economic pursuits had incalculable results, not the least of which was the inevitable clash between European merchants, soldiers and adventurers on the one hand and the red men of the Americas on the other. These pioneers of trade reacted much like the ancient Greeks who looked upon all outsiders, particularly those of a different colour, as "barbarians" destined for slavery. There was no spirit of friendliness in the hearts of the invading Spaniards, Frenchmen and Englishmen. To them, the red men were savages and heathens, and the Negroes, who were introduced to the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were most certainly of an inferior race.

In the wave of romanticism which swept Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a reaction against the Age of Rationalism, several philosophers of the arm-chair variety protested heatedly against the tendency to divide human beings into superior and inferior castes. They objected to the placing of red and black men on the lower fringe of a society that had already been schooled in racial prejudices in the French and Indian Wars and in the slave markets of Virginia. Humanitarian romanticists,

notably Condorcet,<sup>1</sup> joined such societies as "Friends of the Blacks", which had for their aim the end of racial prejudice, but arm-chair philosophy was not as effective as the action of English slave-traders with whips and muskets.

However, the modern idea of racial superiority was not given its theoretical justification by the English explorer, who bore his white man's burden with all the conscientiousness of which the Anglo-Saxon is capable, nor by the Spaniard, who busied himself with a ceaseless search for gold and accepted his superiority as axiomatic, nor by practical, realistic Frenchmen.<sup>2</sup> The conception of the Aryan as an ideal type, as the apotheosis of all that was noble and great in humanity, received its most potent stimulus in the Germany of the Napoleonic era, a country wrapped in the heavy mantle of an inferiority complex. German philologists and paleontologists of the early nineteenth century searched energetically in the clouds for a solution to the nation's backwardness. The result was the creation of the Aryan myth, which eventually culminated in Hitler's announcement that "true intellectual achievements have never been made by racial aliens, but always by strictly Aryan Germanic spiritual forces".

In contrast to Renaissance humanism and to Protestantism, the eighteenth century Age of Rationalism was an intellectual movement aiming to attack problems with fewer inhibitions based upon doctrine and dogma. Locke and Rousseau, among others, maintained that certain abilities and rights were inherent in men, without distinction of rank, religion or race. The French Revolution legis-

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<sup>1</sup> On Condorcet cf. James Bonar, "Philosophy and Political Economy," New York, 1893, pp. 204ff; and J. Salwyn Schapiro, "Condorcet and the Rise of Liberalism, in France," New York, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Barzun, however, in his "Race: A Study in Modern Superstition," New York, 1937, holds that race controversies raged in France long before they became a constant preoccupation in the rest of Europe (pp. 9ff.). Barzun, who places especial emphasis upon the course of race doctrines in modern France, shows that France produced some of the most powerful myths and personalities in the field—Gobineau, Renan, Taine and others—but admits that the race-theorizing of no country and of no man is original. While there is good ground for Dr. Barzun's approach, the present author prefers to treat modern racialism as a phenomenon which took deeper roots in Germany, where it was destined to be clothed with a practical political purpose. This by no means conflicts with the importance of French racial theory. (*Vide* chap. 12.)

lated these new views into existence, on the theory that all men were by nature equal. In the Germanies, the French Revolution, with its ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, rendered acute the Teutonic feeling of inferiority. Germans who looked to England and France noted startling developments in democracy and constitutionalism. To the west of the Rhine there was freedom, and at home there was despotism. "Benevolent despotism" continued in the Germanies for some six centuries after Magna Carta. A feeling of nationalism was almost non-existent here. Significantly, Frederick the Great wrote good French and bad German, and the "best people" spoke and wrote French, not German. The emergence of the adventurer, Napoleon, and his success in dominating the downtrodden Germanies, marked one of the low-water points of German hopelessness and despair. The winter of 1807-1808 was one of the blackest in German history. The French conqueror had invaded the disunited Germanies and had placed them quickly under his iron heel. Scarcely a single power was left to local officials as Napoleon's minions secured complete control. Shamed and humiliated in their subjugation, Germans sought for deliverance by the appearance of some great Siegfried or Frederick Barbarossa.

Preliminary "saviours" came to the Germanies in the figures of vom Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and Blücher, but it was a philosopher rather than a military leader who awakened Germany and gave direction to her future history. England ruled the waves, France the land, of Europe, but Germany sought for rule of the clouds. The national soul of Germany, depressed by morbidity and melancholia, yearned for self-justification.<sup>3</sup> Why must there be eternal warfare on German soil? And why must Germany take an insignificant part in the march of human liberty?

Why? An answer came from the lecture podium of the University of Berlin. The Germans must be a people of such surpassing excellence that they had quite naturally become the envy of other, in-

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<sup>3</sup>It must not be assumed that this psychological explanation for the rise of German race theory is a simple key. Here is but one striking factor in a development that may be explained more fully along politico-economic lines. Romanticism, economic nationalism, the urge to industrialization, such factors in combination are necessary for the complete picture.



ferior races. It was the voice of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). In fourteen lectures, "Addresses to the German Nation,"<sup>4</sup> the poet and philosopher washed away the black hopelessness of a beaten people and instilled in them so powerful a stimulant of hope and courage that its effects eventually promoted the development of German unity and outlived the lapse into despair that followed the World War. What Fichte's addresses lacked in demagogy, they made up in emotional intensity. In impressive philosophic language he told how the early Germans, an *Urvolk*, had come fresh from the steppes of Asia and had successfully withstood all efforts of a decaying Roman civilization to destroy them.<sup>5</sup> Fichte emphasized the German language as the most precious heritage of the Fatherland, a thought accepted wholeheartedly by the philologists who followed him. He did not strive to create an Aryan prototype, which philologists later added to the theory.<sup>6</sup> But he proceeded with fine regard for national self-consciousness, and with an equally fine disregard for scientific proof, to prepare the German soul for its regeneration.<sup>7</sup>

George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) added the historian's viewpoint to Fichte's philosophical speculations. Holding that the history of the world is a development of political institutions from the Oriental, single-despot era to the *Germanic* period, in which man enjoyed freedom of thought and action, he, too, stiffened the backbone of a people at last beginning to find faith in itself. To Hegel, the Prussian monarchy represented the height of man's civilization. A people who possessed so virtuous an instrument of progress must certainly be members of a superior race.

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<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Fichte's "Collected Works," Berlin, 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Here Fichte, and those nationalists who followed him, leaned heavily upon the essay of Tacitus on the Germans. Tacitus (c. 98) eulogized the Germanic race as virtuous, lovers of freedom, physically superior, mentally advanced, and strongly jealous of their racial purity. The germs of modern racial theory may be found in Tacitus' glorification of the early Germans.

<sup>6</sup> As proof of Germanic racial superiority, Fichte presented the primordial German *Ursprache*. This mystical view of language stimulated the Grimm brothers and others in their later identification of race and language. Fichte's striking error was the attempt to prove the existence of a tri-logic of race, language and nation, a concept later systematized by Gobineau.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf.* H. C. Engelbrecht's valuable, "Johann Gottlieb Fichte," New York, 1933.

Fichte had spoken of the universal process as a synthesis of opposites. To Hegel, this notion of "synthesis, antithesis and synthesis" became a "perpetual law of thought", always the manifestation of the Absolute (in religious language, the manifestation of God). And God had decreed the superiority of Germans, demonstrated through the Hegelian dialectic.<sup>8</sup>

Fundamentally, the work of Fichte and others was a reaction against reason and the critical spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth century rationalists.<sup>9</sup> The latter held that progress might be achieved through scientific research and its discoveries applied to social betterment. The reaction was an inevitable one against too great an emphasis upon man's intellectual faculties. From the first phase of Romanticism, this reaction developed into the transcendental idealism of the Germanic school of philosophers. These reactionary theorists aimed to show that Man as a concept did not exist—that only *men* exist, and it was important that these men make laws, constitutions and the social hierarchy to suit particular types, i.e., *racés*.<sup>10</sup> "Moreover, the natural inequality of men being taken as a basic principle, and hierarchy as a stabilizing force, it follows that the aristocracy, the middle, and the lower classes must transmit their several characteristics by process of generation; in other words they too are races."<sup>11</sup>

#### THE RÔLE OF LINGUISTIC PALEONTOLOGY

The spade work was done and the ground prepared. Germany's spiritual soul had received stimulation with Fichte, and now the question was to find some tangible basis for the superiority of the

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<sup>8</sup> *Vide* W. F. Hegel's "Philosophy of History," London, 1902; G. S. Morris, "Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History," London, 1892.

<sup>9</sup> It must be mentioned here that Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was to a great extent responsible for laying the basis for idealism and romanticism. Of more importance in the specific problem of the philosophy of nationalism in Germany was Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), who emphasized the coherence and uniqueness of national culture. (*Cf.* R. R. Ergang, "Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism," New York, 1931.)

<sup>10</sup> *Cf.* Barzun, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

Germanic peoples. The tall, physically impressive, blond, blue-eyed German would provide just the body needed to fit the godlike measurements of Fichte's impassioned oratory. Unfortunately, science had not kept pace with the polished phrases of Fichte. As yet, the measuring of skulls and determination of the nature of blood corpuscles could not solve the problem. The answer came from a group of philologists who found themselves heading in the same direction.

These philologists, interested deeply in the origin of languages, came to a remarkable conclusion: there were similarities in the languages of the Persians and Indians and those of the Western Indo-Europeans, the Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Celts and Slavs. It was decided that all these groups descended from the same racial strain, a primitive Aryan tribe that had settled somewhere in Central Asia or Western Europe. Without scientific foundation, the linguistic paleontologists identified race with language, and from this identification emerged the Aryan superman, whose spectre was to haunt Europe and the world for the next century.<sup>12</sup>

As early as 1786, Sir William Jones had established the basis for comparative philology when he announced that the similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Persian, Latin, Celtic and German could be explained only by the existence of a common ancestral tongue.<sup>13</sup> But it was not until some fifty years later that Franz Bopp gave scientific impetus to the hypothesis. Born in 1791 at Mayence, Bopp, like most of the philologists who followed him, early became interested in Sanskrit. For the first time a scholar attempted to trace the

<sup>12</sup> "Where to-day Indo-European languages are spoken, there must have been earlier a territory under the sway of a ruling class of Nordic race." (Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 123.)

<sup>13</sup> Sir William Jones wrote to the effect that Sanskrit in relation to Greek and Latin "bears a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothick and the Celtick, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit". (Cf. Holger Pedersen, "Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century," Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 18.)

common origin of grammatical forms, especially the verb, in an entire family of tongues.<sup>14</sup>

Bopp's most important work, his "Comparative Grammar,"<sup>15</sup> appeared in six parts from 1833 to 1852. With fine judgment and great care, he compared significant words in each language, endeavoring to find the original grammatical structure of the languages and especially the phonetic laws that might be applied to all. From his investigations, Bopp concluded that a great Indo-Germanic family of languages included seven branches—Greek, Italian, Teutonic, Slavonic, Lithuanic, and Albanian, nearly all the languages of Europe. There were other closely related Asiatic groups, notably the Iranian (especially Zend and Persian), Indic (a series of modern Indian tongues) and Armenian (combination of Greek and Iranian).

Philologists were fascinated by Bopp's discovery of a great linguistic family, and then very much impressed by the convincing scientific methods he used. The first reaction was to give a name to the family of languages. Bopp himself, with fervent national pride, called it the *Indo-Germanic* family, to which French, English and Italians quickly objected. The latter preferred the term *Indo-European*, which satisfied them more. It was, however, a clumsy expression which included languages outside of Europe and not all within Europe. Some called the family Caucasian, which was unacceptable as a purely linguistic term, while others insisted upon naming it after one of its integral parts, Sanskritic.

Much of Bopp's work was later found to be erroneous,<sup>16</sup> but his methods of investigating the origin of grammatical forms were used

<sup>14</sup> It was Friedrich Schlegel, however, who used the expression *comparative grammar* for the first time in "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier," Heidelberg, 1808.

<sup>15</sup> Originally called "*Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslavischen, Gothischen und Deutschen.*"

<sup>16</sup> For example, Bopp included Persian and Germanic under one heading. There was a confusion here between modern Persian and the ancient Iranian languages, of which he knew little. Moreover, Bopp had a vague and figurative conception of phonology, as well as in inflections. "He was dominated by the one great idea which he thought would work everywhere: the idea that every verb-form contains the concept 'to-be,' and that in all sorts of verbal endings, one may expect to find elements with this meaning." (Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 256.) [Almost as important as Bopp in the early study of comparative linguistics was Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787-1832), a Dane, whose work in determining linguistic relationships preceded Bopp's.]

by later scholars almost without exception. The comparison of the principal languages of the Western world with Sanskrit was a necessary prerequisite for the progress of comparative linguistics.

Although, like Bopp and Rask, not interested in combining philology and ethnological concepts, the brothers Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Carl (1786-1859), were responsible to a great extent for fashioning the early framework of philology which later was used by the linguistic paleontologists in their search for the elusive Aryan. As founders of scientific Germanistics, the brothers set high standards of *Gründlichkeit*, of painstaking research which made German scholarship a model for modern civilization.

Jacob Grimm's "*Deutsche Grammatik*" first appeared in 1819. This pioneer work in the history of Germanic languages marked a significant change in the attitude of students towards language and its roots. Though groping in the dark, Jacob Grimm made a valuable study of the basic sound changes in the development of the German language. With great care, he collected thousands of examples of apparently scattered words and phrases, attempting to show that some relationship existed between them and the words of little-known tongues, particularly the languages of the Scythians and Thracians. Although he never was successful in determining scientifically the actual source of the German language and although many of his conclusions were later found to be inaccurate, his work proved to be a tremendous stimulus to other scholars who were searching for ethnic relationships of languages.<sup>17</sup>

Particularly impressive to the school of linguistic paleontologists was "Grimm's Law", which was widely accepted by later scholars as a firmly scientific basis for philological research. This law concerned the correspondence of consonants in the ancient Indo-Germanic, Low and High German languages.<sup>18</sup> Because of this law, no

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<sup>17</sup> Probably the most important disciple of the Grimm brothers was Karl Lachman (1793-1851), who sought diligently for primitive racial kinships. In 1846, Lachman compared the development of the Homeric poems with the folk poetry of the Germans.

<sup>18</sup> It is not certain that the law was first discovered by Jacob Grimm, but his apparently successful method of discovering philological facts by inductive reasoning

longer were superficial resemblances regarded as mere coincidences; it was now believed that such similarities were based upon solid scientific ground.<sup>19</sup>

Further stimulus to the study of Sanskrit on the Continent was given by the brothers von Schlegel—Karl Wilhelm Friedrich (1772-1829) and August Wilhelm (1767-1845). As leaders of the Romantics, a group which included among others Schleiermacher and Tieck, they gave an entirely new direction to German literature and philology.<sup>20</sup> In 1808, Friedrich von Schlegel published his "*Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*,"<sup>21</sup> which awakened a lively interest in Indian languages and culture. In 1818, August Wilhelm became Professor of Sanskrit at Bonn.<sup>22</sup> From then until his death he occupied himself with Oriental studies, publishing from 1823 to 1830 the journal "*Indische Bibliothek*," editing (1823) the "*Bhagavad-Gita*," and (1829) the "*Rāmāyana*". This type of work strongly stimulated interest in the languages and literature of the East, and led a whole generation of scholars to an intensive study of the science of philology, both Oriental and comparative. A new path was hewn when the philologists deliberately set aside preconceived theoretical notions and aimed at a complete comprehension of language through scientific methods.

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and then combining them in convincing generalizations warrants the application of his name to the law.

<sup>19</sup> For the popular mind, the brothers Grimm produced the famed "*Deutsche Kinder- und Hausmärchen*," which they collected and told again in inimitable style. This was not an idle past-time for the gifted brothers, for in German mythology they found a close alliance with German philology. These lovely fairy tales bolstered German national pride in a chivalrous past and contributed not a little to the rising nationalism and racialism characteristic of nineteenth century Germany.

<sup>20</sup> The brothers represented "the manifold influences which went into the composition of the German romantic movement: the classical tradition of Greece and Rome, the historicism of Herder and the 'Sturm und Drang,' the emotional primitivism of Rousseau, the literary currents of Shakespeare, Ossian and the English tradition, the philosophic and ethical ideas of Kant and Fichte, the overpowering effect of Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister,' the mysticism of the Orient and the political conservatism of Burke and the French traditionalists." (Koppel S. Pinson, *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 7, p. 571.

<sup>21</sup> Heidelberg, 1808.

<sup>22</sup> One of Schlegel's pupils was the Norwegian philologist, Christian Lassen.

## FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER

The philological researches of Sir William Jones, Dr. Thomas Young, Franz Bopp, Rasmus Kristian Rask, A. Schleicher, the brothers Grimm and Schlegel, and others, stimulated, as we have seen, a strong interest in the languages and institutions of Europe and Asia. But it was Friedrich Max Müller who became the chief exponent and traveling salesman of the school of linguistic paleontology.

In the years from 1859 to 1861, scores of fashionable carriages rattled up Albemarle Street in London to the Royal Institution, discharging well-dressed, aristocratic passengers who had come to listen to the inspiring and fiery lectures of a German scholar at Oxford, Professor Friedrich Max Müller.<sup>23</sup> The poetic and imaginative professor had a way with audiences. He knew how to popularize the story of Aryan ascendancy, and the good ladies of London were thrilled with the enthusiasm of a popular oracle.<sup>24</sup> Heretofore, blood had been of interest to them only in so far as its blueness was concerned; now a distinguished Orientalist and philologist was telling them in terms they understood about the anthropological background of their superiority as human animals.<sup>25</sup>

But it was not only the ladies of London who were impressed by the erudite German professor. His theories of the Aryan race quickly spread throughout the world, and were accepted by students of philology as the foundation of a new science. Scholars flocked to London to hear authoritative lectures on the identity of language and race and to secure material for further research into the origins of the Aryan languages and the migrations of the Aryan peoples.

<sup>23</sup> On Müller's lectures at the Royal Institution, *cf.* "The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller," edited by his wife, 2 vols., New York, 1902, vol. 1, pp. 259, 288, 394, 475; vol. 2, pp. 218, 330.

<sup>24</sup> According to Professor MacDonell, Müller's lectures raised their author to the rank of the standard authority on philology in the estimation of the English public. "Here Max Müller first displayed that power of lucid popular exposition, and of investing a dry subject with abundant interest, which has more than anything else contributed to make his name at least as famous as that of any other scholar of the past century." (*Man*, Feb., 1901.)

<sup>25</sup> As a result Müller became enormously popular in England. On the title page of his "Auld Lang Syne," he referred to himself as "Author of the Science of Language", a title which rapidly gained widespread recognition in England.

During the next generation, Müller inspired a steady stream of publications in the new field. Through him, the popular myth of the primordial Aryan took fast hold on the scholars of the nineteenth century.

Not content with discovering the nature of the Aryan language, Müller at first made several attempts to trace the wanderings of the Aryan nations. Starting with Grimm's theory of "irresistible impulse", he endeavored to describe the migrations of the early immense Aryan population, which, like a swarm from a central beehive, surged into northwestern Europe. "The main stream of the Aryan nations," he wrote in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" (1859), "has always flowed towards the Northwest. No historian can tell us by what impulse those adventurous nomads were driven on through Asia towards the isles and shores of Europe . . . But whatever it was, the impulse was as irresistible as the spell which in our times sends the Celtic tribes towards the prairies, or the regions of gold across the Atlantic. It requires a strong will, or a great amount of alertness, to be able to withstand such national or rather *ethnical movements* (italics mine). Few will stay behind when all are going. But to let one's friends depart and then to set out ourselves—to take a road, which, lead where it may, can never lead us to join those again who speak our language and worship our gods—is a course which only men of strong individuality and great self-dependence are capable of pursuing. It was the course adopted by the Southern branch of the Aryan family—the Brahmanic Aryans of India and the Zoroastrians of Iran."

Scientific proof for Müller's assertion was lacking, a fact that Müller recognized in later years. In the course of history, families, kinship groups, even whole nations, were time and time again conquered and led into captivity, eventually learning the language of their conquerors. Often enough, the conquerors were forced to adopt the culture and languages of the vanquished without any particular desire to do so. The continuity of language was often not destroyed, but most certainly the continuity of blood was shattered. A German might indeed marry a Frenchwoman and the children will speak either German or French, or both, but not a *mixture* of



both. Biologically, the children will have become mixed. While here and there one race-type might break out in the grandchildren, the stock is intermingled forever after.<sup>26</sup> Obviously then, as Müller later recognized, the identity of race and language was a fundamental fallacy.

In 1888, Müller exhibited rare intellectual courage and integrity when he repudiated his own earlier theories on the Aryans. Convinced that his earlier views were erroneous, he warned the anthropologists, who were now diligently applying the methods of physics in search of brachycephalics and dolichocephalics, that they were on the wrong track. Here was an abrupt about-face that merits repeating:

"I have declared again and again that if I say Aryans, I mean neither blood nor bones, nor hair nor skull; I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language. . . . To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar. It is worse than a Babylonian confusion of tongues—it is downright theft. We have made our own terminology for the classification of languages; let ethnologists make their own for the classification of skulls, and hair, and blood."<sup>27</sup>

In the earlier days, Müller had written about "an irresistible stream of mighty waves rolling forth from the Aryan centre and gradually overflowing the valleys of Asia and Europe". This theory was a fascinating one to the popular mind as well as to race scientists. But Müller later announced that his hypothesis was basically false. He now saw that the existence of a distinct Aryan racial group was highly improbable, and he gave a mathematical analysis to prove his point: "Granted that two Aryan couples, each with seven children, and everything that has to be explained may be explained quite as well with this as with the bee-hive theory. Each of the seven children, by marrying children of the other family, might become, particularly if they settled in different forests or valleys, founders of dialects; and each of these dialects might, in twenty

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Friedrich Max Müller, "Biographies of Words, and the Home of the Aryans," London, 1888, p. 89.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120-121. This passage has become a classic one for anti-racialists. It is widely quoted in their writings.

generations, or six hundred years, be spoken by more than two millions of human beings. Two millions of human beings, however, are much more difficult to move from one country to another than two hundred; and it is, at all events, quite open to us to imagine that the Aryan migrations took place by tens and hundreds instead of by millions".<sup>28</sup>

Müller further maintained that it was a mistake to imagine that there ever was a Proto-Aryan language from which Sanskrit, Greek and Latin were derived, as Italian was from Latin. He now held that Sanskrit was Sanskrit long before the Aryans migrated towards the Seven Rivers, that it was Sanskrit long before the hymns of the Veda were composed, long before one line of it was reduced to writing. He insisted now that Aryan in scientific language was utterly inapplicable to race. It meant language and nothing but language, and if one were to speak of an Aryan race at all, it should mean nothing more than Aryan speech.<sup>29</sup> Müller confessed that he was not aware, until he saw it stated by Professor Schrader,<sup>30</sup> that he himself was responsible for the first step in associating language with race, by showing how the Aryan family separated and become divided into two distinct branches.<sup>31</sup>

Müller's new outlook was a strange mixture of self-castigation and accusation against ethnologists and anthropologists. Although he humbly accepted the blame for starting the ball of racialism rolling, the damage was done. His abrupt change of opinion had considerably less effect than his original conclusions. Scholars of language and race were stimulated through his pen into great activity, searching for enlightenment on questions that had not yet been answered. Could the primitive Aryan language be reconstructed? When did the Aryan separation take place? Was it possible to fix the original home of Aryan speech and to determine the migrations of the peoples who spoke Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Celtic, Latin, Slavonic and Teutonic? Was it scientifically correct to identify

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89-90.

<sup>30</sup> In "Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte," p. 70.

<sup>31</sup> Müller, *supra*, p. 85.

language with race? Many capable scholars busied themselves with these difficult questions. Müller himself had ceased to be a vital factor in the Aryan controversy (which we shall soon discuss), since his rôle as founder of the science of language had been ended.

Although Müller had warned that by solidizing and mixing up the science of language and the science of ethnology, both would be grievously injured, his earlier views still exerted a profound influence. His reputation as a ripe scholar and a man of great erudition had given strength to a fallacy that dominated continental philological thought for an entire century. His genius of popularization awakened support of the masses for the Aryan ideal.

Until the study of Sanskrit led to the formation of the science of comparative philology, it was customary to trace the races of man back through the Tower of Babel to the Garden of Eden, where everyone, even the serpent, spoke Hebrew. But now the philologists found a connection between the languages of India and Persia and those of Western Europe, and the linguistic paleontologists found special racial characteristics of the Indo-Europeans which linked them all together. However, if the Indo-Europeans in their large territory had certain predominating peculiarities, such as tall stature or blond hair, this does not by any means mean that such racial peculiarities were disseminated along with language. It may even be possible that such racial peculiarities, if they do exist, may have made their way to peoples who already showed such characteristics.

#### COMPLETION OF THE ARYAN MYTH

Although the formation of the Aryan myth commenced with the work of the linguistic paleontologists, it was completed in the latter half of the nineteenth century by the rapid advance of the biological and anthropological sciences. We have already had occasion to speak of the revival of the doctrine of evolution and its extension, and we shall treat the rôle of anthropo-sociology later.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the groundwork was being prepared for the thesis that man was the product of a process of evolution. It is not necessary at this point to repeat the story of how Darwin's work swept aside the old story of the

creation of man, nor to describe the work of Galton and Mendel in founding the science of heredity. The conclusions of these biologists were at once appropriated by the linguistic paleontologists after their own fashion as substantiation of the thesis of Aryan supremacy.

Meanwhile, a parallel development was taking place in the field of anthropology, although this sister science did not attain full momentum until after the middle of the nineteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, the Dutch scientist, Pieter Camper (1722-1789) had laid the groundwork for physical anthropology by his "*Dissertation Physique*," which investigated the problem of variations of the facial angle. By the early nineteenth century, the dimensions of the skull were being measured as a means of determining between the various groups of mankind. In 1859, the same year in which Darwin's famous book appeared, Paul Broca (1824-1880) founded the Anthropological Society in Paris. Broca's work in inventing instruments of measurement was vital. Several other French anthropologists, notably J. L. A. Quatrefages (1810-1892), strongly influenced by Darwin, did much to raise the standards of accuracy in anthropological measurement. In Germany, such anthropological studies were pursued by Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) and in Italy by Giuseppe Sergi (b. 1841). Not only were the cephalic and nasal indices used by these anthropologists, but also measurements of other parts of the human body, such as stature, limbs and the genital organs.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ARYAN CONTROVERSY

#### THE PROBLEM OF ORIGIN

Although the Aryan "race" was only an abstraction conceived by the linguistic paleontologists and "substantiated" by questionable biological and anthropological proofs, the problem of locating its homeland quickly became an important one. It has never been successfully solved. It is, moreover, improbable that the place of origin of the Aryan peoples ever will be found.<sup>1</sup> The unending distribution of races and the constant intermingling of racial stocks have resulted in an involved ethnic conglomeration from which it is impossible to locate with any degree of accuracy the so-called parent groups. The investigation of *Reihengräber*<sup>2</sup> and the measurement of skulls have engaged the attention of anthropologists for some time, but nothing of definite value appears from the haphazard discoveries and from the conclusions made, all of which are open to serious objections.

Nevertheless, the apparently hopeless nature of the problem has not dimmed the desire of scientists to bring some order to the chaos of racial origins. But there is no concrete evidence upon which they can build a structure impervious to attack. The conclusions of many competent investigators are marked by the ad-

<sup>1</sup> "Not a line of Indo-European (Aryan) literature has been preserved, and not a single skeleton, inscription, weapon or other object has been identified as Indo-European. The problem is fundamentally a linguistic one and its solution must be looked for primarily in the province of comparative mythology." (Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 322.)

<sup>2</sup> Kossinna, a German archaeologist, aimed to show (1914) that throughout prehistoric ages advances in culture had been entirely due to Aryan peoples. Huxley and Haddon effectively dispose of this argument by identifying the Stonehedge monuments in England (c. 1700 B.C.) as marking graves of peoples of Mediterranean types. (Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.)

mission that guess-work plays a large part in their work. It is clear that any dogmatism on the question of the original homeland of the Aryans has no justification.<sup>3</sup>

The homeland of the parent Aryan group has been placed in three widely separated areas: Asia, Europe and North Africa. The evidence presented by proponents of each of these three areas has been for the most part inconclusive. The following table gives an indication of the wide difference of opinion among scholars on the place of origin of the original Aryan people:

*Proponents of the Theory of Asiatic Origin*

- J. G. Rhodes (1820): Central Asia.  
 W. von Schlegel (1820): Central Asia.  
 F. A. Pott (1840): Valleys of Oxus and Jaxartes, slopes of Hindu-Kush mountains.  
 C. Lassen (1847): Slopes of Hindu-Kush mountains.  
 Jacob Grimm (1848): Asia.  
 A. Pictet (1859): Bactria.  
 A. H. Sayce (1874): Central Asia.  
 Piétrement (1879): Siberia, latitude 49° 20'.  
 Van der Gheyn (1881): Plateau of Pamur, vicinity of Hindu-Kush mountains.  
 O. Schrader (1890): Steppe lands of Southern Russia, Eurasian steppes between Carpathians and Pamur.  
 S. Reinach (1892): Central Asia.

*Proponents of the Theory of European Origin*

- Bulwer-Lytton (1842): Region north of the Black Sea, plains of Hungary, south or north of the Baltic.  
 J. J. d'Omalius d'Holloy (1848): Europe.  
 R. G. Latham (1851): Europe.  
 L. Geiger (1865): South of Baltic in Central or Western Germany.  
 T. Benfey (1868): Temperate plains of Europe.  
 Cuno (1871): Northern Europe, from Urals to Atlantic.  
 Spiegel (1871): Steppes of South Russia.  
 Hehn (1873): Ural-Caspian depression.  
 T. Pösche (1878): Germany.  
 Von Locher (1883): Baltic plains.  
 K. Penka (1883): Germany.  
 H. Hale (1888): Europe.

<sup>3</sup> Even Madison Grant dismisses the term "Aryan race" as of racial significance. (Cf. Madison Grant, "The Passing of the Great Race," New York, 1920, p. 67.)

- H. Hirt (1892): Baltic plains.  
 M. Much (1904): Northwest Europe.  
 G. Kossinna (1921): Europe.  
 H. H. Bender (1922): Europe.  
 H. F. K. Günther (1933): Northwest Germany.

*Proponents of the Theory of African Origin*

- D. G. Brinton (1890): Western Europe and North Africa.  
 G. Sergi (1901): North Africa (or Europe).

*Undecided*

- A. Schleicher (1862): Central Europe or Asia.  
 W. D. Whitney (1867): Europe or Asia.  
 T. Mommsen (1876): Valley of Euphrates (?).  
 Isaac Taylor (1888): Europe or Asia.  
 A. H. Keane (1895): North Africa or Eurasian steppe area.  
 V. Gordon Childe (1926): Central Asia or Europe.<sup>4</sup>

THE THEORY OF ASIATIC ORIGIN

In the earliest attempts to place a homeland of the Aryans (Rhodes, Pott, Lassen and others), the region around the slopes of the Hindu-Kush mountains in Asia was favored. It was held that the original Aryan ancestors of the Persians, Hindus, Greeks, Celts and Germans lived at first in this district and then wandered into Europe.<sup>5</sup> Here was the centre of a "Proto-Aryan culture". Evidence to support this theory is given, it was held, by the remains of tall, long-headed peoples who were nomads and knew something of agriculture, since farming tools and weapons were found in their graves.

It was these original Aryan peoples in Central Asia, according

<sup>4</sup> There are hundreds of others who might well be placed upon this list, since nearly every writer on race has his own theory on Aryan origins. The above is a fair indication, however, of the difference of opinion.

<sup>5</sup> Hermann Hirt and others rejected this theory on the assumption that the peoples of the steppes were chiefly nomadic and their wandering life was unfavorable to the development of an agricultural civilization considered to be typical of the parents of the Aryans. "The supposition that these peoples first emigrated into these territories from the district around the Black Sea, from the South Russian steppes, runs up against insurmountable difficulties . . . No people which has inhabited the South Russian steppes in historical times has succeeded in spreading its language over any parts of Europe." (Quoted by M. Schlauch in her pamphlet, "Who are the Aryans?" New York, p. 21.)

to the proponents of the theory of Asiatic origin, who became the ruling race of India (speaking Sanskrit) and gave to Europe all its languages, with the exception of Turkish, Magyar, Finnish and Basque. In the third and second millennia B.C., the long-headed Aryan warriors, armed at first with perforated stone and later with bronze, migrated from the steppes of Russia to Europe.<sup>6</sup> About 1500 B.C. they entered India from the Northwest, gradually passing on to the Ganges Valley, and bringing with them a knowledge of iron and a superior breed of horse, which enabled them more easily to subjugate the original inhabitants of India.<sup>7</sup> The group which migrated into Persia imposed its speech and culture upon the conquered peoples and gave to the world the Veda and the sacred literature of Hinduism.

These Eurasian invaders from the Russian steppe lands are held by some writers to have entered Europe at the close of the Neolithic period and to have found the first white men already there, the Eurafrians. The latter had penetrated Europe from North Africa between the Sudan and the Mediterranean, crossing submerged land routes across the Strait of Gibraltar, from Tunis and Malta to Sicily and Italy and to Greece, growing in numbers as the Arctic tides receded. These primitive Caucasians were of non-Aryan language and stock. Then came the repeated invasions of peoples of Aryan speech from the Eurasian steppe lands. Over-running all of Europe except Spain, the Aryans imposed their language and culture on the Eurafrians, but in time became merged with them. These Aryan invaders later formed the races of Celts, Itali, Hellenes, Teutons, Slavs and Letts. The three main divisions were:

*Teutons:* Tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, such as the Goths, Lombards and Norsemen.

*Alpines:* Short, medium-sized, round-headed, brown-haired, found in Switzerland.

*Mediterraneans:* Dark, long-headed, under-sized, black-haired, found in Spain,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 8, p. 844c.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 212b.



Italy, France and Greece, resulting from mixture of Aryans and Euraficans.<sup>8</sup>

It is, of course, impossible to group these several divisions with the various Aryan languages spoken, since the correspondence has been disturbed by the political movements of the historic period, by which whole groups lost their primitive Aryan speech and cultures. The difficulty of tracing any of these groups along racial lines at once becomes apparent.

#### THE THEORY OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN

The tendency to place the homeland of the Aryans somewhere in Asia was popular during the first half of the nineteenth century. After the middle of the century, this theory was replaced in large part by the supposition that the Aryans had originated somewhere in Europe. Bulwer-Lytton, d'Holloy, Latham and others began to argue that since inflected languages are more highly developed in Europe than in Asia, the Asiatic theory of origin was probably mythical.<sup>9</sup> Scandinavia, Northern Germany and the Danube Valley were variously designated as the place of origin. The theory that the Aryans had come from the Hindu-Kush region of Asia was rejected in favor of a district between the Caspian and North Seas. It was asserted now categorically that if the Aryans did come from Asia, they had left but singularly little evidence of their migrations.

Scholars who held that Scandinavia was the original homeland pointed to the fact that as the glaciers retreated, Northern Europe and Scandinavia once again became inhabitable. Although some pottery remains were found dating back to 6000 B.C., it is significant that no records of any languages spoken at this period have

<sup>8</sup> This division corresponds to that given by Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-130.

<sup>9</sup> By this time objections were arising to the work of the linguistic paleontologists in identifying race and language and particularly in identifying ancient Sanskrit with the parent Aryan race. Such methods were now labeled inconclusive clues to the elusive homeland. By 1890 linguistic paleontology was almost completely rejected in favor of scientific anthropology, although the old confusion of race and language still carried over.

been discovered. Archaeologists have found skulls belonging to the inhabitants of Scandinavia during this early period, but there appears to be no uniformity in these crania. There is no valid reason to assume that the ancestors of the present-day Scandinavians spoke parent Aryan, and hence are the ancestors of the present-day Germans. It is impossible to establish a continuity of speech here, and it is even more difficult to show a distinct racial continuity between the "Aryans" of 6000 B.C. in Scandinavia and the "Aryans" of contemporary Germany.

Geiger, Schrader, Hirt and others concluded that the region of origin was Germany, on the questionable assumption that Germany's geographical situation in the heart of Europe was favorable for expansion either northward or southward. It was assumed that the original Proto-Aryans came from the region between the Rhine and Elbe. The Scandinavian peoples then emigrated northward, the Celts eastward, the Persians towards the southeast, the Slavs to the east, and the Greeks and Romans to the south. The parent group remained in Germany proper, thus providing contemporary Germany with an unbroken Aryan ethnic heritage. This theory conveniently overlooks the fact that precisely because of its central geographical location, Germany was the one region in Europe which was constantly open to ethnic invasions.

Quite as unsatisfactory is the belief that the original homeland of the Aryans may have been in Southern Europe. A high stage of civilization was reached in the Neolithic period by the peoples along the Danube River, but here again, the remains of skulls indicate so great a diversity in physical character that there is no reason for assuming that there existed here an original Aryan race with common cranial characteristics. Moreover, the difficulty of tracing the early cultures here through consideration of language is heightened considerably by the lack of linguistic data.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> An interesting example of the proofs offered for the plausibility of European origin of the Aryans is the work of Harold H. Bender, Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology in Princeton University. Professor Bender's conclusions may be summarized as follows: No part of Asia agrees so well with the historical distribution of the Aryans, with the relations of the various languages to one another, and with all that

## THE THEORY OF AFRICAN ORIGIN

The third probable homeland of the Aryans is Africa. According to the Italian anthropologist, Sergi, there was an original Eurafrikan race, which included, among others, the dolichocephalic Scandinavians and the Teutons. These latter peoples were driven northward from Africa and they then spread across the Danube to the Russian and Asiatic steppes. But Sergi became enmeshed in contradictions. On the one hand he called the Aryans an *Eurasiatic species* of Asiatic origin, the physical character of their skeletons being different from the Eurafrikan, <sup>11</sup> and on the other he showed the so-called Teutons to have skulls of dolicho-type, "identical in character with the Mediterranean and Hamitic type", being therefore of African origin. <sup>12</sup> The American anthropologist, D. G. Brinton, argued (1890) in support of the African theory of origin, holding that "the original Aryac tribe was a mixture of blonds and brunettes, with a majority of the latter". <sup>13</sup> A. H. Keane attempted to solve the difficulty by finding a "two-fold" invasion of Europe, a migration of long-heads from the Eurasian steppes and of short, dark round-heads from Asia Minor and North Africa, both being of "Aryan speech". <sup>14</sup>

The most recent attempt to place the homeland of the Aryans in Africa is the unique contribution of a Belgian, Paul Buysens. <sup>15</sup> He distinguished three races, the Mediterranean, Nordic and Negro, all of which (pure dolichocephalic races!) evolved from the pygmy

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is known or surmised of the primitive Aryans. Eastern Europe embraces the forests that are indicated by the names of certain Indo-European trees and animals (*beech*, *birch* and *honey-bee*.) (Cf. H. H. Bender, "The Home of the Indo-European," Princeton, 1922, chap. 1.)

<sup>11</sup> G. Sergi, "The Mediterranean Race," English translation, London, 1913, cf. preface.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>13</sup> D. G. Brinton, "Races and Peoples," Philadelphia, 1890, p. 148.

<sup>14</sup> A. H. Keane, "Man, Past and Present," London, 1899, p. 514.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Buysens, "*Les trois races de l'Europe et du monde*," Brussels, 1936. *Vide* A. Goldenweiser's review of this work in the *American Historical Review*, vol. XLIII, no. 1, Oct., 1937, pp. 79-81. "There is no rancor here," says the reviewer, "merely a mild form of insanity. . . . The whole performance is characterized by a singularly placid disregard of method and of the rules of harnessing evidence. Perhaps we might ascribe these traits to a remote pygmoid inheritance."

in different parts of the world, the Nordic presumably from Africa since he has Negro admixture in his blood. On several occasions, says Buysens, in prehistoric times, when the climate was warm enough, the Negro invaded Europe, and there were similar invasions by the Mediterraneans and two by the Nordics. The Occidental race is thus a mixture of the Nordic and Mediterranean, two dolichocephalic races combining to form a brachycephalic race!

Since it is merely our purpose to point out the existence of the Aryan controversy, we shall not take sides on this question. It may be true that in time physical anthropology may throw some light on the geographical location of the Proto-Aryan peoples, but the possibility is remote. Examination of skulls or stones will not reveal what languages the owners spoke, nor will it reveal the racial character. Until the three sister sciences, comparative philology, physical anthropology and archaeology, are able to bridge the gulfs that exist between them, there is no hope that the controversy over Aryan origins ever will be settled.

#### THE PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE "ARYAN"

Equally as inconclusive as the search for the original homeland of the Aryan was the attempt to endow him with peculiar physical characteristics that would distinguish him from other races. The Aryan has been variedly described as tall, blond, blue-eyed, or medium, brunet and round-headed. The word "Aryan" was taken from the old Sanskrit legends, meaning "noble" or "pure". Applied to the Indo-Europeans, it was used as a term signifying nobility of blood, incomparable beauty of form and mind, -in short, a superior breed of human being. According to Adolphe Pictet, the Aryan race was destined to spread its dominance over the entire globe. It was a race "privileged by the beauty of its blood and the gifts of its intelligence".<sup>16</sup> In Count Arthur de Gobineau's famous "Essay on the Inequality of Human Races,"<sup>17</sup> the Aryan was pictured as a blond, dolichocephalic man of great stature, whose

<sup>16</sup> Adolphe Pictet, "Indo-European Origins, or the Primitive Aryans, an Essay in Linguistic Palaeontology," 2nd ed., 1877, p. 8; quoted by Barzun, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. chap. 7.

purest descendant the Germans claimed to be the modern Teuton. Gobineau's designation of the Aryan type was accepted enthusiastically in Germany and remains to-day the standard for the Nuremberg racial laws. Proponents of the Aryan theory maintain that the Aryan physical type still exists to-day and that the Aryan germ-plasm is transmitted from father to son biologically.

This assumption has been attacked vehemently by scientists who show that in respect to physical character the races of Europe overlap to a considerable extent. The Aryans who are blond and blue-eyed, say the opponents of the Aryan theory, are no more likely to have a high percentage of Indo-European ancestry than a relative who does not possess these characteristics. Critics point to any group of Germans picked at random and note that such a group invariably shows the most diverse physical characteristics.

The attempt of race theorists to create an Aryan physical type in Germany has led to some rather bizarre activities. In an effort to approximate Nietzsche's blond beast, some of the more sentimental Aryans have used peroxide to obliterate evidence of ethnic mongrelization. The practice has become so widespread that the use of chemicals to attain Aryan purity was officially frowned upon.<sup>18</sup> In other cases, blond and blue-eyed individuals of Semitic ancestry have confused authorities by their physical inability to conform to the state's conception of Aryan heredity. It is often difficult to maintain the Aryan germ-plasm in the face of inscrutable laws of nature. On occasion, this propensity for Aryan blondness has reached ridiculous heights. Thus, "Peer Gynt" is considered the greatest modern work of literature since "Faust" because it is by some curious reasoning "blond"; Einstein's theory of relativity and Freud's theory of the unconscious are rejected as false because neither is "blond". Not the least disturbing ele-

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<sup>18</sup> *Vide the New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1934: "Peroxide Aryans Warned They Do Not Fool Nazis." Berlin, Nov. 14. "Blonds who owe their Aryan hair to peroxide have been called down by a spokesman for the Nazi party, Ministerial Councilor Staehle, in an address before the Stuttgart teachers' association. The Nazi official referred to the sudden desire to be blond as 'racial materialism,' explaining that in many brunettes can be found a heroic soul. Outward appearance, he added, did not necessarily have anything to do with 'heredity spiritual character, since nature is able to separate the two.'"

ment in the whole picture of Aryan uniformity is the fact that none of its leading proponents: the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the American Lothrop Stoddard, and the Germans Hitler and Goebbels, can by any stretch of the imagination be considered the "Aryan physical type", although Gobineau approximated the ideal.

It appears to the present writer that the critics of the Aryan thesis are justified in attacking the theory of racial uniformity as pseudo-scientific and untenable. It is not possible within the present state of our knowledge, we must repeat, to determine the proportions of ancestry in any given population, particularly in Germany, where ethnic intermixture has long since obliterated any racial identity with the parent Proto-Aryan group.

#### THE CONTROVERSY OVER ARYAN CULTURAL SUPREMACY

Still another phase of the Aryan controversy is the diversity of opinion on the cultural excellence of the so-called Aryan race. From the viewpoint of some theorists, the Aryans have always possessed distinctive qualities of mind and character which far surpassed those of other inferior races. In the march of history, it has been the Aryan race, they claim, which invented primitive culture and which always developed a higher and higher form of culture. Chamberlain held with characteristic dogmatism that every worthwhile achievement in human history has been the peculiar gift of the Aryan race and that all civilization is merely a struggle to the death between the creative culture of the Aryans and the disintegrative culture of Judaism. This viewpoint was echoed by Adolf Hitler, who divides the human race into three categories: 1) the founders of civilization (*Kulturbegründer*), 2) the maintainers of civilization (*Kulturträger*), and 3) the destroyers of civilization (*Kulturzerstörer*), the Aryan race alone being representative of the first category.<sup>19</sup> Just as mankind produces the genius, so do the various races number a sort of "genius race" among them—the Aryan.<sup>20</sup> It is an inborn characteristic, just as

<sup>19</sup> Adolf Hitler, "*Mein Kampf*," VII ed., 2 vols., Munich, 1931, pp. 317-318.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

genius is inborn in the brain of the child.<sup>21</sup> When Aryan blood becomes mixed with that of inferior races, the result is the end of the culture-sustaining race and the disappearance of the higher civilization.<sup>22</sup> It is not lost wars which ruin mankind, but loss of the powers of resistance (*Widerstandskraft*), which is alone the possession of those of pure blood.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the Aryan becomes the great hope of humanity, while the Jews, "ferment of decomposition among the nations", remain the unproductive exploiter of the labour of all other peoples.

Proponents of the Aryan thesis hold furthermore that wherever the Aryan element has never penetrated, a higher form of civilization cannot possibly exist. The Aryans, they say, were a conquering race which always brought the blessings of a superior culture to a conquered race. When it overcame an inferior race, the Aryan race intermingled, it is admitted, with the conquered, but somehow it maintained its original purity, remaining fixed and immutable.<sup>24</sup>

The attack on this viewpoint has been energetic and forceful. Opponents of the thesis of Aryan cultural superiority doubt that the Aryans did invent primitive culture in any other way perhaps than by borrowing it from Babylonia. At a time when there was a high development of culture in the ancient Near Orient, when the ancient Hebrews, Lydians, Arameans, Phoenicians, Hittites and other peoples were building advanced civilizations, the Aryan tribes were nomadic groups still in a primitive stage. There is still a difference of opinion as to the cradleland of civilization, but whether in India, China, Egypt or the Tigris-Euphrates valley, it is certain that the original inhabitants were not Aryans. It is probable that the first great steps in civilization, when man first learned to write, to plow, to build homes and to move his belongings in vehicles, were taken in the Near East.<sup>25</sup> The people re-

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Cf.* chaps. 7 and 9.

<sup>25</sup> Aryan theorists are not willing to grant this. New "discoveries" of ancient Aryan contributions to early culture are constantly being made by Germanic ethno-

sponsible for these important steps in civilization were more probably Mediterranean in type, not Aryan.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, whatever original group settled along the banks of the Nile or the Tigris-Euphrates, its function as the "founders of civilization" was certainly not due to any innate qualities which made them superior to other races. The dominating factor in the early development of man was not race but environment, upon historical circumstances which led these early peoples to embark upon pursuits which inevitably led to the progress of civilization. We have already seen that culture, from the point of view of both utilitarianism and "art for art's sake", has normally reflected environmental conditions.<sup>27</sup> The attribution of "inborn creative capacity" to the Aryans as a matter of biology is not warranted by historical evidence. The pre-eminence of ancient Greece in sculpture, for example, was to a great extent due to the easy accessibility of marble quarries. The artistic leadership of the northern Italian city-states during the Renaissance may be attributed in great measure to the favorable commercial location of these cities and the resulting accumulated wealth and leisure which permitted an artistic development.

Another factor of importance is the danger of affixing labels of cultural superiority because of the constant change which is typical of type, language and culture. We have seen that almost invariably ethnic groups tend to change in physical type, that their languages undergo modifications and change, and that their culture tends likewise to show evidence of assimilation and amalgamation. Culture, like history itself, is always in a state of flux; a constant culture seldom, if ever, exists for a long period of time. In this respect, the attitude of Franz Boas is accepted by most scientists:

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logists. Rolf Nordenstreng, the Swedish race biologist, reported recently on the excavation of the 5000 year old pre-Aryan cities of Harappá and Mohendjo in the valley of the Indus, which showed "stone houses often several stories high, tiled bathrooms, even a kind of toilet and other modern comforts". (Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter*, July 15, 1936.)

<sup>26</sup> While it is true that advances in civilization have taken place after invasions of Aryan peoples (for example, into Greece), it is probable that the intermixture of types and culture-contact were responsible.

<sup>27</sup> *Vide* pp. 36-40.



“A people may remain constant in type and language and change in culture, it may remain constant in type but change in language, or it may remain constant in language and change in type and culture.”<sup>28</sup> The careful use of the word “may” in this sentence should be noted. Generally speaking, change in type, language and culture is typical of most regions, although in isolated districts (for example, in the Basque region of Spain), a surface constancy may appear.

The term “Aryan” may, indeed, signify a relative degree of cultural uniformity, but only when the term is used in a linguistic sense. When it is said that *Aryan-speaking* peoples are especially gifted with culture-producing abilities and that they have taken a leading part in the creation of great civilizations, certain historical evidence may easily be found. But to call Greek, Roman, Persian, Indian and Germanic Aryans a unified “race”, gifted with innately superior characteristics, is to confuse the issue and to place it on highly complex and debatable ground. In the term “Aryan” there is nothing of ethnic integrity.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Thus far we have considered very briefly several aspects of the Aryan controversy, notably the problem of origins and physical and cultural nature of the Aryan peoples. An entire volume would be required to describe adequately the whole story of this interesting controversy. The uncertainty and confusion surrounding the problem still exist. The widely divergent results reached, the almost complete lack of scientific evidence, the impossibility of realizing enough data to speak authoritatively upon the subject (particularly the absence of written records), all these leave the question open. Most important of all, the absence of racial fixity in all main skull forms leads to such perplexity that scientists are faced with what appears to be an impossible task in making some sense out of the ethnic chaos. The whole problem is enormously aggravated by the existence of racial predilections, especially the attempt to

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<sup>28</sup> *Vide* article by Franz Boas, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 2, p. 294d.

prove that one's own racial unity is superior and hence is derived from the superior, culture-giving parent stock.

Nevertheless, out of this maze of conflicting opinion several facts emerge which may well provide a framework for future study on the Aryan question. These conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. *There is no such thing as an Aryan race.* When a language has spread over a large territory, there is no reason to believe that all people who spoke that language belonged to the same race. This conclusion is vital. Ripley has stated the issue well: "All attempts to correlate linguistic data with those derived from the study of physical characteristics are not only illogical and unscientific; they are at the same time impossible and absurd . . . They involve an entire misconception of the just principles and limitations of scientific research."<sup>29</sup>

2. *The word "Aryan" is a linguistic term which may be used in two senses.* In the first place, the word "Aryan" may be applied to two ancient languages, one spoken on the Iranian plateau and the second in Northern India. There is a distinct similarity between these two branches of the Aryan language, between Old Persian and Old Hindu. There is, however, no valid reason for calling these peoples "Aryans by race", inasmuch as they always underwent a progressive biological intermixture.<sup>30</sup>

In the second sense, the word "Aryan" is often used as a substitute for "Indo-European" or "Indo-Germanic".<sup>31</sup> The reason for this is simple: it is evident that other peoples contemporaneous to the Persians or Hindus, or following them in history, used languages similar to that of the Aryan group mentioned above, for example, Latin, Greek or Celtic. All European tongues, with the possible exception of Basque, Finnish and Hungarian, apparently belong to one linguistic family. This family, called by some "Indo-European", has mistakenly been labeled "Aryan" by race.

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<sup>29</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

<sup>30</sup> For example, the Indo-Iranian peoples should be regarded as an amalgam of many Caucasian stocks as well as some Mongolic elements.

<sup>31</sup> *Vide* pp. 90-92.

3. *Undoubtedly, there existed a parent tongue, whether it be called Aryan, Indo-European, or Indo-Germanic.* From this original tongue, whatever it might have been, came the languages of contemporary Europe: *Germanic* (German, Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, English); *Celtic* (Gaelic, Welsh, Scotch); *Romance* (Latin and its derivatives- French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian); and *Slavonic* (Russian, Polish, Bulgarian). A simple comparison indicates this fact: the word for *mother* in the various languages mentioned above shows that it was borrowed from an original parent language:

Sanskrit:	Mātár.
Persian:	Mātár.
Greek:	Mētēr.
Latin:	Mater.
French:	Mère.
Italian:	Madre.
German:	Mutter.
English:	Mother.

Other comparable words, names of members of the family unit, animals, numbers, tools, weapons, minerals and trees show like similarities.<sup>32</sup> It is apparent that philologists are justified in searching for an original parent *language*.

4. *Search for the original, parent language has been greatly complicated by the fact that these early peoples have disappeared from the earth and have left no written records of their speech.* Philologists have been successful in dealing with the material at hand, detecting peculiar relationships by investigating accentual systems and phonological laws. Voids in knowledge of the languages can be filled in with a reasonable degree of accuracy, but on the whole there is no possible way to reach definite conclusions on the nature of the original parent language.

<sup>32</sup> Almost without exception, the words for family relationships in the various Indo-European tongues are similar. Although there is no common word for *son-in-law*, the words for *parents-in-law* are strikingly similar. Thus, *father-in-law*: in Sanskrit, *śvaśura-s*; Greek, *hekyrós*; Latin, *socer*; Old High German, *swehur*; Old English, *swéor*; and *mother-in-law*: in Sanskrit, *śvaśrū-s*; Latin, *socrus*; Old High German, *swigar*; Old English, *sweger*. These similarities can hardly be accidental.

5. *It is impossible to establish a parallel between the Aryan language and the "Aryan race" because of the time element.* Since there is no clear record of the Indo-European peoples before the second millennium B.C., we can learn nothing of their language before the time of the appearance of the religious hymns, the Vedas, which date roughly from 2000 to 1400 B.C.<sup>33</sup> From these oldest continuously transmitted documents in history we learn the nature of the early Indo-European peoples. But, by this time, the Indo-Europeans had already been differentiated into their various main divisions. It is therefore quite impossible to distinguish their racial identity before the period of which we have records.

6. *The long search for the original Aryan home-land has proven to be unsuccessful.* We have already considered this problem. For the race theorist, the importance of placing the homeland is vital, as a matter of proving Aryan descent. We have seen that the solution to this intricate problem requires intense research by the specialist, who is always handicapped by failure of documentary indications and by the necessity for speculation and guesswork.<sup>34</sup> The homeland was placed in Asia, Europe and Africa, with no adequate proof for any one region.

7. *There does not exist any ethnic uniformity among the Indo-European peoples.* There are not in the Indo-European world any physical types which with justification could be called Indo-European, or Aryan, races. Once again, it must be re-stated that ethnic intermixture has existed everywhere and at all times. The contention of present-day racialists that the original Indo-Europeans were a tall, blue-eyed, long-haired, fair-haired people can never be

<sup>33</sup> The oldest of these is the famed *Rig-Veda* (c. 1400 B.C.), a collection of some thousand hymns, written, like the Bible, by a large group of authors over a long period of time. An excellent picture is given of the early Indo-Europeans, with their low order of civilization and, particularly, their propensity for cow-stealing.

<sup>34</sup> An example of the nature of this guesswork can be found in conclusions drawn by Theodor Benfey (1809-1881). Benfey selected a region north of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Caspian, as the Aryan homeland. As "evidence" he pointed to the presence in the vocabulary common to the Aryan languages the words for *bear*, *wolf*, *birch* and *beech*, which indicate European and not Asiatic derivation. Since the words for *lion*, *tiger*, and *palm* are absent, he dismissed Asia and Africa as probable areas of origin.

proved. It is not necessary to stress once again the somatologic differences between the various Indo-European peoples.

8. *There does not exist, nor did there exist, any cultural uniformity among the Indo-European peoples.* Variations of art, religion, social organization and political institutions have been characteristic of the Indo-European peoples. It is obviously impossible to trace a diffusion of similar cultural traits from the Proto-Aryan peoples straight down to the present Indo-European peoples, who differ so widely in cultural attributes. As one example, the old religions of the Vedas have been to a great extent supplanted by the widespread adoption of Christianity, certainly no Indo-European importation, but rather Semitic in its origins.

9. *The whole Aryan problem has become an insoluble one because of the effect of migrations.* One of the dominating factors in history has been the urge of man towards migration, generally towards better climate and more favorable surroundings. Once migrations begin, conquests and resulting ethnic amalgamation begin. Ethnic stocks become lost in chaotic confusion. Any assumption that the Aryans were distinguished from other groups by keeping their blood pure is sheer nonsense. It must be remembered, moreover, that the migration of the Aryans towards Europe was not that of a cohesive nation, but rather a periodically recurring wave of migration of only a *part* of the original group.

10. *The attempt of Aryan racialists in contemporary Germany to attribute ideal racial qualities to both early Indo-Europeans and present-day Nordics may be dismissed as a political rationalization having no scientific support.* We shall discuss this attitude in detail when we treat the Nordic thesis. Linguistic proof for this thesis is careless and irrational.<sup>35</sup> If anything, the natives of India and the Iranians, who are descended from Indo-European stock, have more right to call themselves "Aryans" by race than have Germans or English.

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<sup>35</sup> For example, the translation of the Greek word *xanthos* to mean *blond*, when, in reality, the term properly translated means *brown*.

## PART 3—THE NORDIC MYTH

### CHAPTER 5

#### THE ARYAN EVOLVES INTO THE NORDIC

##### TERMINOLOGY OF RACIALISM

Thus far we have considered the problem of race in general and the origin and evolution of the Aryan myth with its resultant controversy. Our next step will be to trace the transmutation of the Aryan thesis into the Nordic myth, an evolution that properly begins with the work of Count de Gobineau, whose work we shall treat in detail later on. Before proceeding with this development it is important that we make clear the meaning of the racial terms used. The explanations given below will act at once as a summary of the ground covered thus far and as a guide for the terminology to be used in tracing the various racial myths:

*Indo-European:* This term, linguistic and not ethnological, is used to describe the language of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe, India, Persia, Greece and Rome. The eastern group includes Indo-Iranian (Aryan) and the local languages of Asia Minor and Persia, while the western group is composed of Hellenic, Italic, Celtic and Teutonic.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, the theory of a common Indo-European origin for all the languages of Europe arose because of the similarity between Sanskrit, German, Latin, English, Greek and Celtic.<sup>2</sup> The Indo-Europeans are known to us from the religious hymns, the Vedas.<sup>3</sup> The term appears to have been invented by

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<sup>1</sup> Webster's *New International Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* chap. 3. Cf. also Frank H. Hankins, "The Racial Basis of Civilization," New York, 1926, for an excellent treatment of this subject.

<sup>3</sup> Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

Thomas Young to indicate a family of languages.<sup>4</sup> Since 1813, the term, like the word "Aryan", has been used in a confusing manner by some philologists and ethnologists, who have given it questionable racial rather than linguistic connotations.

*Indo-Germanic:* German anthropologists and philologists sometimes contend that the Indo-European emigrants were tall, with fair hair and blue eyes, thus attributing to the Indo-Europeans in general all the characteristics of the ideal German.<sup>5</sup> The designation is sometimes used instead of Indo-European, although the same thing is meant.<sup>6</sup> At times the term Indo-Germanic has been used to describe the Indo-Iranian (or Indian and Iranian) branches of the Indo-European family of languages.<sup>7</sup> It is also used interchangeably with "Aryan". The use of the word "Indo-Germanic" is based upon purely patriotic motives and has never become popular outside of Germany.

*Aryan:* The Sanskrit language of the Vedas and the Old Persian of the Avesta, together with their descendant languages, form the Aryan, or Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages.<sup>8</sup> The Aryan group of languages includes the following: Sanskrit, Old Persian, Armenian, Greek, Albanian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic. Friedrich Max Müller and other philologists used this convenient short term for the whole body of languages known as Indo-European, although Müller later cautiously distinguished between its use as a racial and a linguistic term.<sup>9</sup> The word "Aryan" is used in two distinct senses: first for the Sanskrit and Persian languages, and secondly, as a substitute for the Indo-European (or Indo-Germanic) family of languages. The supposition that there must have been a race

<sup>4</sup> The term was first used by Young in an article in the tenth volume of the *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1913.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 12, p. 262a.

<sup>6</sup> In his important comparative grammar, Franz Bopp (1833 and after) made clear that the designation of Indo-European languages as *Indo-Germanic* was false. The term appears to have originated with Julius von Klaproth in 1823. August Friedrich Pott used the word in his principal work, "*Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*" (1833-1836).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. article "Aryans," in *New International Encyclopedia*, 14th ed.

<sup>8</sup> Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

<sup>9</sup> *Vide pp. 70-71.*

or people which spoke the original parent language of Aryan has led to the use of the term "Aryan race".<sup>10</sup> We have already seen that this term invaded the field of ethnology, where it actually had no place or meaning. The original speakers of the Aryan language have long disappeared as a distinct race.<sup>11</sup> Some scholars now substitute for the word "Aryans" and the "Aryan race" the expression "peoples of Aryan speech". Others have attempted without justification to apply the common name "Aryans" to the whole Indo-European family, although it should be applied *in a linguistic sense* only to the Indians and Iranians.<sup>12</sup>

*Nordic*: German philologists and anthropologists often maintain that the first Aryans were the tall, long-headed, blue-eyed barbarians described so eloquently by Tacitus. The popular exponents of race supremacy in contemporary Germany now use the term "Nordic" as an offshoot of "Aryan", and very often use both terms interchangeably. Gobineau, as we shall soon see, did not make use of the word "Nordic", preferring the term "Aryan", but his conception of Aryanism coincides with what the Nordic proponents now hold.<sup>13</sup> The Nordic type is sometimes said to be one of the three main divisions of the Caucasian peoples (Mediterranean—

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. article "Aryans," by Frank H. Hankins, *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 1, pp. 264-265. "The obvious impossibility of ever locating the Aryan homeland; the increasing complexity of the problem . . .; the even more remote possibility of ever learning anything conclusive regarding the traits of the mythical 'Aryan' . . .; the ridiculous and humiliating spectacle of eminent scholars subordinating their interest in truth to the inflation of racial and national pride—all these and many other reasons led scholars of the first rank even before 1890 to declare either that the Aryan doctrine was a figment of the professional imagination or that it was incapable of clarification because the crucial evidence was lost, apparently forever."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. H. Keane, "Man, Past and Present," Cambridge, 1920, pp. 441-442.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

<sup>13</sup> German Gobinists claim that Gobineau did not use the term "Nordic" since a racial anthropology could not be written in his time, but they feel that his conception corresponds with their own. Leaders of contemporary German racialism prefer to use "Nordic" instead of "Aryan", although the latter is still loosely used. Günther claims that the word "Aryan" has gone out of scientific use. He admits that the word is used "mostly with a very confused application to the peoples who do not speak Semitic languages". Furthermore, he warns against the use of the word "Semites", since "men and peoples of various racial descent speak Semitic tongues". (Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 257 footnote.) Although Günther has been "accepted" by the Nazi authorities, this preferred advice has made no apparent impression. Günther consistently uses the term "Nordic".



anean, Alpine and Nordic), and it includes Scandinavians, Northwest Germans, Dutch, Flemings, most English, Scotch, some Irish, Anglo-Americans, Anglo-Australians, English and Dutch of South Africa, Thrako-Hellenes, "true" Kurds, most West Persians, Afghans, and Siah-post Kafirs.<sup>14</sup> German Nordacists now hold that Germans are the very best examples of the Nordic type and demand that this Nordic (or Aryan) blood be maintained in its purest form.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF GOBINEAU

The work of the linguistic paleontologists on the origins and affinities of the Aryan languages was effective in providing a foundation for the rise of racialism in its modern form. But the loose terminology used and the questionable conclusions left much to be desired. What was needed to give impetus to the movement, so necessary for the development of a vigorous nationalism, was a more coherent and impressive exposition of the ideas latent in the pioneering work of the linguistic paleontologists. The conflict over the genesis of the primordial physical Aryan race had not been settled and it was necessary that some basic work clarify the historical "mission" of the various races of mankind. This indispensable work was written by a French nobleman, Count Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), who became the prophet of Nordic ascendancy. In introducing a new conception of history based upon ethnology, Gobineau was responsible to a great extent for generating a whole crop of racial myths. Darwin's "Origin of Species" had not yet appeared when Gobineau's famous "Essay on the Inequality of Human Races" was published in 1854. In this erudite work, the French aristocrat warned his countrymen against the dangers of hybridization through intermarriage. The thesis was novel: "I was gradually penetrated by the conviction that the racial question overshadows all other problems of history, that it holds the key to them all, and that the inequality of the races from whose fusion a people is formed is enough to explain the whole course of its destiny."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

<sup>15</sup> Arthur de Gobineau, "Essay on the Inequality of Human Races," New York, 1915, vol. I, p. XIV (hereafter noted as the "Essay".)

We shall examine Gobineau's work in more detail later,<sup>16</sup> which will of necessity involve some repetition, but at this point we shall trace briefly his influence in the transitional stage from Aryan to Nordic theses. Gobineau came to two important conclusions: (1) That the white race is superior to all others, and (2) to be great, every race must avoid ethnic intermixture. History, he said, has been mainly the story of the interplay of great races. Where the Nordics, tall, blond, blue-eyed giants of the North, entered, there could be found flourishing mankind. When inferior Alpines, short, dark, round-headed peasants, entered the blood-stream, there degeneration occurred. Thus, France had prospered under the Nordic Franks, until the Alpine peasants introduced the ignominious revolution of 1789. The conquering Germanic Nordics had brought civilization with them. "I convinced myself that at last everything great, noble, and fruitful in the works of man on this earth, in science, art, and civilization, derives from a single starting point, is the development of a single germ and the result of a single thought; it belongs to one family alone, the different branches of which have reigned in all the civilized countries of the universe."<sup>17</sup>

Although Gobineau used the term "Aryan" to describe the people whom he believed carried the torch of civilization, it is plain that he meant the "Nordic" in its restricted sense. It was the *Teutonic*, Nordic elements, he believed, whose valuable and healthy heredity attributes would check the degeneration of Western Europe. With his work, the racio-historical viewpoint assumed a definite direction and the Nordic myth in its present form became crystallized, to be developed later by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, Hans F. K. Günther and others.

Until the time of Gobineau, Aryan racial theorists emphasized the ethnic importance of the whole Indo-European peoples (including among others Persians, Celts, Italians and Germans). Gobineau and his emulators—Ammon, Lapouge and Chamberlain—preferred

<sup>16</sup> *Vide* chaps. 6 and 7.

<sup>17</sup> Gobineau, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. XV. This sentence has become the guiding beacon of Nordic theory.

to stress the racial superiority of the peoples of Germanic speech in Europe and North America. Gobineau and his German satellites differed as to where the predominantly Teutonic peoples had settled, but they were one in insisting upon Nordic supremacy.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORDIC CONFLICT

Keeping in mind the limitations caused by confusion of terminology, let us trace the development of the Nordic conflict, noting the arguments of proponents and opponents of the thesis of Nordic purity and superiority.

According to the Nordic school, anthropological and archaeological discoveries show that in Northwest Germany there existed a Neolithic people with a distinct, characteristic culture. These original Nordics settled in Central Germany and later in Southern Germany. Gradually they wandered from these two homelands to the Balkans, reaching Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, migrating into Italy, and later, during the Hallstatt period, penetrating into France and Spain. Progressively bettering their position, the Nordics brought with them customs of body-burning and their own special forms of weapons, implements, vessels and houses.<sup>18</sup> Nordic Phrygians penetrated into Asia Minor; Nordic Hellenes into Greece; Nordic Italians into Italy; Nordic Celts into France and Spain. The extent of Nordic conquest was even greater, since Nordic tribes spread to the western boundary of China and beyond India.

It will be noted that the thesis here presented by Günther follows roughly the main outlines of the "Indo-Europeanization" of Europe, as well as the similar Aryan thesis. The Nordic writers, however, profess but little interest in the Indo-Europeans who penetrated into Southern Europe and Asia, on the assumption that the "original Nordic blood" of these people ran dry. The Nordic blood of the ruling class (nobles and free husbandmen) still flows in its purest form in the veins of Germans (Chamberlain and Günther) or of Frenchmen (Gobineau). To prevent *denordization*,

<sup>18</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123. The analysis here is that of Günther, who is accepted as the present spokesman for the Nordic school.

or disappearance of noble Nordic blood, becomes the great historical mission of the present descendants of the Nordic *Urmensch*.<sup>19</sup>

What was, and what is, the physical character of the Nordic race? Generally speaking, the descriptions of the Nordic race closely approximate those of the Aryan race.<sup>20</sup> A convenient summary is given by E. A. Hooton:<sup>21</sup>

“Hair color: golden or ash blond.

Eye color: blue, sometimes gray.

Head form: dolichocephalic or mesocephalic, average 75 to 77.

Face Form: long, narrow (‘horse-faced’); flat temples; compressed molars, prominent chin, lean jaws with compressed angles.

Nose form: long, high, narrow, usually leptorrhine, straight or less frequently aquiline; thin lip, not usually depressed; septum thin and horizontal; alae compressed.

Mouth: lips thin, integumental, upper lip long.

Eye fold: external epicanthic (‘Nordic fold’), very common in adults of middle age and old age.

<sup>19</sup> “If this great race (the Nordic), with its capacity for leadership and fighting, should ultimately pass, with it would pass that which we call civilization. . . . Such a catastrophe cannot threaten if the Nordic race will gather itself together in time, shake off the shackles of an inveterate altruism, discard the vain phantom of internationalism, and reassert the pride of race and the right of merit to rule”. (Cf. Lothrop Stoddard, “The Rising Tide of Color,” New York, 1935, *passim*, for such typical expressions of viewers-with-alarm.)

<sup>20</sup> Cf. pp. 91-93.

<sup>21</sup> E. A. Hooton. “Up From the Ape,” New York, 1931, p. 505.—Günther (*op. cit.*, pp. 10-23) agrees substantially with this description, although he waxes lyrical in showing the superior bodily form of the Nordic. Thus, the height of the Nordic is “stately”, his head is “strikingly narrow”, the cast of features of the face has “a characteristically bold effect”, the hair is thin and soft “like silk”, best-termed “gold-blond”. The expression of the Nordic eyes “can grow hard, and generally has something decided about it, but a kindly though always decided expression is not seldom to be seen”. Lothrop Stoddard holds that the Nordic race “stands at the head of the whole human genus”. (Stoddard, *supra*, p. 162.) Madison Grant is precise about Nordic physical attributes: “All blue, gray or green eyes in the world to-day came originally from the same source, namely, the Nordic race of Northern Europe”. (“The Passing of the Great Race,” New York, 1920, p. 24.) And again: “Blond hair also comes everywhere from the Nordic subspecies and from nowhere else”. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.) “The Nordic race is nearly everywhere distinguished by great stature. Almost the tallest stature in the world is found among the pure Nordic populations of the Scottish and English borders while the native British of Pre-Nordic brunet blood are for the most part relatively short.” (*Ibid.*, p. 29.) Although Stoddard agrees with German anthropologists on the physical and mental superiority of the Nordics, he dismisses the conception of modern Germany as racially almost purely Nordic as “a monstrous absurdity”. [Cf. Stoddard, *supra*, p. 201 (originally published in 1920, when war-fever against Germans had not yet abated).]

Stature: tall, averaging 172 centimeters (5 feet, 7.7 inches or more).

Body build: tall, slender; long neck; sloping shoulders; flat shallow chest and shoulders of medium breadth; slender waist; relatively short trunk; long legs, especially the shins; moderately long arms; tendency towards 'spareness'.

Hair texture: prevailing fine, sometimes medium and almost never coarse.

Hair quantity: thin on head, moderate on face and body; baldness common in males.

Hair form: straight or wavy, rarely curly."

The Nordic school, convinced of the physical superiority of the Nordic type, soon found mental characteristics which also set it apart as a dominant race. Thus, the Nordic man possesses the qualities of judgment, truthfulness and energy. "He is distinguished by a highly developed sense of reality, which, in combination with an energy that may rise to boldness, urges him on to far-reaching undertakings."<sup>22</sup> He has a desire for competitive achievement; he is prudent, reserved, steadfast and calm; he quickly grasps the idea of duty; he is statesmanlike and carelessly courageous; he yearns towards the sublime and heroic; he is a leader in military science, the natural sciences and the arts; he has no criminal propensities; and he makes a virtue of cleanliness.<sup>23</sup> The Nordic race gave the idea of freedom, the judicial system and the sense of historic consciousness to the world, proof of this being found in the positions held by the Saxons and Frisians for hundreds of years.<sup>24</sup>

This race of blond Aryans (Nordics), according to Gobineau, gave civilization its mightiest impetus. When its blood is exhausted, stagnation supervenes.<sup>25</sup> Unless its dominance is assured, there comes "a confusion which, like that of Babel, ends in utter impotence, and leads societies down to the abyss of nothingness whence no power on earth can rescue them."<sup>26</sup> It was this Teutonic Nordic which, according to Chamberlain, entered the history of the world "to rescue agonizing humanity from the clutches of the

<sup>22</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-56.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. M. Hermansson, "Where Now, Little Jew?" New York, 1938, p. 174-175.

<sup>25</sup> Gobineau, "Essay," vol. I, p. 212.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

everlastingly bestial".<sup>27</sup> The American racialists, Stoddard, Grant and Osborne, following the lead of German colleagues, warned against denordization, deploring the degeneration that would result if the blond Nordic disappeared.<sup>28</sup>

This Nordic theory speedily became popular in Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century. We shall trace this development in more detail later,<sup>29</sup> after we have considered the work of Gobineau and Chamberlain, most ardent exponents of the Nordic myth. The work of the Nordic school may be summarized as follows: although differing in some details, the Nordacists as a group identified the Aryans with the Nordic, or Teutonic, race; they set the original home of the Indo-Europeans in North Germany or Scandinavia; they maintained that the civilization of Western Europe was due to the inherent superiority of blond Nordics; and they expressed the fear that denordization by a people of inferior physical and mental endowment would lead to chaos.

#### THE ANTI-NORDIC SCHOOL

The rôle of racialism as a powerful concomitant of nationalism and militarism was not widely understood until 1871 when Germany was welded into a strong national state. Attacks on the Nordic theory were few and far between during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. But when anthropo-sociology was added to linguistic paleontology and the Darwinian hypothesis to show "indisputable proof" of Nordic superiority, a school of anti-Nordic thought rapidly formed. This school held that in the light of history the thesis that all culture and civilization have been products of the Nordic mind falls down completely; that a "Nordic race" never existed; that the so-called Nordics are found in varying

<sup>27</sup> Houston Stewart Chamberlain, "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," 2 vols., London, 1912, vol. I, p. 495.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. chap. 14.

<sup>29</sup> *Vide* chap. 10. Nordic theory carried to its most absurd extreme maintains that Christ and Dante were Teutonic and Nordic. Equally striking is the conception of R. N. Bradley that the Nordics were and are a "male race". His proof is unusual: "The purely Nordic women are probably rare, for in the nature of things they could not have been numerous". (R. N. Bradley, "Racial Origins of the English Character," London, 1926, p. 119.)

frequency in all parts of Europe; that it was precisely the Teutonic civilization that deviates most strongly from the Nordic language; that those who speak most highly of the superiority of the Nordic race are not able to agree on the traits with which they hope to endow them; and that race crossing has led to higher cultural development rather than degeneration.

The anti-Nordic school included a vast range of scholars, among whom may be mentioned a few such as Cuno, Pösche, Ripley, Sergi, Hankins, Kroeber, Hertz and Boas. Ripley and Sergi maintained that the Teutonic peoples could not have been of Asiatic origin and hence could not have been the original bearers of Nordic culture. Others held that there was no justification whatever for speaking of a Nordic Teutonic race, since the most striking characteristics of these peoples, as ascertained from prehistoric skeletons, descriptions of ancient writers and present-day statistics, occur to as great an extent among the Eastern and Western neighbors, characteristics which can hardly be ascribable to Teutonic admixture.<sup>30</sup>

In the work of the Nordicists, the anti-Nordic school saw an unconscious rationalization attempting to prove a fancied innate superiority of their own race.<sup>31</sup> The desire to show the Nordics as descendants of the original Aryans was attacked as an evidence of racial arrogance. Moreover, granted that the aboriginal Aryans were one with the Nordic race, history shows that they were far from being the first of civilization, rather entering history as invading destroyers, slowly assimilating the higher civilizations of those they conquered.<sup>32</sup> Most of the great civilizations of the ancient oriental world were non-Nordic. The culture of Egypt

<sup>30</sup> Cf. H. M. Chadwick, article "Teutonic Peoples," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911. "If we examine racial charts of France and Germany, we find that the racial cleavage runs East and West, while the national boundary (which is the boundary of cultures and man-made prejudices) runs North and South. In other words, Northern Frenchmen are Nordic and are not racially different from the North Germans; and the South Frenchmen are Alpine and are akin to the South Germans." (G. Taylor, "The Nordic and Alpine Races and Their Kin," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1931.)

<sup>31</sup> M. H. Bissel, "Race or Place," *Scientific American*, Dec., 1933.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. F. Hertz, "Race and Civilization," New York, 1928, *passim*, for emphasis upon this viewpoint.

had no Nordic foundations; the ancient Aegean area possessed a Mediterranean culture; Greece and Rome had the merest sprinkling of Nordics; the civilization of medieval Western Europe was not due to the institutions of the primitive Franks but to Germanic appropriation of the dominant Gallo-Roman culture of Italy and Roman Gaul. "Even in a political and military sense no convincing case can be made for Nordic supremacy during the medieval period. The strongest national monarchies of the Middle Ages were those of France and England, while the Holy Roman Empire was a notoriously loose and weak political organization . . . The superficial facts of history certainly constitute rather more of an indictment of the political ability of the Nordics than a demonstration of their unusual capacity in this field."<sup>33</sup>

In addition to attacks upon the historical validity of the Nordic thesis, the anti-Nordic school leveled strong criticism from the anthropological point of view. It was held that all Europeans, including the Nordics, are biologically intermingled and that one can no longer speak with certainty of racially determined characteristics. It is impossible to determine from the physical character of a person alone to what section of the European continent he belongs. "Any people of 'Nordic' race includes family lines which have physical characteristics quite different from our ordinary concept of a 'Nordic,' and it would be rash to claim that these families do not belong by descent to the Nordics . . . For all we know about the variability of lines in a single species or variety it would be preposterous to claim that all descendants of 'Nordics' are of uniform type."<sup>34</sup>

The most devastating criticisms of the anti-Nordic school was leveled at a point of weak resistance—the question of the scientific capabilities of proponents of the Nordic thesis. Gobineau and Chamberlain were both writers of vast erudition and brilliance. Their impeccable style served to hide many inconsistencies and

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<sup>33</sup> H. E. Barnes and H. David, "The History of Western Civilization," New York, 1935, vol. 1, pp. 445-447. For a vigorous attack on the Nordic myth, *vide* especially F. Hankins, "Racial Basis of Civilization," New York, 1926, part 1.

<sup>34</sup> Franz Boas, "This Nordic Nonsense," *Forum*, Oct., 1925, pp. 502-511.



errors, which we shall discuss later. But there was little, if any, scientific evidence to support their broad generalizations. Anthropological analysis was just beginning to be outlined in Gobineau's day. There was very little objective anthropological and ethnological observation to prove his contentions. Some anthropologists, notably Broca, were attracted by Gobineau, but others, especially Pittard, attacked him as a pseudo-ethnographer who poisoned the field of comparative ethnography. The Nordacist, Vacher de Lapouge, carried the theory to a ridiculous extreme. In identifying the Aryans with the Nordics, Lapouge made a number of strange assertions which demanded scientific evidence. For example:

"The dominant class of the feudal period belonged almost exclusively to *Homo Europaeus*." <sup>35</sup>

"When one studies portrait collections from the Renaissance up to the eighteenth century, one is struck by the complete predominance of long-heads dominating long, narrow faces with aquiline noses." <sup>36</sup>

"Look down from above on to any present-day political meeting or gathering of men of influence, the brachycephals will easily be in a majority. The fair heads that once dominated have become rare." <sup>37</sup>

Pittard objected quite reasonably that no man of science could trust such conclusions.

The Nordic controversy has continued unabated down to the present day, the ideological battle being waged with even more intensity than in the nineteenth century. Nordic proponents, encouraged by the racial laws of the Third Reich, still maintain vehemently that a pure and superior Nordic exists even now. Anti-Nordics reject this viewpoint by referring to a German scientist, Virchow, who at the turn of the century, came to the conclusion that the original Nordic type was by no means universally represented among the present Germanic peoples.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Vacher de Lapouge, *L'Aryen, son rôle social*, Paris, 1889, p. 246.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252.

<sup>38</sup> Virchow examined 6,758,000 school children, and found that 31% might be classed as blonds, 14% as brunettes, and 55% as mixed. Of the blonds about 43% were centred in North Germany, 33% in Central, and 24% in South Germany. The brunettes increased southwards, South Bavaria showing only about 14% blonds. (Cf. Ripley, *op. cit.*, map, p. 222.)

Before considering in further detail the recent development of the Nordic myth in Germany, let us first examine the work of Gobineau and Chamberlain, whose books provided the Nordic school with its most potent arguments. In the work of these two writers we shall find epitomized a mystical longing for an old and good name and a basis for the purely suppositional bleaching of the Nordic.

## CHAPTER 6

### COUNT ARTHUR DE GOBINEAU AND THE CRYSTALLIZATION OF NORDICISM

#### GOBINEAU

The life span of Arthur de Gobineau, 1816-1882, covers the heart of the nineteenth century, a century whose dominant concept was a nationalism grown out of the tremendous changes wrought by the French Revolution. The gifted and productive French nobleman was responsible, perhaps to a greater extent than any other literary figure of the century, for the grafting of the ideas of racial superiority, mixture and decadence upon this older concept of nationalism.

Cultural romanticism prevalent in the early part of the century stimulated the new nationalism. Racial theory came as a welcome expedient to those romanticists who sought for noble ancestry in order to satisfy national aspirations. Moreover, the period from 1850 on had wide economic repercussions, with the extension of commerce and the exploitation of foreign lands. The rising political nationalism utilized philology, political science, history and literature as rungs in the ladder of national hierarchy. Many movements—cultural and political liberalism, cultural romanticism, cultural and political nationalism, economic nationalism, racialism, in fusion and merger gave this remarkable century its tone. It was Gobineau, who, in the midst of these flowering historical movements, gave the budding racialism an enormous stimulus and set it apart not a distinct movement, but as a factor closely allied with the other dominant forces and one which the historian is now forced to view with serious attention.

Always the uncompromising aristocrat, it was Gobineau's mis-

fortune to live in a France driving in precisely the opposite direction from aristocracy and absolutism. His fellow countrymen, while deeply impressed by his reputation as scholar, savant and diplomat, and by the daring and originality of his ideas, were undecided whether to accept him as a pioneer of French philosophy or as an originator of a philosophy of race which had become the dominant theme in the land of the hereditary enemy. Frenchmen looked upon him as a man of letters, as a remarkable politico-literary thinker, and as a master of pen portraiture, but with characteristic good intellectual nature, they declined to be impressed with him as the apostle of a new creed. Gobineau himself was deeply chagrined by his countrymen's attitude towards his racial theory.

Nearly always beset by pecuniary difficulties and always aware of the fact that his writings were opposed to the prevailing French opinion, Gobineau died a disappointed man. There was, indeed, a measure of understanding upon the part of some Frenchmen. Tocqueville was attracted by the remarkable ingenuity with which Gobineau blended race and language, but he rejected racial philosophy as a whole as demonstrably false.<sup>1</sup> Renan, Viollet-le-Duc and Broca were influenced by Gobineau, and Albert Sorel and Le Bon became his followers.<sup>2</sup> Both Tocqueville and Renan warned Gobineau that his books would have but little vogue in France. "At best," said Tocqueville, "your fame will be an echo from across the Rhine."<sup>3</sup> It was too much to expect that Frenchmen could be completely convinced by a philosophy which discovered an older and more capable race across the Rhine. Barrès, who like Gobineau, divided the world into himself and "barbarians",<sup>4</sup> had much in common, but to the majority of Frenchmen, legitimacy, aristocracy

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Hugo Bieber, "Gobineaus Erster Kritiker," *Das Neue Tagebuch*, Paris-Amsterdam, January 23, 1935, pp. 86-87, for an account of Tocqueville's attitude towards Gobineau's racial theories.

<sup>2</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 255. To these may be added Taine, de Gourmont, de Vaux and Leusse. Maurras and Barrès accepted Gobinism, but revised it by placing "the French race" in the dominant position.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Hone, "Count Arthur de Gobineau: Race Mystic," *Contemporary Review*, June, 1913, vol. 104.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Spring, "The Vitalism of Count de Gobineau," *New York*, 1932, p. 30.

and racial distinctiveness were forces inimical to the well-being of France.

#### GOBINEAU AND GERMANY

While Gobineau's doctrines failed to take intellectual France by storm,<sup>5</sup> they received wholehearted acceptance in Germany. In early nineteenth century Germany, liberal nationalism had been found wanting as a basis for national unification; now, with Bismarck, national energies were directed towards unification on the basis of *Blut und Eisen*. For the dramatic and powerful surge of Germany into politico-economic prominence, the Nordic ideal acted as a powerful stimulant. Leaders of German thought were intrigued by Gobineau's vehement insistence that one race, and one race alone, was capable of creating a true civilization. Here was pleasant verification, if unscientific, of Germany's right to unification and world leadership. Gobineau's exaggerated praise for the conquering early Germanic tribes was taken to mean laudation for the modern German citizen, something that was quite far from Gobineau's original intention. A gullible and credulous public readily swallowed the thesis of Germanic racial supremacy.<sup>6</sup>

It was Richard Wagner who introduced Gobineau to the German public. The great composer saw in the system of historic Nordicism a perfect expression of the superiority of the German Spirit, which he praised in his music and writings.<sup>7</sup> Although failing to understand the real meaning of Gobineau's work, he undertook to popularize it in Germany. Professor Ludwig Schemann began the translation of Gobineau's work in order to convert the German public to Gobineau's views. Professor Schemann shared

<sup>5</sup> Race doctrines have but little support in contemporary France. On the occasion of the observance of the twenty-second anniversary of the battle of Verdun, a special ceremony was held beside the War Memorial to dedicate a monument in memory of the Jewish dead among the French and Allied armies. Minister of Marine Cesar Campinchi declared: "We believe that every human being has a right to live freely regardless of the shape of his head or the color of his skin. We do not believe in inferior races, but that all humanity should be free, dignified and respected." (*New York Times*, June 20, 1938, p. 7.)

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* Dr. Levy's introduction to the 1915 edition of the "Essay", p. VII.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* pp. 168-169.

Wagner's enthusiasm for the French philosopher, praising highly "all the conquering strength of this man".<sup>8</sup> According to Schemann, "all good Germans regard Gobineau as one of the most extraordinary men of the nineteenth century, one of the greatest god-inspired heroes, saviours and liberators sent by Him across the ages". After Wagner's death, Schemann founded (1894) the *Gobineau-Vereinigung* at Freiburg, which quickly gained a large membership, numbering among its members Philip von Eulenberg, Hans von Wolzogen, the Count of Basterot and Friedrich Max Müller.<sup>9</sup> From 1898 to 1901 appeared Schemann's translation of the "Essay", followed in 1910 by "Gobineau's Rassenwerk", and in 1913-1916 by a two-volume study of Gobineau and his work.

Both Eugen Fischer and Hans F. K. Günther, present leaders of the Nordic school in Germany, admit that in many details the theories of Gobineau are no longer tenable to-day.<sup>10</sup> However, since Schemann's ponderous tomes appeared, Gobineau's works have been published in classic editions<sup>11</sup> and he is generally acknowledged the master of racial science. In the contemporary National Socialistic literature, Gobineau enjoys an honored place among all writers on anthropology and history.

#### EFFECTS IN FRANCE OF GOBINEAU'S SUCCESS

This posthumous veneration of Gobineau was not without influence in France. Once Gobineau's books attained a wide vogue in Germany, some Frenchmen of note began to pay attention to him as an influential thinker. Paul Bourget, Edouard Schuré and Albert Sorel joined the *Gobineau Vereinigung*.<sup>12</sup> Baron Sellière began an investigation of the relations between Gobineau and Nietzsche.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>9</sup> Hone, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Thus, according to Fischer, "the racial ideal must and will force its way, if not quite in the form given it by Gobineau, at any rate from the wider point of view quite in his sense; he was the great forerunner". (Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 255-256. Fischer took this view from Schemann. (*Cf. Polit.-anthrop. Revue*, 1912.)

<sup>11</sup> In 1924 the complete German edition of Gobineau's works began to appear. In the immediate post-war years a revival of interest in Gobineau took place in both Germany and France.

<sup>12</sup> Spring, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

Vacher de Lapouge showed the effects of Gobineau's teachings in his "L'Aryen, son rôle social" (1899), an extravagant lyric to the greatness of the Aryan. Other French anthropologists, notably Jacques de Boisjolin and Quetelet, began a study of cranial measurements and, like Otto Ammon in Germany, reached the conclusion that Gobineau was fundamentally correct.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, on the whole, the same type of skepticism on the value of Gobineau's racial theories, persisted in France. De Quatrefrages published a brochure in which he asserted that the modern Germans are by no means descendants of the original Teutons but rather of Lapps and Finns (barbarians). The German Government accepted the challenge immediately and commissioned Professor Rudolf Virchow to conduct measurements among the children around Berlin. Although Virchow's conclusions were not altogether satisfactory, his well-documented report was accepted as vindication of the Nordic theory, especially as it applied to the ruling region of Germany. But Frenchmen still remain unimpressed.<sup>15</sup> This holds true notwithstanding the fact that Gobineau has been "re-discovered" by Frenchmen since the war and his earlier works have been published again.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. pp. 164 ff. for a discussion of the work of Ammon and the anthropo-sociologists. Gobineau's theories were erected on the basis of an identification of race and language, thus carrying on the work of Friedrich Max Müller and the linguistic paleontologists. Lapouge and Ammon, although influenced by Gobineau, went one step further by attempting to solve the race question on the basis of physical characteristics rather than political or linguistic boundaries. Gobineau was greatly handicapped by lack of anthropological evidence, which the anthropo-sociologists endeavored to secure. (On the work of this school, cf. further, Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-166; Hankins, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-140.)

<sup>15</sup> When the World War broke out, attacks by Frenchmen on Gobineau became virulent. Patriots fixed war-guilt on Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardt and Gobineau. M. Herriot, Mayor of Lyons, and later an important national political figure in France, accused Gobineau of being the cause of the war. Gobineau's eldest daughter, Baroness Guldenchrone, rushed to her father's defense in the columns of *Le Temps*. She contended that his writings were completely misunderstood and that he believed the purest Teutons to be Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons, whereas he had shown contemporary Germans to be strongly affected by Slavic infiltrations. M. Frédéric Masson attacked Gobineau in a vigorous article published in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* of Oct. 16, 1915, which was answered by Gobineau's grandson, M. Clément Serpeille, in the November issue of the same journal. Other French writers, disturbed by the "vulgar" aspects of the controversy, tried to ease the bitterness of the debate (notably Paul Souday, Robert Dreyfus and Baron Ernest Sèlliere). (*Vide The Dial*, Jan. 20, 1916, p. 54, Paris Letter, by Theodore Stanton.)

## GOBINEAU AND CHAMBERLAIN

We shall see later <sup>16</sup> that Gobineau's Nordic idea was appropriated by the Germanist Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who agreed that race was the most important factor in history and who repeated many of Gobineau's hypotheses. Gobineau and Chamberlain have often been grouped together as philosophers of one mind. There exist differences, however, in their conclusions. Chamberlain rejected Gobineau's thesis that pure races "fall from heaven". Moreover, he refused to accept Gobineau's pessimistic prediction of the coming degeneration of Western civilization (later expounded in more detail by Spengler). Chamberlain, like Wagner, emphasized a basic Christianity which had no place for such pessimism. Here Chamberlain split from Gobineau very much as Wagner had denounced his protégé, Nietzsche. "Gobineau," wrote Chamberlain, "bores like a mole in the dark ground and fancies that from the soil he can explain the flowers, though rose and thistle grow side by side."<sup>17</sup> Chamberlain saw in the passage of fifty years from the publication of Gobineau's work to his own a clarification of the riddle of race, which had confused Gobineau but which he happily had understood in the light of modern anthropology. He even went so far as to condemn Gobineau's work as in "the hybrid class of scientific phantasmagorias".<sup>18</sup> It rested, he maintained, upon total ignorance of the physiological importance of race. "A noble race does not fall from Heaven, it becomes noble gradually, just like fruit trees, and this gradual process can begin anew at any moment, as soon as accident of geography and history or a fixed plan (as in the case of the Jews) creates the conditions."<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Chamberlain admitted that Gobineau's work was astonishingly rich in intuitive ideas, "which later have been verified",<sup>20</sup> and on occasion he quoted the French author's conclusions as fundamentally accurate. In Germany little

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *chaps.* 8 and 9.

<sup>17</sup> Chamberlain, "Foundations," vol. I, p. 206.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*



mention was made of the differences in outlook between Gobineau and the Anglo-German, both of whom were classed simply as Nordic-Teutonists.

#### THE CULT OF GOBINISM

With characteristic diligence, the Germans appropriated the theories of Gobineau and created a cult of Gobinism, which gradually assumed more and more importance in the intellectual life of the Germanies. Had Gobineau lived, it is probable that he would have objected strenuously to this development. Although it was his opinion that "where the Germanic element has never penetrated, our special kind of civilization does not exist",<sup>21</sup> he saw no identity whatever between these heroic Germans (*les Germains*) and modern Germans (*les Allemands*). He found no Teuton who really belonged to the race that had created European civilization. A careful reading of the "Essay" will show no basis for the arbitrary assumption of Germans that they are more "Aryan" than the French. It was Gobineau's opinion that, if any nation might lay claim to present descent from the pure Aryan race, it was England.<sup>22</sup> But even England, he held, was only partially saved from ethnic corruption by her insularity. Gobineau was certain that racial degeneration had proceeded throughout Europe, in the East as well as the South, and the important duty of mankind was to prevent this de-Aryanization (denordization).<sup>23</sup> The Germans conveniently accepted those sections of the "Essay" which fortified their contention that they were the finest representatives of the Nordics, and they likewise overlooked those passages which gave no basis for or completely counteracted their claims. Gobineau's exaggerated praise for the conquering German tribes was transferred,

<sup>21</sup> Gobineau, "Essay," vol. I, p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> There is little direct evidence of Gobineau's influence in England, however. Englishmen, who were convinced of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race (*vide* chap. 13) appeared not to require Gobineau's substantiation of their racial superiority.

<sup>23</sup> "The Nordic movement in the end seeks to determine the spirit of the age, and more than this spirit, from out of itself. If it did not securely hold this confident hope, there would be no meaning or purpose in any longer thinking the thoughts of Gobineau." (Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 268.)

perhaps innocently, perhaps consciously, to contemporary Germans. The ancient Germanic hero thus became the blond everyday German.<sup>24</sup>

In building the cult of Gobinism, German scholars found a community of interests between Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, which made the French scholar all the more acceptable. It is probable that both Nietzsche and Schopenhauer, philosophers of the will, were strongly impressed by Gobineau's work. The pessimistic philosophy of the "Essay" intrigued Schopenhauer, but he rejected the race hypothesis, claiming that color was due to climate and that all three stocks—Caucasian, Ethiopian and Mongolian, were originally black.<sup>25</sup> Nietzsche's conception of lust for power and emphasis on the will as a dominant force coincided very well with the similar viewpoint of Gobineau.<sup>26</sup>

It must not be assumed that Gobineau possessed a deep and abiding hatred for the German people. Quite the opposite is true. The French aristocrat early developed a deep sympathy and understanding for the German people, even though he did not grant them racial superiority. His early and impressionable years were spent in the medieval German surroundings, which delighted his romantic soul. The Franco-Prussian war, fought between the two peoples nearest to his heart, was a deep disappointment to him in that he felt it to be the duty of both nations to rescue the Aryan-Nordic ideal from degeneration.

The Gobinians of the Wagner school utilized Gobineau's theories to support their strong anti-Semitism, although Gobineau held no brief for anti-Semitism. The use of his doctrine of the inequality

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<sup>24</sup> "Gobineau had a very poor opinion of the Germans, whom he considered to be mainly of Slav or Celtic descent." (Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 160-161.)

<sup>25</sup> Hone, *op. cit.* Gobinists, however, maintained that Schopenhauer was a racialist.

<sup>26</sup> M. Sellière believed that Wagnerianism was really the opposite of Gobinism since it goes beyond pessimism and suggests regeneration for the "poison of mixture" in Christianity and Art, while Nietzschean philosophy had much in common with Gobinism. Nietzsche never met Gobineau, but it is probable that he knew of the latter's work through Schopenhauer. "Gobineau resembled Nietzsche in his insistence that life be lived intensely, in the fact that he placed life above knowledge and that he oppugned the democratic levellers. As Nietzsche, he was anti-Christian in spirit even though he called himself a Roman Catholic." (Spring, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.)

of races to prove the inferiority of the so-called Semitic race would not have appealed to his imagination. Nowhere in the "Essay" will there be found denunciations of the Semites as a disintegrating force in history. There are none of the elaborate arguments against Judaism, such as those which occupy much space in Chamberlain's "Foundations". On the contrary, Gobineau saw in the continued existence of the Jews as a race a laudable development. For example, "The Jewish type has, however, remained much the same; the modifications it has undergone are of no importance and have never been enough, in any country or latitude, to change the general character of the race".<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Gobineau found something attractive in the Jews in Palestine, especially in their complicated government, a mixture of monarchy and theocracy, of patriarchal and democratic rule in a curious equilibrium. Under this government they lived through long ages of prosperity and glory, and by a scientific system of emigration they conquered the difficulties placed in the way of expansion by the narrow limits of their territory. "And what did the Jews become, in this miserable corner of the earth? They became a people that succeeded in everything it undertook, a free, strong and intelligent people, and one which, before it lost, sword in hand, the name of an independent nation, had given many learned men to the world as it had merchants."<sup>28</sup>

Such evidence of Gobineau's attitude towards the Jews was studiously avoided by German Gobinists, especially by the Wagnerian circle. Gobineau's apostles, particularly Chamberlain, were anxious to present civilization as a struggle to the death between the Nordic and Jewish races.<sup>29</sup> But these little "lapses" on of the *Gobineau-Vereinigung* for the master's work.

Gobineau's part were not serious enough to temper the enthusiasm

<sup>27</sup> Gobineau, "Essay," vol. 1, p. 122.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. Gobineau here refers the reader to Salvador's "Histoire des Juifs."

<sup>29</sup> Gobineau did not permit himself to fall into the type of inconsistencies and contradictions which characterized Chamberlain's "Foundations". In one section, Chamberlain termed it perfectly ridiculous and revolting to make the Jew the general scapegoat for all the vices of our time ("Foundations," vol. 1, p. LXXVIII) and then proceeded to devote the entire fifth chapter of volume one (some 161 pages) to an involved discussion of the Jewish peril, Jewish racial inferiority and Jewish decadence.

## GOBINEAU AND PAN-GERMANISM

Gobineau's supposed preference for Teutonic Nordics was widely shared by affiliated members of the *Alldeutscher Verband*, the Pan-German League.<sup>30</sup> Aiming to consolidate *Deutschtum* in all parts of the world, the League attempted to foster nationalism, "emancipation from England", and German racial superiority. In soliciting members, the League sent out thousands of circulars emphasizing its aims. The public was informed that the great wave of enthusiasm which had swept the German people to great heights in 1870-71 was now endangered by a "certain apathy" and that national interests were being obliterated by economic and social questions. It was pointed out that while other peoples energetically defended with success the holy possessions of their race (particularly the English), Germans were consuming their energies in internal party struggles and were growing apathetic in self-content. The organization therefore dedicated itself to "a quickening of national sentiment of Germans and in particular to awaken and foster the racial and cultural homogeneity of all sections of the German people".<sup>31</sup>

For these dreamers of Teutonic expansion, Gobinism was a welcome philosophy. The politico-economic success of Germany was hailed as vindication of the theory of Teutonic racial supremacy. Pan-Germanists grudgingly admitted that English imperialists had been successful in applying their doctrine of the racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxons; now it remained for them to secure world-wide Teutonic hegemony along similar racial lines. Gobineau's work, interpreted from a German point of view, provided ideal ammunition for this new imperialism.

## GOBINEAU AND RACE BELIEF

It was not until 1894, with the foundation of the *Gobineau-Vereinigung* by Schemann, that Gobineau's doctrine assumed wide influence. In his summary of 1890, Canon Taylor completely ig-

<sup>30</sup> For the most satisfactory treatment of this organization, *vide* Mildred Wertheimer, "The Pan-German League," New York, 1924, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. L. L. Snyder, "From Bismarck to Hitler, the Background of Modern German Nationalism," Williamsport, Penna., 1935, pp. 112-118.

nored Gobineau's "Essay"; Reinach failed to mention it in his history of the Aryan controversy (1892); and Ripley, in his standard study of 1899, did not mention Gobineau's name on any occasion. Yet, in spite of this apparent lack of attention, Gobineau's work soon became the core of racial theory. His posthumous fame extended to the far corners of the earth.

Though Gobineau's work was original and pregnant with possibilities, it suffered from intuitive mysticism, contradictions and inconsistencies, which make much of it unacceptable to scholars. It did possess the virtue of appealing to those peoples who were searching diligently for some proof of their national superiority. There appeared to be great need for a philosophy such as Gobineau's in the period immediately preceding the World War. Gobineau's thesis of the inequality of human races was adaptable to almost any people. The idea of an Aryan-Nordic aristocracy was a fascinating one, and it was not at all difficult for scholars and publicists of most European nations to identify themselves with Gobineau's Aryan aristocracy and to assume that it was their duty to carry on the burden of civilization.

In the final analysis, the success of Gobinism lay in its appeal to primitive emotions. The idea of national or racial superiority has been rooted deep in the social consciousness of mankind throughout history. Group cohesion, springing from man's probably inborn gregariousness, is one of his basic emotions. The thesis of the survival of the fittest, propounded by Darwin, may well be applied not simply to the individual but also to the social group to which he belongs. Humans search for group consciousness because they find it easier to survive when surrounded by individuals of related characteristics, traditions and desires. The nationalism and racialism of the nineteenth century were but variations of this dominant, primitive urge. Any movement that could utilize this urge towards group cohesion was destined for wide acceptance. Race belief was just such a force. Gobineau attacked the loose ends, crystallized the movement, endowed it with poetic romanticism and what appeared superficially to be convincing scientific proof, and presented it to the world as the ultimate solution.

## CHAPTER 7

# GOBINISM: THE "ESSAY ON THE INEQUALITY OF HUMAN RACES"

### PUBLICATION OF THE "ESSAY"

Gobineau's belief in Race and Aristocracy as the basic elements in civilization was expressed in a four-volume work, the "*Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*", published in 1853 and 1855 in two parts of two volumes each. It was this ambitious work, written before Gobineau was forty, upon which his fame rests and which led to the creation of a Gobineau cult in Germany. The "Essay" passed almost unnoticed in France upon its publication. It was not until the end of the century, after the formation of the *Gobineau Vereinigung* in Germany that Frenchmen acquired with some difficulty copies of the work and were amazed to discover what a provocative subject they had overlooked. The entire four volumes have never been translated into English.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1856, the first part was translated into English as a piece of pro-slavery propaganda by H. Hotz, of Montgomery, Alabama.<sup>2</sup> The pious pro-slavery translator did not finish the undertaking, presumably because he was not altogether satisfied with Gobineau's pessimistic conclusions.

Gobineau's thesis was simple: all human races are anatomically, physically and psychologically unequal. For the first time there was presented an ingenious attempt to associate ethnology and history,

<sup>1</sup> The first volume was translated by Adrian Collins and published by Putnam's in 1915. This volume contains the core of Gobineau's teachings; the final three volumes are merely elaborations of the main thesis.

<sup>2</sup> The full title read: "The moral and intellectual diversity of races, with particular reference to their respective influence in the civil and political history of mankind, from the French of Arthur de Gobineau, with an analytical introduction and historical notes, by H. Hotz, to which is added an appendix by J. C. Nott."

with such subtlety and brilliance that the Nordic myth, in need of just such an intellectual patron, was given a decided stimulus. In the "Essay", Gobineau expressed in striking prose his philosophical, sociological and ethnological convictions, with scarcely any citations to indicate the source of many statements open to challenge. Although an attempt was made to utilize the work of science in presenting a novel thesis, it appears from the book that Gobineau had a supreme contempt for much of the work of scientists. This was an unfortunate state of affairs, considering the obvious fact that nearly every statement propounded by Gobineau demanded scientific proof. Nevertheless, the book appeared convincing enough to the reader who would not readily challenge the many evidences of dogmatism and insufficient proofs. Gobineau's early journalistic training enabled him to avoid a dry-as-dust treatment, hence the "Essay" never becomes dull reading.

#### GOBINEAU'S ETHNOLOGICAL THESIS

Gobineau's first step was to examine the fall of civilizations, which he called the most striking and obscure of all the phenomena of history. Using the dialectical approach in his analysis, he came to the conclusion that every assemblage of men, however ingenious the network of social relations that protects it, acquires on the very day of its birth the seed of inevitable death. This seed, this principle of death of civilizations, proceeds from general causes common to them all. The causes usually given for the fall of nations are not necessarily the real causes; although they may come to the surface in the death-agony of a people, they do not have enough power, enough destructive energy, to draw on, by themselves, the irremediable catastrophe.<sup>3</sup>

What facts were there to substantiate this thesis? Gobineau now attempted to show that fanaticism, luxury, corruption of morals and irreligion, each or in combination, did not necessarily bring about the ruin of nations. All these phenomena have been found in highly developed states, but they have not necessarily led to disintegration. For example, the Aztec Empire of America,

<sup>3</sup> "Essay," vol. 1, chap. 1.

watered by the blood of human sacrifice, was none the less powerful, industrious and wealthy: *fanaticism* did not cause its fall. *Luxury and effeminacy* have been in no way the necessary cause of weakness and ruin, as witness the ancient Greeks, Persians and Romans, the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans of the Middle Ages, and modern France, Germany, England and Russia (especially the latter two). *Corruption of morals* was a fleeting and unstable phenomenon, sometimes becoming worse and sometimes better, and so cannot necessarily be considered as causing the ruin of societies. Evidence may be found in the fact that the Romans, Spartans and Phoenicians marched on comfortably in spite of an obvious load of depravity, and often owed their greatness to their detestable customs. The end of a society was never at hand when its religious ideas tended to weaken and disappear, since a nation has never, either in ancient or modern times, given up its faith before being provided duly with another. *Irreligion* has no political reality at all.<sup>4</sup>

What, then, is the influence of bad government? Gobineau found that the relative merit of government has no influence on the length of a nation's life. He rejected the thesis that a human society goes on living because of the good administration of good laws. A government, he held, is bad when it is set up by a foreign power (as Athens under the Thirty Tyrants); when it is based upon conquest pure and simple (fourteenth century France under the yoke of England); when the principle upon which it rests becomes vitiated (the Spanish monarchy, based upon the military spirit and idea of social freedom degenerated towards the end of Philip II's reign because it tended to forget its origin); when there is social antagonism (medieval England, France, Germany and Italy). Yet, however bad the governments might be, civilizations still remain vital and productive.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, fanaticism, bad government and irreligion are mere unmeaning accidents. What is the meaning of the word "degeneration"? How and why is a nation's vigour lost? Gobineau defined "degeneration" as a condition by which the people no longer has

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 3.



the same blood in its veins, the quality of its blood having been affected by continual adulterations. *A civilization will certainly die when the primordial race-unit is so broken up and swamped by the influx of foreign elements that its effective qualities are destroyed.* A nation may be compared to a human body which is constantly renewing all its parts, until the body finally retains hardly any of its former elements. Gobineau came to the "positive" conclusion that a people will never die if it remains eternally composed of the same racio-national elements. If the Persians and Romans had learned this lesson, Gobineau maintained, their civilizations would not have collapsed. *So long as the blood and institutions of a nation keep to a sufficient degree the impress of the original nation, that nation will continue to exist.*<sup>6</sup>

Having given a meaning to the word "degeneration", Gobineau now proceeded to prove that there are real differences in the relative value of human races. His first step was called "a foundation of fact and argument capable of holding up such a vast building". The idea of an original, clear-cut and permanent inequality is one of the oldest and most widely held opinions in the world. Every people, great or small, has begun by making inequality its chief motto. As soon as isolated groups grow great and civilized, when the majority of its people have mixed blood flowing in its veins, only then do they assert that all men are equal. But all men are not equal, Gobineau maintained. If it is true that the brain of the Huron Indian contains in an undeveloped form an intellect as great as that of an Englishman or a Frenchman, why has he not in the course of the ages invented printing or steam power? If it be true that human societies are equal, asked Gobineau, why is it that every nation adds to the name of others epithets that suggest their unlikeness from itself?<sup>7</sup>

Gobineau now proceeded to examine the problem as to whether the development of peoples is affected by climate, soil or geo-

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 4.

<sup>7</sup> For example, the Romans ridiculed "cowardly Graeco-Romans, irreligious Carthaginians, and seditious Alexandrians". The Anglo-Normans accused their French subjects of being "inconstant". Cf. *ibid.*, chap. 5.

graphical situation.<sup>8</sup> He found that nations, whether progressing or stagnating, are independent of regions where they live. Nowhere is the soil more fertile and the climate milder than in certain parts of America, yet the greater part of this land is occupied by peoples who have not succeeded, to the slightest extent, in exploiting their treasures.<sup>9</sup> Gobineau found "a multitude of facts" in modern times to substantiate his theory—ice-bound Novgorod; Hanseatic towns plunged in immemorial slumber; geographically impossible Venice; inland Paris; Ravenna of the marshes. A nation never has, and never will, derive its value from its geographical position. *It is the people which has, and always will give, to the land its moral, economic and political value.*<sup>10</sup>

Up to this point, Gobineau attempted to show that most human races are incapable of civilization so long as they remain biologically<sup>10</sup> mixed, and secondly, that no external force is powerful enough to turn their congenital barrenness into fertility. Will Christianity, then, shine in vain on entire nations? Gobineau concluded that Christianity neither creates nor changes the capacity for civilization. He admitted that all human races are gifted with an equal capacity for being received into the bosom of Christian Communion. But the universal power of recognizing the truths of Christianity and following its concepts must not be confused with the "very different faculty" which leads one race, and not another, to understand the earthly conditions of social improvement and so pass from one rung of the ladder of civilization to another. Christianity, Gobineau concluded, is not a civilizing power, and because of the inherent inequality of races, has excellent reasons for not being so.<sup>11</sup>

In order not to leave the slightest vagueness, Gobineau defined

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<sup>8</sup> Gobineau here differs from Buckle, who saw in physical agents of climate, food, soil and the general aspect of nature the most profound influence on the human race.

<sup>9</sup> This arbitrary assumption is difficult to digest, considering the present place of America in world politico-economic affairs.

<sup>10</sup> We shall reserve our criticisms of these striking historical conclusions for a later section (*vide* pp. 126 ff.). In this section we are concerned with a brief and fair recapitulation of Gobineau's doctrines. For the views expressed in this paragraph *vide* the "Essay," chap. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 7.

“civilization” not as an event, but “a *series*, a *chain of events* linked more or less logically together and brought about by the interaction of ideas which are often themselves very complex”. Every human activity, whether moral or intellectual, has its original source in one or other of two currents, the “male” materialistic current and the “female” intellectual current.<sup>12</sup> Only the races which have one of these elements in abundance, without, of course, lacking altogether the other, can reach a high state of civilization.<sup>13</sup> After discussing different characteristics of civilized societies, Gobineau concluded that our present civilization is not superior to those which have gone before. He found that our present civilization “has been created by the mingling of the Germanic tribes with the races of the ancient world, the union, that is to say, of preëminently male groups with races and fragments clinging to the decayed remnants of ancient ideas. The richness, variety and fertility of invention for which we honour our modern societies, are the natural, and more or less, successful result of the maimed and disparate elements which our Germanic ancestors instinctively knew how to use, temper and disguise”.<sup>14</sup>

Gobineau next turned to a study of the natural and unchanging phenomena which he identified as the cause of the life and death of societies,—the relative worth of the different races. He traced in some detail the views on the origin of the races of mankind, notably those of Camper, Blumenbach, Morton, Carus and Weber, finding them all of doubtful value.<sup>15</sup> He found it impossible to pronounce categorically in favour of a multiplicity of origin for the human species. Racial differences, he maintained, are permanent.<sup>16</sup> He now explained how the various races were physiologically separated and how different varieties resulted from their intermixture, emphasizing again and again that they were and are unequal in strength and beauty. He concluded that there are

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<sup>12</sup> This has become a favorite tenet of the Nordic school.

<sup>13</sup> “Essay,” chap. 8.

<sup>14</sup> This argument was of extraordinary appeal to German racialists, who identified the modern German with the old Germanic tribes, an identification that Gobineau was not willing to admit. Cf. “Essay,” chap. 9, p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 11.

three races, and three only: the white (Caucasian, Semitic or Japhetic); the black (Hamitic); and the yellow (Altaic, Mongol, Finnish and Tatar). He rejected Blumenbach's twenty-eight varieties and Prichard's seven on the ground that they included "notorious hybrids". These three elements of mankind are distinguished by peculiar features. Races are physically different from each other; moreover, they are always unequal in beauty and muscular strength. In strength of fist the English are superior to all other European races;<sup>17</sup> the French and Spanish have a greater power of resisting fatigue and privation. "The French have certain physical qualities that are superior to those of the Germans, which allow them to brave with impunity the snows of Russia as well as the burning sands of Egypt."<sup>18</sup>

Gobineau furthermore denied that men possess to an equal degree an unlimited power of intellect. Mankind as a whole, he held, is not capable of infinite progress. "Man, in his wretchedness, has never succeeded in inventing a way of providing the whole race with clothes or in putting them beyond the reach of hunger and thirst."<sup>19</sup> He did not believe that the invention of printing and gunpowder and the discovery of the use of steam will prevent the perishing of civilization.<sup>20</sup> If human races were equal, the course of history would form an affecting, glorious and magnificent picture, but the fact remains that they are not equal. Different civilizations are mutually repulsive. He held the following facts to be "established":

1. Contemporary savage tribes have always been and always will be savage, however high the civilization with which they are brought into contact.
2. In order to go on living in the midst of civilization, a savage tribe must live among a people of a nobler branch of the same race.

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<sup>17</sup> The recent history of pugilism since Gobineau's time has not verified this contention. In the popular mind English pugilists are distinguished by their propensity for horizontal positions in the squared ring. Gobineau's theory on fistic strength is further weakened by the remarkable success of Negro pugilists.

<sup>18</sup> But which caused them to finish far below the Germans at the 1936 Olympics held at Berlin. This quotation is from the "Essay," chap. 12, p. 153.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 13, p. 163.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 13.

3. This is necessary if two distinct civilizations are to affect each other by an "exchange of qualities" and give birth to other civilizations.
4. Civilizations that result from two foreign races can touch only on the surface; they never coalesce. It is impossible that such civilizations should be fused together. *Man is divided into unlike and unequal parts.*

Carrying the thesis still further, Gobineau maintained that the different languages are unequal and always correspond in relative merit to the races that use them. He was certain that philology confirms all the facts of physiology and history on the question of the special character of races. "Without the slightest doubt, a people's language corresponds to its mentality."<sup>21</sup> It is a universal axiom, believed Gobineau, that the hierarchy of languages is in strict correspondence with the hierarchy of races.<sup>22</sup>

In his recapitulation, Gobineau considered again the respective characteristics of the three great races and found the superiority of the white type, and within this type, the Aryan family. All civilizations derive from the white race and none can exist without its help. "A society is great and brilliant only so far as it preserves the blood of the noble group that created it, provided that this group itself belongs to the most illustrious branch of our species."<sup>23</sup> "There is no true civilization, among the European peoples, where the Aryan branch is not prominent."<sup>24</sup> European peoples degenerate only in consequence of the various admixtures of blood which they undergo; their degeneration corresponds exactly to the quantity and quality of the new blood.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 15, p. 203. This principle has been developed to an extraordinary extreme by contemporary German scientists. Thus, Gauch contends: "Generally speaking, the Nordic race alone can emit sounds of untroubled clearness, whereas among non-Nordic men and races, the pronunciation is impurer, the individual sounds more confused and more like the noises made by animals, such as barking, snoring, sniffing and squeaking. That birds can learn to talk better than other animals is explained by the fact that their mouths are Nordic in structure—that is to say, high, narrow, and short-tongued. The shape of the Nordic gum allows a superior movement of the tongue, which is the reason why Nordic talking and singing are fuller." ("Neue Grundlagen der Rassenforschung," p. 165.)

<sup>22</sup> "Essay," chap. 15.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 16, p. 210.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 16.

The essence of Gobineau's theory is in his explanation of the eternal riddle of history: why do civilizations rise and perish? His answer is "race". The degeneration of noble races by mixture with inferior blood is for him the solution to the problem. Human races, he maintained, have always been unequal in physiological character and mental capacity, and the whole course of history may be explained from this point of view.

#### GOBINEAU: SCIENTIST

So much for Gobineau's race theory as expressed in the "Essay". Starting with the belief that races were unequal, he built up an elaborate hypothesis to confirm his original premise. He sought for a great sweeping philosophy that would explain the whole range of historical development, but, certain of his results before he started, he found only those conclusions that would substantiate his thesis.

As a result, the "Essay", upon careful reading, tends to degenerate into a mass of contradictions, paradoxes and obscurities. The historian cannot honestly accept Gobineau's statements of fact without challenge. Gobineau carelessly rejected the facts of history that could not be twisted to suit his fundamental thesis. "Quite apart from the question whether the race theory in itself can be right or wrong, the historical construction laid down in books 1-6 of the 'Essay' cannot lay claim to scientific consideration, neither in their general features nor in details. They offer neither a serviceable source of knowledge nor a possible substructure for further race research. Not one single observation of this whole work, even when in itself seemingly true, may be taken as proven on the authority of the writer; the whole work of research, on the contrary, must be done anew from its very foundation upwards."<sup>26</sup>

Gobineau's "Essay" was a grand and tragically earnest work, but based solely upon the burning desire to prove by any means at hand that the race theory was correct. Human reasoning had progressed greatly in the few generations before Gobineau. The work of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes and Newton in

<sup>26</sup> Fritz Friedrich, "*Studien über Gobineau*," Leipzig, 1906, p. 128.

searching for a mechanical interpretation of nature by inductive reasoning based upon observation and experimentation, had been extended by social scientists who applied the idea of natural law to religion, society and government. The romantic protest against this development was strong and vigorous. As a mystic, Gobineau adopted the approach of romanticism. As the romantic school, he aimed to procure noble ancestors from the past. The result was fascinating reading, but unfortunately bad history. To reduce the variegated, complex patterns of history to so simple a formula as Gobineau suggested required something more than the eloquent pen of a dilettante. Gobineau failed, as every writer who seeks in a single key an explanation of multiple phenomena must fail.

It must be emphasized that the sincerity of Gobineau is not open to question. He believed with passionate earnestness that he had found the ultimate solution to history. Any fair-minded reader of the "Essay" cannot help but be impressed by the tone of earnest conviction. But precisely the same impression may be gotten from Chamberlain's "Foundations" and Spengler's "Decline of the West". If the "Essay" be considered as a polemic of a conservative aristocrat against the democratic sentiment spreading in Europe, then it must be considered that under the force of political partisanship the eyes of the historian may become slightly blurred. If, on the other hand, the "Essay" is an unbiased metaphysical interpretation of history, its worth is materially lessened by its inconsistencies and errors.

One great difficulty that Gobineau faced was the impossibility of building a philosophy of history based upon ethnology and anthropology at a time when anthropological research was beginning to receive its first and bare outlines. Anthropologists even to-day admit the impossibility of coming to definite conclusions on the basis of the comparatively little data at hand.<sup>27</sup> Gobineau was striking in the dark, often basing his claims on viewpoints that anthropologists had not yet begun to investigate. He was always weak in scientific proof;<sup>28</sup> yet the burden of proof was on him.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. pp. 316 ff.

<sup>28</sup> "To go into the question objectively (of race theory), one would have to take

## INCONSISTENCIES AND CONTRADICTIONS

Thus far we have spoken only in a general way concerning the objections the scholar is apt to find in Gobineau's "Essay". Let us now turn to a discussion of the inconsistencies and contradictions that arise again and again in Gobineau's famous work.

In the "Essay" Gobineau showed a strict acceptance of the letter of the Bible. He either unintentionally or wilfully ignored the existence of a critical exegesis of the Old Testament, and bluntly rejected all criticisms of the facts contained in the Bible, brushing aside every interpretation other than literal or historico-chronological. He refused to accept prehistoric science on the ground that the immensity of time it covered was inconsistent with the chronology of the Bible. When facing a conflict aroused by science, he preferred to accept the literal word of the Bible. In Christianity, Gobineau saw a religion that elevated the soul by the sublimity of its dogmas and enlarged the intellect by their subtlety.<sup>29</sup> Throughout the "Essay" appear evidences of his early Christian teaching. Yet there is some doubt as to Gobineau's real feeling for Christianity.<sup>30</sup> He made it clear that he did not see in Christianity a force either creating or changing the capacity for civilization. Later in life he began to discard Christian ideals and to admire barbarian life, particularly the life of the early pagan Germanic Nordics.

We have seen that in his first chapter, Gobineau, in examining the fall of civilizations, held that the great minds of Athens and Rome formulated the theory that states, civilizations and peoples are destroyed by luxury, effeminacy, misgovernment, fanaticism and the corruption of morals. "These causes, *taken singly or together*, were declared to be responsible for the fall of human

those famous books of Gobineau and the recent works of his emulators as Ammon, Lapouge, Chamberlain, etc., and lay bare their contents, chapter by chapter. One would soon find objections spinning up at every turn. The more indulgent reader would demand proofs when confronted with certain statements—but proofs are never forthcoming. That is to say—proofs that are proofs." (Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 21.)

<sup>29</sup> "Essay," p. 68. This attitude was strongly attractive to Richard Wagner.

<sup>30</sup> Oscar Levy, in the introduction to the 1915 translation of the "Essay", held that Gobineau's attitude towards Christianity was skeptical. "The occasional bows which Gobineau makes to the Church . . . cannot . . . mislead any serious critic of his work." (Introduction, pp. VIII-IX.)



societies.”<sup>31</sup> In succeeding chapters, Gobineau took each of these causes alone and showed how it could not possibly exert any power of destruction, carelessly forgetting his original statement wherein he had grouped them together.

There is a curious paradox in Gobineau's theory of degeneration of civilizations. On the one hand he maintained with positiveness that a people will never die if it remains composed eternally of the same biological elements, so long as the same *purity of blood* is maintained. If, like the Greeks and Romans of the later Empire, the people has been drained of its original blood and the qualities conferred by the blood, then the day of its death is certain to come. Gobineau's assumptions on racial character were fixed and dogmatic:

- (a) Race character is fixed since creation and always will be so.
- (b) A conquering race must be pure, and must have a large percentage of Aryan blood.
- (c) The outburst of civilization after conquest is due to the conqueror's blood and not to racial intermixture.
- (d) The continuance of culture is determined by the existence of pure stock and not by race crossing.
- (e) The decline of a civilization invariably shows a decline in Aryan blood.<sup>32</sup>

Yet, on the other hand, Gobineau asserted that were it not for race-crossing between black and white races there would be no art or commercial endeavor, and were it not for a crossing of yellow and white races there would be no discipline. In other words, race mixture is at once the cause for the degeneration of societies and the necessary qualification for art, commercial endeavor and discipline! Nations degenerate when they lose their quality of pure blood,<sup>33</sup> and nations become greater, more powerful and more civilized when the blood loses its purity.<sup>34</sup>

In denying the influence of institutions as a cause of racial

<sup>31</sup> "Essay," pp. 4-5.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

inequality, Gobineau digressed to state that the savage tribes of America had democratic tendencies, which he associated with a lower form of human society. Among such savages, he pointed out, monarchy and aristocracy, heritages of superior races, are rarely seen.<sup>35</sup> Yet, in the British Constitution, Gobineau professed to see one of the great achievements of the Aryan-German race! Moreover, to make the paradox even more confusing, Gobineau maintained that the *bas-fonds* of human society (Celts-Finns in Northern Europe and Semitic and Negroid in the South) always had for its ideal the absolutism of the State.<sup>36</sup> Democracy was the *bête noire* for Gobineau, but at the same time the Aryan ideal is strengthened immeasurably by the fact that it is associated with freedom and democracy!

We have discussed Gobineau's contention that civilization is quite independent of climate and soil, that Egypt and the civilizations in the Tigris-Euphrates cradleland were forced to turn to artificial fertilization, that the Jews, Greeks and Romans faced the handicap of wretched geographical situations, and that medieval and modern cities grew up in places where no political philosopher of an earlier time would have thought of founding them. Gobineau's conclusions here are open to serious objection. For the development of civilization, the rôles of geography and climate, while not always decisive, were vital and of considerably more importance than Gobineau was willing to grant. Western civilization first emerged in the protected river-valleys of semi-tropical Egypt and the Tigris-Euphrates region. It is not necessary to press the rôle of geographical determinism too far in order to recognize the strong influence of the geographical setting. Egypt was situated between desert, seas and mountains, thereby securing ample natural protection. It owed its fertility to the periodic overflowing of the Nile River, which made the region remarkably fertile by bringing both water and earth to the Egyptians.

With the mastery of coastal navigation appeared the second geographic setting of Western civilization, the thalassic type,

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

which succeeded the river-valley (fluvial or riparian) civilizations. This setting, localized to a great extent in the Mediterranean, remained dominant until the time of Columbus, when civilizations became oceanic and human contacts became world-wide.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the course of history was northward, as the favorable climatic conditions in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian valleys freed human energies and caused man to seek the stimulating influence of temperate climates. Gobineau denied this most elementary of historical facts.

A further example of Gobineau's faulty reasoning in this respect concerns the geographic situation of Greece. Gobineau held that the fields and olive-groves of Athens were perpetually covered with grey dust, and that statues and books were the main articles of commerce. Thus geographical environment could not have been vital in Greek civilization. Actually, it was precisely because of this unfavorable geographic position, characterized by localized areas, that the civilization of Greece assumed a city-state character and permitted the highly localized culture of Athens.<sup>38</sup> It may be true that the geographic factor here was a conditioning rather than a determining factor in Greek history,<sup>39</sup> but the hill-and-sea character of Greece permitted protection, commercial activity and foreign contact.

In rejecting the thesis of human equality, Gobineau reserved his harshest words for the Negro, whom he deemed incapable of any culture or civilization other than mere imitation. "Show me . . . among the many regions in which Negroes have lived in contact with Europeans, one single place where, in addition to the religious doctrines, the ideas, customs, and institutions of even one European people have been so completely assimilated that progress in them is made as naturally and spontaneously as among our-

<sup>37</sup> Cf. J. L. Myres, "The Dawn of History," New York, 1911, chap. 2.

<sup>38</sup> It is obvious that the proximity of Athens to marble quarries allowed a high development of sculpture. Moreover, the military character of the Spartan city-state may be explained to an extent by the fact that near Sparta were iron mines.

<sup>39</sup> It is, of course, unreasonable to seek an explanation for Greek achievements only in environmental factors. Hegel once observed quite correctly that where the Greeks once lived the Turks lived for a long time without developing cultural traits to match the Hellenic civilization.

selves.”<sup>40</sup> And again: “let me see him (the Negro) . . . putting ideas into practice that have hitherto rusted unused . . .”<sup>41</sup> These challenges, so characteristic of the aristocrat, must be considered with the understanding that Gobineau and his contemporaries were not familiar with the reactions of the Negro when placed under favorable environmental conditions. The mental response of the Negro, when placed under an environment giving him equal opportunity, tends to disprove Gobineau’s dogmatic assumption that the black man is inextricably bound by heredity to intellectual inferiority.<sup>42</sup>

Gobineau’s contention that racial types are permanent does not bear close scientific scrutiny.<sup>43</sup> He wrote of the “strict and unassailable permanence” of form and feature of ancient peoples, to which the earliest documents bear witness, but he gave no “earliest documents” to support this concept. The racial type, he maintained, is never affected by climate, region or lapse of time. At this point it might be asked: how would Gobineau explain the existence of black Jews in Abyssinia, worshipping Jehovah as other Jews? If the Jews are at once a white and black race, how would this paradox be explained on the basis of racial permanence of types?

Let us examine for a moment Gobineau’s racial classification. “By *black* men I mean the Hamites.”<sup>43a</sup> But in a preceding chapter his view is exactly the opposite: “The Hamites . . . are unreasonably considered to be of Negro origin.”<sup>44</sup> Gobineau found the three races to be unequal in beauty and physical strength, “and this inequality is rational, logical, permanent and indestructible”.<sup>45</sup> The white race is naturally the superior. But he admitted, surprisingly enough, that the “happiest blend” from the point of view of beauty, is made by the marriage of white and black.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> “Essay,” p. 75.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Cf.* pp. 280 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Yet Gobineau again and again spoke of his “respect for scientific theory which I cannot overthrow”.

<sup>43a</sup> “Essay,” p. 146.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151, footnote.

In denying that there has been any real progress in the intellectual conquests of man, Gobineau expressed a characteristic pessimism, which is interesting as romantic generalization but difficult of proof. In minimizing the value of printing, steam and gunpowder as vital forces in the development of civilization, Gobineau gave an argument difficult to prove. Thus, Gutenberg's discovery was comparatively unimportant: "Scientific works especially, which are published in editions of a few hundred copies, soon disappear from common stock".<sup>47</sup> Gunpowder, he contended, has been used only for destruction.<sup>48</sup> Steam power and the various industrial discoveries became mere matters of routine.<sup>49</sup> It is unnecessary to refute these generalizations.

Perhaps the most glaring inconsistency in Gobineau's "Essay" appeared in the final pages of the first volume. Throughout, Gobineau had contended that human civilization is inevitably in decay. Here is the theme of Gobineau's system. But in the concluding section, he described the "nobility of our species" (the Aryan) and found in the supreme unity of the Aryan race and its "mission" the high purpose of civilization. On the one hand, there is decay, degeneration because of the primary error of the intermingling of human races, and the possible end of civilization; on the other hand, the great and noble Aryan race will be the saviour of mankind and lead it to a higher and more civilized plane.

Unfortunately, the limits of this volume do not permit of a more detailed analysis of Gobineau's thesis, other than the few points examined here. A monumental work, fully the size of the "Essay", would be required to examine in detail the whole structure of Gobineau's race doctrine. There is much to say on Gobineau's unorthodox conception of the meaning of the Middle Ages; on his striking mis-statements of the details of Greek history; on his lack of recognition of the achievements of Chinese civilization; on his thesis that commerce and art are due to the "poison of racial intermixture"; on his belief that every race creates a civilization of

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

its own without any outside contact; on his positive identification of Adam as the ancestor of the white race; on his conception of the inequality of languages; on his belief in the decadence of the Latin races; on his linking of race-degenerescence and democracy; and on a thousand related topics.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> "One would need a particularly extensive knowledge of each chapter of universal history and of every detail composing it, to be able to argue these matters with Gobineau, even from the historical point of view alone. And to argue them more profoundly it would be necessary, despite his opinion, to appeal to that much-abused environment—to geography, geology, climate, ethnography, anthropology, etc." (Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 8.)

CHAPTER 8  
HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN AND  
TEUTONIC NORDICISM

EMERGENCE OF TEUTONISM

In his "Essay" Gobineau gave the Nordic myth form and content, but it remained for a renegade Englishman, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, son of a British admiral, to take over Gobineau's race doctrine and mould it into a battle hymn of Germanic racial supremacy. While cautious ethnologists were busily refuting the generalizations and contradictions of Gobineau, and while biologists were stressing the manifoldness of the germ-plasm as the basic answer to the Frenchman's claims, the movement for Germanic racial exaltation gained additional impetus through the vivid writings of the Englishman turned German. Chamberlain became Gobineau's chief apostle in Germany, although it is certain that the latter would have disowned him had he lived longer.<sup>1</sup> Chamberlain was the guiding light of the racialist *Schule* whose influence was important in the flowering of nationalism in Germany in its most virulent form.

The thread of racial theory in Germany can be traced from Fichte through the linguistic paleontologists to the outsider, Gobineau, to the anthropo-sociologists (Ammon and others) to Chamberlain. The Germany of Chamberlain's day, as we shall see later, was deeply concerned with the task of securing a place in the sun. The nation was peculiarly susceptible to the new ideology of race. As far back as the early nineteenth century, Fichte, prophet of the New State, saw two kinds of Germans: pure and impure. Hegel, emphasizing Kant's theory of predestination, saw force as the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 108.

*essential element* of the state; in his work and that of the nationalists who followed him there was foreshadowed the historical philosophy of pan-Germanism, for which the new racialism was so vital as a basis. The Nordic concept, which secured its best expression in Gobineau, revolved about the problem of reconciling Aryan-Nordic unity with racial diversity, a task which Gobineau solved to the satisfaction of German nationalists. There remained now the necessity of finding in Germany a popularizer of Gobineau's doctrines, one who could direct the current of his genius to the support of racialism and prove in a satisfactory manner that the best example of the inherently superior Nordics were contemporary Germans. Chamberlain, although born an Englishman, performed this task in remarkably able fashion. It was he who maintained the thread of racialism that had coursed through the entire nineteenth century and who passed it on intact to the spiritual leaders of the Third Reich.

The fact that Chamberlain was a foreigner did not militate against his effectiveness in promoting the Nordic myth in Teutonic channels. It is by no means an unusual historical phenomenon when outsiders take on the mantle of leadership, whether political or intellectual, and proceed to clothe themselves in nationalistic garments. The Corsican, Napoleon, and the Austrian, Hitler, are pertinent examples. Chamberlain found it comparatively easy to become more German than the Germans themselves. So great is the human capacity for self-deception, that he succeeded in convincing himself, as well as the great mass of Germans, that he himself was the personification of the physically and mentally superior Teuton. All the energy and enthusiasm of a native-born chauvinist went into Chamberlain's "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century", which Gooch has characterized as "a glittering vision of mind and muscle, of large-scale organization, of intoxicating self-confidence, of metallic brilliancy, such as Europe has never seen".<sup>2</sup> Here was expressed in intriguing form all the restless, enthusiastic nation aspirations of Germany, her sense of national inferiority, her gnawing appetite for power.

<sup>2</sup> G. P. Gooch, "Germany," New York, 1927, p. 118.



Chamberlain's romantic idealization of the Teutonic race lifted the Nordic myth from its broad European homeland and placed it squarely upon Germany. It is doubtful if the Nordic myth, which applied to many people other than Germans, in itself would have been successful as a force making for national unification in the two decades preceding 1871, but it did provide a firm intellectual foundation. Once Bismarck had forged the national state, race vanity and race ego, as advocated by Chamberlain, were reflected in an increasingly militant faith in Germany and in the *German Spirit*, a holy exaltation of spirit which to some extent explains the remarkable record of Germany in the World War. Chamberlain, more than any other figure, inflated the racial pride of the German people by hammering into their consciousness the belief that they alone, as Teutons, were the finest flowers of the superior Nordic race.

Chamberlain defended his racial philosophy with brilliance. He was not at all disturbed by the fact that since the appearance of Gobineau's masterpiece the sciences of anthropology and biology had made enormous strides. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Gobineau's elaborate guesswork had been effectively shattered. But Chamberlain was equal to the occasion. Like Gobineau, he was capable of rejecting any point of science that tended to refute his claims and he was not averse to substituting wishful thinking for scientific fact. He became the leading European exponent of "rational anthropology", a pseudo-science based on "intuition born of ceaseless observation". This approach, similar to that of medieval alchemy, guided the mystical, romantic philosopher. Physical criteria, in Chamberlain's estimation, were of relatively little importance. The entire methodology of his work recalls to mind the similar approach of Gobineau. After laboriously building up the structure of Teutonic racial supremacy, Chamberlain proceeded to destroy the foundations of his own work by a most remarkable conclusion: "Whoever reveals himself German by his acts, whatever be his genealogical tree, is a German". This surprising argument reveals romanticism in its most painful form.

German philosophers, ordinarily logical and orderly in thought

processes, did not reject Chamberlain's fantastic conclusion. Racial pride became so deeply engrained in the German soul by the end of the century that German science did not, as a matter of expediency, dare to disturb the foundations of German nationalism. It is significant that exposures of Chamberlain's doctrines came from outside Germany. Inside Germany, the claims of Teutonic supremacy were far too valuable in building a consciousness of unity. German scientists who dared to challenge Chamberlain were few and far between.

As a man of his time, Chamberlain caught the imagination of political leaders, who used his thesis to good advantage in nursing the embers of nationalism. William II became Chamberlain's strongest protagonist, since he found in the Germanized Englishman an ideal expression of the innermost longings of the German national soul. The Kaiser read Chamberlain's works to his sons, distributed them among the officers of the Army, and caused the publication of many editions of the "Foundations", which were placed throughout Germany in libraries and book-stalls. He announced that the "glories of Teutonism" were first revealed to "an amazed Germany" by Chamberlain's "Foundations".<sup>3</sup> In April, 1915, Chamberlain was awarded the iron cross with white ribbon as a measure of appreciation for his enthusiastic support of Germany during the early days of the war. On his sixtieth birthday, which was widely celebrated in Germany, he was hailed as "the most important thinker since Kant and Schopenhauer".<sup>4</sup>

#### EFFECTS OF CHAMBERLAIN'S TEUTONISM IN GERMANY

The effects of Chamberlain's glorification of the Nordic Teuton in Germany may well be imagined. The nation was waiting for the masterpiece bristling with ponderous and sound scholarship proving once and for all time the innate superiority of Teutonic

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Wilhelm II, "My Memoirs, 1878-1918," London, 1922, *passim*. While a youth in a Prussian *gymnasium*, William read Gobineau's romantic "Renaissance" and later became a devoted Gobinian. (*Cf.* William II, "My Early Life," New York, 1926, p. 122.)

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, April 7, 1926.

blood. Chamberlain's conceptions of Jesus as born of Nordic colonists and of Michelangelo as a Teuton were accepted seriously. He immediately assumed a place among the leaders of the pan-German movement which exerted so great an influence on Germany. The idea of a Greater Germany, which was to include all Germans of Teutonic blood, had persisted in German history almost as long as there had been Germans in Europe. The memory of the Holy Roman Empire, shadowy medieval state, under German auspices, still enchanted the German mind.

Chamberlain's romantic idealization of the Teutonic race was broad enough to include even those brunet Germans who were disturbed by their hair colour. There was method to Chamberlain's approach: he himself was brunet, while Gobineau was blond and hence, superficially at least, a better anthropological example of the Nordic. Brunets like Dante and roundheads like Luther were acceptable to Chamberlain, and Germans who by accident of birth had no blue eyes, fair hair or tall stature were taken by the magnanimous Englishman into the Teutonic fold.

German scholars were disturbed by Chamberlain's unorthodox scientific methods, but they were inclined to forgive and forget in the light of his satisfactory conclusions. For example, Eugen Fischer passed this judgment: "Undeterred by the weak foundations of many details, and recklessly changing even well-established conceptions to serve his purpose, which naturally offers a thousand points for attack, so that the real core of the matter escapes attack—and it would stand against it".<sup>5</sup> In Chamberlain, German savants saw the man who had recognized the point at which history and character intersected. Here was the latest architect in the building of Germanic supremacy: Fichte and Hegel had given pan-Germanism a philosophic form; Treitschke had endowed it with historic character; now Chamberlain, philosopher of the predestination of race and culture, gave it ethnic form.<sup>6</sup>

Chamberlain's unique contribution to the movement of pan-

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Eugen Fischer, "Handwörterbuch der Naturwissenschaft," *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> René Laurient, "Les origines idéologiques du mouvement national-socialiste allemand," *Revue des Sciences Politiques*, January, 1932, p. 110.

Germanism lay in his wide interpretation of the term "German" and his "improved" methods of how to determine a German. We have already touched on this theme above. In speaking of *Der Germane* (and not *Der Deutsche*—the German in Germany), he included all those of Northern Europe from whom contemporary peoples of modern Europe have sprung. Moreover, in Chamberlain's opinion, the fact that one was a blond with blue eyes was not decisive. *What was most necessary was to have the moral characteristics of the Germans, to possess the Teutonic race in one's own consciousness.* This unique viewpoint permitted Chamberlain to classify Dante and Luther as essentially and incontestably German. "That Dante is Germanic and not a son of chaos becomes in my opinion so clear from his personality and his work that proof of it is absolutely superfluous."<sup>7</sup> By this peculiar reasoning, pan-Germanists were enabled to widen their field and include many among the Teutons who had previously been classed as beyond the pale.

No figure in German history from Fichte to Wagner was quite as successful as Chamberlain in popularizing the thesis of the glory of the Teutonic race. In unifying the idea of race and nation, Chamberlain stimulated the German's dream of *Mitteleuropa* and imperialistic expansion. Ludwig Schemann, Gobineau's most ardent German disciple, confessed that "Chamberlain became the leader of all those who need for their quickening a stronger dose of illusion without which nothing on earth is accomplished".<sup>8</sup> His appeal cut straight through the strata of German society: to royalty, especially William II; to the German nobility, which was certain of its superior blood and therefore assumed an aggressive attitude in international affairs, being willing to resort to force where diplomacy failed; to the bourgeoisie, backbone of imperial Germany; and even to the masses, who assimilated racial theory from above and who were easily convinced that they were sprung from Germanic *Blut und Boden*.

There is no doubt that Chamberlain's masterpiece, among

<sup>7</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, p. 538, footnote.

<sup>8</sup> Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

other works, had some effect in preparing the German mentality for the Great War. Classed with the patriotic and chauvinistic works of Treitschke, Wagner, Bernhardt and von der Goltz, it served as a constant reminder to the German people that they had a mission to perform.<sup>9</sup> Chamberlain's mystical racialism gave to Germans evidence of their ethnological superiority. The "Foundations" emphasized their duty to maintain Teutonism as the sole creator of civilization, "a sublime aim". This admonition was accepted with characteristic obedience and enthusiasm.<sup>10</sup>

#### CHAMBERLAIN AND HITLER

During the post-war hiatus, when racial philosophy lay relatively dormant, reflecting the widespread spirit of misery and hopelessness, Hitler was building the foundations of the National Socialist party. In prison after the unsuccessful beer-hall *putsch* of 1923, Hitler wrote "*Mein Kampf*", a revealing autobiography which told his youthful impressions and showed that his philosophy of history was built on the basis of personal experiences. In this work, now the Bible of National Socialism, Hitler's race-philosophy and biological romanticism acquired theoretical cohesion as a preliminary step to its practical application when Hitler would have obtained power.

Hitler's race theory as expressed in "*Mein Kampf*" shows that he was strongly influenced by Chamberlain. The same viewpoint is expressed, even if in less polished German. For Hitler, as for Chamberlain, racial purity was a prerequisite for national strength, for intellectual and moral worth. Blood, he claimed, is identical

<sup>9</sup> It must not be assumed that Germany was the only nation in the pre-war period in which nationalistic writers preached a higher form of chauvinism. Guizot, Thiers, Nisard, Barrès and Daudet in France; Kipling, Maxse and Cramb in England; D'Annunzio, Crispi and Carducci in Italy; Plehve and Pobiedonostsev in Russia; and Lea, Maxim and Gardner in the United States may be classed with the German integral nationalists.

<sup>10</sup> There was a profound psychological reason for the immense appeal of Chamberlain's doctrines. The historical background of the German nation provides a clue: Germans smarted under a sense of national inferiority. (Cf. pp. 162-163.) In the doctrine of Nordic superiority was "a secular religion which gave the Germans psychic satisfaction". (Vide S. K. Padover, "Who Are These Germans?" *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1935.)

with greatness. The Germans must remain a pure-blooded Nordic race if they are to continue to play a decisive rôle in world history. They must guard against further mongrelization with alien blood, particularly with that of the Jew, who represents the virulent germ of decomposition. "What we see to-day in human culture, in products of art, science and technology, is almost completely the product of the Aryan. He alone was the founder of a higher humanity."<sup>11</sup> And again: "Blood mixture, with the lowering of the racial level which accompanies it, is the one and only reason that old civilizations disappear. It is not lost wars which ruin mankind, but loss of the powers of resistance, which belong to pure blood alone".<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, "the exact opposite of the Aryan is the Jew".<sup>13</sup> The history of the world can be explained as the result of a conspiracy among the Jews to annihilate Germany politically by blood bastardization. In the next chapter, we shall see that these views came straight out of Chamberlain.

Hitler does not speak in "*Mein Kampf*" of the scholars from whom he received intellectual nourishment (with the exception of the anti-Semites, Schönerer and Lueger), although he does write at length on "the art of reading". Nowhere is Chamberlain mentioned by name. It is clear, however, that if he did not read Chamberlain, he at least imbibed his theories second-hand.<sup>14</sup> Konrad Heiden quite correctly classifies Hitler as an apostle of *the apostles* of Gobineau and Chamberlain (Hans F. K. Günther and Alfred Rosenberg).<sup>15</sup> Considering Hitler's severely limited education and his personal antagonism towards intellectuals, it is

<sup>11</sup> Adolf Hitler, "*Mein Kampf*," Munich, 1934, p. 317. On the next page Hitler placed the Aryan stock alone as the "founders" of civilization, while other races must be included among "maintainers and destroyers". The first English translation of "*Mein Kampf*", abridged and poorly translated, distorts the meaning of many passages, particularly the one cited in the text above.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>14</sup> In an address before the Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics, Dr. Hans Simons, of the New School for Social Research, said: "A reading of Hitler's book in the German text would convince any intelligent man that here is a really deeply confused mind. It is a terrible thing that such enormous influence has been entrusted to a man who simply can't think. All Hitler's intellectual sources are second-hand." (*New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1937.)

<sup>15</sup> Konrad Heiden, "*Ein Mann gegen Europa*", Zurich, 1937, p. 239.

doubtful if he would have understood the involved metaphysics of Chamberlain's "Foundations", much less take the time to wade through the ponderous volumes. Yet "*Mein Kampf*" expresses in a more elementary form precisely the same thesis of Nordic superiority and Semitic decadence.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Almost without exception, most current works on contemporary Germany speak of Chamberlain's influence on Hitler.

CHAPTER 9  
TEUTONISM: "THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY"

PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION OF CHAMBERLAIN'S  
"FOUNDATIONS"

Chamberlain's "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century", originally published in 1899, was at once hailed in Germany as an historical masterpiece. Although an elaborate and expensive work, more than 60,000 copies were sold in Germany after the German Kaiser had discovered it to be a work of the highest importance.<sup>1</sup> Within three years after publication three editions were exhausted, and until its appearance in an English translation in 1909,<sup>2</sup> it went through eight editions.

Although reviews of the work in Germany were uniformly favorable, its reception in England was stormy. Seldom in the history of literature has a book received a more tempestuous response than Chamberlain's "Foundations" in England. Critics were quick to recognize its brilliant and suggestive nature, but they attacked it in reviews ranging from mild satire to bitter invective. Chamberlain was accused of being "a third-rate writer", "a turn-coat son of Britain", "a renegade Englishman", "a street-corner preacher now assuming the toga of Roman oratory and

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<sup>1</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, Lord Redesdale's introduction, p. v. By 1914 the book had sold 100,000 copies. "Only last year (1913), the stereotyped plates were worn out and the author was bemoaning the weariness of having to correct the proofs over again." (Lord Redesdale, "Houston Stewart Chamberlain," *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 219, Jan., 1914.)

<sup>2</sup> The translator, Lord Redesdale, believed it was time for England to see the book clothed in the native language of its author. He confessed himself "intrigued by its deep learning, the sympathy and knowledge of its most various forms, a style sometimes playful, sometimes ironical, always persuasive, always logical, pages adorned with brilliant passages of loftiest eloquence".



now the robes of Christian ceremony", a man whose work was "the crapulous eructations of a drunken cobbler", and the work was dismissed as nothing more or less than "a clever synthesis of Schopenhauerism and Gobinism reflecting the more audacious and brutal affirmations of the mystical alliance between Teutonism and the divinity of progress". The author's scholarship was described as "heavy and unsound", his conception of biological aristocracy as an "incoherent generalization", his anti-Semitism as inspired by dread and fear, and his whole attitude as shallow, superficial, inconsistent and pseudo-philosophic.

A favorite sentence used by Chamberlain's critics was: "We may expect Mr. Chamberlain in some later edition to contend that Admiral Togo is a Teuton or at least an Aryan".<sup>3</sup> The *Athenaeum* attacked Chamberlain as "an unsuccessful controversialist".<sup>4</sup> J. M. Robertson dismissed the "Foundations" as the "declamation of an English charlatan".<sup>5</sup> After the outbreak of the war, the attacks became more and more bitter in tone, Chamberlain being widely regarded in England as having betrayed the people of his native land. One publication turned to poetry:

"Wait on the Court, Herr Chamberlain,  
Till there's a change of masters;  
Serve in the sanctimonious train  
Of regimented pastors.

"Cry on your God, the Cannibal,  
Help high his smoking altar;  
But GERMAN PEACE: why hang it all,  
Even your tongue might falter."<sup>6</sup>

Other critics, however, found words of praise for the "Foundations". The *Review of Reviews* held that "it is impossible to withhold admiration for the vast learning, the splendid critical

<sup>3</sup> While Chamberlain did not take advantage of this advice, his spiritual successor, Hitler, did. "If from to-day on every Aryan influence on Japan were suppressed, the present advancement of Japan in science and technology would stop completely." (*"Mein Kampf," op. cit.*, p. 318; *vide* also p. 197.) Cf. further, "Aryans and non-Aryans," *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 15, 1935.)

<sup>4</sup> *Athenaeum*, April 8, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Westminster Gazette*, April 11, 1916.

acumen, and the seductive manner in which facts are marshaled in support of the thesis".<sup>7</sup> Carl Decker ranked it "with the most significant of the historical works of the nineteenth century". The *Edinburgh Review* found that Chamberlain had "dealt mercilessly with chartered frauds and fallacies".<sup>8</sup> Lord Redesdale dismissed polemical attacks on Chamberlain on the ground that he had shattered far too many idols and had dispelled too many treasured illusions to be popular with those who did not accept his ideal of a racial aristocracy.

In the United States, the Nordic school hailed Chamberlain as the great architect of Nordic theory.<sup>9</sup> Although deeply opposed to Chamberlain's conclusions, Rabbi Max Heller praised his work as a literary monument: "We have before us a student who commands an amazing range of reading in diverse subjects, a man who has received high training in science, philosophy, art, a writer of much natural eloquence and persuasive power, an architect of thought and fact who knows how to assemble his materials so as to form a vast and powerful edifice of argument".<sup>10</sup>

The ablest review of Chamberlain's "Foundations" appearing in American journals was written by Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>11</sup> The former American President ranked the work with Buckle's "History of Civilization" and Gobineau's "Essay", in brilliance and suggestiveness, as well as in its startling inaccuracies and lack of judgment. Roosevelt recognized a queer vein of the erratic in Chamberlain's temperament. Here was a man, he wrote, whose doctrines were based upon foolish hatred, who continually contradicted himself, and "whose brilliant lapses into sanity are fixed in a matrix of fairly bedlamite passion and non-sanity". He objected to the loose use of the words "Aryan" and "Teuton". "He likes David, so he promptly makes him an Aryan Amorite. He likes Michelangelo, and Dante,

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<sup>7</sup> *Review of Reviews*, Oct., 1911.

<sup>8</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1914.

<sup>9</sup> *Cf.* pp. 231 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Rabbi Max Heller, in "Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis," vol. XXIII, 1913.

<sup>11</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, review of the "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," *Outlook*, vol. 98, July 29, 1911.

and Leonardo da Vinci, and he instantly says they are Teutons; but he does not like Napoleon, and so he says that Napoleon is the true representative of the raceless chaos . . . He greatly admires the teachings of the apostle Paul, and so he endeavors to persuade himself that the apostle Paul was not really a Jew, but he does not like the teachings of the Epistle of James . . . and accordingly he says that James was a pure Jew".<sup>12</sup>

"THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY"

Chamberlain set for himself the task of revealing the bases upon which the Nineteenth Century, "an inexhaustible theme", rested. The work covered the first eighteen centuries of the Christian era with frequent references to time more remote. The Year 1 of the Christian era was selected as the beginning of history. The turning point of the history of Europe was set at the point when the Teutonic peoples awakened to the consciousness of their all-important mission as the founders of a new civilization and culture (1200).

In the first part, Chamberlain discussed in detail the events previous to the year 1200: *the legacy of the old world*, with chapters on Hellenic art and philosophy, Roman law and the revelation of Christ; *the heirs of the old world*, with chapters on racial chaos, the entrance of the Jews into Western history and the Germanic invasions; and *the struggle of the heirs to maintain their inheritance*, with chapters on religion and the state. In the second part, dealing with events from 1200 to 1800, the author considered the Teutons as creators of a new culture, and then gave an historical survey of the most important phenomena of the nineteenth century, with chapters on discovery, science, industry, political economy, politics and church, philosophy, religion and art.

In discussing the legacy of the ancient world, Chamberlain found that the birth of Christ is the most important date in the whole history of mankind. "No battle, no dynastic change, no natural phenomena, no discovery possesses an importance that could bear comparison with the short earthly life of the Galilean,"<sup>13</sup> for with Him

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, pp. 3-8.

came a revolution in human feeling and action. Among pre-Christian civilizations, it was only Hellas, Rome and Judea which were historically important for the men of the nineteenth century. These civilizations had a moulding influence upon all the centuries, but they have also had life-retarding effects.<sup>14</sup>

Chamberlain now examined the Greek era. While the subjective formulation of "man becoming man" is a characteristic German conception, it does lead back in the main to Hellenic art and philosophy. Man advanced beyond the animal stage when he reached the stage of invention.<sup>15</sup> Hellenism, Chamberlain pointed out, represented the exuberantly rich blossoming of the human intellect, the human imagination now being freely creative. "Their (the Greeks) language, religion, politics, philosophy, science (even mathematics), history and geography, all forms of imaginative invention in words and sounds . . . radiate from this creative work."<sup>16</sup> At the central point of this progress stood Homer, the poet divine. Greek art, a truly living thing, was unlike that of the Egyptians, Assyrians and Chinese, the united effort of a whole body of artists, not the product of individuals. It lives in our midst to-day as a lost ideal, which we must strive to recover: the tenacious spirit of life must be kept with us. But in the Hellenic inheritance there were also clouds: cruel, short-sighted democracies, lack of lofty political conditions, a morality too old and too corrupt to keep pace with the enlightenment of the intellect, and the decline of religion based upon ecstatic delirium and weird and stupid superstition. "If the Greek had continued to develop his faculties . . . his influence would have become an unmixed and inexpressible blessing for mankind, but, as it is, that same Greek . . . later proved to be a cramping and retarding element in the growth of the human intellect."<sup>17</sup>

What was the inheritance of Rome? The world owes to the Romans, Chamberlain believed, its rescue from the Semitic-Asiatic spell, thus permitting the predominantly Indo-Teutonic Europe to

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91. This paragraph summarizes vol. 1, pp. 14-91.

become "the beating heart and thinking brain of all mankind".<sup>18</sup> Greece always gravitated towards Asia, until Rome tore it away. Chamberlain bowed in reverence before the Roman intellectual greatness which produced two incomparable creations: the ordered state and private law. However, the legacy and political and constitutional law which Rome gave to us forms a complicated and confused mass, since Rome lived for 2500 years and allowed its impulses to break up and frequently to neutralize one another. "The work of an incomparably energetic, Indo-European race was revised and manipulated by the subtlest minds of the West-Asiatic mixed races, this again leading to the obliteration of unity of character."<sup>19</sup>

Into this ancient world came the vision of Christ, which must be separated from the whole history of Christianity. "He (Christ) won from the old human nature a new youth, and thus became the God of the young, vigorous Indo-Europeans."<sup>20</sup> That Christ was a Jew is an inherited delusion, since He stood in direct relation to Judaism. "Like the everlasting 'heartfire' of the Aryans, so the torch of truth which He kindled for us can never be extinguished."<sup>21</sup> The nineteenth century can only be understood "if we sift the revelation of Christ from the threateningly perilous Jewish element".<sup>22</sup>

So much for the legacy of the ancient world. Chamberlain now turned to the heirs of antiquity. At once there arises the study of race problems, upon which all true comprehension of the nineteenth century depends. "Here . . . we must be at once daring and cautious . . . and steer safely between the Scylla of a science almost unattainable, and so far from problematical in its results, and the Charybdis of unstable and baseless generalizations."<sup>23</sup> Rome transferred the centre of gravity of civilizations to the West, an unconsciously accomplished act of world-wide importance. But Rome left

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-250.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

an inextricable confusion of the most different races and types. In the midst of this *Chaos of the Peoples* were the Jews, the one race which had established for its guiding principle the purity of the blood. The entrance of the Teutonic races into the history of the world formed an opposing positive force to the spread of the diminutive but influential race of Jews. "To this day these two powers—Jews and Teutonic races—stand, wherever the recent spread of the Chaos had not blurred their features, now as friendly, now as hostile, but always as alien forces face to face."<sup>24</sup> The Teutons, originally of a single family, are the soul of modern culture, binding together and making an organic unity. "Only Teutons sit on the thrones of Europe."<sup>25</sup>

In explaining the meaning of the *Chaos*, Chamberlain gave the essence of his race theory. Nothing, he held, is so convincing as the consciousness of the possession of Race. The man who belongs to a distinct, pure race, never loses the sense of it. Race lifts a man above himself: it endows him with an extraordinary, almost superhuman power, and distinguishes him from the individual who springs from the chaotic jumble of peoples drawn from all parts of the world. The origin of noble races is dependent upon five natural laws:

- 1) The presence of excellent material.
- 2) Inbreeding, with avoidance of all foreign mixture of blood.
- 3) Artificial selection.
- 4) A preceding phase of mixture of blood (*sic!*).
- 5) Only quite definite, limited mixtures of blood contribute to the ennoblement of a race, or the origin of a new one.

Nations as political structures, create the conditions for the formation of race. Equally important is the organic relation of race to its quintessence, the hero or genius. "The richer the blood that courses invisibly through the veins, the more luxuriant will be the blossoms of life that spring forth."<sup>26</sup> Here is the important secret of all

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

human history: *pure race is sacred*. The raceless and nationless chaos of the late Roman Empire was a pernicious and fatal condition, a sin against nature, but it was the Teutonic peoples who remedied this almost fatal condition.<sup>27</sup>

In the second volume of the "Foundations", Chamberlain analyzed the rise of the new Germanic world and the struggle of the great powers for possession and supremacy. Three religious ideals sought for mastery: the East (Hellenic), the North (Teutonic), and Rome. At the beginning of the thirteenth century this struggle of a thousand years ended with what seemed to be an unconditional victory of Rome and the complete defeat of the Germanic North.<sup>28</sup> But the Roman *Imperium* was bound to sink and the free Teutons made ready to enter into possession of the world. In North Italy, the Teutons created a new culture, an indication of the fact that the present civilization and culture of Europe are specifically Teutonic and fundamentally different from all the un-Aryan ones, as well as from the Indian, Hellenic and Roman. The work of Teutonism "is beyond all question the greatest that has hitherto been achieved by man".<sup>29</sup> "What is not Teutonic consists either of alien elements not yet exorcised, which were formerly forcibly introduced and still, like baneful germs, circulate in the blood, or of alien wares sailing, to the disadvantage of our work and further development, under the Teutonic protection and privilege, and they will continue to sail thus, until we send these pirate ships to the bottom."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 251-320.

At this point Chamberlain discussed the basic elements of his work: the entrance of the Jews into history and the appearance of the Teutons. Because they form the meat of his racial theory, we shall treat them in succeeding sections. Briefly, Chamberlain's conclusion was: the Jews were the inheritors of Roman racial chaos; the Teutons were the race responsible for the spiritual salvation of mankind. (*Vide* the "Foundations," vol. I, pp. 329-483; *ibid.*, pp. 494-578.)

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1-138.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* Chamberlain concluded his second volume with a comprehensive historical survey of the achievements and aspirations of the nineteenth century. All achievements in science, industry, political economy and art were stimulated and propelled forward by the Teutons. The nineteenth century rests upon a secure Teutonic foundation.

## HISTORY AS PSEUDO-SCIENCE

So much for the bare outline of Chamberlain's "Foundations".<sup>31</sup> A complete section by section analysis of the work is impossible within the limits of the present volume. It is worthwhile, however, to consider the salient arguments presented by Chamberlain in support of his race theory. Unquestionably, the work as a whole reveals an extraordinarily wide background of historical and philosophical learning, undoubtedly traceable to the influence of Chamberlain's tutor, Kunze. The author apparently read and annotated thousands of books in many languages, although it is clear from the "Foundations" that he preferred German authorities for citations. The book as a whole is a veritable encyclopedia of knowledge, since it is concerned with all materials of human import from the time of Moses and Homer up to the nineteenth century.

Chamberlain took great pride in acknowledging that he was no specialist in any department of knowledge and that he was therefore able to exhibit an unbiased sympathy for all spheres of human thought. He cast aside the toga of philosopher and described himself as merely a layman, meek in spirit, but incapable of lying. He attacked the "Doctors of Philosophy" and "Doctors of Divinity" as modern Pharisees, scribes who had no inkling of the truth of historical development.

Yet, in spite of Chamberlain's impressive show of learning, the "Foundations" may well be placed upon the same level as Gobineau's "Essay". Here are dogmatism and rationalization carried to an extreme, cunningly forceful but imperfect logic, unscientific use of mystic and romantic intuition, contradictions and inconsistencies, Sophistic argument and impulsive conclusions. Chamberlain paid lip-service to the "thoroughly positive trend of mind" and to "a strictly scientific conscience", but he very obviously disregarded the very basis of historical method, which demands a statement of fact before passing judgment on it. The book is weakened throughout

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<sup>31</sup> Chamberlain intended to write a second book devoted to the nineteenth century itself, and a third to give an idea of the importance of the century, but these projected studies were never completed. (Cf. "Foundations," author's introduction, p. LXII.)



by the apparent necessity for finding facts to prove Chamberlain's original premise of the superiority of the Teutonic race. Where facts do not exist, "prophetic vision" and "historical intuition" are substituted. This romanticization of historical method is unacceptable to the honest historian.

Chamberlain was so deeply convinced of the truth of his doctrines that he adopted a regrettably insolent and abusive tone when considering the expected arguments of critics. In most unscholarly fashion he described his opponents as "shallow, venal, ignorant babblers" because they denied the significance of pure race.<sup>32</sup> To the anatomist Kollman's claim that all European races are equally gifted for disseminating culture, he answered that he could scarcely believe his eyes. "It provokes a smile . . . Cobbler, stick to your last!"<sup>33</sup> He was certain that in the face of indisputable facts, the majority of historians go on systematically falsifying history.<sup>34</sup> He condemned proponents of the theory of evolution as gifted with "mania and pseudo-scientific dogmatism".<sup>35</sup> The terms "lie" and "liar" were frequently used.

Chamberlain's work suffers from the same malady as that of Buckle and Gobineau: the intent is to solve the great problems of mankind and to discover the circumstances which determined the fate and development of nations on the basis of one key. Chamberlain, like Gobineau, saw in race the one truthful interpretation of history. This insistence upon relegating to a single science all the laws of the moral and physical world cannot be accepted by the historian.<sup>36</sup> The solution of great historical problems, the inquiry into the whence and whither of our development, the analysis of intellectual and material inheritances, all these require something more than a reduction to the common denominator of racialism. Chamberlain's "unified principle" is not a satisfactory solution.

A few examples indicate the nature of Chamberlain's reasoning. At several points in the "Foundations" he excoriated the Darwinian

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 256.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 532-533.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61, footnote.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106, footnote.

<sup>36</sup> *Cf.* pp. 30 ff.

hypothesis, calling Darwin's agnosticism "traditional concentrated confusion",<sup>37</sup> his theory of evolution "shallow"<sup>38</sup> and his position a false one with one foot resting upon pure matter and the other upon alarmingly daring philosophical assumptions.<sup>39</sup> Those who supported Darwin were intellectual pygmies clambering down from their Darwinian monkey trees.<sup>40</sup> Huxley was always building Darwinian castles in the air.<sup>41</sup> Chamberlain was pleased to note that Darwin's works remained comparatively unread.<sup>42</sup> Yet he did not hesitate to quote Darwin as evidence for his own laws of racial crossing.<sup>43</sup> On another occasion, he included Darwin among a list of eminent men whose "light and leading" was responsible for useful work.<sup>44</sup> There are many other examples of this type of inconsistency and scholarly eccentricity.

On one occasion, Chamberlain found St. Francis of Assisi to be *faith incorporate*, a man who was led to God by faith alone and not by priestly admonition. And later: "Francis . . . is rightly regarded by us as the special Apostle of *good works*."<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, Luther, whose importance in the history of Christianity rests upon his insistence upon redemption by faith, revealed, according to Chamberlain, the secret of good works.<sup>46</sup> Although the Jews were the one race in a racial chaos to adopt the guiding principle of purity of the blood, their historic strength is grounded on this principle, yet they are the most mongrelized of people.<sup>47</sup> At one point Chamberlain protested that the belief that we received the idea of freedom and loyalty from the Greeks is a delusion,<sup>48</sup> while at another he attested to the affinity of the Germanic peoples to the Greeks in the question of freedom and loyalty.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>37</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, pp. 81-82.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 215-216.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 265.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 284, 518, 536.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 237.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Cf.* pp. 303 ff.

<sup>48</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 542-550.

Perhaps the most astonishing of Chamberlain's contradictions may be found in his treatment of the pure races. The "sacredness of pure race"<sup>50</sup> was an underlying theme of his work, since, in his estimation, racial crossing was the beginning of degeneration. This viewpoint, strangely enough, did not prevent him from holding that noble races evolved through intermixture of races, through inbreeding and inoculation.<sup>51</sup> Chamberlain did not explain the perplexing question as to why the originally "pure races" did not produce as high a culture as that of the later Aryans.

#### THE TEUTON AS CREATOR AND BEARER OF CIVILIZATION

In its essence, Chamberlain's philosophy was based upon Gobineau's assumption of the inequality of human races with the addition of two further theses: everything of value in modern civilization may be attributed to the Teuton, and secondly, the degenerative processes of history are the work of Judaism. Glorification of the Teuton became Chamberlain's most absorbing interest. All the civilization and culture which, radiating from Northern Europe, now dominate in varying degree a considerable part of the world, was the work of Teutonism.<sup>52</sup> What is not Teutonic consists simply of alien elements that have not as yet been purged. The work of Teutonism was beyond question the greatest that had hitherto been accomplished by man on earth. "It was achieved, not by the delusion of a 'humanity',<sup>53</sup> but by free investigation, not by contentedness with little, but by insatiable ravenous hunger. As the youngest of the races, we Teutons could profit by the achievements of the former ones."<sup>54</sup> This Teutonism, flower of humanity, had preserved and regenerated two of the greatest movements of civilization: Christianity and the Renaissance.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279. Note these two passages: "The character of the race becoming more and more pronounced by pure breeding is like the approach of a magnet." (*Ibid.*, p. 317.) "The origin of extraordinary races, is, without exception, preceded by a mixture of blood." (*Ibid.*, p. 278.)

<sup>52</sup> "Foundations," vol. 2, p. 228.

<sup>53</sup> Chamberlain here refers to the decadent spirit of the French Revolution and its rationalization of human equality.

<sup>54</sup> "Foundations," vol. 2, p. 228.

In ringing phrases, Chamberlain sang of the glory of those early fair-haired and blue-eyed warriors, for whom battle was a joy and delight. From their Aryan ancestors they had inherited in their blood a passion for song and music, a yearning for all that was good and beautiful. They are called barbarians and yet they contributed incalculably more to civilization than any other race. The Mongolians had destroyed beauty and never created anything of value, and the Arabic impulse was short-lived. Had not the Teutons warded off the Asiatic peril from the Eastern Empire? And did they not save the Empire from the marauding and destructive Huns? Charlemagne and Alfred the Great, descendants of these early Teutons, were great promoters of civilization, the former fulfilling a glorious mission by furthering the amalgamation of the German monarchy with Roman Christianity.<sup>55</sup>

Among the Teutonic race Chamberlain grouped indiscriminately such distinguished men as Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant and other men of genius in all fields. He discovered this great race constantly at work in the process of civilizing a backward mankind. The Teuton, with his watchword of freedom, had cast aside the influences of the Roman *imperium*, and his Teutonic codes gradually began to displace Roman law. It was not until its regrettable revival in the Middle Ages that Roman law replaced the Teutonic codes. The Teutons were responsible for laying the foundations of medieval municipalities. All the great Italians of the Renaissance were sprung from Teutonic blood. The Papacy and the Renaissance owed their influence to Teutonic stimulation. The culture of the nineteenth century was a by-product of this civilizing Teutonic spirit.<sup>56</sup>

#### FALLACIES OF TEUTONISM

Chamberlain's idealization of the pure-blooded Teuton as alone responsible for all worldly progress and civilization cannot be sup-

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<sup>55</sup> In the contemporary Third Reich, where racial theory has to a great extent been divorced from Christianity, Charlemagne has become *persona non grata*. His forceful conversion to Christianity of the Saxons is now regarded as a crime against the Nordic spirit. Statues of the greatest Carolingian have been melted down all over the Reich.

<sup>56</sup> *Vide* the "Foundations," vol. 1, chap. 6, vol. 2, chap. 9.

ported by the most elementary facts of history. In Christianizing Nietzsche's blond beast, Chamberlain conceived of the Teutonic invaders as men with great, radiant, heavenly eyes, golden hair, gigantic stature, symmetrical development, lengthened skull, which an ever-active brain, "tortured by longing, had changed from the round lines of animal contentedness and extended towards the front", and lofty countenance due to an elevated spiritual life. These fresh and virile forest children had suddenly penetrated into the disintegrating Roman Empire, bringing the concept of freedom with them, and had proceeded to substitute the light of culture for decadence and immorality. "It is only shameful indolence of thought, or disgraceful historical falsehood, that can fail to see in the entrance of the Germanic tribes into the history of the world the rescuing of agonizing humanity from the clutches of the everlastingly bestial."<sup>57</sup>

Chamberlain presented no proof of such "disgraceful historical falsehood". His own interpretation of the barbarian invasions is weak. The invasions were *not* catastrophic and did not destroy the Empire; the period of infiltration at its greatest extent took place from the close of the fourth century and continued through the fifth and sixth.<sup>58</sup> The Teutonic invaders were *not* pure-blooded Aryans, as attested by a whole school of anthropologists.<sup>59</sup>

Chamberlain's answer to their rejection of his thesis was characteristic: although there is a great confusion on the idea of race, "the confusion is not necessary, that is, with practical, active men who belong to life as we do". He found it worth remarking that even those who deny the fact of an Aryan race still speak constantly of it. With great delight, he reported that Reinach, after having given arguments to prove that there never was an Aryan race, in an unguarded moment spoke of "the common origin of the Semites and the Aryans". "In fact anthropologists, ethnographers, and even historians, theologians, philologists and legal authorities find the idea

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 495.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Sir Samuel Dill, "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire," London and New York, 1898, pp. 298-300.

<sup>59</sup> Hartman, S. Reinach, among others. *Vide* Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 205-245; Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-173.

of 'Aryan' more and more indispensable every year."<sup>60</sup> He protested that his own views were most cautious and strictly limited, but that he was scorned and slandered by academic scribes and nameless newspaper reviewers. He urged his readers to trust "science" more than the professional anti-Aryan confusion-makers. Probably his most startling confession was: "Though it be proved that there never was an Aryan race in the past, yet we desire that in the future there be one. That is the decisive stand for men of action".<sup>61</sup> If opponents were successful in proving that there was no Aryan race, then at least one could take comfort in the knowledge that men of action might well create one in the future! Here intuitive romanticization reaches a high point.

Equally unacceptable is Chamberlain's assertion that the primitive Aryans regenerated Western civilization and introduced new concepts of freedom, that the state-building Teutons gave to the individual that which hitherto had remained unknown: the idea of human liberty.<sup>62</sup> Chamberlain nowhere defined this concept of freedom except to say that it finds its highest expression in creative art.<sup>63</sup> Yet, to him, the French Revolution was not the dawn of a new day, but the beginning of the end,<sup>64</sup> and he hoped that the day would come when every sensible person would know the proper place for such things as the Declaration of the Rights of Man, namely, the wastepaper basket.<sup>65</sup> He associated freedom with the absence of slavery in Teutonic countries, and on another occasion maintained that opposition to slavery was a bourgeois weakness. He made similar attempts to prove that resourcefulness, progressiveness and thirst for knowledge were exclusive characteristics of the early Teutons.

Chamberlain's conception of a "Teutonic" Italy has no basis in fact. He was certain that it was Teutonic blood alone which here

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<sup>60</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, p. 266, footnote; cited by M. Silverman, "Shattering Chamberlain's 'Foundations,'" *Reflex Magazine*, vol. 1v, Jan., 1929.

<sup>61</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, p. 266, footnote.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 543.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 382.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

formed the compelling and the informing force. "The beautiful country, which had already under the Empire degenerated into absolute sterility, possessed for many centuries a rich well of pure Teutonic blood: the Celts, the Langobardians (Lombards), the Goths, the Franks, the Normans, had flooded nearly the whole land and remained, especially in the North and South, for a long time almost unmixed."<sup>66</sup> Teutonism, he insisted, was responsible for Petrarch, Correggio, Galileo, Dante, Giotto, Donatello, Leonardo, Michelangelo, in short, for the glorious Renaissance.<sup>67</sup> But because of destructive civil wars and feuds, Teutonic blood soon became exhausted, the amount of genius decreased and the Renaissance came to an end. Chamberlain did not explain how these internecine feuds killed off the pure Nordics in a short space of 300 years, but failed to do so from 500 to 1200 A.D. His theory did not take into consideration the fact that the Nordic elements, supposedly so predominant in the Italy of the Renaissance, cannot be found to-day. Pittard was not convinced by this claim of a Teutonic Italy: "There would not seem to be much connection between the high civilization of old-time Italy and the presence, in those very places where this civilization shone most brilliantly, of a population belonging to the Germanic type"<sup>68</sup>.

Chamberlain's carelessness in the classification of Teutons and non-Teutons is most evident in his description of Louis XIV. Upon first thought he found the French monarch to be a non-Teuton, because of his shameful persecution of the Protestants which brought about the subsequent decline of France. Chamberlain was certain that this was an anti-Teutonic act accomplished by the king in his capacity as a pupil of the Jesuits, who had brought him up "in crass ignorance" so that he could not even read his own language cor-

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>67</sup> In labeling the outstanding figures of the Renaissance as Teutonic, Chamberlain departed from his conception of the blond-haired, straight-nosed, tall Nordic and accepted the brown-haired and brown-eyed Dante, with crooked nose. As "evidence" of Teutonism, he identified Dante's ideals with the Teutonic ideal of freedom. It is this type of reasoning that Robertson calls "a facile and voluble production of an endless sequence of incoherent generalities". (Robertson, *supra*.)

<sup>68</sup> "Foundations," vol. 2, p. 224. Chamberlain may have borrowed this claim of a Teutonic Italy from Gobineau.

rectly.<sup>69</sup> Yet, because Louis courageously defended "the distinct rights and fundamentals of the Gallican Church in opposition to the arrogant claims of Rome", he became in Chamberlain's eyes "a thorough Teuton".<sup>70</sup> Further proof of the king's Teutonism could be found in his superior organizing ability. This romantic type of thinking allowed Chamberlain to place in the German hall of fame such diverse historical characters as Marco Polo and Galvani, Bacon and Lavoisier, St. Francis of Assisi and Kant, Giotto and Goethe.

Chamberlain's belief that the Germany of his day showed Teutonic blood in its greatest purity is unsupported by scientific experimentation. Ripley cautioned that racial boundaries are not at all simple in outline: Prussians and Prussian Saxons (Martin Luther, for example) were anything but Teutons racially. "Let us beware of ascriptions of a monopoly of virtue or intellect to any given race, however comforting they may be to us who are of Teutonic descent."<sup>71</sup> Pittard showed that the Nordic race is far from being confined completely to the territory of Germany, since those who speak Aryan languages have everywhere overflowed the boundaries of the old Empire and have left remnants almost everywhere in Europe and even in Asia.<sup>72</sup> Huxley and Haddon demonstrated that the earliest rough stone monuments in Europe, dating as far back as 3000 B.C. and involving high enterprise, were produced by a people devoid of metal implements and certainly a people not of Nordic origin.<sup>73</sup>

Chamberlain believed his work to be fully substantiated by the anthropo-sociological school so popular in Germany at the end of the century. Yet, one of these investigators, J. Ranke, found among the Bavarians only one in a hundred who possessed the old Germanic skull, while ninety-five had genuine short skulls!<sup>74</sup>

In attributing all higher culture and civilization to the Nordic

<sup>69</sup> Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214.

<sup>72</sup> Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>73</sup> Huxley and Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. J. Ranke, "Beiträge zur physischen Anthropologie der Bayern," Munich, 1883-1892, *passim*.



peoples, Chamberlain did not give due credit to the various ancient Mediterranean peoples. We have already discussed this conception at another point.<sup>75</sup> Here it may be said that the civilization of medieval Western Europe was not an outgrowth of the culture of primitive Teutonic tribes, but rather a synthesis of Gallo-Roman culture and Teutonic elements.

#### CHAMBERLAIN, JEWS AND JUDAISM

The second basic element in Chamberlain's racial system was his conception of Judaism as a negative racial force and as a disrupting and degenerative influence in human history. Against the creative and regenerative genius of the Teutons appeared the low civilization of the Jewish race. Since race ruled all history, Chamberlain was certain that the influence of the early Semites (in the form of Christianity) broke down the ancient world, which was revived by the new influx of German blood. The Roman Catholic Church, he believed, long engaged in a struggle to introduce once more this disruptive force of Judaism. Chamberlain was amazed to see that civilization had managed to survive the insidious effects of Judaism, whose intellectual, moral and religious qualities had militated against the progress of civilization. It was most necessary, he cautioned, that the Teutonic world fight to avoid world-supremacy upon the part of the Jews.

Chamberlain's anti-Semitism probably dates from the time when he accepted wholeheartedly the racial, political and cultural views of Richard Wagner. In extolling the Teutons and damning the Jews, Chamberlain obtained the interest of the great composer.<sup>76</sup> Both Wagner and Chamberlain agreed that the Jew was racially alien, immoral, anti-social and a menace to Christianity.

In the Jews Chamberlain saw an alien people bound to Asiatic traditions, who, in the nineteenth century had obtained a disproportionately important place in German life. The error was a tra-

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<sup>75</sup> *Vide* pp. 31 ff.

<sup>76</sup> It was through Wagner that Chamberlain reached William II, who regarded him as a genius. (Cf. A. A. Roback, "Jewish Influence on Modern Thought," New York, 1929, p. 80.)

ditional one: "The Indo-European, moved by ideal motives, opened the gates of friendship: the Jew rushed in like an enemy, stormed all positions and planted the flag of his, to us, alien nature".<sup>77</sup> Here Chamberlain professed a kind of admiration for the Jews, "for they have acted with absolute consistency according to the logic and truth of their own individuality".<sup>78</sup> The Jews must be judged from the lofty heights of Teutonic superiority, not from the low depths of hatred and superstition. The judgment could not possibly be favorable, since the Jew will always deceive his neighbor and will not speak the truth.<sup>79</sup>

Chamberlain then traced the place of Jews in history. He found them scattered since the Diaspora, attaining great influence almost everywhere and at all times.<sup>80</sup> But the greatest statesmen and philosophers—Cicero, Frederick II, Frederick the Great, Bismarck, Mommsen, Herder and Goethe, have regarded this influence as pernicious.<sup>81</sup> The Jews were responsible for many shocking historical developments, the responsibility for which lies squarely on the shoulders of the princes and nobility who needed money for their wars.<sup>82</sup> Yet, "almost all preëminent and free men, from Tiberius to Bismarck, have looked upon the presence of the Jew in our midst as a social and political danger".<sup>83</sup>

The Jew appeared to Chamberlain to be eternally unchangeable and constant from the racial point of view. He grew into what he is slowly, even artificially. Three facts form the essential basis of all knowledge of the Jewish character:

- 1) The Israelite people arose from the crossing of quite different human types.
- 2) The Semitic element may well have been the stronger morally, but physically it contributed scarcely one-half to the composition of the new ethnological individuality.
- 3) The real Jew only developed in the course of the centuries by gradual

<sup>77</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, pp. 330-331.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 339. Here Chamberlain quotes Jeremiah, "Deuteronomy," IX, 5.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 341ff.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 344-346.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 347-350.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

physical separation from the rest of the Israelite family. He is not the product of a normal national life, but an artificial product, produced by a priestly caste, a priestly legislation and a priestly faith.<sup>84</sup>

On the one hand, Chamberlain saw in the Jews a remarkably pure and uncontaminated racial group, and on the other he admitted that among the racial elements making the Jew were the Bedouin Arabs, the Semites, the Syrians (Hittites) and Amorites (Indo-Europeans).<sup>85</sup> He was certain that the Jews were a distinct race, since the dissimilarity of human individuals can be read in their physiognomy, the structure of their bones, the colour of their skin, their muscular system and the formation of their skull.<sup>86</sup> We shall see later<sup>87</sup> that all types are found among Jews with varying frequency and that heterogeneity is visible everywhere. If the Jews actually constitute a racial type, then all Jews would be long-headed, supposedly a distinct Semitic characteristic. But many Jews are brachycephalic. The word "Jew" has a socio-religious or pseudo-national description, but not an ethnic or genetic sense.<sup>88</sup>

Chamberlain discovered that Jehovah had promised the Jews a universal empire and the Jews, led on by this promise, had united by nomocracy (rule of the law), no matter how much they were scattered over the lands of the world, into a community of blood. Thus, the rule of the world and the enslavement of all non-Jews had become the underlying principle of Judaism.<sup>89</sup> For this accusation, later to be embodied in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", Chamberlain offered no proof other than to submit passages from the Bible in which the glory of the New Jerusalem is depicted. Nowhere in the Bible is there mention of a universal rule, although the land of Canaan is promised to the Jews. But Chamberlain was certain that this promise meant that the Jewish race would strive for a world-empire.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 351-381.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 518.

<sup>87</sup> *Cf.* pp. 303 ff.

<sup>88</sup> *Cf.* Huxley and Hadden, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *vide* also K. Kautsky, "Are the Jews a Race?" New York, 1926, *passim*.

<sup>89</sup> "Foundations," vol. 1, p. 334.

Although condemning the Jews as a disintegrative force in Western civilization, Chamberlain characteristically made an exception of the Sephardim, the aristocratic Jews of Spain and Portugal. Here he found genuine nobility of race, beautiful forms, noble heads, dignity in speech and deportment. He could understand why prophets and psalmists should go forth from the midst of such men, but the closest observations of the Ashkenazim (the German Jews) failed to give him the same impression.<sup>90</sup> Chamberlain did not understand that this distinction tended to invalidate the very foundation of his racial theory.

The most remarkable of Chamberlain's discoveries was that Christ was not a Jew. "Whoever makes the assertion that Christ was a Jew is either ignorant or insincere: ignorant when he knows the history of Galilee and partly conceals, partly distorts the very entangled facts in favour of his religious prejudices, or, it may be, to curry favour with the Jews."<sup>91</sup> With one categorical assertion Chamberlain dismissed as ignorant or insincere every theologian and historian of the past. He reserved his harshest words for Renan, most of whose work he accepted wholeheartedly, but whose statement: "*Jésus était un Juif*" he attributed to Jewish tyranny and influence.<sup>92</sup> He was positive that Christ had not a single drop of genuinely Jewish blood in his veins.<sup>93</sup> As evidence, he offered the fact that Christ was a Galilean, and since these people were of a mixed race, Christ's ancestry "is a question that cannot be answered at all."<sup>94</sup> But he was not a Jew,<sup>95</sup> thus himself answering the unanswerable question. Further evidence that Christ was not a Jew racially may be found, Chamberlain believed, in the fact that He opposed the Jewish dietary laws, that He never once mentioned fear of God (basis of the whole Jewish religion), and that He often

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<sup>90</sup> Even Lord Redesdale, Chamberlain's most ardent English disciple, found this attitude unjust to German Jews, "who played a greater part in the history of the nineteenth century than the Sephardim". ("Foundations," Lord Redesdale's introduction, p. XXXV.)

<sup>91</sup> "Foundations," vol. I, 211.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

changed the meaning of the words of Scripture.<sup>96</sup> Surprisingly enough, Chamberlain admitted that the fate of Christ and the main tendencies of his thought were both closely connected with "genuine Jewish life and character".<sup>97</sup> He took no account of the fact that Christ, who was regarded by both friend and foe alike as a Jew, was accused, placed on trial and found guilty as a Jew, and that the Gospels on many occasions mentioned Jewish ancestry.

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

## CHAPTER 10

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORDIC MYTH IN GERMANY

### THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF GERMAN RACIALISM

The intensification of German racialism had its roots in the nineteenth century economic development of Germany. The Industrial Revolution was late in coming to Germany, but once national unity was achieved and the German Reich proclaimed in 1871 at Versailles, Germany's commercial, industrial and agricultural growth proceeded with such phenomenal rapidity that she soon outstripped most nations of the world. The New Industrial Revolution brought the factory system to Germany, big business and intensified social problems. After the empire was unified along centralized, paternalistic lines, Germany suddenly began taking gigantic economic strides, which eclipsed the record established by eighteenth century England. With the organization of industry through cartels and syndicates, Germany was able to present a united economic front which began to make serious inroads upon the industrial prosperity of other leading powers.

The threat to British domination in the markets of the world was a very real one in every basic industry of importance. The British were handicapped by the continued use of timeworn machinery, a heritage of the old Industrial Revolution. Technical efficiency and excellently organized technical schools and colleges enabled the Germans to challenge the British in markets throughout the world. From 1890 to 1913, the annual value of Germany's export trade rose from 800 million dollars to 2,500 millions. In both agriculture and industry, the Germans jumped quickly from methods of small enterprise to the vastly superior methods of the new industrialism.

When projected against this environmental background, the tremendous vogue of Gobinism and Chamberlainism becomes understandable. The contention that the Germans were a biologically superior race, the elect of God, who had always been responsible for the great changes of history, coincided beautifully with the plans of German imperialists. A nation, which was long distinguished for its scientific *Gründlichkeit*, was willing to accept race theory so long as it provided a proper foundation for Germany's drive to a place in the sun. It was explained that Germany's successful industrialization was due primarily to persistent somatic characters and to race superiority. "Expert" anthropologists, ethnologists and biologists gave what was assumed to be satisfactory proof. The German masses, with characteristic obedience, were not averse to the siren song of Teutonic racial virtue and Teutonic racial superiority. As superior Teutons by race, they felt themselves justified in dreaming of an empire that was to rival ancient Rome in massiveness and wealth.

In the economic environment of the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, racialism gathered momentum as a vital factor. Economic nationalism had developed to its integral stage as a result of bitter commercial rivalries; the New Industrial Revolution had caused the formation of a host of revolutionary movements as the workers sought to catch up with the industrial machine; eighteenth century rationalism was extended to extremes in philosophy and the social sciences; imperialism and militarism became virtues of the highest order for the national state. With the extension of rapid means of transportation and communication and the widespread improvements in popular education, the man in the street was easily influenced by new methods of propaganda. It was comparatively easy now to popularize loose scientific thinking and even to endow it with a modicum of respectability. Nearly a century of race thinking had passed; by this time the words "Aryan" and "Semites" had passed into popular consumption. Race theory was simple and easy to digest. It survived and became indelibly impressed into public consciousness.

THE ROLE OF ANTHROPO-SOCIOLOGY: G. VACHER DE LAPOUGE AND  
OTTO AMMON

Towards the end of the century, race theory still lacked a satisfactory and plausible scientific foundation. The linguistic paleontologists of early nineteenth century Europe had identified race with language. But as the study of anthropology advanced, it became obvious that language groups were composed of diverse racial types and that the old linguistic divisions were no longer satisfactory in differentiating between peoples. This difficulty was disturbing to those who desired a more tangible expression of race differences. Nationalists, who fervently looked for race qualities, did not have to search far for the answer.

Towards the latter part of the century, there arose independently and spontaneously, a group of scientists, who began the statistical measurement of somatic characteristics. The study of craniometry became an absorbing passion with these students, particularly the cephalic index,<sup>1</sup> which was used to explain ethnic stratification. Here at last was the scientific proof for the inequality of human races! Those who were disturbed by the use of intuitive rationalization of racial theory felt that now at long last the vexing problems of race were to be decided upon strictly scientific basis. More often than not, the results of anthro-sociology indicated the weakness of all racial theory, but the racialists accepted only such conclusions that fitted the major premise of racial inequality and discarded the rest.<sup>2</sup>

Although anthropo-sociology received its most potent stimulus in Germany, it was once again a Frenchman who broke the ground for a new foundation of racial theory. G. Vacher de Lapouge, starting from Gobineau's assumption that race is the key to history, began an intensive study of the comparative cephalic indices of Frenchmen of earlier centuries with those of his contemporary countrymen.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain's use of anthropo-sociology in the "Foundations" is a striking example of this procedure. Chamberlain was certain that he possessed an advantage over Gobineau, who was not able to know of the satisfactory results of "scientific anthropo-sociology".



His conclusion, accepted with great joy by German Nordacists, was that each Teutonic invasion of France had resulted in a measurable improvement of French stock and that unquestionably the finest racial specimens in France were tall, dolichocephalic and blond. In a series of studies,<sup>3</sup> he elaborated his theory by warning that a racial selection was always going on,<sup>4</sup> and that hybridization of Nordic stock with that of inferior races would inevitably lead to political and social chaos.<sup>5</sup>

Lapouge's classification of racial types was similar to that of Gobineau. He carefully endowed each of his three major ethnic groups with mental as well as physical traits. Thus the *Homo Europaeus* (Aryans, or Nordics) was by physical measurement tall, blond and generally blue-eyed, and also bold, domineering, idealistic, creative, energetic, adventurous, distinctly superior, and Protestant Christian by choice. The *Homo Alpinus* (Alpines) was short, dark, brachycephalic, full beard, prominent nose, straight eyes, with psychological traits of cautiousness, slowness, less creative ability, and Catholic Christian by choice. The *Homo Mediterranaeus* (Mediterraneans) was short, dark, dolichocephalic, with dark hair and eyes, and psychologically still less creative, morally inferior, cruel, sadistic, loving colour and show, and Catholic. The Aryans were the bearers of all creative energy; long-heads were superior to round-heads. The growing scarcity of long-heads was an indication of progressive human degeneration. Wherever Lapouge found long-heads to be measured, there was an aristocratic race. It appeared to him that the submergence of aristocracies in the democracies, that is, the most productive men disappearing while the ignorant and rude alone increase, was proven through statistics. As a consequence, he saw but little hope for civilization, unless the

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<sup>3</sup> "Les sélections sociales," *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 1887; "De l'inégalité parmi les hommes," *ibid.*, 1888; "La dépopulation de la France," *ibid.*, 1887; "L'Aryen—son rôle social," Paris, 1889; "The Fundamental Principles of Anthro-Sociology," *Journal of Political Economy*, Chicago, 1897-1898. For excellent summaries of the work of the school of anthro-sociology in general and de Lapouge in particular, *vide* Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-166; Hankins, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-140; and Barzun, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-226.

<sup>4</sup> Note the Darwinian influence.

<sup>5</sup> This conclusion echoed Gobinian theory.

process of selection was watched more carefully and a race of long-heads bred once more. Lapouge apparently overlooked the embarrassing fact that gorillas, Negroes and Eskimos share this dolichocephalous aristocracy with the *Homo Europaeus*.<sup>6</sup>

It will be seen at once by this brief resumé of Lapouge's work that there was nothing new added to Gobineau's theories. The statistical and biological data he submitted were most incomplete and unacceptable. Nevertheless, Lapouge's beginnings in anthropo-sociology marked a definite milestone in the history of racial theory. There quickly commenced a veritable orgy of measurements—of hair, head, stature, skin colour, of any part of the body that might in some way be measured and compared. Scholars all over the world turned to anthropo-sociology for the final solution to the race problem, measuring thousands of skulls and noses with feverish scientific fervor.<sup>7</sup>

Lapouge's methods were extraordinarily successful in Germany. The *Gobineau-Vereinigung* was certain that Lapouge had at last brought scientific support to Gobinian theory. The methodology of anthropo-sociology appealed strongly to the German scholarly mind: its minute measurements and detailed statistical data were immensely satisfying to the plodding German scientists. The most productive scholar among the Germans in the new field was Otto Ammon.<sup>8</sup> His classification and description of the races closely paralleled those of Lapouge, although he found even more attractive virtues in the *Homo Europaeus*. As evidences of Nordic su-

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Robertson, "The Germans," London, 1916, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Hankins mentions the names of Durand de Gros, Collignon and Muffang in France; Ammon, Woltman, von Hölder and Hansen in Germany; Livi and Calori in Italy; Chalumeau in Switzerland; Weisbach in Austria; Olóriz in Spain; Beddoe in England; Houzé in Belgium; Ripley and Closson in America. Ripley adds, among others, Carlier in France; Lombroso, Raseri and Riccardi in Italy; A. R. Wallace in England; Weissner, Brandt, Ranke and Virchow in Germany; Levasseur in Spain; Anutchin in Russia; Schimmer in Austria. To this list may be added Gumpowicz in Germany; Nicolucci and Sergi in Italy; Broca and de Quatrefages in France.

<sup>8</sup> The most popular of the anthropo-sociologists in Germany was Ludwig Woltman, who sought to prove by an extensive comparative study of portraits that nearly all the great men of the Renaissance in Italy, France and Spain were of Teutonic descent. Scientists are generally prone to reject this "portrait-method" of anthropo-sociology, which consists of measuring pictures or paintings. In his "Racial Elements of European History," *op. cit.*, Günther gave 316 photographs and drawings of racial types as "proofs" for his racial theory.

periority he added the German love for cycling and the Teutonic compassion for the weak and friendless.

Lapouge had examined thousands of skulls and had found that the crania of the French aristocracy corresponded more closely with the Teutonic head than the skulls of plebeian types. Ammon, working independently, came to the same conclusion. Examining the skulls of thousands of conscripts in the Grand Duchy of Baden, he discovered that great differences existed between the head form in the city and country districts, as well as in the upper and lower classes in the large cities. Ammon was quick to generalize about this discovery of "a surprising natural phenomenon". To him belongs the honor of the discovery of "Ammon's Law", which holds that the Teutonic race has always shown a marked predilection for city life.<sup>9</sup> Lapouge in France, Muffang in Brittany and others confirmed Ammon's data, while Livi in Italy and Ripley in America,<sup>10</sup> among others, remained unconvinced. Ammon's thesis was interpreted in Germany as substantiation of the fact that the predominance of long-headed Nordics in the cities was a manifestation of the restless tendency of the Teutonic race to re-assert itself in the new phases of nineteenth-century competition.

In some ways the work of the anthropo-sociologists was unfavorable to race theorists in Germany, particularly because it tended to recognize the process of constant intermingling of races. Yet, although its conclusions were seldom definite and nearly always faced with opposing viewpoints, anthropo-sociology furnished the scientific spring-board for which Nordic theorists were waiting. Here was scientific justification for long-smouldering prejudices. Ammon had spent seven years measuring the skulls of Badener conscripts and another five years in writing the results of his work, which was taken as adequate proof for the scientific validity of his theories.<sup>11</sup> Chamberlain was deeply impressed by Ammon's con-

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<sup>9</sup> This "law" is somewhat surprising, considering the fact that Tacitus had often remarked about the Teutonic hatred of town life.

<sup>10</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, pp. 547ff. Ripley quite properly protests against the extravagant claims of the universality of "Ammon's Law" by anthropo-sociologists.

<sup>11</sup> Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166. Although himself interested in anthropo-sociology, L. Gumplowicz effectively demolished Ammon's whole theory of social selection, show-

clusion that the skulls of creative men are almost invariably long-headed (naturally Teutonic and German).

Thus, the Nordic hymnology, which assumed a rising crescendo at the turn of the century, now possessed what it had hitherto lacked—the cryptic verdict of “science” as a concomitant for intuitive reasoning.

#### RICHARD WAGNER AND THE “GERMAN SPIRIT”<sup>12</sup>

Racial pride, so characteristic of the rising nationalism, penetrated every element of German life, not excluding the artistic. The artistic “regeneration” of the German soul received its most potent stimulus through Richard Wagner, whose tempestuous music was a factor of importance in cementing the groundwork of German nationalism and racialism. In both his music and writings Wagner sought to express the Germanic hero-spirit, a “racial characteristic” which he believed to be possessed only by those of Nordic blood.

Until Wagner appeared on the artistic scene, German nationalists had complained that German music had been degraded by a taste for the cosmopolitan, and that German music borrowed from every possible source except German. There was no *German* music, no *German* theatre, no *German* style. Wagner's *Zukunftsmusic* (music of the future) filled this need for national expression. In the “*Ring des Nibelungen*” appeared the national drama for which the nation had longed. “This is the most important result of Wagner's energetic genius,” wrote Franz Merloff, “that we have been

ing the incompleteness of Ammon's anthropological conclusions and warning that anthropology was not yet far enough advanced to come to any definite conclusions. Gumpłowicz was, of course, ignored by Nordic theorists for his failure to see the light.

<sup>12</sup> It will be impossible to give here a complete treatment of the spiritual predecessors of contemporary German racialism. In addition to those discussed in the text above, the following may be mentioned briefly: *Guido von List*, who wrote about religious Aryan-Germanism; *Julius Langbehn*, author of “Rembrandt-Deutschtum”, a racial criticism of socialism (German racialism was strongly anti-socialist in character); *Paul de Lagarde* (*Paul Bötticher*), a bitter anti-French and anti-Celtic racialist; *George Fuchs*, Gobinian who saw nothing of importance in history without race; *Heinrich Driesman*, Aryan apologist and anti-Semite; *Franz Hahne*, complete Gobinist; *A. Moeller van den Bruck*, who was certain of Teutonic racial supremacy; *Alfred Ploetz*, who demanded a cleansing of the Nordic race; and many others. These writers were successful in endowing racial theory with scientific respectability and popularizing it for the masses.

led on by him slowly but surely from cosmopolitan confusion . . . to the highest point of real national drama . . . free from every foreign color, and built on the innermost foundation of our German nature—the German hero-legends.”<sup>13</sup>

To Wagner the *German Spirit* was an inborn racial characteristic which distinguished the German people from all others in the world. Against this biologically engrained force of mind and spirit, French civilization would have no power.<sup>14</sup> The composer took great pride in asserting that the German *folk-blood* and *folk-spirit* emanated from the German Spirit during the era of romanticism, when there was a resurrection of German art of the Middle Ages, in contrast to the renaissance of other culture-folks of newer Europe. The birth of a true German Spirit had taken place during the *Freiheitskriege*: “Here, too the German Spirit was to try to cut itself a path; if verse was dumb, yet tune rang out. The fresh, sweet breath of the youthful German breast, still heaving with noble aspiration, breathed out of glorious Weber’s melodies; a new life of wonders was won for German feeling”.<sup>15</sup>

Like Gobineau and the Nordic racialists, Wagner was positive that throughout history the Teuton had been distinguished as creator and inventor, whereas the other peoples had been modellers and exploiters. He believed that the conflict between the German Spirit and the un-German Spirit meant utter ruin, unless the former triumphed. There was no doubt in his mind that German *Herrlichkeit* was a gift of the all-powerful force of heredity, which kept German blood pure and uncontaminated.

#### ADOLF STOECKER AND THE “NATIONAL SOUL”

With the formation of the Empire in 1871 and the beginnings of the rapid industrialization of Germany, socialism increased by leaps and bounds. Bismarck was disturbed by the internationalism of Liebknecht and Bebel. In 1878 the Reichstag passed a series of “Exceptional Laws” against Social Democracy, but this legislation suc-

<sup>13</sup> Franz Merloff, “Richard Wagner und das Deutschland,” Munich, 1873, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> W. Ashton Ellis, “Richard Wagner’s Prose Works,” vol. 4, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 52.

ceeded only in driving socialism underground. The racialism that took form in the 'seventies was in part a reactionary movement against this rising socialist movement. In the confusion surrounding this conflict there arose a militant clergyman, Adolf Stoecker, whose passionate nationalism and opposition to Social Democracy acted as a tonic for the racial movement then in process of crystallization.

Stoecker came to Berlin in 1874 as court-chaplain. In 1878, he founded the Christian Socialist Workers' party, through which he hoped to win the workingman "to national and Christian thought", and to conquer the Social Democrats for the spirit of nationalism. For many years Stoecker was a leader of German scientific anti-Semitism, one of those ambitious and energetic personalities of the Prussian élite who made a great impression upon the masses during the era of Bismarck. He felt it to be his mission to awaken his countrymen to the necessity of re-asserting the supremacy of the Nordic race and of destroying Social Democracy, radicalism, materialism and disbelief.

Stoecker's racialism was distinguished by a fervent belief in superior Teutonic racial characteristics. German honesty, loquacity and conscientiousness appeared to him to be inherent in the race.<sup>16</sup> "No other people have so many national songs, national tales, national customs as we . . . Conscientiousness, the old heritage of the Germanic nature, has grown through Protestantism . . . One has always sung praises to German loyalty, to faithfulness between man and wife, between friend and friend, between prince and peasant . . . Our treasure is a serious, holy family life, respect of children for their elders, love of parents for their children. Every German heart possesses a feeling of duty . . . Diligence, ability, indefatigableness—those are German attributes."<sup>17</sup> Stoecker praised German youth as patriotic and honest, the German girl as unsurpassed in virtue.<sup>18</sup> Anything non-German was regarded by the court-chaplain as suspicious. When he used the word *obligatorisch* (obligatory) in a speech, he begged his audience to excuse him for

<sup>16</sup> Adolf Stoecker, "*Christlich-Sozial, Reden und Aufsätze*," Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1885, p. 37

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

using a word of foreign extraction.<sup>19</sup> The Fatherland became an obsession in his mind.<sup>20</sup>

Stoecker believed deeply in the existence of a national, or racial soul, peculiar to all peoples, a belief that affected strongly all his sociological, political and religious work. The reasoning here was interesting: there is a certain relation between all portions of the national body. German blood flows in every German body and the soul is found in the body (*und im Blut ist die Seele*). When one has a German brother before him, there takes place a certain reaction that never occurs if the other person happens not to be German. People may be compared to birds; there are different species. "Man is not body, he is soul, and the immortal soul is his best part. So a nation has not only a body to work and to shed blood in case of war, but also a soul, and this soul must be protected against all disintegrating influences."<sup>21</sup> Here Stoecker added a new conception to the ideology of race.

ADOPTED APOSTLES OF GERMAN RADICALISM: HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE  
AND FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

German racialists often found it expedient to adopt philosophers and historians who had little sympathy with ethnic concepts of history but whose real or supposed nationalism fitted quite well into the framework of Nordic supremacy. The two outstanding "racialists-by-adoption" were Heinrich von Treitschke, the last of the series of professor-prophets, and Friedrich Nietzsche, philosopher of will and power. Both dismissed racial dogma as utter nonsense, yet both were again and again hailed as ardent proponents of Teutonic (racial) supremacy.

Treitschke, an able historian and a scholar of powerful influence

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> For example: "Ten years ago much blood was spilled to win freedom and unity for the Fatherland; one cannot think enough of the Fatherland and it is inspiring when young men give their Fatherland more than themselves and give their blood and lives for the Fatherland. But when one makes a repulsive idol of the earthly Fatherland, and when there is no heavenly Fatherland above the earthly Fatherland, then the spirit of the Fatherland remains dark. In many souls to-day a wrong idea of the Fatherland exists." (*Ibid.*, p. 106.)

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

on young minds, was to an extent responsible for the great surge of patriotic fever that ran through the Germanies in the eighteen sixties. As a prophet of national greatness, he aimed to work politically through history ("*durch die Geschichte politisch zu wirken*"). His lecture-hall at the University of Berlin became a favorite meeting place for society, Prussian monarchists and enthusiastic students. Nearly deaf, the large, strong-limbed man with powerful visage, lectured in raucous voice, uttering phrases jerkily, gesturing in an irritated, nervous manner, seemingly oblivious to all the enthusiasm engendered in his listeners. He was accepted wholeheartedly by German scholars as the historian who provided an historic basis for German nationalism.

Treitschke was one of Germany's most glowing patriots. Although of Slavic origin, he insisted that every fibre of his body was German, and that he was a thousand times more patriot than professor. German character appeared to him to be something admirable: "Depth of thought, idealism, cosmopolitan views; a transcendent philosophy which boldly oversteps (or freely looks over) the separating barriers of finite existence; familiarity with every human thought and feeling, the desire to traverse the world-wide realm of ideas in common with the foremost intellects of all nations and all times. All that has at times been held to be characteristic of the Germans and has always been praised as the privilege of German character and breeding".<sup>22</sup> The simple loyalty of the German seemed to him to contrast remarkably with the lack of chivalry in the English character.<sup>23</sup>

Here was the foremost of the intellectual anti-Semites. Treitschke believed that at one time in German history, the Jews had played a necessary part, because of their ability in the management of money. But now that the Aryans<sup>24</sup> had themselves become accustomed to the field of finance, the Jews were no longer necessary.

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. F. von Bernhardi, "Germany and England," New York, 1915, pp. 91-92. Bernhardi, super-patriot, played an important part in the development of pre-war German nationalism.

<sup>23</sup> H. von Treitschke, "*Die Politik*," ed. Max Cornelius, Leipzig, 1899-1900, vol. 2, pp. 360-361.

<sup>24</sup> Note how Treitschke unconsciously fell into use of the term "Aryans".



The Jews, particularly the international Jews—hidden by a mask of different nationalities, were a disintegrating influence, and could be of no further use to the world. Treitschke therefore demanded widespread publicity about the “real nature” of the Jew. He attacked the Jewish press as befouling all historical truth.

On the surface it would appear that Treitschke's ideals closely approximated those of the Nordic school. Apparently he, too, regarded history as a clash between Nordics and Jews. German racialists used Treitschke's fervent praise of the German character and his equally energetic attacks on Jews as props for the racial structure. However, the racialists' adoption of Treitschke could not have borne his approval. As a mature historian, he recognized that nationalities are subject to the flux of history. He was aware of the fusion of races that went on always. He understood that the great state-forming peoples, like the Romans and the English, were obviously of mixed races. “The legal bond must be felt to be a natural bond of blood-relationship—*either real or imaginary blood-relationship*—(italics mine), for on this point nations labor under the most extraordinary delusions. Almost all great nations, like the Athenians, label themselves autochthonous, and boast, almost invariably without foundation, of the purity of their blood.”

As a realist, Treitschke recognized that “an imaginary blood-relationship” might be used to provide the state with the cohesion it so badly needed, but he had no illusions concerning the existence of pure races, a cardinal tenet of the racialist position. His solution of the Jewish question was not extermination of Jews, but a *racial merger* of Jews into the German nation, allowing them at the same time to preserve their own associations. The racialists overlooked Treitschke's position on these vital matters of race and accepted only those parts of his teachings that praised Teutonic character and institutions and attacked Jews as Germany's misfortune.

The second adopted apostle of the racialists was Friedrich Nietzsche, in whose philosophy of the Superman was found an adequate explanation of Teutonic racial superiority. There was but little justification for this adoption. Nietzsche explicitly disavowed nationalism and race-hatred as convenient forces utilized by

the European nations to hedge themselves off from one another and to place themselves in a sort of quarantine. He foresaw the rise of a United States of Europe: "There are many signs that Europe now wishes to become one nation. All the profound and large-minded men of this country—Napoleon, Goethe, Beethoven, Stendhal, Heine, Schopenhauer and others—have had this unique aim."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Nietzsche was not impressed with the racial arguments against the Jews. He praised highly their resourcefulness of mind and soul. "Amongst all the inhabitants of Europe it is the Jews least of all who try to escape from any deep distress by recourse to drink or to suicide."<sup>26</sup> Every Jew can find in the history of his own family and of his ancestors a long record of instances of the greatest coolness and perseverance amid difficulties and dreadful situations, an artful cunning in fighting with misfortune and hazard. And above all it is their bravery under the cloak of wretched submission, their heroic *spernere se sperni* that surpasses the virtues of the saints."<sup>27</sup>

Although not unpatriotic, Nietzsche rarely, if ever, exalted his German nationality. He was inordinately proud of his Polish descent. He was no admirer of Prussianism. In a letter dated 1887, he wrote: "It seems to me that Germany for the last fifteen years has become a regular school of besotment. Water, rubbish, and filth, far and wide—that is what it looks like from a distance. I beg a thousand pardons if I have hurt your nobler feelings by stating this, but for present-day Germany, however much it may bristle hedgehog-like with arms, I have no longer any respect. It represents the stupidest, most mendacious and most depraved form of the German spirit that ever existed. I forgive no one for compromising with it in any way, even if his name be Richard Wagner."<sup>28</sup>

The idea of a pure Teutonic race appeared to Nietzsche as a

<sup>25</sup> Cf. my "From Bismarck to Hitler," *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>26</sup> It is significant, however, that after *Anschluss* between Germany and Austria in early 1938, there was a large wave of suicide among Viennese Jews.

<sup>27</sup> F. Nietzsche, "*Morgenröte*," 1881, paragraph 205.

<sup>28</sup> *Vide* "Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche," ed. by Oscar Levy, New York, 1922.

"mendacious swindle". "It is probable that there are no pure races, but only races which have become purified, and even these are extremely rare. We often meet with crossed races, among whom, together with the defects in harmony of the bodily forms (for example when the eyes do not accord with the mouth) we necessarily always find defects of harmony in habits and appreciations."<sup>29</sup>

From the above it would seem that Nietzsche had little in common with the Nordic viewpoint, yet, if we are to judge by the results of his teachings, we must come to the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that he exerted a great influence on the rise of Nordic racialism.<sup>30</sup> The Superman, much to Nietzsche's annoyance, was appropriated as a characteristically Teutonic person.

In tracing the influence of intellectual predecessors, both legitimate and adopted, of contemporary racialism in Germany, we are faced with a great handicap. Intellectual history is of the greatest significance, but it is always beset with much guesswork, false assumptions and confusion. The task of the "social scientist" is always a difficult one, since he works with no precise scientific tools, as do the pure scientists. It is next to impossible to measure the extent of influence of one particular scholar in a movement such as racialism. Here, as in most historical movements, the vital factors are the politico-economic situation and the nature of intellectual leadership.<sup>31</sup> Just where the former ends and the latter begins has always been a puzzling task for the historian. In the case of racialism, the intellectual leaders we have discussed played a great part (even if their individual contributions cannot be meas-

<sup>29</sup> "Morgenröte," paragraph 272.

<sup>30</sup> In Nietzsche was found, according to H. L. Mencken, "a magnificent statement, lucid, plausible, overwhelming, of the ideas that had been groping for utterance with them (the Young Germans). It was dramatic, eloquent, persuasive, vigorous, romantic, a mixture of challenge and testament, of code and saga . . . Young Germany adopted him, ratified him, hurrahed for him. His phrases passed into current cant; he was quoted, discussed, hailed as a deliverer; musicians were inspired to deafening tone-poems by his dithyrambs; he became a great national figure, a prophet, something of a hero—in his own words—a 'European event' ". (Cf. *New York Times*, March 21, 1915; quoted in a letter to the *Times* by Dr. Washington Gladden.)

<sup>31</sup> Vide the propaganda sheet *Racio-Political Foreign Correspondence*, published by the *Aufklärungsamt für Bevölkerungspolitik und Rassenpflege* and distributed in other countries by the present Propaganda Ministry at Berlin.

ured accurately) in forging mythical and superstitious material into a respectable historical current. The stock phrases of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Richard Wagner, Stoecker, Lapouge, Lagarde, Fuchs, *et al.*, passed quickly into popular usage through the medium of the press. The term "Aryan race", completely unacceptable to the careful scholar, was commonly used by scientist and layman. The racialists set forth propositions with such passion that they seemed self-evident. The Germans had been applying experimentally, and with much doubt, the principle that they were a superior people denied a rightful share of the world's goods. Now came the racialists with an enticing explanation, simple and attractive: everything could be explained easily by race. It was but human for Germans by nationality to accept their classification as Nordics by race.

#### WHO ARE THE GERMANS?

We have seen that the Nordic school preached the purity of the German (Teutonic, Aryan or Nordic) race, endowed it with a monopoly of virtue and intellect, a superior skull shape, a selected ancestry and inherently superior qualities.

At this point it may be well to consider a question which is at once simple and involved: just who are the Germans? The word German as used to-day applies to the entirely artificial concept of nationality, based upon linguistic, as well as political exigencies of time and place. A uniformity of ethnic origin of the Germans does not exist and cannot be proven. Racial boundaries are never so simple in outline that they correspond exactly with the boundaries of politically distinct nations. The Germans do form a nation in the heart of Europe and an inhabitant of the political boundaries of the German state is classified as a German, but the people of the constituent parts of Germany are different in physical origin.

In northwestern Germany, for example, in such regions as Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein, the physical type of German is allied to the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, all Scandinavians. Towards the south the remainder of the population becomes less and less Teutonic in type, until finally in Baden, Württemberg and

Bavaria are found Alpine (broad-headed) peoples. From the ethnic point of view, Germany bears a close resemblance to France.<sup>32</sup>

There still exists a great difference of opinion as to the physical nature of the paleolithic ancestors of contemporary Germans. Such scholars as Latham (1859), Canon Taylor (1890) and Brinton (1890) held that the forefathers of the Germans were Aryans indigenous to Europe, while Sergi, Keane and others maintained that the ancestors of the Germans came from Africa.<sup>33</sup> Sergi was certain that the ur-Germans were Eurafricans of Asiatic species, a variety of the Eurasiatic species, and not Scandinavian Aryans.<sup>34</sup> They were a people, he believed, who were savages when they invaded Europe, destroying the superior civilizations that encountered and in the course of their invasions transforming their Eurafrican language into Celtic, Slavonic and German.

Although the problem as to whether the ancient Germans were Eurafrican, Eurasiatics or Europeans has not yet been settled, it at least appears clear that the early Germans split into two main branches, the Eastern and Western Teutons, the first group consisting of the Goths and Vandals, and the second of Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, Frisians, Angles, Saxons, Jutes and others. These peoples were nomads and raiders, who, from 2000 B.C. on, gradually moved towards the south and west until they finally came into contact with the expanding Romans. Checked by Caesar after his conquest of Gaul, they remained on the far side of the Rhine and Danube, politically separated, until with the decline of the Roman Empire they began to infiltrate into the Empire. To Tacitus, these gigantic blonds of the north "with their fierce blue eyes" seemed strikingly unmixed ethnically, but his descriptions indicate that they were backward culturally. German cultural progress began with the period of barbarian infiltration. Originally piratical and aggressive nomads, the Teutons became respectable members of the family of nations after the process of intermingling had

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. pp. 79-80.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. pp. 79-80.

begun. The contention of the Nordic school that these culturally backward peoples brought civilization to the Roman Empire need not be taken too seriously.

The racial chaos which followed the infiltration of the barbarians defies any attempt at analysis. Contrasts which have been made between Teuton and Celt (who are probably offshoots of the same stock) have no justification for the simple reason that there were no distinct racial lines in the states built upon the ruins of the empire. In the eighth and ninth centuries a consolidation of Western Europe was brought about under the aegis of the Franks, who fused Gallo-Roman and German cultures as well as ethnic stocks. During the period of the Merovingians and the Carolingians, when a measure of unified control was restored in Western Europe, there existed no well-defined racial boundaries. What are to-day Germany and France were then one state with no persistent somatic characters separating the peoples. It is significant that German civilization derives directly from France and in turn from Italy along ecclesiastical lines, a fact which belies the contention of Gobineau and Chamberlain that the present German civilization is Scandinavian-Aryan in origin. The native culture of the early Germans was submerged in the culture-forces of a Christianity originating in the Near East.

Throughout the Middle Ages, racial intermixture in the Germanies proceeded at a rapid pace. German political unity was never restored in the medieval period. Neither the brilliant Hohenstaufens nor the Austrian Hapsburgs were able to achieve national unity, while sectional wars were waged in the disintegrated feudal system and national wars against Hungarians, Turks, Czechs and French. The Hanseatic League was by no means a national German creation, being rather a combination of Dutch, French, German and even Spanish cities. There was no racial solidarity in Germany during the Middle Ages and there was certainly no dominant ethnic group which could impress its innately superior qualities upon inferior racial stocks. The Prussian state which evolved out of the medieval ethnic chaos was founded upon a structure of non-Teutonic as well as Teutonic elements.

There was no solidarity of Teutonic race during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) when the Germanies were embroiled in chaotic conflict. Alliances which were made by German princes cut straight through the ethnic structure of the state, being based primarily upon religious and not racio-political differences. No nation, and certainly not a unified race, appeared after the Peace of Westphalia, which made of the Germanies another geographical expression, fragmentary, particularistic, tribalistic. In the nineteenth century, there was a drive for national unity, stimulated unconsciously by Napoleon and brought to conclusion by Bismarck. By this time, the ethnic character of Germany was hopelessly mixed.

Who, then, is the present-day German by race? No one can say with accuracy who he is. In his veins flows the blood of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians and even, perhaps, of the Mongol-Tatar Huns. In the march of biology, Bavarians, Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Lombards, contributed their share to German blood and then scattered to other sections of the continent. The blood content of our present German was considerably complicated by intermarriage of his ancestors with Alamans, Franks, Suabians, Alans and Frisians. Saxon barbarians, largely Slavonic in ethnic origin, survived Charlemagne's religious massacres and tainted the blood of a people having difficulty in maintaining its Aryan purity. The "dominant Aryan race" was further denordicized by Norsemen, Muslims and Slavs who helped disrupt the Carolingian Empire, by Mongolians who invaded Silesia in the thirteenth century, by pagan Wends who felt the lash of Teutonic Knights, by Poles who were incorporated into late eighteenth-century Prussia, by natives of Alsace-Lorraine taken into the German Empire of 1871, and by Jews who intermarried widely in nineteenth century Germany.

To find a pure and distinct Nordic or Aryan race in this utterly confused conglomeration of ethnic stocks is very much like discovering the proverbial needle in a haystack. The German, like the Englishman, the Frenchman and the American, is a product of mixed, heterogeneous races. In him can be ascertained no one racial strain which can be described as pure and undefiled.

## CHAPTER II

### RACIALISM IN THE THIRD REICH: PAN-NORDICISM

#### THE RACIALIST IDEOLOGY OF "MEIN KAMPF"<sup>1</sup>

The theory of *Blut und Boden*, expressed in Hitler's autobiography, "*Mein Kampf*", became the foundation stone of the National Socialist program. The ideas of nation, state and race elaborated in Hitler's book closely followed the pattern set by Gobineau and Chamberlain. The approach is much the same: intuitive rather than scientific, emotional rather than rational. The pompously scholarly style of Chamberlain is missing; in its place is the emotionalized outpouring of an uneducated man desperately anxious to prove the stupidity of formal education and the desirability of "common sense". The rhetoric is at all times stormy, violent and vulgar as Hitler condemns all of opposing opinion as liars and traitors to civilization.<sup>2</sup>

Hitler studied history long enough to find that it has shown "with terrible clarity" how each time Aryan blood has become mixed with that of inferior peoples the result has been an end of the culture-sustaining race. "History shows that it was the German-

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<sup>1</sup> All quotations in this section are from the 1934 edition, part 1, chap. 2: "Volk und Rasse", and part 2, chap. 2, "Der Staat". This extraordinary book has enjoyed a tremendous vogue in Germany, where millions of copies have been sold. Every couple, upon marriage, is presented with a copy of "Mein Kampf". Because of its significance in contemporary history, this book may well be considered as one of the most important of the last century.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of the style: "Thus did I now believe that I must act in the sense of the Almighty Creator: by fighting against the Jews I am doing the Lord's work." (p. 70.) "The black-haired Jewish youth lies for hours in ambush, a Satanic joy on his face, for the unsuspecting girl whom he pollutes with his blood and steals from her own race. By every means he seeks to wreck the racial basis of the nations he intends to subdue." (P. 357.)



ization of the land, which our forefathers won with the sword, which brought profit, for it was colonized with German agriculturalists. Whenever foreign blood has been introduced into the body of our nation, its unhappy effect has been to break up our national character." Bastardization of the German race must be avoided as a plague, since the chief aim to be pursued by the national state must be the conservation of the ancient racial elements. "All that we admire on this earth—science, art, technical skill and invention—is the creative product of only a small number of nations, and originally, perhaps, of one single race. All this culture depends on them for its very existence. If they are ruined, they carry with them all the beauty of this earth into the grave."

Hitler divided the human race into three categories—*founders*, *maintainers* and *destroyers* of culture.<sup>3</sup> The Aryan stock alone could be considered as representing the first category. The Aryan (read Nordic) race, often in absurdly small numbers, overthrew alien nations and developed the qualities of intellect and organization which were dormant in them. As times went on, however, the conquerors sinned against keeping the blood pure and began to blend with the original inhabitants whom they subjugated, thus ending their own existence. He (the Aryan conqueror) sank, overwhelmed in the mixing of races, and by degrees lost forever his capacity for civilization until he began to resemble the subjected aboriginal race more than his fathers, both in mind and in body. For a time he could still enjoy the blessings of civilization, but first indifference set in, and finally oblivion. "This is how civilizations and empires break up, to make room for new creations."

Following closely the historical interpretation of Chamberlain, Hitler called the Jew the exact opposite of the Aryan. "In hardly any nation in the world is the instinct of self-preservation more strongly developed than in 'the chosen people'." The Jew never possessed a culture of his own, since the basis of his intellectual activity has always been supplied by others. He was always guided by self-seeking. "In order to continue existing as a parasite within the nation, the Jew must set to work to deny his real inner nature. The

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* p. 82.

more intelligent the individual Jew is,<sup>4</sup> the better will he succeed in his deception—to the extent of making large sections of the population seriously believe that the Jew is a genuine Frenchman or an Englishman, a German or an Italian, though of a different religion. The Jew has the impudence to attempt to lead the masses, “the most infamous betrayal of all time”. He has intensified the demand for social justice dormant in all men of Aryan stock by founding Marxism.<sup>5</sup> “The ignorance displayed by the mass of the people as to the true nature of the Jews and the lack of instinctive perceptions of our upper class make the people easy dupes of the Jewish campaign of lies . . . If we review all the causes of the German collapse, the final and decisive one is to be seen in the failure to realize the racial problem and, more especially, the Jewish menace.” The Jews were thus responsible for the loss of the World War. In ignoring the necessity of maintaining the racial basis of nationality, the old Empire made a fatal error. It had disregarded “the one and only law which makes life possible on this earth”.

It would serve no purpose here to analyze these arguments. In its essence, the race theory presented by Hitler, paraphrased that of the Nordic school preceding him. A new political situation had arisen: with the appearance of Soviet Russia on the international political scene, more point was given to the racialist position. Bolshevism became, in Hitler's eyes, the expression of the Jewish drive for world domination. Therefore, it became a prime necessity for Germans to unite racially for a struggle to the death between the Nordic and Jewish races.

#### RACIALISM IN THE TWENTY-FIVE POINT PROGRAM OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

The program of the National Socialist German Workers' party, composed by Hitler and Gottfried Feder, was adopted unanimously by party leaders in Munich on February, 24, 1920. Of the twenty-five points,<sup>6</sup> for which the leaders of the party pledged their all, “if

<sup>4</sup> Anti-intellectualism is one of the main tenets of Nazi ideology.

<sup>5</sup> Here Hitler introduces a new concept into race theory.

<sup>6</sup> For the complete program and a critical analysis, *vide* my “Hitlerism, the Iron Fist in Germany,” New York, 1933, pp. 123-136.

need be at the risk of our lives", nine were concerned directly with the problem of race. These nine may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Union of all Germans in a Greater Germany.
- 2) None but those of German blood can be citizens, thus excluding Jews.
- 5) All non-citizens to remain in Germany only as guests under special laws.
- 6) Public offices to be filled only by citizens of German blood.
- 7) Non-citizens to be deported, in event any of German blood are unemployed.
- 8) Further immigration of alien elements prohibited.
- 17) Prevention of speculation in land, especially by Jews.
- 18) Battle to death against those injuring the State (Jews).
- 23) Creation of a German-controlled press, free of Jewish influence.

By this program, the principle of race became the basis of National Socialism. A pan-Nordic state was to be formed comprising all of Nordic stock. The German nation, home of the Nordic movement, was to be represented "vigorously" in all foreign countries where Germans resided. In Germany, all Jews and other non-Nordics were to be denied the right of holding responsible offices, the immigration of Jews from the East was to be prohibited, and other foreigners who became burdensome were to be deported. Only the German who was capable of understanding the true meaning of German *Kultur* and the German destiny would have the right to citizenship. Non-Germans would be allowed to live in the Reich as guests only and must remain under laws passed especially for foreigners. The rights of Germans were always to be placed before those of aliens by blood. For the first time, a major political party in Germany based its entire program on race theory.

#### ALFRED ROSENBERG: PHILOSOPHICAL FÜHRER

In keeping with the leadership principle enunciated by Hitler, both before and after the assumption of power by National Socialists, the training of the German mind in racial and religious philosophy was delegated to Alfred Rosenberg. Now director of the Foreign Press Bureau and editor-in-chief of the chain of official newspapers headed by the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Rosenberg has become

a sort of inspector-general of Nazi mental training. Supported by the prestige and power of the totalitarian government, and assured of an obedient audience of many millions, he has had enormous influence in popularizing the racial conception of history and the doctrine of "positive Christianity".

Gifted with a cultivated personality, Rosenberg gave to the crude National Socialist movement a systematic, pseudo-philosophic touch. Exerting great influence upon Hitler, he wrote many of the official tracts on the aims and ideals of National Socialist. He denounced the immorality of the Talmud, the evils of capitalism, the scheming of the Pope ("Rome's Medicine Man"), the internationally degrading influence of Masonry and the disintegrative nature of Bolshevism, and emphasized the superior character and mission of the great Nordic race.

#### "THE MYTH OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY"

The continuity of Nordic racial theory may well be traced through a series of major works from the early nineteenth century to the establishment of the Third Reich, from Fichte's "Addresses to the German Nation", to Müller's "Biography of Words and Home of the Aryas", to Gobineau's "Essay", to Chamberlain's "Foundations", to Hitler's "Mein Kampf", and finally to Rosenberg's "The Myth of the Twentieth Century". Conceived during the war and written during a period of eight years, the book was finally published in 1930.<sup>7</sup> It was immediately successful, being reprinted in editions of tens of thousands and becoming, along with "*Mein Kampf*" a standard work in the Third Reich.

The "Myth" is distinguished by the same type of thorough, precise "scholarship" characteristic of Chamberlain's "Foundations". Although it is claimed to be impersonal and objective by enthusi-

<sup>7</sup> Its German title: "*Mythus des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts.*" The circumstances of its publication are revealing. After finishing the manuscript, Rosenberg submitted it to Hitler for approval, since its anti-Christian ideology might have caused some difficulty for the Nazi régime. The Chancellor kept the manuscript for a full year, returning it at length without having read it, but with the comment that it was well done. Upon publication the book aroused a storm of criticism among churchmen. Rosenberg at once submitted his resignation to Hitler, who wrote across it: "Never, you remain!" (Heiden, *op. cit.*, p. 198.)

astic racialists, the book matches its predecessors in its dogmatic conclusions, its inconsistencies, contradictions and exaggerations. Ernest Boyd has described it as "a wild mumbo-jumbo of bad Nietzscheanism and stale ethnology out of Chamberlain, out of Gobineau, out of Spengler".<sup>8</sup>

Rosenberg's work differed from that of Gobineau and Chamberlain, who were both impassioned Christians. With the "Myth", German Nordicism dropped any further pretense of Christianity and turned back to paganism as a vital force in the life of the Teutonic race. Rosenberg denounced Christianity as a disintegrative Judaistic conception. For him the Christian churches were "a prodigious, conscious and unconscious falsification". He demanded that the Old Testament be abolished once and for all time as a book of religion.<sup>9</sup> He attacked Christianity as a religion of love, mercy and charity, concepts totally unsatisfactory to the German religious movement, which must subordinate the idea of neighborly love to the idea of national honor. For him the crucifix was a gallows, a silly image which had come to be associated with non-Germanic weakness.

Rosenberg charged that the true picture of Christ had been distorted by Jewish fanatics like Matthew, by materialistic rabbis like Paul, by African jurists like Tertullian and by mongrel half-breeds like Augustine. The real Christ, for whom Rosenberg expressed admiration, was an Amorite Nordic, aggressive, courageous, a man of true Nordic character, a revolutionist who inveighed against the Roman and Jewish systems with sword in hand, bringing not peace but war. Furthermore, institutional Christianity had been made unrecognizable by Popes and Jesuits, and the heroic rebellions of

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<sup>8</sup> Ernest Boyd, "Literature Abroad," Saturday Review of Literature, Jan. 6, 1934, p. 396.

<sup>9</sup> "In this way we shall bring to an end the vain effort of the last 1500 years to transform us mentally into Jews . . . an effort to which we owe, among other things, our present Jewish domination." (P. 603.) "In place of the Old Testament cattle-breeders and exploitation of prostitutes we shall have the Nordic sagas and fairy tales, at first simply recounted and later assuming the form of symbols. Not the dream of hatred and murdering Messiahship, but the dream of honour and freedom must be kindled through the Nordic, Germanic sagas." (P. 614.) [References are to the 1934 German edition.]

Luther and Calvin were frustrated by their followers. The Roman Church had succeeded in holding civilization in slavery, remaining to this day the pitiless force working against the Nordic ideal. The menace of Roman Catholicism is even greater than the comparatively weak force of Judaism, since the roots of the former in history have been so tenacious that only a worldwide revolution can free civilization from its clutches. That the Church has always taken into its folds any human being regardless of his racial background was, in Rosenberg's eyes, clear evidence of the fact that it had no understanding whatever of the all-importance of racial purity in the development of civilization.<sup>10</sup>

What can be done to save white (read *Nordic*) civilization from the disruptive influences of Etruscan-Syrio-Judaeo-Asiatic-Catholic dominance? Rosenberg's answer was clear: away with the medicine-man Pope with his voodoo practices, with mongrelized Catholicism, with the Old Testament, with the attempts to transform good Nordic Germans into Jews, with the foundations of historic Christianity (Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinistic), with the decadent morals of the Sermon on the Mount, with the doctrines of sin and salvation and the cross! Substitute in their place the swastika as the "living symbol" of race and blood, the elementary German virtues of honor and freedom, and the warrior virtues of the early German barbarians. The universal spirit of Christianity must be destroyed because it leads to the internationalism of Marx and in its place must be substituted the soul of Nordicism. Liberty, equality and fraternity, those creations of Judaistic-Christian decadence, must be abandoned as idiotic principles designed to enslave the Nordic peoples.

Rosenberg denied vehemently that Christianity had brought

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<sup>10</sup> In February, 1934, by decree of the Holy Office at Rome, Rosenberg's book was placed on the index of forbidden works. The decree read, in part, "The book condemns and utterly rejects all the dogmas of the Catholic Church and the very foundations of the Christian religion. It maintains that a new religion, a German Church, must be set up, and it propounds a principle that (to-day a new mystical faith is arising, a mystical faith in blood, a faith whereby men can believe that blood can best account for the divinest in man, a faith based upon the clearest demonstration that Nordic blood represents the great mystery which supersedes and excels the ancient sacraments." (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 10 Martii, 1934.)

civilization in its wake, holding on the contrary that Christianity owed its enduring virtues to the Germanic character. Therefore, the National Socialist state must put the fiery spirit of the hero in place of the crucifixion. The German race must be purified and the old Nordic values re-established. There must be developed a "positive Christianity".

With this "positive Christianity" (more properly, paganism), the racial movement in Germany took a decidedly different course. Gobineau and Chamberlain had rigidly maintained racial theory within the boundaries of institutional Christianity. Rosenberg, however, divorced the Nordic ideal completely from Christianity and demanded its elimination in favour of Teutonic paganism. In extending the Nordic theory to include the eventual elimination of Christianity, Rosenberg carried to a logical conclusion the assumptions of preceding racial theorists. But in building upon their ground, he followed closely the tenets of race which had become familiar. Thus, human civilization did not originate upon the plateaus of Asia, but in Northern Europe; the Nordic-German race, sweeping down from the North, brought with it the creative force of civilization; the Germanic element brought order out of chaos to India, Persia, Greece, the Roman Empire, France, England and the United States. The spirit of this superior race was personified in the god Wotan, a spirit found only in Nordic men, from Thor to Luther, from Dante, Frederick the Great, Goethe and Bismarck to Hitler. Christianity, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment were not movements of progress, but rather forces for disintegration of the Nordic truth. Where Nordic blood intermingled with inferior stocks, there civilization deteriorated, as witness the "decline of the West", a certain product of "criminal bastardization of race and of denordization".

Because of the intense hold which Christianity, whether in its Catholic or Protestant form, still exerts in Germany, the political campaign led by Rosenberg and others to supersede Christianity has progressed slowly. The co-ordination of Protestant churches, the series of trials for immorality of Catholic priests, the expropriation of church funds and the laws requiring National Socialist edu-

cation for youth, are steps designed deliberately to wipe out institutional Christianity as it has heretofore existed. Almost complete political, social and economic elimination of Jews has been achieved. Now Christian churches feel the lash of Nazi ideology. The "positive Christianity" to be substituted has not yet been adequately defined, but it is obvious that it is designed as a mere transitional stage before complete elimination of Christianity in favor of Nordic paganism.

#### RACE AND SCHOLARSHIP: HANS F. K. GÜNTHER

In the course of our treatment of the Nordic myth in Germany, we have had occasion again and again to refer to the work of Hans F. K. Günther, the present leader of the school of scholarly racialists whose purpose it is to justify racial theory on scientific grounds. Günther and other representatives of this school, particularly Friedrich Lenz and Eugen Fischer, hold, or have held, responsible university positions.<sup>11</sup>

These scholars agree in re-evaluating all historical development from the racial viewpoint. By means of slow, measured and thorough research, they aim to demonstrate the thesis that the great creative force of history has been the Nordic race, while the development of democracy, parliamentarianism and liberalism have been creations of disintegrative, non-Nordic races.

Günther divided the European races into five: the Nordic, Mediterranean, Dinaric, Alpine and East Baltic. The Jewish race is placed outside Europe as "a thing of ferment and disturbance, a wedge driven by Asia into the European structure". All the races, with the exception of the Nordic, are endowed by Günther with low mental and moral characteristics. The task of the Nordic race is clear: there must be an increase of the valuable hereditary tendencies of this creative race: "We wish to keep the thought always before us that, if our race is not to perish, it is a question of not only choosing a Nordic mate, but over and above this, of helping

<sup>11</sup> Every university in present-day Germany has formed a new department devoted to *Rassenlehre* or *Rassentheorie*. The study of race has become an important element in the curriculum of all education institutions.



our race through our marriage to a victorious birth-rate".<sup>12</sup> Youth must strive for an organic philosophy of life springing from the people and the native land, "bound up with the laws of life and opposed to all individualism". It must always seek models for its spiritual guidance in the old Germanic world, "which was an un sullied expression of the Nordic nature".<sup>13</sup>

We have seen that Nietzsche was not sympathetic with racial doctrine,<sup>14</sup> but Günther and the scholars of race persisted in accepting him as a predecessor of the Nordic movement. He found in Nietzsche's "*Also sprach Zarathustra*" the core of Nordic teaching: "O, my brothers, I dedicate and appoint to you a new nobility: ye shall become my shapers and begetters, and sowers of the future."<sup>15</sup>

To Günther the World War was essentially a civil war, comparable to the Peloponnesian War in its racially destructive effects. He offered the Nordic concept to a world on the brink of disaster, because the Nordic ideal, if it took root among the proper nations, would lead to an era of harmony and peace. "The Nordic ideal must widen out into the All-Nordic ideal; and in its objects and nature the anti-Nordic ideal would necessarily be at the same time the ideal of the sacredness of peace among the peoples of Germanic speech."<sup>16</sup> For Günther it was important that the will of the Nordic-minded men span the centuries, put a rigid stop to the bastardization and mongrelization threatening real civilization, and eugenically purge the Nordic ranks of all disintegrative elements. "The Nordic movement in the end seeks to determine the spirit of the age, and more than this spirit, from out of itself. If it did not securely hold this confident hope, there would be no meaning or purpose in any longer thinking the thoughts of Gobineau."<sup>17</sup>

With Günther and the scholars of race, race was thrust from the plane of idealism to a position of extreme practical importance. No longer was race an interesting theory of history; it had now become the foundation upon which the Third Reich rests.

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<sup>12</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>14</sup> *Cf.* pp. 173 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

## THE RASSENLITERATUR

With the advent of Hitler as dictator and the subsequent campaign of racial purification, an enormous literature on racialism began to appear in Germany. Almost every important speech of National Socialist leaders, of Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, Frick, Feder, Hess, Streicher and others down to lesser local leaders, was concerned with the race question, with *Rassenlehre* (race teaching), *Rassenverrat* (race treason), *Verletzung der Rassenehre* (violation of racial honour) and *Rassengefährdung* (endangering of the race). In order to inculcate the doctrine of blood and soil in the people, every conceivable means of propaganda was utilized,—newspapers, scientific and popular journals, radio, schools and universities. *Rassenkunde* and *Rassenforschung* (study of human breeds and races) were made requisite studies for examinations and degrees.

It is impossible to give more than a brief description of this new and enormous literature. One of the standard works is Hermann Gauch's "*Neue Grundlagen der Rassenforschung*". Solemn and recondite in tone, the book gives striking evidence of the level of Nazi science. Gauch re-classified the animal world into Nordic men and lower animals (Jews): "We are thus able to establish the following principle: there exist no physical or psychological characteristics that would justify a differentiation of mankind from the animal world. The only differences that exist are those between Nordic man, on the one hand, and animals, in general, including non-Nordic men, or sub-men (who are a transitional species), on the other hand."<sup>18</sup> According to Professor Wolfgang Kruse of Königsberg University, the true and original meaning of "Aryan" is "superior person". Quoting the Sanskrit *Rigveda*, he found that the Nordic invaders of India called themselves "Aryas" in distinction to the conquered native tribes, for in ancient India "Arya" meant "lord" or "master", and "Aryaka" was "a man to whom honour is due".<sup>19</sup> Walter Gross concluded that racial politics and

<sup>18</sup> P. 79. Gauch was certain that "it has not been proved that non-Nordics cannot mate with apes". For his conclusions on the structures of Nordic and non-Nordic throats, cf. p. 121, footnote 21.

<sup>19</sup> W. Kruse, in *Research and Progress*, quoted by *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 1934.

racial thought are the basis for future world peace, "because racial thought is nothing more than being proud of one's own culture".<sup>20</sup> General Goering affirmed that "true leaders are born from blood and soil and have no need of culture or science . . . The true leader has in himself a much greater science: these are the capacities given by God so that the leader may command his racial brothers. . . ."<sup>21</sup> Those who smile to-day at our racial conscience are those who have long since been excluded from it. Great actions are always born from ardor of feeling and never from cold reason . . . We have perhaps a world mission to perform and they will see that defamed Germany is the greatest of all civilized nations."<sup>22</sup>

The fundamental assumption of Nordic theory—the disintegrative character of the Jewish race, is everywhere stressed in the *Rassenliteratur*. "The Jew means much the same to the white races in a moral sense as plagues, tuberculosis and syphilis mean to humanity in a hygienic sense."<sup>23</sup> "If I were God," observed Dr. Goebbels, "I would select other spokesmen than those who claim the right to speak for him . . . Many intellectuals are trying to help the Jews with the ancient phrase, 'the Jew is also a man.' Yes, he is a man but what sort of man? The flea is also an animal!"<sup>24</sup> The *Judenkenner* urged national racial comrades to remember that the Jew "dishonors your child, your wife, your sister, and your fiancée, murders your parents, steals your property and scorns your morals . . . Do you know that Jewish doctors slowly murder you, Jewish food-stores sell you rotten goods, and Jewish butchers' shops are dirtier than pig-sties."<sup>25</sup> Julius Streicher described the sounds of the Jewish race as "hysterical cries—reminiscent of a cackling hen laying eggs".<sup>26</sup> He urged all Germans to ban obnoxious Jewish dis-

<sup>20</sup> W. Gross, "Der deutsche Rassengedanke und die Welt," *Hochschule und Ausland*, Feb., 1937.

<sup>21</sup> An apology for Hitler's lack of formal education may be read here.

<sup>22</sup> *Paris Temps*, June 27, 1934. On August 23, 1933, Goering decreed that all applicants for the Prussian police force must not only be Aryans, but must look like Aryans. (*Milwaukee Leader*, Aug. 23, 1933.)

<sup>23</sup> *Westfälische Landeszeitung*, May 21, 1934.

<sup>24</sup> *Time*, July 8, 1935.

<sup>25</sup> *London Daily Herald*, July 6, 1935.

<sup>26</sup> *New York World-Telegram*, July 26, 1935.

coveries: Virchow (cellular pathology), Koch (tubercular antitoxin), Wasserman (test for syphilis), Ehrlich (salvarsan), von Behring (serum therapy), and Neisser (gonococcus), on the ground that these scientists were interested only in weakening the Gentile race with their discoveries and remedies.<sup>27</sup>

It is pointless to carry this discussion further. The spectacle of German scholarship, once the standard of the world, degrading itself to this level is not a pretty one. But the effect has been electric. Contemporary Germans think as directed: for them racial problems overshadow any other. With the intensity of a disciplined people they are apparently convinced that they, as Nordics, are superior to all other races.

#### THE CAMPAIGN FOR RACIAL IMPROVEMENT

In "Mein Kampf" Hitler made it clear that it was the task of the State to collect and maintain the most valuable primeval racial elements of Germany, and to lead them upwards, slowly but surely, to a dominating position. In the seven points summarizing the "business of the State", race occupied a prominent place:

1. It must place race in the centre of attention.
2. It must keep the race clean.
3. It must, as a duty, force the practice of birth-control.
4. It must promote sport.
5. It must make the army the last and highest school.
6. It must stress the teaching of racial knowledge in schools.<sup>28</sup>
7. It must awaken patriotism and national pride in its citizens.

The first step in this program was the section of the "Nuremberg Laws" dealing with the "protection of German blood and honor". Two further steps, qualitative and quantitative, were taken in the campaign for racial improvement, first the promulgation of eugenic measures, and second, the encouragement of child-bearing.

The eugenic measures far overshadowed those of other coun-

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<sup>27</sup> *New York Times*, May 12, 1936. *Vide* also the *Stuermer*, July, 1934, no. 27 and all subsequent issues.

<sup>28</sup> "Mein Kampf," *op. cit.*, pp. 446ff.

tries. Any individuals not healthy in mind and body would not be allowed to perpetuate his malady in his children. In a law dated July 14, 1933, discretionary (on occasion, obligatory) sterilization was decreed for individuals afflicted with hereditary diseases.<sup>29</sup> In the nationwide drive to improve the racial breed, the government ordered the population to keep pedigree books, similar to those kept by animal breeders. Under the direction of Baron von Verschuer, *Führer* of the *National Political Clinic for Hereditary and Race Cultivation*, each member was ordered to keep a health book of his family's pedigree. Before any marriage was performed, the local "hereditary doctor" must issue a certificate of hereditary health.<sup>30</sup> In Thuringen, the man or maid about to marry is required to furnish information about the names, professions, length of life, cause of death, physical peculiarities and accomplishments of his or her four grandparents and all their descendants, as well as the husbands and wives of their own descendants.<sup>31</sup> Every German is now required to carry a racial card [*Sippenblatt: Sippe* (kin); *Blatt* (card)], as certification of his Aryan descent after an official investigation.<sup>32</sup>

From the quantitative viewpoint, it was decreed that the survival of German civilization must be promoted by a campaign of increased child-bearing. Although a basic tenet of National Socialist philosophy holds that the German people are a *Volk ohne Raum*, hedged within the small boundaries of a small country greatly overpopulated, Hitler, like Mussolini, demanded an increase

<sup>29</sup> According to official statistics published in February, 1935, a grand total of 180,000 Germans were sterilized since Hitler's accession to power. (*Time*, Feb. 18, 1935.)

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* A legal decree of January, 1936, required bride and bridegroom to answer these questions: "When did the candidate learn to walk and speak? Did he or she suffer from any child illnesses? Has the candidate any non-German blood? What is the color of eyes and hair? What is the circumference of head and chest? What is the general bodily condition, with details of bone construction, muscular development, disposition of fat, body construction, poise and type of race?" (*New York Times*, January 5, 1936.)

<sup>31</sup> *New York Times*, July 31, 1933.

<sup>32</sup> The eugenic measures adopted by the National Socialist government were contrary to the principles of the Catholic Church. Some observers profess to see in the sterilization laws of the Reich one of the most successful and important accomplishments of the régime.

in the birth-rate.<sup>33</sup> Press, radio and schools were utilized to bring to the public the necessity for propagating the Nordic race.<sup>34</sup>

#### THE TRIUMPH OF RACIAL DOCTRINE: THE NUREMBERG LAWS

The racial ideology of "Mein Kampf" and the racial aims of the National Socialist twenty-five point program were brought to practical fruition at the Nuremberg Congress of 1935. Several steps led to the calling of this Congress. Immediately after Hitler's assumption of power, measures were taken against Jews for "racial defilement". A wave of anti-Semitic agitation swept throughout Germany: Jews were attacked on the *Kurfürstendamm* in Berlin, stores owned by Jews were boycotted, and severe individual excesses were committed upon Jews. The radical wing of the National Socialist party called loudly for a legal statement of the government's position on Jews. On September 15, 1935, Hitler, receptive to the idea, placed before the Reichstag a set of laws denying citizenship to Jews, forbidding marriage between Christians and Jews, eliminating Jews from the political, cultural and economic life of Germany, and purging Jewish influence from all German life.

The Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race incorporated Hitler's proposals. Here was the first practical application of racial theory in history. It is obvious that the Nuremberg Laws as a whole followed Chamberlain's racial interpretation of history as a struggle of life and death between Aryans and Semites.<sup>35</sup> Citizenship was granted to all subjects of "German or kindred blood". There is no definition of "kindred bloods". Anyone, however, who possesses one full-blooded Jewish grandparent is classified as belonging to the Jewish race. It is significant that the right to determine whether

<sup>33</sup> In 1931, the German population was roughly 65,000,000 and there were but one million births during the year. The birth-rate had been declining rapidly.

<sup>34</sup> An example of this propaganda is the recommendation for large families by the *Journal of the Department for Population Policy and Cultivation of Race*. It was pointed out here that under the one or two child system many of Germany's most famous sons would never have been born. Bismarck was the fourth of six children, Kant the fourth of nine, Schumann a fifth child, Bach an eighth child and Wagner a seventh. (*New York Times*, Dec. 13, 1933.)

<sup>35</sup> Cf. O. I. Janowsky and M. M. Fagen, "International Aspects of German Racial Policies," New York, 1937, pp. 51, 106-107.

an individual is a Jew or not by race was reserved for the *Führer*.<sup>36</sup> As a whole, the Nuremberg Laws indicate that as long as the National Socialist state remains in existence, Jews must expect complete economic and social extinction in the race-cleansing process considered necessary for the continued existence of the German people.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF PAN-NORDICISM

The purification of Nordic blood is considered as a preliminary step in a campaign designed to include all Germans of Nordic race in a Greater Germany. The pan-Nordic state to be formed is to include, besides 73,000,000 Germans living within the borders of the Reich (including Austria), some 30,000,000 Germans "as good as we are" scattered throughout the world. On the assumption that "like Nordic blood belongs to a common Reich", these 100,000,000 Nordic Germans are to form a powerful racial state which will act as a counter-force to the machine of international bolshevism.

The doctrine of pan-Nordicism has passed well beyond theory. In the Reich there has been fashioned an organization which functions through some 600 groups spread over all countries. Various institutes and associations have been formed throughout Germany for the purpose of keeping alive pan-Nordic agitation. Stuttgart has become the "Headquarters of Germans Domiciled Abroad". Each year an annual congress is held at Stuttgart with the purpose of maintaining close touch with all *Volksgenossen* (racial comrades). In the 1937 Congress, which was attended by 10,000 Germans from all lands, Foreign Minister von Neurath challenged the right of other countries to interfere with Germans living abroad. "We will certainly not permit Germans living abroad to be subjected to special rulings by foreign governments because of their National Socialist faith."<sup>37</sup> It was announced that "cultural attachés", whose duty it would be to diffuse Nazi principles and combat decadent liberal ideas, would be attached to diplomatic

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<sup>36</sup> For example, the actress Pola Negri was declared by Hitler to be Aryan, after foreign newspapers had spoken of her as a Jewess.

<sup>37</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1937.

posts.<sup>38</sup> At this same Congress, Ernest Wilhelm Bohle, British-born head of the Foreign Organization in the Foreign Office, branded as traitors all foreign Germans "who while professing nationalist sympathies at the same time help the opponents of the Third Reich".<sup>39</sup>

It is intended to include in the pan-Nordic state nearly 7,000,000 German-Americans.<sup>40</sup> In "Mein Kampf", Hitler attributed the great material success of North America to the fact that the Germanic racial elements had kept their blood pure. "The man of Germanic race on the continent of America having kept himself pure and unmixed, has risen to be its master; and he will remain master so long as he does not fall into the shame of mixing his blood."<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, the pan-Nordic organization has taken measures to promote Nazi ideals vigorously in the United States. The program of the German-American corps included this statement: "We desire to bring back the Germans in the United States to the racial unity and common faith of all Germans . . . When we have attained this goal we will then organize German-Americans for spiritual regeneration, economic support and political schooling. . . . At the twenty-one summer camps of the German Folk League—an organization founded in 1933 under the name of the Friends of New Germany . . . the racial and national life of the German-American finds free play. . . . Here they re-discover the sense of being rooted in the soil which they have been forced to forego."<sup>42</sup>

Although the pan-Nordic state was founded primarily on an ethnic basis, political considerations have carried weight in its

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<sup>38</sup> Other nations showed dissatisfaction with this principle. In August, 1937, England expelled German "journalists" for espionage.

<sup>39</sup> *Time*, Sept. 6, 1937, p. 17.

<sup>40</sup> The census of 1930 lists 6,873,103 foreign-born white Germans and "native white of foreign or mixed parentage".

<sup>41</sup> "Mein Kampf," *op. cit.*, p. 311.

<sup>42</sup> *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1937. The attempt to extend the Nazi racial *Weltanschauung* to save America from Bolshevism has aroused considerable resentment in the United States. Secretary of State Hull expressed the opinion that naturalized Americans were expected to renounce allegiance to any other country. At the present writing the American press is demanding further Congressional investigation of Nazi activities in the United States. *Bund* camp officials are being tried in various courts on the ground that they have been giving oaths of allegiance to Hitler.



modification. In "Mein Kampf", Hitler classified the Japanese as a sort of minor Nordic people, as "bearers of civilization" (*Kulturträger*), as opposed to the "founders of civilization" (*Kulturbe-gründer*—German Nordics) and "destroyers of civilization" (*Kulturzerstörer*—Semites). Only in its outer form will Japan remain Asiatic; inwardly it will become Nordicized.<sup>43</sup> When the Japanese Ambassador at Berlin protested to the German Government against the attacks by leading party officials on all races other than German, Nazi speakers were ordered to say "Nordic and related races" in order not to offend their brother Nordics, the Japanese.<sup>44</sup> Germany's political *rapprochement* with Japan was sealed by an agreement on Communism, signed at Berlin on November 25, 1936, its purpose being "not to tolerate the Communist Internationale's interference with the internal affairs of nations and animated by a desire to work in common against Communist disruptive influence".<sup>45</sup> The Rome-Berlin political axis is now based upon a common Nordic ground; Nordic theorists (Günther, Chamberlain, Gobineau, Rosenberg) have long held that the "best" Italian blood is Nordic.<sup>46</sup>

It is as yet too early to judge the effects of pan-Nordicism. The movement has made remarkable strides in the few years of its existence. The earlier pan-German movement was predominantly nationalistic in its appeal, since all Germans were urged to maintain their ties with the homeland on the basis of language ("The German Fatherland is there where'er resounds the German tongue"). Pan-Nordicism, on the other hand, has emphasized the

<sup>43</sup> "Mein Kampf," *op. cit.*, p. 318.

<sup>44</sup> This incident is reported by Professor Julius Lips, former head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cologne for eight years until 1933, and now Visiting Professor of Anthropology at Columbia. Professor Lips resigned his position when he was ordered to teach that Plato, Aristotle and Aeschylus received their inspiration from the Great Nordic Soul and that all Nordic art is three-dimensional while all Oriental and Bolshevik art is two-dimensional.

<sup>45</sup> For the full text *vide* the *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1936.

<sup>46</sup> Because of its Aryan background, Persia has received especial tribute from the German state. His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlevi of Persia was received in Berlin by Mayor Sahn on November 28, 1934 at the opening of Persia Street in North Berlin. The Mayor dedicated the street as "a permanent memorial to the German-Persian friendship and to the one thousandth anniversary of the Persian heroic poet, Firdosis, whose poetry showed a remarkable resemblance to the sagas of the Teutons". (*Vide* the *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1934.)

unity of all Germans on the basis of blood and soil. It marks a significant step in the history of racialism. For the first time a nation has attempted to build a world-wide empire on racial lines. Exactly how the millions of Germans scattered through every continent on earth can maintain their racial purity has not yet been adequately explained. Nevertheless, the ideal of Pan-Nordicism is being nurtured obstinately, and nothing, least of all the ridicule of the foreign press, appears to be able to alter what has become a fixed and tenacious ideology.

## PART 4—RACE MYTHS IN FRANCE

### CHAPTER 12

## GALLO-ROMANISM VERSUS TEUTONISM

### THE RACE CONFLICT IN FRANCE

Thus far we have traced in some detail the origin and development of the Aryan myth. The theory of pure races and the thesis of racial superiority were not, however, held only by German scholars. French scholars, publicists and political leaders in the nineteenth century, in much the same way as German and English racialists, began to conceive of the French as the finest example of a dominant race. The roots for this conception go far back, as we shall see, into the history of France. The development in the nineteenth century was similar to that in Germany—through the stages of linguistic paleontology, utilization of the new biology and, finally, application of anthropo-sociology. After the French Revolution, when nationalism in France, as in other countries, began to assume a more and more integral form, a justification for this intensified nationalism was sought in the theory that all Frenchmen were of a dominant race because of the good grace of providence and biological laws.

The racialists in France split into two distinct groups: those who believed that Frenchmen were descended from the Teutonic-Aryan strain and those who held Frenchmen to be Gallo-Roman by race. Between these two groups there developed a bitter struggle that has never been settled decisively. The most important figure in the first group was Count Arthur de Gobineau, whose work we have already discussed.<sup>1</sup> The controversy between the Gobineau-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* chaps. 6 and 7.

Teutonic school and the proponents of Gallo-Roman racial genius reflected accurately the politico-economic rivalry between Frenchmen and Germans, a conflict whose roots extended back into history for a thousand years. The leveling force of the French Revolution deepened this hostility. Historians of both countries began to search for origins of their unique national culture, attempting to show that in each country there was a *national* cultural evolution. German historians assumed that Teutons and Anglo-Saxons were responsible for the development of German and English culture, while French historians created a French race as the bearers of culture. The controversy as to which was dominant by race gathered momentum with the rising nationalism.

#### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GALLO-TEUTONIC CONFLICT

The sources for the Gallo-Teutonic conflict may be traced back to Caesar and Tacitus.<sup>2</sup> The historian Tacitus, an aristocratic Roman Senator, idealized the early Germans as a pure, unmixed race with a distinct national character. He implied that the early Germans were inherently superior to the inhabitants of Roman Gaul. Caesar, conqueror of Gaul, praised the bravery of his Gallic opponents, but at the same time he insisted that they were an inferior race when compared with the Romans.

The invasion of Gaul by the barbarians resulted in a thorough intermixture of Romanized Gauls and Germans by the seventh century, a process that was recognized by Gregory of Tours (538-594 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> From this point to the end of the Middle Ages, it was assumed that the French were Frankish in origin, being traced back, not to Germany, but to ancient Troy. Thus there was created the "Trojan myth". Etienne Pasquier (1529-1615)<sup>4</sup> rejected this concept as fallacious and broached the theory that the Roman masters of the Gauls were conquered by the Franks. With true national

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<sup>2</sup> For an excellent treatment of the origins of the race conflict in France, *vide* J. Barzun's, "The French Race," Columbia University Press, 1932. Of especial value is his section dealing with the political forces that ushered in race theorizing in France from the sixteenth century onward.

<sup>3</sup> Barzun, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-72.

pride, Pasquier found the French race to be composed of the best of both Frankish and Roman races.

By the sixteenth century the controversy as to origins became heated. François Hotman decided that the Frankish conquerors of Gaul were in reality descendants of Gallic tribes which had previously emigrated to the other side of the Rhine.<sup>5</sup> After the Reformation, the jurist Loyseau concluded that the Franks contributed the body of French nobility, while the Gauls furnished serfs and commoners.<sup>6</sup> In the seventeenth century, Mézeray announced that the Celts were the original race out of which Gauls, Romans, Britons and other European races developed.<sup>7</sup> This century saw the crystallization of the conflict between Gallo-Romans and Nordics. Count de Boulainvilliers held the Nordic nobility to be the only legitimate power in France; Jesuit Tournemine defended the Gauls; Leibnitz maintained the supremacy of Nordic governmental genius.<sup>8</sup> In three massive volumes, Abbé Dubos (1675-1742) attempted to show that the Merovingians had adopted, not displaced, Roman culture in Gaul.<sup>9</sup> Montesquieu was able to swing the tide in the other direction, but the idea that the Germans were fathers of the French appeared ridiculous to Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. The controversy raged on, with no prospect of settlement, until by the time of the French Revolution, the race issue was momentarily forgotten.

Three centuries of controversial writing on the subject of the French "race" had resulted in no definite conclusions as to its origin. The subject was destined to arise once more in the nineteenth century. The revival of interest in linguistic systems set a whole group of French scholars in search of the original Celt (Gauls). Attempts were made to label him the most ancient man on earth, the creator and bearer of all culture, and the superman who brought civilization in his wake. Once again the question arose: are Frenchmen descendants of the Teutons or Gauls?

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-94.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-113.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137-166.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167-183.

## GOBINEAU AND THE GALLO-ROMAN—TEUTONIC CONFLICT

The most indefatigable Nordic of all was Gobineau. As uncompromising a proponent of the Germanic cause as the eighteenth century Boulainvilliers, Gobineau maintained dogmatically that the Gallic (or Celtic) population of France was continually subjected to the Germanic element.<sup>10</sup> The thesis of Teutonic conquest by a race of aristocratic Germans over the Gallo-Romans became an underlying theme of the "Essay". In Gobineau's mind it was not important to prove that Frenchmen and Germans were two distinct races; on the contrary, he believed that the Aryan (or Nordic) race developed in France in its most noble form. He denied that Aryan (or Nordic) blood in a pure form existed in Germany, although pan-Germanists differed with the master here. He warned his fellow countrymen that their own blood must remain uncontaminated if France were to endure as a race of conquerors. He dismissed the Celtic myth as a dangerous illusion. In his opinion, the Celtic peoples represented a blend between white and yellow races, with a predominance of the former. Gobineau, in addition to giving a stimulus to the Nordic myth in Germany, became the most ardent and influential proponent of the Teutonists in France.

## FUSTEL DE COULANGES

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, under the impact of a rising nationalism, the theory of Gallo-Roman origin of the French began to be emphasized more and more. A vigorous champion for this viewpoint was Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889). Deeply smitten by the ignominious defeat of French arms in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, Fustel de Coulanges determined to take French history from the somewhat mystical plane on which it rested and inject into it some substantial archaeological and genuinely historical basis. Holding the professorship

<sup>10</sup> Gobineau made clear his belief that where the Germanic element has never penetrated, our special kind of civilization does not exist. "Our civilization has been created by the mingling of the Germanic tribes with the races of the ancient world, the union, that is to say, of preëminently male groups with races and fragments of races clinging to the decayed remnants of ancient ideas." ("Essay," *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 93.)

of Medieval History at the Sorbonne, he worked diligently on the political and social institutions of France. His conclusions provided ample fuel for the Gallo-Roman proponents: the Germanic invasions were not violent and destructive in character; the penetration of the German barbarians into Gaul was a slow process; the Germans wisely submitted to imperial administration; the political institutions of the Merovingians originated to a greater extent in Roman than in German laws; there was no conquest of Gaul by the Germans; the Germanic *folk moot* was not the source of Western liberty and democracy. Fustel elaborated these ideas in a series of dissertations, always attempting to minimize Germanic influences and to show that Gallo-Roman usages were responsible for the institutions of medieval France.

The intensely patriotic work of Fustel stirred other historians into action, most of them following his lead in minimizing the importance of Germanic influences in French history. Fustel's disciple, Camille Jullian, in an eight-volume "History of Gaul", strove to avoid his master's lack of impartiality, but was unsuccessful. The work was a hymn of praise to Gallic institutions. Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville turned to the study of scientific Celtic philology and found more evidence to disprove the Teutonic thesis. Others, especially Edgar Quinet, attacked the mildly pro-Nordic views of Guizot as well as the vociferous pro-Nordicism of Gobineau. In France, as well as in Germany, the problem of racial origins was considered in an enormous literature, suggesting and explaining, comparing languages, etymologies and speech, measuring heads and other physical criteria, and building new systems of racial thought based upon community of blood.

#### FRENCH NATIONALISM AND RACIALISM

It is clear that the re-assertion of French racialism in the nineteenth century was a concomitant of the political nationalism stemming out of the French Revolution. Nationalism appeared as a revolt against the tyranny or inefficiency of contemporary divine-right institutions. Theorists found popular approval for solemn pronouncements that "people speaking the same language and sharing

the same general customs should be politically united as nations".<sup>11</sup> It is significant that this all-pervading force, destined to become the political religion of the twentieth century, originated in revolutionary France. Moreover, it was Napoleon who did much to popularize nationalism in Western Europe. The transformation of France from republic to empire in 1852 was still another example of French influence in its development. Napoleon III, emperor of glory, pacifist at heart, was forced by the name he bore to promote French nationalism. In the face of a rising Germany across the Rhine, he became the spear-head of a movement to exalt nationalism at the expense of Germany. The collapse of his régime in 1871 meant only a temporary lapse in French nationalism.

It became increasingly important to prove that French culture was a precious product of French blood, whatever it might have been. The race theory that evolved went through four distinct stages:

1. Germanic racial elements were relatively unimportant.
2. Teutonic institutions as expressed in the Frankish state had no influence when compared with that of the Gallo-Romans.
3. There was a blending of the genius of both Gallo-Roman and Teutonic races.
4. Foreign influences were rejected altogether in favor of "pure Celtic blood" and superior Celtic institutions.

With the triumph of French nationalism the race issue became embedded in the political division between Frenchmen. Republicans preferred Gallic or Roman origins, while royalists emphasized historical rights of conquest of aristocratic Teutons. The intoxicating force of nationalism endowed the Frenchman with virtues he never possessed. It mattered not that France was the home of the Enlightenment that had produced the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the theory of human equality at birth. The moving necessity was to prove, in any way possible, that Frenchmen were a superior race. By the end of the century, the Celtic myth became

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<sup>11</sup> C. J. H. Hayes, "The War of the Nations," *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1914. Cf. also Hayes, "The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism," New York, 1931; "Essays in Nationalism," New York, 1928; J. H. Rose, 1918. "Nationality in Modern History," 1916; A. Zimmermann, "Nationality and Government."



for some Frenchmen what the Nordic myth was for Germans. Frantic measurement of skulls became a "scientific" pursuit on both sides of the Rhine.

MAURICE BARRÈS

The most vigorous advocate of the Celtic myth and a Frenchman who devoted himself to the task of leading his fellow "Celts" into a kind of oriental ancestor worship was Maurice Barrès (1862-1923). His character moulded in the crucible of ignominious defeat of France by Bismarck's Germany, Barrès endeavored to stimulate *revanche* through the formation of a *Blut und Boden* doctrine similar to that later used by Hitler.

For Barrès the Celtic myth was an evidence of French superiority. He ignored the heterogeneous ethnic composition of France and searched back into French history for an early racial group most typical of France. Eliminating the Ibero-Ligurians, Basques, Phoenicians and Saracens, the later Roman conquerors and the dozen or more Germanic races, he assumed that the early Celts were Frenchmen, and contemporary Frenchmen were therefore Celts. In his violent "*Ennemi des Lois*" (1892), Barrès warned of the necessity of maintaining racial purity: "Develop your instincts to the utmost; give satisfaction to your sensibilities; then must you obtain the perfection of your ego, and therefore you will not attenuate the purity of your race." In "*Un Homme Libre*" (1888), the second novel of his first trilogy of metaphysical fiction, he told of the adventures of a contemplative young man. His hero, Philip, fell in love with his own country, Lorraine. Here Barrès indicated his own peculiar species of soil-worship. In "*Amori et Dolori Sanctum*" (1903), Barrès spoke reverently of his ancestors whose noble blood now coursed in his veins: "We are both the continuation and continuity of our fathers and mothers. It is not enough to say that the dead think and speak in us; the whole line of descendants constitute one single being."

Barrès turned to race and soil worship because he was dissatisfied with the truths of scientific determinism as they appealed to Taine and others. He studied himself and concluded that he as an

individual "represents a moment in the development of a race, an instant in a long culture, a gesture among a thousand gestures, of a force which preceded him and well survives him".<sup>12</sup> Just as Gobineau found in himself the ideal example of the perfect Aryan, so did Barrès look upon himself as the finest flower of the Celtic race. He reserved especial praise for any Frenchman who was "*un homme plein de sa terre et sa race*". To maintain the purity of the Celtic race, it was necessary for all Frenchmen to oppose with iron will the inculcation of socialism or any doctrine aiming at the denationalization of France and the erasing of the barriers of race.<sup>13</sup> Barrès denounced the rationalistic interpretation of racial origins as a spurious doctrine of fools. He warned that a Frenchman must beware of any racially degrading influences and must always "feel within himself all the thousand and one strands of the past and present which make him what he is".<sup>14</sup>

German romanticism had represented the French as an unstable race lacking in political capacity. Barrès repaid the insult in kind. Since the early part of his life, when he had watched the scattered French army straggle homeward through his beloved Lorraine, he had nurtured a deep hatred and contempt for the "barbarians", a perpetual menace to France. To him the Germans were a barbarian race who always desired the annihilation of French language and French ideas. He attacked Germans for suppressing French thoughts in the minds of the children of Metz and Strassburg. "As a living spring may be hidden beneath faggots, she (Germany) attempts to conceal beneath German words a sensibility which for centuries nourished our race, and which the children had received from their fathers."

Barrès conceived of the war as a struggle between German and French racial, as well as spiritual and economic forces.<sup>15</sup> He saw a

<sup>12</sup> Barrès, "*Le Culte de Moi*," 1887.

<sup>13</sup> Here is another indication of racial theory as a reactionary force to the rising socialism.

<sup>14</sup> R. S. Baune, "M. Barrès and the Youth of France," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1914, vol. 164, p. 316.

<sup>15</sup> F. A. Cheydeur, "M. Barrès as a Romanticist," *Modern Language Association of America*, 1921, vol. 41, p. 470.

destructive factor in German Social Democracy, which he believed to be at once German and Jewish, a force which attempted to filter away the traditional French spirit into a thin rationalistic cosmopolitanism, under the plea of progress. He warned that the Celtic race must remain pure in the face of all disintegrating influences, since its mission was close to the spirit of God.

Barrès' cult of the soil was not quite as successful as his concept of national egoism, grown out of his own personal vanity. His glorification of the national soul of France and his warning that Frenchmen must always be prepared to cling to their ancient traditions were remembered by his countrymen because, as ideologies, they were in spirit with the times. In French history, Barrès occupies a place analagous to that of Kipling in England and Treitschke in Germany, but his influence was primarily in the direction of nationalism rather than racialism.

The race issue was kept alive in the twentieth century by various French writers. The poems and plays of Paul Déroulède, similar to those of Barrès, enjoyed unbounded popularity among patriotic Frenchmen. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Charles Maurras was instrumental in founding the society, *L'Action Française*, through which he exhorted his countrymen to maintain the glorious aristocratic traditions of France.<sup>16</sup> Even the Socialist, Jean Jaurès, eloquently proclaimed the great past of the nation, although he did not advocate the Celtic myth. Léon Daudet, influenced by Maurras, adopted the doctrines of neo-royalism and fiery anti-Semitism. The race issue in France to-day is embedded in violently partisan political movements; nowhere is it well-defined. Its emphasis, like racial theory in other countries, is on the superiority of one race.

#### THE FRENCH "RACE"

The conflict on the question of racial origins in France indicates that there is no fool-proof and scientific version of the evolu-

<sup>16</sup> On July 6, 1937, Maurras, at the age of sixty-nine, was released from Santé prison after serving 250 days on charges of provocation to murder Léon Blum. In June, 1938, he was elected to the French Academy, in spite of his savage diatribes against the Republic, which he called "the whore".

tion of the French "race". One thing appears obvious: there is no such thing as a French "race", any more than there is a German, an English, or an American "race".

The genesis of the peoples in France during the early Paleolithic period has not been established, although it is often assumed that they came originally from Africa. In the later Paleolithic period, a group known as Iberians penetrated into what is now France, being followed by Indo-Europeans, forerunners of the later Celts. Starting with 600 B.C., there followed a series of invasions that can be followed with some degree of accuracy. The first penetration was by Greeks from Asia Minor. A century later came the Celts, or Gauls, from beyond the Rhine, who settled throughout Gaul during several centuries. Disunited and apparently incapable of forming a centralized government, these Gauls were overcome by Caesar, who brought to them a highly developed civilization. Gaul and Roman united against the next invaders, the barbarians, who pressed against the borders of Gaul until they finally gave way and permitted Teutonic penetration. Shoved westward by the migrating Huns, the barbarians, in groups of tribes and not as a single unit, finally surged into Gaul in the fifth century B.C. The Visigoths established themselves from the Loire to Andalusia; the Burgundians, originating in Northern Germany, settled along the Rhone; and the Franks, in two groups, Ripuarians and Salians, settled in Northern Gaul. The Huns were expelled from Gaul at Chalons in 451. Eventually the Romans were forced to retreat across the Alps.

Since feudal France was an ethnic hodge-podge, to distinguish between the peoples of France in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries is a well-nigh hopeless task. James Westfall Thompson attempted it, but his division of racial elements of this time calls for more proof than he has given. He believed that under the later Carolingians the basic ethnic element of the French nation was Gallo-Roman; that the population in the Northwest was predominantly German; that the Bretons in the Northwest were "almost pure Celts"; that the region south of the Loire was predominantly Gallo-Roman; and that the Provence and Mediterranean provinces were almost entirely Gallo-Roman.

It is even more difficult to trace the ethnic composition of contemporary France. Broca and Collignon placed broad-headed Alpines (Broca called them Celtic) in the central plateau and parts of the French Alps; a mixed Mediterranean group in the Southwest Basque country; a long-headed Germanic group in Burgundy; a mixed Alpine and Frankish group in the North, as well as tall, fair, long-headed types of Scandinavian origin. Ripley agreed for the most part, placing an Alpine population in central France, which he believed to be "a Mesopotamian axis of fertility"; a Teutonic population in the second fertile axis along the River Rhone; and broad-headed, relatively pure racial types in three geographic, culturally and socially isolated areas—Savoy-East of the Rhone, Auvergne (the *Massif Centrale*) and Brittany (Amorica). Thus, there are, broadly speaking, long-headed populations in the two fertile axes, and broad-headed Alpines in the areas of isolation.<sup>17</sup> Brinton, in a more questionable conclusion, claims that France is three-fifths of Celtic descent, that Frenchmen are descended from the people who, two thousand years ago, was the most important Aryac stock in Central and Western Europe. "To this day the Celtic peoples present the same contrast of physical type that they did to the Romans . . . moderate stature, dark eyes and hair, and brunette complexion . . . the remainder are tall, raw-boned, red-haired, with florid, freckled skins and tawny beards. Their mental traits are quite as conspicuous, turbulent, boastful, alert, courageous, but deficient in caution, persistence and self-control."<sup>18</sup>

France possesses considerable numbers of almost every physical type found in Western Europe. Since the surface of France presents the greatest diversity of soil and fertility, and since the country was open to invasion, its people became among the most heterogeneous on the continent. In this ethnic synthesis no such thing as a pure race could possibly exist.

<sup>17</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, chap. VII.

<sup>18</sup> D. G. Brinton, "Races and Peoples, Lectures on the Science of Ethnography," Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 154-155.

## PART 5—THE ANGLO-SAXON MYTH: RACE AND IMPERIALISM

### CHAPTER 13

#### THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

##### DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL MYSTICISM IN ENGLAND

While the *Myth Teutonicus* in Germany and to a lesser extent Celtomania in France flourished, there developed a similar movement of intensified racialism in England. Here the theory of consanguinity took the form of the Anglo-Saxon legend. Precisely the same politico-economic factors were at work in England as in Germany and France: with the rising industrialism and its concurrent nationalism some justification had to be found for the superiority of the English as a dominant race. With the new imperialism and heightened economic rivalry from the continent, it became a matter of importance to prove the especial fitness of the British people to bring the blessings of civilization to backward peoples. The Anglo-Saxon myth evolved as a method of showing the indubitable superiority of the Germanic races, of which the Anglo-Saxons, of course, were the finest example.

English race theory, like its counterparts on the continent, was a relatively late phenomenon. During the First Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, England had become the most important industrial nation in the world. During the early part of this great economic movement, she was kept busy supplying the needs of her own people and the limited markets of the continent. As far as possible she avoided warfare, being content if her trade were allowed freedom of development. At this time

there was but little feeling of racial solidarity among the English. The ideology of Anglo-Saxondom had not yet come into being.<sup>1</sup>

During the hiatus between the First and Second Industrial Revolutions there occurred the development of romanticist linguistic paleontology in Germany, a movement which found ready sympathy among English scholars. By the time England was ready for further imperialistic expansion, the Anglo-Saxon myth had been fashioned by empire-conscious historians and publicists. As England once again entered upon an era of colonization after the 1850's, she began the mission of bringing civilization to the peoples of Africa and China, although the most important task was to secure markets and raw materials.

The first step in the building of racial consciousness among the English was the discovery of racial affinity with the early Teutons. Previously, Englishmen had found the earliest source of their literature among the fourteenth century Angles and Saxons who had fused ethnically with Franco-Normans. Now it was discovered that Caedmon and the unknown author of *Beowulf* were the first English poets. "To the question 'When does English literature begin?' they answer unhesitatingly that it begins with the first verse sung, the first line written in a Germanic tongue in the country now called England."<sup>2</sup> With this new concept came a thorough re-orientation of British historical writing. English ideals, institutions and laws were hailed as the high point in the development of a dominant Teutonic racial strain. A new and significant meaning was now found in the old Puritanical ideology of Cromwell, that the English race was chosen of God and that it alone expressed the will of God. Not the old Israelites, but English Protestants, were

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<sup>1</sup> It is significant that as late as the 1880's, the Englishman was inclined to look upon his fellow countrymen going to Canada, Australia and South Africa as "colonials", almost foreigners in the estimation of the island population. Though race consciousness was rare among the British until its artificial creation, there was one important exception—the Anglo-Indian. The handful of whites among three hundred million native Indians regarded it as a simple necessity to look upon themselves as a superior race.

<sup>2</sup> Émile Legouis, "A History of English Literature," New York, 1929, p. 4; cited by Barzun ("The French Race", pp. 14-15).

the favored people of God and were destined to bring light and civilization to the unfortunate races of the world.

For a generation before the middle of the nineteenth century the intellectual background for English race theory was prepared. While the markets of Europe were being saturated with British goods, English historians and publicists built up the theory of Anglo-Saxon superiority in preparation for the expansion beyond Europe that was to follow. Soon the builders of Empire, supported by a ready-made ideology, began to corner the world's markets and sources of raw materials. Preaching an aggressive altruism, national honor and the historic demand for expansion, they sent traders, bankers, shippers, administrators, missionaries and explorers into new territories. Unlike the French and Spaniards of an earlier day, they did not seek to acquire backward lands solely through the crusading spirit of Christianity: the dominant theme of British expansion was trade. There was a minimum of flag-waving.

#### BUILDING THE ANGLO-SAXON MYTH

In building the myth of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority four classes of scholars were utilized by imperialists: philologists and linguistic paleontologists, who sought in language the key to racial origins; historians, who found in British history evidence of the development of a high form of Teutonic civilization; publicists, of variable scholarly background, who stimulated the opinion of the man on the streets; and poets, who sang of the glories of empire and quickened the hearts of patriots.

##### *1. Philologists and Linguistic Paleontologists.*

We have already traced the development of linguistic paleontology in Germany.<sup>3</sup> It was an Englishman who first discovered the distant relationship between Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe—Sir William Jones (1746-1784). As a pioneer in Sanskrit learning, he made the language of the ancient Hindus easily accessible to European scholars. It was almost forty years after Jones'

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* pp. 62 ff.



death that Franz Bopp in 1835 established definite proof of the structural affinity between the Sanskrit and European tongues. In 1813, James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848), physician and ethnologist, published his "Researches into the Physical History of Man", in which he sought to show a primitive unity of the human species which since has divided into permanent varieties of races. In his "Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations" (1831), he held that the Celtic languages were allied with the Slavonian, German, Greek and Latin, thus forming a fourth European branch, later called the Indo-European, or Aryan. Prichard's work stimulated research in Eastern tongues by many scholars, notably Horace Hayman Wilson, Sanskritist; John Muir, who wrote on the origins of caste, racial and linguistic affinities of the Hindus; Archibald Henry Sayce, Orientalist, who worked in the field of comparative philology; A. H. Keane, Irish anthropologist and ethnologist; and Peter Giles, philologist.

These English scholars did not consciously search for evidence to prove the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. They were capable and serious students interested solely in finding the sources for languages. Nevertheless, in England, as well as on the continent, attempts were made by others to link language with race. While scholars on the continent sought for the original Aryan, Sayce and other Englishmen ["All things considered, it (the Aryan thesis) seems probable enough" (Keane)] likewise sought for an affinity between language and race. The groundwork for the thesis of Anglo-Saxon superiority was built by such scholars.

## 2. *Historians.*

Of great significance in the development of the Anglo-Saxon myth was a group of historians who sought for a solution to the problems of history by emphasizing the relations between race and history. British historians, like their colleagues on the continent, seemed to have a duty to perform: they had to prove that their own people, as a strong and distinguished race, was destined for politico-military dominance of the world.

Before discussing the work of the professional scholars, let us

consider for a moment the effective popularizations of an amateur historian, Charles Kingsley (1819-1875). In an extraordinarily successful novel, "Westward Ho!", Kingsley popularized the history of England. Here was exhibited a wholehearted patriotism and a love of all things British in the well-told story of the stout-hearted Devonshire people of Elizabethan England. In another best-seller, "Roman and Teuton", Kingsley contrasted the Romans of the dying Empire with the "young and virile Teutonic forest children", intimating that the Germans had given Britain her most potent racial stimulus. He was inordinately proud of his English birth: "I am a Westcountryman born and bred."<sup>4</sup> In the established Church of England he saw a higher form of civilization, as opposed to Roman Catholicism, for whose tenets he had but little sympathy. "Hold fast by English fortitude!" he warned his countrymen.<sup>5</sup>

The dominant theme in the writings of the professional historians was that the most powerful political institutions of Britain were attributable to the primitive German *folk moot*. This idea seems to have originated with a French officer, Paul de Rapin-Thoyras (1661-1725) who, disappointed with his native land and stranded in England, wrote a history of England showing how the theory of political liberty had been inherited from the Anglo-Saxons. English historians grasped this theory warmly. In 1849, J. M. Kemble, in his "Saxons in England", linked Anglo-Saxons and Teutons by race. Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892), Professor of History at Oxford and author of the famed "History of the Norman Conquest" (1867-1876), showed a distinct preference for German methods of research and accepted wholeheartedly the German contention that the Anglo-Saxons were a gifted Teutonic people who gave England her free institutions.<sup>6</sup> So earnestly did Freeman praise Teutonic elements in English and American history that he was dubbed by critics the "prince of Teutonists". Writing with

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Stubbs, "Charles Kingsley," New York, 1899, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> The thesis that the German *folk moot* was the source of Western ideals of liberty was attacked as false by Fustel de Coulanges (Cf. pp. 202 ff.) The idea has persisted, however, being extended still further by tracing early American local governments, particularly the New England town meetings, to the *folk moot* of primitive Germany.

monosyllabic ruggedness about the "masterful English folk", he attempted to show the continuity of a great racial strain, adding fuel, perhaps unconsciously, to the myth of Teutonic racial supremacy.

William Stubbs, Frederick W. Maitland and John Richard Green were influenced by the same idea. In his monumental work, "The History of England, From the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada" (1856-1870), James Anthony Froude gave a fascinating picture of the middle Tudor period, with a brilliant description of England's triumphs over Spain and Catholicism. In prose glittering with paradox, which won the unstinted admiration of Freeman, Froude glorified the heroic history of mighty England, leaving the impression that a most superior people had achieved deserved victories. Thomas Babington Macaulay ["History of the Glorious Revolution of 1688" (1848-1855)] and John Richard Green ["Short History of the English People" (1874)] likewise bolstered the conception of Englishmen as a great, noble conquering race descended from the vigorous Teutons.

The rising consciousness of British national and racial feeling was best expressed by a lonely genius, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), whose linking of British and Teutonic institutions made a strong impression upon the English public. Carlyle's hero worship and glorification of the rule of the strong, expressed in a long series of essays, biographies and histories, reflected his warm love for Germanic idealist philosophy, Germanic moral intuition and German political institutions. In almost all his socio-political writings from those on Chartism (1839) on, Carlyle emphasized the mission of the great Anglo-Saxon "race" to take over control of the backward regions of the earth. "Our little Isle is grown too narrow for us," he complained, "but the world is wide enough yet for another Six Thousand Years. . . . Our friends in China, who guiltily refuse to trade . . . had we not to argue with them, in cannon shot at last, and convince them that they ought to trade."<sup>7</sup>

For Carlyle this healthy desire to penetrate into all quarters of the globe and spread the seeds of Anglo-Saxon greatness was a natu-

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Carlyle, "Past and Present," New York, 1918, pp. 308-309.

ral extension of the vigorous methods of early Teutons, blood ancestors of virile British traders. He saw a close bond between Teuton and Englishman: "Just as Mycale was the Pan-Ionian, rendezvous of all the tribes of Ion for all Greece, so must London long continue as the All-Saxon-Home, rendezvous of all the "Children of the Harz Rock.'" <sup>8</sup> There was a glorious future for the descendants of the great Teutons, for the Anglo-Saxons who "by Heaven's blessing" shall:

"Keep not briskly standing and rooted,  
Briskly venture, briskly roam;  
Head and hand, where'er thou foot it,  
And stout hearts are still at home.

In what land, the sun does visit  
Brisk are we, whate'er betide:  
To give space, for wandering is it  
That the world was made so wide." <sup>9</sup>

It was a great moral duty for England, Carlyle warned, as well as a matter of ethical importance for civilization in general, that colonies be secured and the blessing of Anglo-Saxon civilization be brought to backward races. The great past of mighty England meant that she was destined to rule the world.

In keeping with the great man theory of history and his belief in the aristocracy of race, Carlyle was strongly opposed to democracy and widespread education. He warned that the mechanism of the ballot-box was dangerous and demanded that government be given to the wise, to "the seeing eye". He condemned Negroes as an inferior race, expressing what was actually a widespread feeling among Englishmen.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>9</sup> From Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," quoted by Carlyle, *ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>10</sup> Edwin Mims, who wrote the introduction to Carlyle's "Past and Present," defended Carlyle against critics of his views on Negroes. "His (Carlyle's) views upon the slavery question, which gave such offense to American critics, do not impress one so unfavorably when he knows the mistakes of reconstruction and the chaotic condition from which the Negro race is scarcely now recovering as the result of mistaken philanthropy and bad political judgment." (Introduction, p. VI.)

### 3. *Publicists.*

The third group of publicists responsible for the moulding of the Anglo-Saxon myth was composed of publicists utilized by the builders of Empire to further the manifest destiny of imperial Britain. There is no evidence to show that such ingenious publicists as Charles Wentworth Dilke and John Robert Seeley were assigned the task of promoting popular support for the revived policy of imperialistic expansion, but it is clear that their work was more than welcome to nationalists and imperialists as a means of preparing public opinion for the great ventures abroad. Whereas the work of the scholars seeped slowly and somewhat painfully down to the masses, the publicists and poets who sang the glories of Empire quickly touched the heartstrings of the public. Through a kind of osmotic process, the works of scholars and the journalese of publicists mixed, caught the popular fancy, and assured the builders of Great Britain a solid mass support.

In the early eighties, there arose in England a widespread dissatisfaction with Gladstonian liberalism because of its emphasis upon purely domestic politics and its inglorious foreign policy. Conservatives loudly complained that England had stood aside while Germany and Italy had become great powers. Great Britain would disintegrate unless she began anew a vigorous policy of expansion. The public was told that it was vitally necessary that the nation play a part in international affairs commensurate with her economic position. Disraeli, Conservative Prime Minister, was elected in 1874. A brilliant exponent of "the higher patriotism", he instituted an imperialistic policy that was carried on by his successors, Joseph Chamberlain, Arthur James Balfour and others.

The Conservatives were quite willing to utilize any form of propaganda that would stir the masses from their apathy. Outstanding among the publicists who awakened British racial consciousness was a young nobleman, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke (1843-1911). Educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he made a voyage around the world at the age of twenty-three. First visiting the United States and then New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, India and Egypt, he recorded impressions of his travels in a book "Greater

Britain" (1866-1867), an enthusiastic tribute to the great Anglo-Saxon race which was destined to conquer the world. The result of his travels left him, he recorded, "with a conception, however imperfect, of the grandeur of our race, already girdling the world, which it is destined, perhaps, to overspread". In a style bristling with exultant patriotism, he told of the British colonies, their landscapes, governments and political problems. He discovered that the British were the only "extirpating race", a dominant race which must inevitably displace the backward colored peoples.

In the United States, Dilke saw the triumph of English ideas and of the British race. "The true moral of America," he wrote, "is the vigor of the English race." Here, in the new world, the peoples of Europe were being fused together, but they were being run in an English mould. Whether Americans liked it or not, Alfred's laws and Chaucer's tongue were of necessity theirs. "There are men who say that Britain in her age will claim the glory of having planted greater Englands across the seas. They fail to see that she has done more than found plantations of her own—that she has imposed her institutions upon the offshoots of Germany, of Ireland, of Scandinavia, and of Spain. Through America, England is speaking to the world."<sup>11</sup>

Sixteen years after the appearance of Dilke's "Greater Britain", Sir John Robert Seeley (1834-1895) published his "Expansion of England". Here again was a forceful presentation of the idea of British racial supremacy. Seeley's interpretation was considerably more mature in concept, but it was motivated by the same passionate nationalism and exalted patriotism. The publicist showed how and why Great Britain had gained her colonies and India, the character of the great Empire, and the light in which it should be regarded by all Englishmen. The Empire was described as the embodiment of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority. In stirring prose the English race was called to action to maintain its rich heritage.

#### 4. Poets: Rudyard Kipling

Undoubtedly the most important literary figure in the fashioning

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<sup>11</sup> *Vide* the preface of Dilke's "Greater Britain," 2 vols., London, 1866-1867.

of the Anglo-Saxon myth was Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), who stood at the head of a group of patriotic poets. It was Kipling who led his countrymen to appreciate the strength of the ties that bound them together. A master in the art of displaying the virtues of Englishmen for the benefit of Englishmen and others and the most brilliant exponent of the growing national ideal, he kindled the flame of patriotism in his countrymen by exhorting them in poetry and prose to become aware of their increasingly dominant rôle in modern civilization. "He (Kipling) strikes chords within us, to which we are capable of vibrating sympathetically, though but for his touch our capacity would have remained unknown to us."<sup>12</sup> Satisfying the innermost desires of Englishmen for racial superiority, he awakened in them a consciousness of worldwide dominance. He eulogized the continuity of British history, its great past and its brilliant future, the great achievements of the ancestors of modern Englishmen and the superior characteristics of British colonizers. He warned that inherited racial instincts must not be quenched by the artificiality of modern civilization, and urged his countrymen to maintain the virility of their race.

Kipling gave evidence before he was twenty-four that he was a supreme story-teller. A master of descriptive and verbal technicalities, a vigorous and impressive writer, he captivated a public already ripe for the sentimentality of Anglo-Saxon mythology. He urged his countrymen to avoid the sheltered life of "little Englandism" and to extend the race to the far quarters of the globe. He described the ideal Englishman as a champion of law and order, of self-restraint and coöperation, of discipline, duty and courage, as a racially superior human being whose mission on earth was well-defined. The little street-bred people of England were captivated by his romantic tales of danger and far places, of South Africa, Sudan and Mandalay. Englishmen, he cautioned, must throw aside the tight bonds of localism and venture forth into a world waiting to be conquered by a superior race. "What should they know of England who only England knows?" He glorified British solidarity

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<sup>12</sup> *Vide*, R. Marshall, "Rudyard Kipling and Racial Instinct," *Century Illustrated Monthly*, July, 1899, vol. 58, pp. 375-377.

in "The Native Born", holding that even those who are born in new English nations can drink to the Queen and the homeland:

"They change their skies above them,  
But not their hearts that roam!  
We learned from our wistful mothers  
To call Old England home."

Kipling heartily favored the development of a vigorous imperialism. His conception of the "white man's burden" was based upon an arbitrary interpretation of Darwinism: the processes of nature in the past have perfected by the inevitable contest for the survival of the fittest a great race of men—the Anglo-Saxons, whose duty it is to bring the benefits of a higher culture to backward races. It was necessary that civilizations contend with civilizations so that "the more efficient, the more skillful, the more resourceful" would inherit the earth. This healthy urge must be guided and not thwarted and it could not be suppressed without great danger for the future of mankind:

"Take up the White Man's Burden,  
Send forth the best ye breed,  
Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captive's need;  
To wait in heavy harness,  
On fluttered fold and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half-devil and half-child."<sup>13</sup>

In the sentence "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet", Kipling epitomized the growing feeling of racial superiority of the white man and particularly the white Englishman. In "The Light That Failed" he pictured the inevitable degradation of the man of white race who forgot his heritage and consorted with natives. He almost invariably showed the natives of India in his stories and poems as a racially inferior folk. He criticized the Bengalee as a coward because the latter was a lover of peace. Even if racial differences could be surmounted, and Kipling was quite

<sup>13</sup> R. Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," 1899.



certain that inbred biological character was permanent, native races could never attain the high standard of Englishmen. The saga of the Anglo-Saxon and his world mission was to Kipling "the greatest song of all". "The English," he exclaimed, "ah! the English—they are quite a race apart!"<sup>14</sup> "Truly," he informed his countrymen, "ye come of The Blood!"<sup>15</sup> And again: "Fair is our lot—O goodly is our heritage."<sup>16</sup>

Indian intellectuals denounced Kipling's work as "abounding in ignorant superstition and cheap philosophy". But the people of England were delighted with the siren song of Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy. Kipling attained an enormous popularity with the English public, to whom he presented the imperial idea in most attractive form, making every British citizen in the islands, no matter what his place in life, aware of his importance in the *mission civilisatrice* of the Anglo-Saxon race. Until Kipling's vigorous and pulse-stirring rhymes appeared, the idea of Empire was still somewhat vague and undefined. The British public was fascinated by his stories of manly buccaneers and swashbuckling British tommies surging through the lands of the inferior races. Here was energy personified—English energy, expressed in what Chevrillon called "Anglo-Saxon vocabulary"—short, colorful, ugly words. Even intelligent Englishmen were impressed: "Let us softly repeat to ourselves Mr. Kipling's alliterative lines, until a holy calm steals over us, and acts as a kind of natural sedative after our noble but nerve-upsetting mission of land-grabbing and money-spinning."<sup>17</sup>

#### PRACTICAL PROPONENTS

So much for the intellectual predecessors of the Anglo-Saxon myth. Let us now turn our attention to the leaders of British im-

<sup>14</sup> From "Puzzler".

<sup>15</sup> From "England's Answer".

<sup>16</sup> From "A Song of the English".

<sup>17</sup> Cf. C. D. Plater, "The Cult of Kipling," *The Month*, January, 1900. Kipling was often accused of vulgarization of the spirit of Empire, but such attacks made but little impression on the public, to whom Kipling became as much a symbol of Anglo-Saxondom as London fog. Kipling long remained the poet of the masses. (Vide the exchange of letters on "Rudyard Kiplingism" in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Jan., Feb., and Mar., 1900.) His work was much more effective than the chauvinistic writings of such nationalists as Cramb, Lea and Maxse.

perialism. In the forty years from 1846 to 1886, the Liberal party was in power for thirty as opposed to ten years of Conservative rule. In Disraeli's Conservative Ministry (1874-1880), the Liberal do-nothing foreign policy gave way to imperialism, nationalism, patriotism and jingoism. Industrial and financial capitalism prompted a scramble for trade and investment, and the British Empire grew by leaps and bounds. Even British Liberals succumbed to the intoxicating call of Empire.

In this environment, the attitude of British imperial leaders was dictated solely by expediency. Disraeli, Joseph Chamberlain, Salisbury, Roseberry, Curzon, Balfour and other imperialists endorsed the Anglo-Saxon myth as a *sine qua non* for imperial development. Their conception of the nature of the British race was vague. It is doubtful if any of them conceived of the British race as a pure and uncontaminated strain projecting straight from the early Teutonic breeds, but they did use the term freely and, on occasion, carelessly. Perhaps the best expression of what the term "Anglo-Saxon" meant came from Lord Roseberry, whose use of it was challenged by another lecturer before the Imperialist Institute in 1898. Roseberry admitted frankly that the term was not a scientific description of the British race. But note the casuistic and subtle justification:

"I do not plead for the word Anglo-Saxon. I would welcome any other term than Anglo-Saxon which in a more conciliatory, a more scientific, and more adequate manner would describe the thing I want to describe. But whether you call it British or Anglo-Saxon, or whatever you call it, the fact is that the race is there and the sympathy of the race is there. How you arrive at that sympathy, whether it be purely by language, or as, perhaps, I think more truly, by the moral, intellectual and political influences under which a nationality has grown up—how you arrive at that sympathy, it is foreign to my purpose to discuss to-day. But this at least we may say, that when a nation has inhabited certain boundaries without disturbances, for a considerable number of centuries, even though it has received accessions from foreign nations, and when it has fused these accessions from foreign nations into its own nationality, and made them accept the name and language and laws and the facts of that nationality, it seems to me for all practical purposes you have a nation and a race."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> From an address entitled "The English-Speaking Brotherhood", delivered before the Imperial Institute, 1898.

This utterly fallacious linking of nation and race<sup>19</sup> was not unique as an expression of British imperialists. Even the ethnically bizarre Disraeli used the term race with abandon: "For my part I do believe that . . . England is safe in the race of men who inhabit her."<sup>20</sup> For this dominant Anglo-Saxon race he predicted a glorious future.<sup>21</sup> Joseph Chamberlain often talked of the destiny of the British race. Lord Curzon used the term loosely: "It is because I believe in the future of this country and the capacity of our own race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward".<sup>22</sup> Arthur James Balfour was more accurate, but still proudly Anglo-Saxon. Before an audience of Scotsmen he recalled his own Scotch ancestry: "Although different streams have met together to make our kingdom and our Empire, none of them need feel that that difference destroys the unity of the stream which has resulted from their coalescence. I absolutely refuse to allow any man, be he English or be he Scottish, to rob me of my share in Magna Carta and Shakespeare because of Bannockburn and Flodden."<sup>23</sup>

Here in the minds of men who guided the destiny of Britain was a confused but nevertheless effective conception of the English as a conquering, imperial race. The Anglo-Saxon race, whatever it was, had displayed its mettle all over the world. It had brought

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. pp. 5 ff.

<sup>20</sup> E. T. Raymond, "Disraeli, Alien Patriot," New York, 1925, p. 244.

<sup>21</sup> According to Dr. Oscar Levy, editor of the authorized version of Nietzsche's works and writer of introductions to Gobineau's works, Disraeli was ideologically closely related to Gobineau in his rejection of Buckle, Darwin and their science, in his praise of race and aristocracy and in his prophecy of evil. (*Vide* Gobineau's "Essay", *op. cit.*, p. VIII.) Lord Redesdale, who wrote the introduction to the 1912 edition of Chamberlain's "Foundations", had a similar impression. He described how he called upon a distinguished Jewish gentleman who had just left Disraeli. "What did you talk about?" I asked at haphazard. 'Oh,' said my host, 'the usual thing—the Race.' No one was more deeply penetrated with the idea of the whole purity of 'the Race' than Lord Beaconsfield. No one believed more fully in the influence of the Jew working alongside the Indo-European. With what conviction does he insist upon this in 'Coningsby'." (*Vide* p. XXXIV of the introduction to the "Foundations".)

<sup>22</sup> The Earl of Ronaldshay, "The Life of Lord Curzon," 2 vols., London, 1928, p. 418 (from a speech delivered by Lord Curzon at a banquet of the Chamber of Commerce, Feb. 12, 1903).

<sup>23</sup> B. E. C. Dugdale, "Arthur James Balfour," 2 vols., New York, 1937, vol. 2, p. 287.

commerce to the backward races. It had inoculated the universe with British ideas and British institutions. Soldiers of British race, whatever it was, were braver, British sailors hardier, British naval and military captains more skillful, British statesmen wiser than those of other races. Whether the Anglo-Saxon race was pure or not made comparatively little difference: it was surely a great race created by providence to perform its civilizing mission on earth. It was this spirit that enabled Cecil Rhodes to acquire South Africa for "the British race",<sup>24</sup> and it was this self-same spirit which bolstered the pride of old gentlemen with side whiskers on Threadneedle Street and young limeys of the British fleet.

#### THE BRITISH "RACE"

There is no British "race". England, like other nations, is composed of an involved intermixture of ethnic strains. Here again it is an extraordinarily difficult task to trace the ethnic physiognomy of the English people. Because of their tall stature, their dolichocephaly and their fair hair, the English have sometimes been classed as a Nordic group, but it is apparent that perfect ethnic harmony exists nowhere in the United Kingdom. Crossbreeding of Scandinavians, Angles, Saxons, Picts, Normans and other peoples has led to an ethnic complex which is impossible to decipher. Despite their island isolation, the English do not represent a pure race. England, like all Europe, has never recovered from the general hybridization of the *Völkerwanderung*.

In a noteworthy paragraph, Karl Pearson effectively demolished the notion of a pure-blooded Englishman:

"We are accustomed to speak of a typical Englishman. For example, Charles Darwin; we think of his mind as a typical English mind, working in a typical English manner, yet when we come to study his pedigree we seek in vain for 'purity of race'. He is descended in four different lines from Irish kinglets; he is descended in as many lines from Scottish and Pictish kings. He has Manx blood. He claims descent from at least three lines from Alfred the Great, and so links up with Anglo-Saxon blood, but he links up also in several lines with Charlemagne and the Carolingians. He sprang

<sup>24</sup> *Vide* Lady Lugard, "Cecil John Rhodes," *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

also from the Saxon Emperors of Germany, as well as from Barbarossa and the Hohenstaufens. He had Norwegian blood and much Norman blood. He had descent from the Duke of Bavaria, of Saxony, of Flanders, the Prince of Savoy, and the Kings of Italy. He had the blood in his veins of Franks, Alamans, Merovingians, Burgundians, and Langobards. He sprang in direct descent from the Hun rulers of Hungary and the Greek Emperors of Constantinople. If I recollect rightly, Ivan the Terrible provides a Russian link. There is probably not one of the races of Europe concerned in folk-wanderings which has not had a share in the ancestry of Charles Darwin. If it has been possible in the case of one Englishman of this kind to show in a considerable number of lines how impure is his race, how can we venture to assert that if the like knowledge were possible of attainment, we could expect greater purity of blood in any of his countrymen?"<sup>25</sup>

Nothing further need be said about a "pure" British race.

Some British writers, recognizing that the English are obviously a mixture of ethnic groups, have decided that the greatness of the empire is due precisely to this *mixture* of races, out of which has evolved a new British race. Sir Philip Gibbs, for example, found that "something in this mixed blood, some quality of law-making, and command, and leadership, and courage which never failed, gave to English kings and queens, the greatest empire on earth".<sup>26</sup> The ghosts of Britons, Saxons, Danes and Normans, whose blood mingled to make the British folk,—merchants, farmers, settlers, traders and administrators, these form the cavalcade of spirits who were the pioneers of empire. Thus, there emerged a new, confused and never adequately defined concept of "a dominant British race".

<sup>25</sup> K. Pearson, "The Problems of Anthropology," *Scientific Monthly*, Nov., 1920, p. 455.

<sup>26</sup> Sir Philip Gibbs, "Britain's Pageant of a Mighty Empire," *New York Times Magazine*, May 9, 1937.

## *PART 6—THE EXTENSION OF RACIAL THEORIES*

### CHAPTER 14

## **RACIALISM INVADES THE UNITED STATES**

### RACE CRAFT IN THE UNITED STATES

The Declaration of Independence of the United States contains a significant sentence:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

A dominant principle of the Age of Enlightenment was thus recognized in the formation of the new state. After the Civil War, Amendment 15 was proposed by the Fortieth Congress to the legislatures of the several states and ratified on March 30, 1870:

“The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

Equal rights were thereby granted to white and colored citizens of the United States.

In the light of these clearly expressed principles, it would seem that race theory, with its emphasis upon the inequalities of races and the aristocracy of certain races would find no place in the comparatively new nation. Here was a nation in process of formation, accepting varied groups of ethnic stocks in a melting pot and fashioning a great and vigorous state in the new world. But race has developed into one of the most powerful forces in modern civilization and the roots of racial theory have taken a strong hold even in

the United States. Racial prejudice against the Negro is still strong in the South, where Amendment 15 to the Constitution, mentioned above, is sometimes indirectly violated and where sporadic lynchings still take place. Exclusion of Orientals indicates racial fears of Western states. Selective immigration with restrictions upon certain inferior European races is a *de facto* recognition of a fundamental tenet of racial theory.

The creation of the Anglo-Saxon myth and its concomitant white man's burden had repercussions in the United States, where the statistical race ecstasy invaded in full force. The Nordic ideal was presented here as "a prophylactic against an immediate danger to mankind". Alarmists spread the fear of racial degeneration and warned Americans that their high form of civilization was doomed to destruction unless the American "race" be kept uncontaminated. As in England, a psychic and ethical compensation for the civilizing mission of the great Nordic race was fashioned in the United States. The desire for national expansion, initiated by England and soon embraced by France, Germany, Russia and Italy, likewise became typical of the United States. Before the close of the nineteenth century, the United States had exhausted the possibilities of its great frontier and looked to Spanish-American lands for new areas of exploitation. This "manifest destiny" was merely a symptom of the times. In this rampant imperialism, the race factor, as we have seen, assumed an extraordinary importance.

It was obviously difficult to apply the concept of an American "race" in the drive for imperialistic hegemony. The diverse ethnic groups forming the American nation, the "melting pot", had combined in a mixture which by no stretch of the imagination could be called a pure Nordic race. In the geographical, social and economic environment of the new world, a people had been formed which had become progressively unlike the English mother-land, but which developed as a homogeneous and united political whole. The embryonic nation withstood well the danger of disintegration threatened by the Civil War. Once the frontiers had been conquered and the population had reached a comfortable size, however, the bars against immigration were set up. In the rapid indus-

trialization and its consequent imperialism, aided materially by the abundant natural resources of the country, it was comparatively simple to utilize the British-born concept of the "white man's burden".

Race theory in the United States went through three distinct stages. Its spiritual background was laid by a group of historians who found it expedient to emphasize the Teutonic and English background of American racial, constitutional and institutional history. Later, race theorists called attention to the affinity of the Anglo-Saxon races (abruptly terminated by the World War) and sought for scientific affirmation of the Nordic thesis as a basis for political development. Finally, there developed the doctrine of the struggle for power between the white (including the American) races and the colored races, an ideology which may be expected to gather momentum in the future, considering the politico-economic awakening of the Asiatic nations.

#### THE HISTORIANS

In its first stage, American racialism reflected similar concepts of English race theory. As early as 1848, an Englishman, John Mitchell Kemble, had stressed the Teutonic character of English institutions in his studies of the mark, folkland, bocland, social classes, the king, witan, officials and clergy. In the United States of the 1880's and 1890's, the theme of much historical writing was this same unity of political development, not only of Teutonic and British institutions, but of English and American. Herbert Baxter Adams, for example, emphasized the Germanic origins of New England towns, as well as the continuity of English institutions in America. John W. Burgess traced the political history of all civilized peoples and came to the conclusion that of all peoples who had learned Darwin's lesson of the survival of the fittest, the Teutonic was the only existing one of superior stock.<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Saxon race was, of course, closely related biologically to this superior Germanic stock. This dominant race was the leader in the establishment and administra-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John W. Burgess, "Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law," Boston, 1890, *passim*.



tion of state forms. Imperialism, he contended, was a laudable movement since it simply reflected a human desire to extend the civilizing force to barbarian races. It was necessary to hold in check and subjugate the barbarian races, and even those which were not barbaric must also award sovereignty to Teutonic might, as reflected in American-Teutonic institutions. In his "Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866-1876", Burgess, in examining the means used to reconstruct the defeated States, held that the South should have been placed under a temporary territorial civil government "until the white race in those districts should have sufficiently recovered from its temporary disloyalty to the Union".<sup>2</sup> He insisted that there was "a vast difference in political capacity between races" and that it was "the white man's mission, his duty and his right, to hold the reins of political power in his own hands for the civilization of the world and the welfare of mankind".<sup>3</sup>

One of the ablest historians of the nationalist school of American historians was curiously careless in the use of ethnic data. In an article entitled "Manifest Destiny", John Fiske held that the day would come "when four-fifths of the human race will trace its pedigree to English forefathers, as four-fifths of the white people of the United States trace their pedigree to-day".<sup>4</sup> Fiske was certain that the Anglo-Saxons had originated the political institution of Federalism, "the fittest of all political institutions", which, some day, would be accepted throughout the world.<sup>5</sup>

For some thirty years, Fiske prepared his "Discovery of America", which in completed form was an enthusiastic survey of the opening of "that strange world of savagery and barbarism to which civilized Europeans were for the first time introduced in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries". Anxious to shed some light on the Aryan question, he showed in the preface of this

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Michael Kraus, "A History of American History," New York, 1937, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> John Fiske, "Manifest Destiny," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, March, 1885, p. 588.

<sup>5</sup> In 1901, Fiske was asked to be the American representative at the millennial celebration in King Alfred's honor. His topic was "The Beginnings of Federalism in New England, as related to the Expansion of Alfred's World". (*Vide Kraus, op. cit., p. 378.*)

book how the study of prehistoric Europe and of early Aryan institutions led him by a natural sequence to the study of aboriginal America:

"In 1869, after sketching the plan of a book on our Aryan forefathers, I was turned aside for five years by writing 'Cosmic Philosophy'. During that interval I also wrote 'Myths and Myths-Makers' as a side-work to the projected book on the Aryans, and as soon as the excursion into the field of general philosophy was ended, in 1874, the work on that book was resumed. Fortunately, it was not then carried to completion, for it would have been sadly antiquated by this time. The revolution in theory concerning the Aryans has been so remarkable as the revolution in chemical theory which some years ago introduced the New Chemistry. It is becoming eminently probable that the centre of diffusion of Aryan speech was much nearer to Lithuania than any part of Central Asia, and it has for some time been quite clear that the state of society revealed in Homer and the Vedas is not at all like primitive society, but very far from it. By 1876 I had become convinced that there was no use in going on without widening the field of study. The conclusions of the Aryan school needed to be supplemented, and often seriously modified, by the study of the barbaric world, and it soon became manifest that for the study of barbarism there is no other field that for fruitfulness can be compared with aboriginal America."<sup>6</sup>

In 1885, Josiah Strong, a Congregationalist clergyman, published a popular volume entitled "Our Country: its Possible Future and its Present Crisis". Strong was convinced that the Anglo-Saxon race was the most vital force on earth, since it had brought to modern civilization the ideas of civil liberty and spiritual Christianity. "If I read not amiss," he wrote, "this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands on the sea, over upon Africa and beyond. And can anyone doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the 'survival of the fittest'?"<sup>7</sup>

In addition to these historians mentioned above, a whole school of nationalist historians, numbering among others Hermann von Holst, James Schouler, James Ford Rhodes and their students, began to preach the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. This was

<sup>6</sup> John Fiske, "The Discovery of America," 2 vols., Boston, 1892, preface.

<sup>7</sup> Josiah Strong, "Our Country: its Possible Future and its Present Crisis," New York, 1891, pp. 208-224.

a natural development in American historiography, considering the fact that the old masters of American historical writing, Bancroft and Parkman, were convinced that the progress of civilization was due to Anglo-Saxon Protestants. For the nationalist historians, busily creating a warlike public opinion, the work of Darwin was vital. Like the racialists on the continent, they saw in the Darwinian theory indisputable proof of the ethnic, as well as political and cultural, superiority of their own people.<sup>8</sup> Here was certain confirmation of the greatness of the Anglo-Saxon "race", which would extend its powers to the far corners of the globe.

#### THE NORDIC MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

##### 1. *Madison Grant: Amateur Anthropologist*

By the turn of the century, the Nordic thesis had been fashioned in its present form on the continent. In the United States, the term "Anglo-Saxon" was supplanted at this time by the word "Nordic". It now became the task of Nordics (read *Anglo-Saxons* and *the white race* in its Nordic form) to rescue civilization from the inferior races. Leadership of the Nordic school in the United States was assumed by two amateur anthropologists, Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, lawyers by profession, and Henry Fairfield Osborn, professional paleontologist. These three and their disciples stimulated a mass of racial treatises, concerned mainly with ethnological postulates on the Nordic theory, which George Bernard Shaw dismissed as "despicably unscientific".<sup>9</sup>

Madison Grant (1865-1937) wrote in 1916 "The Passing of a Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History", in which he borrowed heavily from Chamberlain's "Foundations" and Gobineau's "Essay", and accepted wholeheartedly the doctrine of the superiority of the Nordic race. Failing to observe that if a great race has passed, it could not have been great after all, he re-stated

<sup>8</sup> Darwin himself was considerably disturbed by such perversions of his teachings. In "The Descent of Man" (1871), he cautioned racial zealots that the traits of man are extremely variable and that "the races of man graduate into each other." (Cf. pp. 20-21.)

<sup>9</sup> Vide "Nazi Racial Ideas Assailed by Shaw," *New York Times*, July 10, 1938.

with great care the stock doctrines of European Nordacists. He insisted that throughout history, it had been only the race of the leaders that had counted. "The most vigorous have been in control and will remain in mastery in one form or another until such time as democracy and its illegitimate offspring, socialism, definitely establish cacocracy and the rule of the worst and out an end to progress."<sup>10</sup> He warned the opponents of race theory that in the future far more value will be attached to racial in contrast with national or linguistic affinities. Race-mixture, he cautioned, would result in degeneration. "Whether we like to admit it or not, the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type."

For the Nordic race Grant reserved his highest words of praise. It was a physically superior race with blond hair, blue eyes, tall stature ("The Nordic race in its purity has an absolutely fair skin") and a high instep ("A high instep also has long been esteemed as an indication of the patrician type while the flat foot is often the test of lowly origin"). He believed that the Nordic race is at present undergoing selection through alcoholism, "a peculiarly Nordic vice", and through consumption. Substantiating Chamberlain, he concluded that Christ was Nordic: "In depicting the crucifixion no artist hesitates to make the two thieves brunet in contrast to the blond Saviour. This is something more than a convention, as such quasi-authentic traditions as we have of our Lord strongly suggest his Nordic, possibly Greek, physical and moral attributes."<sup>11</sup>

Grant believed that the splendid conquistadores of the New World were of Nordic stock, "but their pure stock did not long survive their new surroundings and to-day they have vanished utterly, leaving behind them only their language and their religion". The fetishes of equality, democracy and universal education in the United States had endangered the entire future of the country. "In America we have nearly succeeded in destroying the privilege of birth; that is, the intellectual and moral advantage a man of good

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<sup>10</sup> All quotations here are from the 1918 edition of Grant's "The Passing of the Great Race," New York, 1918, *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. p. 145.

stock brings into the world with him. We are now engaged in destroying the privilege of wealth; that is, the reward of successful intelligence and industry and in some quarters there is developing a tendency to attack the privilege of intellect and to deprive a man of the advantage gained from an early and thorough classical education. Simplified spelling is a step in this direction." The American Melting Pot was a crime against nature: "New York is becoming a *cloaca gentium* which will produce many amazing racial hybrids and some ethnic horrors that will be beyond the powers of future anthropologists to unravel."

Negroes, according to Grant, have demonstrated throughout recorded time that they do not possess the potentiality of progress or initiative from within. The only possible solution for the Negro problem was to establish large colonies for them and allow them outside of the pale only as laborers and not as settlers. Even as slaves, they enjoyed great privilege: "From a material point of view slaves are often more fortunate than freemen when treated with reasonable humanity and when their elemental wants of food, clothing and shelter are supplied."

Grant warned his countrymen to learn the lessons of biology and keep their race free of inferior blood. Unless the native American used his superior intelligence to protect himself and his children from competition with intrusive peoples drained from the lowest races of Eastern Europe and Western Asia, he would be doomed to extinction. "If the Melting Pot is allowed to boil without control and we continue to follow our national motto and deliberately blind ourselves to 'all distinctions of race, creed or color,' the type of native American of Colonial descent will become as extinct as the Athenian of the Age of Pericles, and the Viking of the Age of Rollo."

## 2. *Henry Fairfield Osborn: Elder Doyen of American Racialism.*

Because of an impressive scholarly background, the attitude of Henry Fairfield Osborn (born 1857) on racial problems has received respectful attention among scientists. Fundamentally, his concept of racial theory was the same as that of Grant, although it was

expressed in more scholarly terms. For Osborn, the Nordic race was truly a noble one. He feared the arrest and decay of human progress if the Nordic race should continue to lose in fertility and become absorbed in other races. The Mediterranean and Alpine races, he thought, definitely took a second place in creativeness to the great Nordic race, with its distinguishing somatic character. "It is quite true that European nations have suffered terribly and that the effects of the struggle (the World War) have been chiefly deteriorative to the race. France, which after the Napoleonic wars had already cut off three inches from the stature of the average man, lost 1,400,000 of its best men. England, too, has deteriorated racially, and so has Germany."<sup>12</sup>

Osborn believed in the superior force and stability of heredity as more enduring and potent than environment.<sup>13</sup> Race has played, he was certain, a far larger part than either language or nationality in moulding the destinies of men.<sup>14</sup> When the United States entered the World War, Osborn announced that "as compared with other races, the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Nordic race is again showing itself to be that upon which the nation must depend for leadership, for courage, for loyalty, for unity and harmony of action, for self-sacrifice and devotion to an ideal".<sup>15</sup> Journeying through Northern California and Oregon, he observed in the faces of the regiments which were first to leave for the city of New York the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon type, descendants of the blue-eyed, fair-haired peoples of Northern Europe. As for the dark youths of Plattsburg, Osborn discovered them to be often three-fourths or seven-eighths Nordic, "because it only requires a single dark-eyed ancestor to lend dark hair and eye color to an otherwise pure Nordic strain".<sup>16</sup>

For Osborn, the conservation of the Nordic race, "which has given us the true spirit of Americanism", was not a matter of racial pride or of racial prejudice: it was a matter of love of country.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Fairfield Osborn, "Man Rises to Parnassus," New York, 1927, p. 185.

<sup>13</sup> From Osborn's preface (July 13, 1916) to Grant's "The Passing of the Great Race."

<sup>14</sup> From Osborn's preface (December, 1917) to the same book.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

With Grant and Stoddard, he saw the greatest danger facing the American republic in the gradual dying out of the great hereditary traits and the substitution of less noble characteristic characteristics.

### 3. *Lothrop Stoddard: Apostle of Nordicism*

Probably the most ardent Nordacist and certainly the outstanding of the alarmist school was Theodore Lothrop Stoddard (born 1883), lawyer and publicist. Like Grant and Osborn, he was deeply disturbed by the denordization of the United States, whose consequences he viewed with great alarm. He warned his countrymen of a dark future in a series of popular, slightly hysterical books.<sup>17</sup>

Stoddard's "Revolt Against Civilization: the Menace of the Under-Man" (1922) showed how racial impoverishment had destroyed the great civilizations of the past and threatened to destroy the American civilization. He found in the momentous biological discoveries of the past a revelation of the true workings of these hitherto mysterious laws of life on which, in the final analysis, all human activity depended. The influx of the "Under-Man" (the inferior races) was an unmitigated disaster. Living standards were upset, the higher native stocks were sterilized and the racial foundations of civilization were reduced to a lower plane. These bestial "under-men" were a grim peril to civilization.

Here once again was expressed the idea that natural equality was one of the most pernicious delusions that ever afflicted mankind. To Stoddard the "Law of Inequality was as universal and as inflexible as the Law of Gravitation". He attacked Locke, Hume, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill and Lamarck as deluded environmentalists. In the rise of the "new biology", which emphasized the transcendent importance of heredity, he saw confirmation of the theory that inequalities were inborn and predetermined by heredity. But the Under-Man (non-Nordics), having been declared uncivilizable by nature, had declared war on civilization.

<sup>17</sup> "The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy," New York, 1920; "The Revolt Against Civilization," New York, 1922; "Racial Realities in Europe," New York, 1924; "Re-Forging America," New York, 1927. Stoddard also wrote "Luck—Your Silent Partner," New York, 1929 and "Master of Manhattan, the Life of Richard Croker," New York, 1931.

In the World War, Stoddard saw a hastened racial impoverishment that had long been at work wearing thinner the already thin life-line of civilization. On the contemporary scene, he recognized an incipient revolution taking place, by which the primitive races were making war on civilization through (1) destructive criticism of the existing order; (2) revolutionary theorizing and agitation; and (3) revolutionary action. To combat the ground swell of revolt and the rebellion of the Under-Man, a war of chaos must be waged against dark racial forces by a Neo-Aristocracy. The aristocratic principle must be utilized as a healthy intellectual reaction against the overweening preponderance of the democratic idea.

Stoddard's work was a highly popularized version of the pleas for a new aristocracy by Nietzsche, Gobineau and Pareto. Like Grant and Osborn, he was fearful that the great blond Nordic race would disappear in the mysterious twilight zone where its gods and heroes lived in remoter and saner times. He protested against this possibility in passionate and melodramatic prose. This work, and others, enjoyed large sales.<sup>18</sup>

In "The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy" (1920), Stoddard started out to revise his earlier estimate of the Nordic theory, but he ended by a re-statement of all his earlier theories. He admitted that the early Aryan hypothesis was self-contradictory and inadequate, but the basis was sound. He was happy to note that Nordics everywhere were strengthened by the consciousness of genetic worth, by a feeling for responsibility for world progress, and by urge towards fraternal collaboration. Before the Industrial Revolution, the Nordic's chief eliminator was war. His pre-eminent fighting ability threw on his shoulders the brunt of battle and exposed him to great losses, while the less stolid Alpine and the less robust Mediterranean stayed at home and reproduced their kind. The Nordic stock was furthermore drained perpetually by the chronic turmoil of the medieval and modern periods. Nevertheless, the Nordic continued to thrive in Northern Europe, since he

<sup>18</sup> By 1924 "The Revolt Against Civilization" had gone into six editions, "The New World of Islam" into eight, and "The Rising Tide of Color" into fourteen. The publishers, Scribner's, advertised these three books as "an international sensation" and quoted Lord Northcliffe's admonition to every white man to read them.



was "a high standard man", requiring healthful living conditions. He was not in his natural element when deprived of good food, fresh air and exercise. His ranks were depleted by war, migration and cramped factory conditions of the Industrial Revolution. In the United States, originally settled almost exclusively by Nordics, a horde of immigrant Alpines and Mediterraneans, not to mention Asiatic elements like Levantines and Jews, invaded the country during the close of the nineteenth century, crowding out the Nordic native Americans. A mongrelized off-spring was the result, "a walking chaos, so consumed by his jarring heredities that he is quite worthless".

Stoddard's later work on white supremacy marked the third stage in the development of racialism in the United States. Here the Nordic theory was revised slightly to take into account the struggle for existence between the white and colored peoples. The concept was simple: although the Nordic white man had been driven from many lands, he still firmly grasped control of the world. Asia, in the guise of Bolshevism, with Semitic leadership and Chinese executioners, was originating an assault on Western civilization. It was important for white men not to share their blood with, nor entrust their ideals to, brown, yellow, black or red men. This would be suicide, pure and simple, since the first victim of this folly would be the white man himself.<sup>19</sup>

It is unreasonable to assume that the work of Stoddard, Osborn and Grant and others <sup>20</sup> resulted in crystallizing a strong racial movement in the United States. Race concepts here have remained

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<sup>19</sup> The works of Stoddard are understandingly popular in contemporary Germany. I quote from a letter sent to me on March 5, 1937 by a Professor of History at the *Reichspresseschule* in Berlin: "As an American, you will understand the fundamental truths of racial thought because you have your Negro problem. I should like to remind you that much of what has transpired in Germany in the matter of racial policy was foreshadowed by one of your great American intellectuals. I mean Lothrop Stoddard, one of whose books I read about eight years ago. I believe that it is a contribution of highest value and that it has earned a place of honor in the history of American literature."

<sup>20</sup> Many lesser publicists espoused the cause of Nordicism in the United States. Hamilton James Eckenrode, a Virginia historian, attempted to explain the causes of the Civil War on the basis of racialism. Charles Brigham aimed to show the biological superiority of the white race. Burr's "America's Racial Heritage" and Gould's "America: A Family Matter" echoed Stoddard's viewpoint.

vague and ill-defined, although there is indication that the movement will gather strength in the future. Governmental attitude towards immigration has stiffened, expressive of an intangible race feeling of potential virulence. Up to the present time, the democratic tradition of the United States has been much stronger than that of race aristocracy. Whether racialism will strengthen because of increasing economic maladjustment, with a possible subsequent rise in anti-Semitism, and because of an increasing Negro population, remains a problem of the future.

#### 4. *The Psychologists*

Little more than fifty years ago, psychology was a pseudo-scientific combination of metaphysics and phrenology, but now it has become a truly experimental science, of great importance in analyzing and understanding human behavior patterns. Race theory found in biological psychology further evidence for the primary tenets of ethnic superiority. In the United States, many psychological studies were stimulated by an English psychologist, William McDougall, who attained a scholarly reputation among American scientists and who evinced a keen interest in American civilization.<sup>21</sup> McDougall's "Is America Safe for Democracy?"<sup>22</sup> held that the Nordic race was distinguished physically from the Alpine and Mediterranean races by fair hair and complexion and by tall stature. He asserted that modern science was very largely a product of modern Europe, of those countries where Nordic blood predominated. To prove the innate superiority of a given group of Nordics, he supervised the study of the intellectual capacity of boys at a private school, who were mostly sons of university professors, and the capacity of young men from a town population. The investigation found the result to be "a very marked superiority of the boys of the school frequented by the intellectual class".<sup>23</sup>

Other American psychologists followed suit, endeavoring to

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<sup>21</sup> From 1927-1938, McDougall was Professor of Psychology at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. Leader of the school of "purposivism" in psychology, he was also interested in such occult phenomena as mental telepathy and spiritualism.

<sup>22</sup> New York, 1921.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted by Stoddard ("Revolt Against Civilization," pp. 60-61).

prove that the old native American stock was the most superior element in the American population. A widespread conclusion was that immigrants from Europe were decidedly inferior to native-born Americans, and Negroes were inferior to all. We shall not discuss these studies in detail. One example will suffice. Miss A. H. Arlitt, of Bryn Mawr College, measured the intelligence quotient of various classes of Americans and secured these results:

Americans of high social status: sons of American-born white.....	I.Q. 125
Americans of semi-professional and business class:	
sons of American-born white.....	I.Q. 118
Americans of skilled labor class: sons of American-born white.....	I.Q. 107
Americans of semi-skilled and unskilled labor class:	
American-born white.....	I.Q. 92
Italians .....	I.Q. 84
Colored .....	I.Q. 83

Miss Arlitt concluded that a distinct correlation existed between racial origin, socio-economic status and intelligence.<sup>24</sup>

Although much work has been done in the field of mental tests,<sup>25</sup> their application is without value unless used in conjunction with other criteria. There has been a regrettable tendency to apply intelligence tests to ethnic groups without regard to important social and cultural factors. Mental tests as "proof" for the superiority of the Nordic race are fallacious:

"The question of the superiority of the Nordic, or north European, over other European peoples. . . (was) interpreted to indicate a racial hierarchy of intelligence, the descending order being Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean.

<sup>24</sup> Similar conclusions were reached by S. M. Terman in a survey of New York public schools. During the World War, many intelligence tests were made among American soldiers. Negroes, in general, received lower ratings than whites. However, the surprising factor here was that among Negroes and Whites of like education in the Northern States, there were but slight differences in I. Q. measurements, while the differences between Negroes of the North and South were considerable. This is a powerful argument for the effects of education and environment. (Cf. R. M. Jerkes, "Psychological Examining in the United States Army," National Academy of Sciences, Washington, 1921, *passim*.)

<sup>25</sup> For racial applications of mental tests *vide* T. R. Garth, "Race Psychology," New York, 1931; D. G. Paterson, "Physique and Intellect," New York, 1930; O. Klineberg, "A Study of Psychological Differences between 'Racial' and National Groups in Europe," *Archives of Psychology*, vol. XX, no. 132; J. Peterson and L. H. Lanier, "Studies in the Comparative Abilities of Whites and Negroes," Baltimore, 1939.

This finding and its interpretation were hailed by many racial theorists in the United States as a welcome corroboration of their view that the future of the country depended upon the numerical predominance of the tall blond dolichocephalic north European and upon a restricted immigration from central and southern Europe. While this view has considerable popular currency, it is no longer held as tenable by psychologists. Brigham and others who played an important part in spreading the evidence for Nordic superiority now insist that the test results cannot possibly be used to support such a position."<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, the comparison of children and various national and racial groups is complicated by differences in the rate of growth and in the age of biological maturity.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

American racial prejudice is found in its most intense form in the Negro problem in the United States. The Negro has been placed upon the periphery of the social order since his introduction on the American scene as a slave in the early seventeenth century. This is due not so much to the Negro's inability to fuse with the dominant population as to the white man's refusal to allow him to penetrate the social order. In pre-Civil War days, the superiority of the white race was used as the strongest argument against the platform of the Abolitionists. By 1860 the average annual exportation of cotton from the South had risen to 1,383,000,000 pounds, hence it appeared necessary to extend slavery as an economic necessity. The practice of Negro slavery followed explorers and pioneers to the West. Although legalized slavery was abolished after the Civil War, in modified form it was carried on through the development of tenancy in the Southern states.

The Nordic school looked upon the Negro problem as one of the most vital facing the United States. Stoddard admitted that the Negroes, although of demonstrably low intelligence, "are physically vigorous" and "possess an animal vitality".<sup>28</sup> But if these "dregs of population" were permitted to infiltrate into the white

<sup>26</sup> O. Klineberg, "Mental Tests," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 5, pp. 325-326.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Stoddard, "Revolt Against Civilization," *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Nordic blood, American civilization would be lost. Because of the breeding capacity of Negroes, there was a distinct possibility, Stoddard believed, that the black element might eventually work its way into white America with catastrophic results.

Racial prejudice against the Negro, while comparatively mild in the Northern states, is intense in the South with its large Negro population. The forms of discrimination, such as Jim Crow laws and lynchings, are too familiar to bear repetition here. The attitude of millions of white Southerners to Negroes was expressed in striking form by a speech delivered in the United States Senate on May 24, 1938 by Senator Bilbo of Mississippi. This speech, which was published in the *Congressional Record* of the same date, was in support of an amendment introduced to propose ways and means for the transportation and settlement of America's 12,000,000 Negroes in the Republic of Liberia.<sup>29</sup> Senator Bilbo saw the need as immediate, since from 1910 to 1930 almost one-fourth of the Negro population in the South migrated to the North, where, following the crash of 1929, from 35 to 50% of them were taken on the relief rolls of the Federal Government. He stated that some 2,000,000 Negroes had signed a pledge that they would emigrate, being convinced at last "that from this time on he must face the discriminations of the white man against him in social life, in religious life, in economic and business life, and that he is not going to have an equal chance in this country".

The Nordic school of racialists saw a grave portent in the abnormal drift towards racial amalgamation between white and black. From ten to twenty thousand pass annually from the colored group into the white,<sup>30</sup> the exodus increasing in geometrical ratio from year

<sup>29</sup> Senator Bilbo in this speech also considered the whole problem of racial theory, presenting the arguments of the American Nordic school almost verbatim. He quoted at length from many "authorities", including Prof. E. D. Cope, Prof. Agassiz, Prof. Magee, Dr. Bardin (*Popular Science Monthly*), Senator James K. Vardaman, and others. The scholarship is questionable: "It has definitely been established . . ."; "A certain eminent authority on inheritance has said. . ."; "As described by a great ethnologist. . .".

<sup>30</sup> Senator Bilbo (*supra*) placed the yearly trek of Negroes across the color line as no less than from thirty to fifty thousand. "I have it upon unquestionable authority that the mulatto now constitutes at least 50% of the Negro population of the District of Columbia." (*Vide Congressional Record*, op. cit., p. 9706.

to year. Alarmists find in this biological phenomenon the possibility of a future "brown America" and the end of white civilization. The mulatto Negro, from the viewpoint of the Nordic racialists, is impelled by two different and combatting tendencies: the Nordic impulse on the one side, weighted and encumbered by inferior black blood, and the Negro characteristics on the other, rising only in rare and excepted cases above the average of the Negro. This hybrid creature, if allowed to develop unhindered, will result in "a race outcast from God's racial development".

#### THE PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION

As the triangular spearhead of the racialist movement in the United States, Grant, Osborn and Stoddard argued that the age-long process of folk migration, reflected to-day in the form of immigration, was among the most important problems facing the United States. They saw the least desirable European types coming to the American continent, driving down standards of living and degenerating native American racial stocks. All three attacked the theory of the "melting pot" as unsound. Grant defined it as a fatuous belief in the all-pervading power of democracy to obliterate race characters in a single generation.<sup>31</sup> He was greatly shocked by a poster issued by "some misguided enthusiast" in the Treasury Department during the war, on which a Howard Chandler Christy girl of "pure Nordic type" appealed for Liberty Loans and pointed with pride to a list of names, saying "Americans All!": "DuBois, Smith, O'Brien, Knutson, Cejka, Haucke, Pappandrikopolous, Gonzales, Andrassi, Villotto, Levy, Turovich, Kowalski, Chriczanevicz." This was too much for Grant's sensitive nerves. "The one native American," he complained, "is hidden under the sobriquet of Smith, and there is an implied suggestion that the very beautiful lady is a product of this Melting Pot."<sup>32</sup>

The growing industrial expansion of the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century made it necessary to secure

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<sup>31</sup> Madison Grant, "The Racial Transformation of America," *North American Review*, March, 1924, vol. 219, p. 343.

<sup>32</sup> Grant, *supra*.

more and cheaper labor. Between the years from 1860 to 1890 some 10,000,000 Europeans immigrated to the United States.<sup>33</sup> Before this period the desire for public land had attracted foreigners, but after 1890 the submerged and poverty-stricken populations of Eastern and Southern Europe surged to the new world in vast numbers, anxious to share in abundant work and food. In some years between 1905 and 1915, the annual number of immigrants was well beyond 1,000,000.<sup>34</sup> The later immigration was in sharp ethnic contrast to the existing stocks already in the country. Moreover, there was an increasing tendency to congregate in the cities, with a consequent rise of social problems.

The Nordic school argued that this invasion was far more dangerous than an armed conquest. It was not merely a problem of sociological and economic import, they said, but one of critical racial importance. The immigrants from backward sections of Europe threatened to undermine the supremacy of the Nordics and bring American civilization to a catastrophic conclusion. If the movement were not checked, the immigrants would eventually reduce the standard of living of Americans to the levels that prevail in China. Polish Jews, "of dwarf stature and peculiar mentality", and Italians, an inferior "race", were menaces to be annihilated. "There is little doubt," Grant wrote, "that the population of this country would be substantially as large as it is now if no immigrants whatever had come in during the last one hundred years, and it is equally certain that the Americans would not have despised manual labor as they do now."<sup>35</sup> He denounced steamship companies for opposing restriction of immigration and transporting live freight, dumping it into the United States. He furthermore criticized the "refuge-of-the-oppressed idealists" for introducing a fast-breeding alien population. "If we accept the views of the internationalists and throw down all restrictive barriers, it is the laboring class, whether native

<sup>33</sup> On the modern immigration problem, *vide* Edith Abbot, "Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem," Chicago, 1926.

<sup>34</sup> In the single year 1907, 1,285,349 persons emigrated to the United States. This number was approximately the same as the total population of the English colonies in the United States during the early eighteenth century.

<sup>35</sup> Grant, *supra*, p. 343.

or foreign-born, which will suffer first and most intensely."<sup>36</sup>

We shall not here discuss the point as to whether immigration has or has not been beneficial to the United States. There are differing views on this vital subject.<sup>37</sup> However, dangers and abuses of immigration have been recognized in the United States and laws restricting immigration have been passed by the Congress.<sup>38</sup> Sociological conditions have been dominant in dealing with this problem, i.e., the regulation and restriction of immigration have been based upon selection and not upon racial theory. Because of economic conditions, a too rapid flow of Negroid and Mongoloid types would quickly arouse racial prejudices, hence it has been felt necessary to restrict further immigration of these types.

#### THE ANTI-NORDIC SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES

The work of the Nordic school in the United States in attempting to show fundamental, organically determined psychical differences between the races and to prove the purity and superiority of the Nordic stock stimulated a voluminous opposing literature. The anti-Nordic school aimed to show the irrelevancy of so-called racial characteristics in civilization and particularly to demonstrate the falsity of the thesis that the Nordic race alone is capable of creating a high culture.

Aroused by the character of the works being written on race, Professor Roland B. Dixon,<sup>39</sup> of Harvard, collected thousands of human skulls, both prehistoric and modern, carefully measured their relative dimensions, and concluded that every people of which he had any evidence showed unmistakable evidence of in-

<sup>36</sup> Grant, "America for Americans," *Forum*, Sept., 1925, vol. 74, p. 347.

<sup>37</sup> For example, against immigration: E. A. Ross, "The Old World in the New," New York, 1914; W. C. Abbott, "The New Barbarians," New York, 1925; for immigration: I. A. Hourwich, "Immigration and Labor," New York, 1922; neutral: H. P. Fairchild, "Immigration," New York and London, 1912; J. R. Commons, "Races and Immigrants in America," New York, 1920.

<sup>38</sup> For the full text of the United States Immigration Laws, *vide World Almanac*, 1936, pp. 205-207. The *National Origins Act* (1929) limited all immigration to a total of 150,000 yearly.

<sup>39</sup> *Vide* Dixon, "The Racial History of Man," New York, 1923, which we have quoted liberally in this volume.



termixture with other peoples. Some of the American Indian skulls showed Negroid characteristics; the Negro skulls were remarkably similar to the Chinese; the skulls of white men showed a mixture of Negroid, Chinese and Indian stocks. Dixon believed the ancestors of Americans to include every important racial element of prehistoric times: Negroids, long-headed Caspians, mixed Nordics, round-headed Alpines, Mongoloid Asiatics and others. He concluded that if racial mixture could have ruined mankind, it would have done so many thousands of years before recorded history. He believed it even possible that a degree of racial mixture stimulated human intelligence and enterprise rather than degraded it. As for the "Nordic" peoples, he found little trace of their influx into Europe. Only rarely did any factors of their racial features survive. "The spheres of the 'Nordic' blend and of the Mediterranean type alike have been decreasing steadily; is there any reason to doubt but that the process will continue?"<sup>40</sup>

The most comprehensive and valuable work in the field of racial research in the United States was William Zebina Ripley's "The Races of Europe."<sup>41</sup> Appearing a generation before the Nordic treatises of Grant and Stoddard, it offered small comfort to the Nordic school, although Grant acknowledged his obligation to Ripley for his large array of anthropological measurements, maps and type portraits concerning the three primary races of Europe.<sup>42</sup> Born on October 13, 1867, Ripley, an economist by profession,<sup>43</sup> became interested at the end of the nineteenth century in the bitter discussion then raging between scientists on the question of racial origins. He approached the matter in a calm and judicial spirit, investigating all the available European data on the subject, and in 1899 published his comprehensive work, which has remained

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>41</sup> New York, 1899.

<sup>42</sup> M. Grant, "The Passing of the Great Race," *op. cit.*, introduction, p. XXV.

<sup>43</sup> Ripley was Professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1895 to 1901 and Professor of Political Economy at Harvard from 1901 to 1933. In addition to ethnology, his interests were in the fields of finance, railway problems and labor.

down to the present day one of the most objective treatises on race yet published.

Utilizing effectively the new sciences of physical anthropology and prehistoric archaeology, Ripley patiently examined the evidence and concluded that an Aryan race had never existed. In so far as it could be applied at all, the term "Aryan" could be used only to refer to languages common to some peoples of Asia and Europe. Moreover, it was highly improbable, he felt, that the term could be used with any degree of accuracy in describing social and cultural institutions of those of fully "Aryan" tongues. All attempts to correlate linguistic data with that derived from the study of physical characteristics were not only illogical and unscientific, but at the same time impossible.

The most active and most brilliant in the anti-Nordic school was Franz Boas, who vigorously attacked the thesis that the historical fate of a nation depends in the final analysis upon its racial constitution and that purity of race is the deciding element in the development of a people. He cautioned the defenders of race equality to use calm judgment and attempt to solve the involved problems of race by painstaking inquiry rather than be influenced by a desire to defend the position of ethnic groups designed by the Nordic school as inferior.

As a result of exhaustive research in anatomical and cultural anthropology, Boas came to the conclusion that there were no distinct physical races as far as cultural expression was concerned. He found that the present divergences in culture might all be explained on other grounds than inferiority or superiority. At this point Boas came into direct conflict with the work of Osborn, Grant, Stoddard and McDougall. Osborn was certain that blood tells and heredity determines, that "education and environment do not fundamentally alter racial values". Boas, on the other hand, found that anatomical form does not determine the cultural form of a people and that hereditary characteristics are irrelevant when compared to social conditions. "The fundamental difficulty that besets us is that the differentiating between what is inherent in bodily structure, and what is acquired by the cultural medium in which

each individual is set, or, to express it in biological terms, what is determined by heredity and what by environmental causes or what is endogene and what is exogene."<sup>44</sup>

Boas granted that proof of mental equality has not been adduced. Furthermore, he admitted that family strains and inbred small groups might show characteristic mental habits. "But I insist that nobody has ever given satisfactory proof of any inherent inequality of races, that the final solution of this problem still has to be found."<sup>45</sup> It was, he believed, an almost insoluble task to isolate distinctive racial types determined by descriptive characteristics. It is impossible to assign one individual to one race, another to another ethnic group, since we do not know the degree of variability found in the ancestral isolated race, and because of the long continued intermixture the characteristics of the parental race will appear in varying combinations in each individual.<sup>46</sup> "On account of the great variability of forms, fundamental differences between various races are not always found. Size and complexity of the brain, stature, head form, physiological functions and mental reaction vary enormously in each race, and many features that are found in one race are also found among individuals belonging to other races."<sup>47</sup>

Students of McDougall had studied the school children of New York City and had concluded that, based upon hereditary strains, there were distinct differences in intellectual capacity among them. Boas was not convinced. He, too, studied the descendants of European immigrants and found them to change their types almost entirely even in the first generation. Children born only a few years after their elders had come to the United States developed in the new environment in such a way that great differences existed between them and their foreign-born parents. The process of change appeared to begin in early childhood and continued through life. Even the form of the head underwent striking changes. In other

<sup>44</sup> Franz Boas, "The Question of Racial Purity," *American Mercury*, June, 1924.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Franz Boas, "What is a Race?" *Nation*, 1925.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

words, environmental factors were of enormous importance in changing characteristics which should have been stable.<sup>48</sup>

Boas regretted the loose use of the terms Anglo-Saxon, Slavic, Latin and Aryan races, inappropriate because they designated people speaking certain languages without reference to their ancestry or bodily form. He attributed the origin of fundamentally distinct color groups like Negroes and Whites to the fact that these peoples became isolated in very early times, remote enough to allow the rise of bodily differences. But with the increase of population, the isolation of small groups ceased, as all peoples came into contact, intermarried and wandered for many thousands of years. Therefore, several conclusions could be drawn:

1. The biological homogeneity of any race is a fiction.
2. Every race contains family strains which are biologically distinct.
3. The physical and psychological behavior of the individual depends only in part on his hereditary characteristics.
4. Cultural influences strongly modify hereditary traits.

Therefore, it was impossible, Boas contended, to hold that descent from a fictitious character determines the character of a whole people.

For the Aryan-Nordic thesis, Boas reserved scholarly contempt. "What is an Aryan? Aryan is a linguistic term and nothing else. It means that there was once one language, nowadays called the Aryan language, which gradually spread over a large part of Europe and Asia, and developed into all the different 'Aryan' languages spoken to-day. In this sense an Aryan is anyone who speaks an Aryan language, Swede as well as American Negro or Hindu."<sup>49</sup> Moreover, just as Germanized Slavs and Frenchmen have become German in their culture, and Russianized Germans have become Russian, or Germans become French, so have German Jews become German.

In the summer of 1936, Boas retired from active service at Columbia University after nearly half a century as lecturer and pro-

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<sup>48</sup> Boas believed that changing conditions influence changing behavior. For example, the types of crimes committed by descendants of immigrants tend to change in the American city environment to the types characteristic of such cities.

<sup>49</sup> Franz Boas, "Aryans and non-Aryans," *American Mercury*, June, 1934.

fessor. His parting words as he retired in "a sick world" were: "With the present condition of the world I consider the race question a most important one . . . It is so acute that you can't speak of it too often. People confuse individual heredity with race heredity. Individual heredity is a scientific reality, but to speak of 'race heredity' is nonsense. What we know of race is largely a matter of environment. There is no such thing as a 'pure' race. All European races are mixtures of many stocks, particularly so wherever you have a large group. Germany is one of the most mixed stocks in Europe."<sup>50</sup>

The battle between the two schools of thought represented by Osborn and Boas was energetic and intense. An enormous amount of literature on the racial question, upholding or condemning racialism, appeared in the nation's books, magazines, pamphlets and newspapers. The Boas school secured most support among scientists and publicists; its conclusions were defended in exhaustive scientific treatises as well as in the popular magazines. The historian, J. H. Breasted, wrote that the Aryans were a speech family and not a race. The anthropologist, A. L. Kroeber, attributed to "egocentric imagination" the alarm of the racialists that human progress would decay if the Nordic race should lose in fertility. "They resemble the regrets of an individual at the loss which the world will suffer when he dies; what he really fears is his own death."<sup>51</sup> The sociologist, Griffith Taylor, condemned the thesis of Nordic superiority on the ground that no one nation or race is in any important aspect better than another.<sup>52</sup> The educator, Nicholas Murray Butler, held that the doctrine of racial purity "now vigorously preached in at least one modern land" was contrary to the viewpoint of capable historians and anthropologists. "Purity of race does not exist; Europe is a continent of 'energetic mongrels'."<sup>53</sup>

Publicists were even more outspoken. V. F. Calverton called

<sup>50</sup> *New York Times*, July 1, 1936.

<sup>51</sup> A. L. Kroeber, "Anthropology," *op. cit.*, p. 506 (supplement).

<sup>52</sup> Griffith Taylor, "The Nordic and Alpine Races and Their Kin," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1931.

<sup>53</sup> Dr. Butler borrowed this interesting term from H. A. L. Fisher. *Vide New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1935.

the appeal to race, blood and biology "antiquated and asinine", and held that the works of Chamberlain and Gobineau were exploded, then "rascally revived" by Madison Grant.<sup>54</sup> Malcolm R. Bissell found it "comparatively easy to reduce the extravagant claims of the Nordic fanatics to absurdity".<sup>55</sup> Waldemar Kaempffert, Science Editor of the New York Times, spoke of the Aryan as being as nebulous as Mrs. Harris. "Whole libraries have been written about him, but no one can draw a picture of him that is even remotely accurate as the reconstructions of the Neanderthal man from skeletons."<sup>56</sup>

Whether race doctrines, as practiced on the continent, will spread to the United States, is a question for the future. There are some who believe that such a possibility is remote, while others are certain that it is inevitable. A militant Fascism, with violent racial prejudice, has made some headway in Canada, thus bringing the matter considerably closer to home. It remains to be seen whether the philosophy of the "melting pot" will retain its strength in the United States in the face of an encroaching racialism.

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<sup>54</sup> V. F. Calverton, "The Myth of Nordic Superiority," *Current History*, August, 1926.

<sup>55</sup> M. H. Bissell, "Race or Place: Doctrine of Nordic Superiority Challenged," *Scientific American*, December, 1933.

<sup>56</sup> W. Kaempffert, "Gobineau," *New York Times*, June 25, 1933.

## CHAPTER 15

### NEO-ROMANISM: THE VAGUE RACIALISM IN FASCISM

#### WHO ARE THE ITALIANS?

It would seem that the scholar of race, in search of geographical regions relatively isolated, in order to prove racial purity or absence of racial intermixture, would turn to Italy with a sense of relief. The Italian peninsula is cut off in the north by the Alps and is surrounded on three sides by the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas, being apparently well enough isolated to permit a simple ethnic history.

But such is by no means the case. Italy, like the United States, has been a melting pot. The typical Italian would spring from the Caesars, from Trajan and Hadrian. He would link up in several lines with the Goth Alaric, with the Teutonic Emperor Odoacer, and with the Ostrogothic King, Theodoric. He would possess the blood of the Langobards (Lombards) who penetrated Italy from the north and of the Normans, who settled in the south. He would trace his descent in a direct line from Galerius, of mongrelized racial heritage. He would be related ethnically to the German Frederick Barbarossa, as well as to the Carolingian, Lothar the Italian. In his ethnic composition there would be the blood of round-headed Alpines and long-headed Mediterraneans, Ligurians, Etruscans, Greeks, Gauls, Goths and a conglomeration of other ethnic types. He would be at once long-headed and round-headed, blond and brunet, tall and short. Like the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German and American, like Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes, Lapouge, Stoddard and Hitler, he would be a mongrel by race. His blood purity would be but a figment of the imagination.

There is no such thing as an Italian "race" or of a single, uni-

fied Mediterranean "race", which maintained its purity, constructed the Roman Empire, survived its decline, and still exists to-day. The incessant invasions of the barbarians during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. and, to a lesser extent, the infiltration of mercenary soldiers from Spain and Gaul, supervened upon the strongly mixed earlier stocks, has left in contemporary Italy a highly complex racial composition. Ridolfo Livi's measurements of 300,000 military conscripts from all sections of Italy show that the headforms of contemporary Italians are widely divergent, some dolichocephalic and some brachycephalic, that stature varies from short in Sicily to tall in Venice, coloring from brunet in Sicily to blond in the Po region.<sup>1</sup> Although there has been a melting down of foreign elements in Italy proceeding through three thousand years of recorded history and an unknown period preceding it, profound contrasts, as wide apart as Asia is from Africa, exist in North and South Italy.<sup>2</sup>

#### RACE AND ITALIAN NATIONALISM

Italy, like Germany, was a geographical expression in the early nineteenth century. The patriots who moulded the national Italian state—Mazzini, Garibaldi, Gioberti and Cavour, made no attempt to make race or blood the determining factor in forging the national state. Yet, in the national literature of Italy, the vague concept of a glorious Roman race was utilized. In the early stages of the *Risorgimento*, the Italian literary revival, the classicism of an Alfieri and the romanticism of a Foscolo expressed the yearning for national unification. The rising nationalism was reflected in Leopardi's patriotic lyrics, in Manzoni's fervent nationalism, in D'Azeglio's historical novels, De Sancti's aesthetic pieces and later in D'Annunzio's ecstatic demands for *Italia Irredenta*.

Probably the most influential of modern Italy's literary figures was Giosue Carducci (1835-1907), a pagan, patriotic poet whose

<sup>1</sup> R. Livi in "*Anthropometria Militaire*," Rome, 1896. Dr. Livi, a medical captain in the Ministry of War at Rome, made a profound study which is still considered as standard by anthropologists. An earlier, and also valuable study of the Ligurians and Celts in the Po Valley was G. Sergi's "*Liguri e Celti nella valle del Po*," 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 272.



lyrics glorified the aspirations of United Italy and its heroes, Garibaldi and Mazzini. For centuries Italy's hopes of political independence had been unfulfilled. After national unity was realized, Carducci appeared as a poet of genius to arouse his people to a sense of possession of a national life. Recognized by his countrymen as their national prophet,<sup>3</sup> he taught them to assimilate again the ancient spirit of the great Roman "race". In powerful, moving verse, he spoke of Italy as a combination of the spirit of ancient Athens and ancient Rome. He expressed accurately the new wave of vitality and patriotism which was stirring all Italy.<sup>4</sup>

Carducci and the Italian poets and novelists of the period of developing Italian nationalism were not deeply interested in scientific race theory. Their desire was to magnify the former glory of the Italian people and in proportion to disparage the past of their rivals. Receiving an emotional impulse from romanticism and using a mystical approach, they saw only a great and indigenous culture, undoubtedly the product of Italian blood and the Italian race. They made no attempts to define the race, nor did they seek out its component parts. Italians were Italians, by temperament, territory, language, customs, traditions, and incidentally, by race. Italy at this time, like the other countries of Europe, was in a period of political instability and transmutation of values. Under the circumstances, it was but natural that the emphatic appeal of Italian nationalists was engrained on the consciousness of the Italian people. When a poet sang of the glories of the Roman "race", there were no attempts to analyze the concept.

#### MUSSOLINI'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS RACE

Since contemporary Italy is well under control of Mussolini's personal dictatorship, race development there quite naturally follows his attitude. Until the Rome-Berlin axis changed the political complexion of Europe, Mussolini looked upon racial theory as nonsense. This was indicated in a series of conversations which

<sup>3</sup> For Carducci's life, *vide* F. Sewall, "Giosue Carducci," New York, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* R. Garnett, "A History of Italian Literature," New York, 1906, p. 396; also F. M. Underwood, "United Italy," London, 1912, p. 289.

took place between Mussolini and Emil Ludwig in 1932.<sup>5</sup> To Ludwig's question: "Do you believe that racial unity is a requisite guarantee for vigorous nationalist aspirations?" Mussolini answered: "Of course, there are no pure races left; not even the Jews have kept their blood unmingled. Successful crossings have often promoted the energy and the beauty of a nation. Race! It is a feeling, not a reality; ninety-five percent, at least, is a feeling. Nothing will ever make me believe that biologically pure races can be shown to exist to-day."<sup>6</sup>

Mussolini further found it amusing that not one of those who had proclaimed the 'nobility' of the Teutonic race was himself a Teuton. Gobineau, he said, was a Frenchman; Houston Chamberlain an Englishman; Woltmann, a Jew; Lapouge another Frenchman. "Chamberlain actually declared that Rome was the capital of chaos. No such doctrine will ever find wide acceptance here in Italy . . . National pride has no need of the delirium of race."<sup>7</sup> In discussing the nature of nationalism, Mussolini denied that form of government, community of speech, the "demands of history", or "race" could account for national feeling. Apparently there is some high, mystic force which nationalism assumes, but which Mussolini did not define. At any rate, he was certain that the Italian people were not a race in the biological sense, but a community of people expressing the romantic idealization of the Roman tradition.

Racial theory in the accepted sense did not exist in Italy, Mussolini insisted, as witnessed by the lack of anti-Semitism. "Italians of Jewish birth have shown themselves to be good citizens, and they fought bravely in the war. Many of them occupy leading positions in the universities, in the army, in the banks. Quite a number of them are generals: Modena, the commandant of Sardinia, is a general of the artillery."<sup>8</sup> When Ludwig interjected that Italian refugees in Paris used it as an argument against Mussolini that he had

<sup>5</sup> These conversations took place at the Palazzo di Venezia at Rome from March 23rd to April 4, 1932. (*Vide* Emil Ludwig, "Talks with Mussolini," Boston, 1933, pp. 69-76.) The German manuscript was submitted to Mussolini, who checked all his own statements.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

forbidden the admission of Jews to the Academy, the Italian leader dismissed the accusation as absurd. "Since my day, there has been no Jew suitable for admission. Now Della Seta is a candidate; a man of great learning, the leading authority of prehistoric Italy."<sup>9</sup> Mussolini offered the familiar "scape-goat" theory as an explanation of the predicament of Jews in Germany.

In the light of this attitude, clearly expressed, it would seem that Mussolini had no interest in the practical application of racial doctrines, such as had taken place in Germany. "No such doctrine will ever find wide acceptance here in Italy." But these opinions were given before the formation of the Rome-Berlin axis. The Italian dictator apparently possesses a resilient mind, as witness his striking metamorphosis from militant Socialist to ultra-nationalistic Fascist.<sup>10</sup> With the close *rapprochement* between Germany and Italy, he conveniently forgot his term "the delirium of race" and proceeded to apply the Aryan doctrine to Italy.

This change of front came on July 14, 1938, when it was announced that a group of anonymous Fascist scientists, working under the aegis of the Ministry of Popular Culture, had issued a study advocating a vigorous racial policy aimed at preserving the Aryan and purely European character of the Italians from contamination by "any extra-European race". It was quite clear from the official nature of this study and the great prominence given it in the Italian press that the conclusions met with Mussolini's approval. Although it is doubtful that Mussolini has altered his own opinion of racialism, it appears that he considered it politically expedient to adopt racialism as a corner-stone of the Fascist state. It is as yet too early to judge just what line the new Italian Aryan race policy will take and what its influence will be.

#### NEO-ROMANISM: RACE WITHOUT BIOLOGICAL IMPLICATION

The manifesto of the Italian scientists accepted the conception of race as "purely biological". It is doubtful if this idea will make

<sup>9</sup> Cf. M. T. Florinsky, "Fascism and National Socialism," New York, 1936, pp. 61-63.

<sup>10</sup> For a dramatic account of this change, *vide* G. Megaro's excellent "Mussolini in the Making," Boston, 1938.

much headway in contemporary Italy, where the vast majority of the 44,000,000 people are Catholics. The Catholic Congregation of Seminaries and Universities strongly condemned German racial theories and the Vatican opposes them, since the Catholic Church looks upon every individual, regardless of race, as a soul to be saved. Thus, on the occasion of the manifesto, the *Osservatore Romano*, official Vatican organ, cautiously hinted: "Those are not lacking who more explicitly affirm that in Italy a spiritual conception on which is based principally repudiation of any distinction between superior and inferior races accompanies and prevails over a purely biological conception of race."<sup>11</sup>

The racial concept in Italy, which may be called Neo-Romanism, is scarcely to be distinguished from nationalism. In the programme of the Fascists, which represents for Italians a moral code as well as a guide for political conduct, the nation is defined as "not merely the sum total of living individuals, nor the instrument of parties for their own ends, but an organism comprising the unlimited series of generations of which individuals are merely transient elements; it is the synthesis of all the material and non-material values of the race". In this sense, race takes on a mystical character so typical of the Roman ritual. The Italian "race" turns to Rome as the palpitating heart of imperial Italy. "Rome is our point of departure and reference," according to Mussolini. "We dream of a Roman Italy, of an Italy wise and strong, disciplined and imperial. Much of the immortal spirit of Italy has been revived in Fascism. Roman are our licitor's rods, Roman is our fighting organization, Roman is our pride and courage: *civis romanus sum!* The Romans were not only warriors but also formidable constructors who could defy and did defy time."<sup>12</sup> It is the mission of this Roman "race" to act as the bulwark of Latin civilization in the Mediterranean and to reaffirm its right to complete Italy's historic and geographic unity. Until the appearance of the manifesto mentioned above, there was nowhere in Fascist ideology an attempt to endow this "race with a mission" with qualities of biological purity. This "race" of Roman

<sup>11</sup> Vide A. Cortesi, *New York Times*, July 16, 1938.

<sup>12</sup> Florinsky, op. cit., p. 63.

warriors was conceived of as a spiritual and not as an ethno-biological entity. One day, say the Italian Kiplings, this Roman "race" will succeed the long-dominant Anglo-Saxon race as the bearers of culture and civilization to backward and inferior races.

The philosophy of Fascism holds that the nation is a *corpus mysticum* composed of an unbroken chain of generations, always peculiarly Italian and always endowed with the Italian mission. The individual must subjugate his own personality and allow it to become merged in the totalitarian state. The concept of Italians as a superior race automatically follows. It is conceded that certain sections of the people may be inferior, but the superior group (George Sorel's *élite*) always dominates and gives basic character to the Italian race. This concept of race and nation as *corpus mysticum* is similar to that of some scholars who are willing to grant that the term "race" has been widely mis-used, but who nevertheless believe that *something* exists that anthropologically has the right to be called "race".<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> As an example, *vide* Ernest Harms' review of Barzun's "Race," *op. cit.*, *New York Times Book Review*, January 9, 1938, p. 22. "Anyone familiar with the psychic, mental and social effects and background of collective ideas and activities knows that they grow up from the deepest underground, aboriginal instincts and emotions of human life."

## PART 7—RACE AND THE PAN-MOVEMENTS

### CHAPTER 16

#### PAN-SLAVISM: "THE INTELLIGIBLE ONES"

##### RACIAL ASPECTS OF PAN-SLAVISM

Pan-movements may be defined as politico-cultural movements aiming to promote the solidarity of groups bound to each other by common or kindred language, race or tradition, or even geographical proximity.<sup>1</sup> In one form or another, the pan-movement has developed throughout the course of history: the ancient Oriental empires as well as the British Empire of to-day were based upon the pan-principle. The pan-movements (pan-Germanism, pan-Arabism, pan-Turanism, pan-Africanism, pan-Hispanism, pan-Islamism, pan-Anglicanism, pan-Asianism, pan-Americanism) may differ in form; that is, they may be pan-national (pan-Arabism), pan-religious (pan-Islamism), pan-racial (pan-Slavism) or pan-continental (pan-Americanism). The desire to group all peoples of one alleged ethnic strain into a common national state was characteristic of the development of nineteenth century nationalism.

One of the oldest of the pan-movements and one of the first to adopt the racialist position was pan-Slavism. This movement cut straight through national boundaries. Although there is a similarity of dialect between the Slavic groups, a clear-cut linguistic tie is lacking. Like most racial theories, pan-Slavism was a concomitant growth of the nationalism stemming out of the French Revolution. While nationalism was being accentuated in the Western countries, the vast body of Slavs existed as minority groups in the Austro-Hungarian, German, Russian and Turkish empires. The Slavs,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the article by Hans Kohn, "Pan-Movements," in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vol. 6, pp. 544-553.

like most European peoples, were strongly stimulated by the new nationalism, and they, too, began to demand their natural national and racial rights. Long hopelessly divided, they turned to Russia at first for leadership in Slavic racial regeneration. We shall see that Russian direction of the movement was none too successful and that pan-Slavism slowly took on a form of "reciprocity" between Slavs rather than actual unification. In this desire for politico-cultural unity, the new ethnology was utilized. Slavic scholars at Prague suddenly discovered a pure Slavic race, endowed it with a mission and termed it "the race of the future".

It is apparent that politico-economic factors were dominant in the pan-Slavic movement, but this did not prevent use of the usual racial terminology. Pan-Slavic leaders were quite as much interested in the destiny of the pan-Slavic "race" as Germans were in the Nordic "race". In the deep-rooted desire to bring about a national unity that has never taken place, they turned to race theory as a satisfactory *modus operandi*. Actually, there is no evidence to show that the Slavs were or are a distinct ethnic stock. Slavic peoples differed among themselves in physical character, in political, social and economic development, in religion, popular traditions, and even in language. Slavic nationalism was in almost all cases strongly particularistic. Yet Kollár, Šafařík, Dobrovský and the Slavic linguistic paleontologists found an "uncorrupted youthfulness" in the Slavic people and discovered a distinct "Slavic spirit" which beat in the breasts of all Slavs.

#### WHO ARE THE SLAVS?

The term "Slav", like the words "Indo-European", "Aryan", or "Magyar", has long been subject to extraordinary mutations of meaning. In its most accurate sense it refers to a linguistic group existing in the heart of Europe, but in the mind of race theorists as well as in the popular mind it has been used to describe a distinct racial group. Yet it becomes as difficult to isolate a Slav by race as it does to find the elusive Aryan or Nordic.

The early Slavs applied the title "Slovenci" to themselves. The term, which meant "the intelligible ones", was regarded as a com-

pliment. After the invasions of the Magyars, Bulgars and Turks, the term lost its laudatory significance and acquired its modern connotation—"slave".<sup>2</sup> The reason is obvious: the Slavs were subjugated on their own territory and became "slaves" of the conquerors. Originally, they had enjoyed a great measure of freedom. The desire to regain their historic liberty never left the Slavic peoples, who for centuries determined to drive out their oppressors. Out of this determination grew the pan-Slavic movement.

The Slavic peoples may be divided into two groups: Northern and Southern Slavs. The former group comprises Russians, Poles, Ruthenes (or Little Russians), Czechs and Slovaks, while among the Southern Slavs are included Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and some Bulgars. Between the great mass of Northern Slavs and the relatively small group of Southern Slavs, there exists the solid Roumano-Austro-Hungarian wedge which apparently forever separates them. Most of the larger group inhabit the countries of Russia, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. On the map of Europe before 1914, these Slavs occupied contiguous territory in Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At this time, the Southern Slavs occupied roughly the boundaries of Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro.

The attempt to fix a place of origin for the European Slavs meets with as much difficulty as the problem of ascertaining the homeland of the Aryans. According to Schevill and Gewehr,<sup>3</sup> who base their conclusions on "the best evidence", unfortunately not cited, the Slavs may claim as their European home the swamplands of the Pripet River, north of the city of Kiev in Russia. "This is the probable centre of the race from which it gradually radiated in all directions." Probably the most important of these groups filtered into the Balkan peninsula, where in the seventh century A.D. it became subject to the plundering Avars. After Charlemagne's rout of the Avars, the Slavs became the dominant people in the Balkans.

Comparatively little is known about this period of Slavic in-

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164. The derivation of the word "Slav" is sometimes given as from "Slovo"—"word", hence "peoples of one tongue".

<sup>3</sup> F. Schevill and W. M. Gewehr, "History of the Balkan Peninsula," New York, 1933, p. 73.



filtration of the Balkans. One thing is historically certain, however. The Slavs did not remain a pure-blooded race which slowly and systematically pushed the older peoples out of the Balkan region. Ethnic intermingling (again the melting pot) continued between Slavs and Illyrians, between Slavs and Greeks, between Slavs and Latinized provincials. The Slavs pushed southward, penetrating into Thessaly and even reached Peloponnesus, subduing interior sections of the peninsula.<sup>4</sup> Open to the influence of the Greek civilization, the Slavs eventually adopted Greek Orthodox Christianity, just as the invading German barbarians had accepted, or been forced to accept, Roman Christianity.

The period of Slavic infiltration into the Balkans lasted for some two hundred years, from roughly 500 to 700 A.D. Although the various Slavic dialects appear to trace back to some common linguistic ancestor, the Slavic groups persisted in avoiding any political unification. The early Slavic tribes were warlike and lived in a communal form of society, resisting efforts at political amalgamation. As a result, they became politically more and more divided as they settled in various districts of the wide Balkan peninsula. It is impossible to trace the extent of their ethnic intermingling or the extent of ethnic purity maintained by any one group. The Bulgarians, for example, while partly Slavic, retained a high percentage of Mongolian blood. The unending interplay of ethnic forces made of the Slavs a highly complex racial intermixture, comparable to that among the other peoples of Europe. The main Slavic groups have undergone a long process of assimilation with Teutons, Greeks, Turks and Magyars. The Turkish invasion in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Magyarization of various Slavic groups as the Magyars wandered through the Balkans in search of a new home, the intermarriage of Slavs with invading Asiatic Bulgarians in the seventh century, the intermixture of the Slavs of Montenegro with non-Slavic Albanians, all these cross-currents have made the Southern Slavs an unrecognizable ethnic conglomeration. Quite as mixed racially are the Northern Slavs,

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72

both Eastern (Russian) and Western (Poles, Czechs and Slovaks). Yet the pan-Slavist scholar, Vatroslav Jagić, was quite certain that Russians, Poles, Ruthenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbo-Croats and Bulgars, were racially homogeneous. Pittard dismissed the Slavic myth as absurd: "Despite all the efforts of the Chancellories it will be very difficult for the Northern Slavs, if it pleases them to begin anew wars which have an ethnic pretext, to invoke community of blood. In the eyes of those who know, the picture drawn of members of the same 'racial brotherhood' who must be delivered from the alien yoke . . . will no longer glow with any but the colours manufactured from inaccurate statements. It will be worth as much as a 'scrap of paper'."<sup>5</sup>

Our typical Slav by race would have in his blood the strains of White Russians dwelling in the Vistula and Dneiper basins, Little Russians inhabiting the great Ukraine region, and Great Russians, of uncertain ethnic origin. He would be related biologically to the heterogeneous groups of the South Balkans: Serbo-Croats, Bosnians, Slovenes and Slavonized Bulgarians. His ethnic composition would include the blood of Bohemian Czechs, Moravian Slovaks, Poles, Mongolians, Turks and Jews. He would be at once tall and short, blond and brunet. He would be everything but a Slav by race.

#### THE INTELLECTUAL LEADERS OF PAN-SLAVISM

The consciousness of Slavic origin and Slavic ethnic kinship may be found quite early in the writings of St. Adalbert, John Huss and other champions of Slavic national feeling. Roman writers referred to the Slavs under the name of the Venedi (Winds, Wends) and later writers called them Serbs, both of which designated branches of the Slavic peoples. The first great pan-Slavic writer in modern times was a Croat Catholic priest, Jurj Kržanić, who was responsible for the creation of a program of Slavonic national unity. While being trained for the priesthood in Rome, he became grieved over "the sad state of the Slavic race". Spending the greater part of his life in Russia during the reign of Alexis Mikhailovitch, he produced in 1665 a Slavic grammar, a kind of Slavic *lingua*

<sup>5</sup> Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

*franca*. Strongly anti-German in his writings, he accused the Germans of attempting to divide the Slavs as a means of reducing the power of the Russian Empire. "The Germans," he wrote, "have driven us (Slavs) from whole districts in Moravia, Pomerania, Silesia and Prussia . . . By their incessant attacks and insults they have driven many Slavs who live among them to such a condition of despair that they are ashamed of their language and their race, and give themselves out as members of another nation."<sup>6</sup> Krížanič appealed to the Czar to liberate the Slavs of the Danube. Unappreciated in his time, the priest was forced to end his days in exile in Siberia.

Under Peter the Great and Catherine II, Slavic poets and historians began to express the racial and religious affinity between Russia and the Balkan countries. But it was not until the nineteenth century, after Herder had spoken of the "higher destiny of the Slavonians", that intellectual leaders of Pan-Slavism blossomed into maturity. The "high priest of pan-Slavism" was John Kollár (1793-1852), a Slovak by birth and a Slavonian patriot by preference and inclination. A Lutheran minister, Kollár urged Russians, Poles and all other Slavs to unite as Slavonians. He saw an analogy between the "missions" of the two great "races", the Slavs and the Germans. The German race, he admitted, had reached a flourishing condition, but the future was reserved for the great Slavic race. In a long epic poem, "Slavia's Daughter" (1842), he prophesied that within a century Slavic life would inundate all Europe and that it would expand elsewhere. "The tongue which was proclaimed a speech fit for slaves (according to the distorted judgment of the Germans), will resound within the halls of palaces . . . The styles, customs and songs of our people will be mighty, alike along the Seine and on the Elbe."<sup>7</sup>

In an essay entitled "Literary Reciprocity", Kollár urged more coöperation between the various branches of the Slavic race. He warned that all political and religious differences among the Slavic

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by R. W. Seton-Watson, "Pan Slavism," *Contemporary Review*, vol. 110, Oct., 1916.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thomas Capek, "The Slovaks of Hungary, Slavs and Pan-Slavism," New York, 1906, pp. 18-30.

peoples must be subjugated to the all-important "feeling of Slav solidarity". Like an ancient prophet, he sang of the glories of his race, its great traditions and its promising future.

Kollár's admonition to the Slavs to drop their numerous family feuds, and to consider themselves as one race and one nation had an extraordinary effect on Slavic patriotism.<sup>8</sup> His idea was seized eagerly by Bohemians and other Slavs in Austria, who hoped to fashion a Slavic union and prevent their absorption by Germans and Austrians. The First Slavonic Congress of 1848 was the direct result of Kollár's ringing patriotic appeals. Šafařík, Palacký, Gaj and other eminent Slavists in literary as well as political circles were stimulated by the father of pan-Slavism. The most effective of these writers was Paul Joseph Šafařík (1795-1861), likewise a Slovak by birth. Kollár's passionately poetic nature and Šafařík's coldly analytical scholar's mind were complementary; between them the ideal of Slavonic racial brotherhood was engrained among Slavs in Russia, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Prussia. In his "Slavic Antiquities", Šafařík traced the ethnic, linguistic and geographical origins of the Slavic peoples. Still another Slavic scholar, who emphasized the pan-Slavic brotherhood, was Joseph Dobrovský (1753-1829), a Bohemian who demanded that all Slavs avoid the dangers of de-racialization. Although an enthusiastic patriot, he feared that Bohemia was destined to disappear as a country unless Bohemians became Slavonians by race. He urged all Slavs to imitate the Germans and adopt a common tongue. Since the Slavs occupied a large territory in Europe, it was necessary that they be united in a confederacy or some other form of union, so that they might continue to exist and satisfy their mission in history. Other Slavic scholars, notably Palacký, Kopitar and Jarník, echoed this appeal. Some urged a federative form of union under a democratic form of government, while others advocated a union under the sceptre of the Czar.

The work of the Slavic literary figures was similar to that of Herder, Schiller and, to a lesser extent, to Goethe, as well as to that of the more pronounced nationalistic figures of the German

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

literary world, particularly to poets of the *Sturm and Drang* period. While the Germans demanded liberty and racial unification, the Slavic poets and writers called for Slavic fraternity and an end to local differences. Since the Slavic "race" had rescued Central Europe from barbarism, it was undoubtedly the mission of the Slavs to originate a new epoch for mankind. With poetic license, the Slavic *littérateurs* confused linguistic and biological terms while singing the glories of the Slavic "race" in poems, folk-songs, epics, novels and scholarly treatises. Although language had been the sole link between the various Slavic peoples, they wrote of a mystical blood relationship as if it were already acceptable scientific fact. They were obsessed with the desire to create a rival movement to pan-Germanism.

The astonishing fact is that some non-Slavic writers have accepted this myth of Slavic racial unity. So capable a scholar of Slavic affairs as Seton-Watson made this statement: "There is in spite of the inevitable quarrels, a certain solidarity of feeling, which may be resented, or feared, or opposed by the outside world, but cannot be explained away—some deep-seated call of the blood, which rises superior to differences of language, religion, geography and historical tradition."<sup>9</sup> Mr. Seton-Watson made no further attempt to explain this mysterious "call of the blood".

PAN-SLAVIC IMPETUS FROM THE SOUTH: THE FIRST  
SLAVONIC CONGRESS, 1848

When the revolutionary storm of 1848 broke over Europe, with liberalism receiving an acid test, the pan-Slavists instantly decided upon a program of action. At this time the quickening opposition between German and Slavic aspirations had come to a head. Although Austria was predominantly Slavic, she was invited to send a representative to Frankfort-on-Main, so that she could be incorporated into a Greater German Empire. The Czech historian, Francis Palacký, was designated, but he declined the invitation on the ground that he, as a Bohemian of Slavic origin, would never agree to a union between the Bohemian and German peoples, who

<sup>9</sup> *Vide* R. W. Seton-Watson, *supra*.

had been united in the past through a league of rulers but never through bonds of race or culture. Slavonic newspapers immediately began a campaign against the German plan, which they termed a conspiracy to bring about "the isolation and effacement of the Slavic races and the imperilment of their nationality". All Slavonians were urged to send representatives to a Pan-Slavonic Congress, to be held "in the ancient Slavonic Prague of Bohemia to the end that we may jointly take counsel on all matters pertaining to the well-being of our nations and which the exigencies of these troublous times require".

The Congress met at Prague on June 2, 1848 under the presidency of Palacký. Among the delegates were 42 deputies from the South Slavic countries, 61 Poles and Little Russians, and 237 Bohemians, Moravians and Slovaks. The Magyars were naturally hostile to the aims of the Congress. Several violent threats against the life of Kollár were made in Pest. The "high-priest" of pan-Slavism excused himself tearfully for his inability to be present on the ground that he would be shot on sight if he were to attend.<sup>11</sup> Austrians and Hungarians, who at this time were occupied in forming a new constitution, looked with great disfavor upon this practical step aiming at unity of all Slavs.

For the first time, representatives of scattered groups of Slavs gathered to deliberate upon affairs concerning them all. Speeches were made calling for justice for the Slavic peoples, denying the claims of Germans and Magyars for racial supremacy, urging freedom for Slavs from the Turkish yoke, and demanding that the Germans permit the Slavs a "natural development". The work of the Congress was rudely interrupted by Prince Windischgrätz, who turned his guns on the city of Prague and with one cannonade crushed the Bohemian "rebellion". With this burst of gun fire, the ideal of Czechish freedom was postponed for many years. The delegates hurried from Prague, with their work uncompleted, but determined that the great Slavic mission must not be forgotten and that Slavic unification would one day be completed.

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<sup>10</sup> Čapek, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

There was no firm political foundation upon which this first Slavonic Congress could build. The Slavs had suffered from centuries of political disunity and the term "Slavonian" had come to signify cosmopolitanism rather than ethnic unity. The time had not yet arrived for a campaign based upon "brotherhood of race". The pan-Slavic scholars of 1848 spoke in an abstract sense about ethnic unity between all Slavs, but the race factor had not yet reached a powerful stage. Anthropology was in too primitive a stage at this time to permit any "scientific" justification of the term "Slav by race". Later, when racial biology had progressed to a point where the cephalic index could be used as definite proof, Slavic scholars quickly found a community of blood between all Slavs.

PAN-SLAVIC IMPETUS FROM THE NORTH: THE SECOND  
PAN-SLAVONIC CONGRESS, 1867

Just as the political rivalry between Germany and Austria hindered the development of pan-Germanism, so did the differences between Russia and Poland, the two largest Slavic groups in the north, militate against a working pan-Slavism. A Slavic nation, Russia, had taken a prominent part in despoiling Poland, a fellow Slavic nation, even inviting Germans and Austrians to share in the spoils.

The aim of Russia was to unite all Slavs of Europe into a great federation under Russian leadership. The desire was politico-economic in nature, since the Russians, themselves conglomerate ethnically, appeared to place but little stock in racial ties. The Southern Slavs were unfriendly towards Russian desires for pan-Slavic leadership: for them the Russian policy appeared to be Russification beyond Russian borders and not genuine pan-Slavic confederation. The political mastery of the Poles and the unending persecution by successive autocratic Russian governments gave the smaller Slavic groups an indication of what they might expect under Russian domination. For Russia, as well as for Austria, the principle was *divide and conquer*, a policy which held no attractions for freedom-loving Slavs.

Nevertheless, the Balkan Slavs could not afford to reject Russian help. There were advantages in Slavic reciprocity for both Russian and Balkan Slavs. The giant Russian state had for centuries sought an outlet to the sea through the Balkans, while the Balkan Slavs looked to Russian strength as a counter-force in an encroaching pan-Germanism. During the period before the World War, Russia acted as the "Big Slav Brother" to the Balkan Slavs anxious to be freed from Austrian domination.

Russia's attitude towards pan-Slavism was tempered considerably by political developments. At a time when the Germanies were throwing off centuries of disunity, while the French were inaugurating a new Empire, and while democracy, liberalism and industrialism flourished in England, Russia under the first Nicholas (1825-1855) was in a state of political, economic and cultural decline. With the Czar's consent, Germans were taken into the Russian bureaucracy. A policy of Russification within the borders of the nation was pursued with an iron hand, in an attempt to incorporate all the diverse peoples in the great Russian state. The purpose was clear: first unify all Slavs and others in Russia and then take pan-Slavic leadership in the unification of all Slavs elsewhere. It was a difficult process, with the ship of state in weak and inefficient hands and Russian policy influenced by German advisers.

In this unfavorable situation, the Second Pan-Slavonic Congress was called in Moscow in 1867 in connection with the Ethnographic Exhibition. Representatives of all the Slavic peoples, with the exception of the Poles, were present. Even Palacký attended. The date of the meeting is significant: the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* was being put into effect during the same year, under which Germans and Magyars had adopted a practical method of subjugating the Slavs. At the Congress, the Bohemian representatives (Palacký and Geiger) called for "Slavonic reciprocity", apparently aimed at lessening Russian influence. Pan-Slavism, they contended, was an invention of the Russians for a Slavonic confederation under Russian domination, and political pan-Slavism was "manifestly false and absurd". It was necessary, they felt, that the Slavic peoples



maintain their individuality and "like so many chimes ring in harmony".

This Second Congress, like the First, was not successful. Pan-Slavism under Russian auspices at a time when Russia was brutally suppressing the Poles could not make much headway. The religious issue was another snag. Most of the Slavic groups represented at Moscow were predominantly Roman Catholic, while Russia remained rigidly Greek Orthodox. Moreover, the cultural roots of pan-Slavism were engrained deeply in the consciousness of non-Russian Slavic peoples, from peasantry to nobility, while the despotic Czar thought only in terms of political pan-Slavism. Under the circumstances, an effective pan-Slavism could not be fashioned.

#### PAN-SLAVISM AND THE WORLD WAR

The rivalry between pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism was one of the underlying causes of the World War. Both Austria-Hungary and Russia desired expansion in the Balkans and the Germanic *Drang nach Osten* came into direct conflict with the Russian desire for a Mediterranean outlet. Germany supported her "blood brothers" in Austria. Pan-Slavists, in an effort to prevent Teutonic penetration of Slavic territory, demanded that all Slavs unite in a single state to meet the invader. The picture was complicated by tyranny of Magyars over Slavs in Hungary and the Eastern Adriatic region, as well as by the demand of the long-divided Slavic Poles for self-determination.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in the Balkans the racial factor assumed extraordinary significance, although here again race became the outer manifestation of a struggle economic in nature.

The outcome of the World War altered considerably the whole pan-Slavic movement. In withdrawing from the scene of Western European political development, Russia as a Communist society relinquished her leadership of the pan-Slavic ideal. Moreover, in the Slavic countries in the Balkans, Bolshevik ideology was not successful. The peace treaties created the new Slavic states of Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, apparently stimulating the pan-Slavic ideal at the expense of pan-Germanism.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A. Fischel, "Der Panlawismus bis zum Weltkrieg," 1919.

## CHAPTER 17

### PAN-TURANISM (PAN-TURKISM) AND THE ROLES OF PAN-ISLAMISM AND PAN-ARABISM

#### PAN-TURANISM: RACIALISM WITH AN ASIATIC TINGE

A second pan-movement, Pan-Turanism (or pan-Turkism) was, like pan-Slavism, a super-national movement grounded upon racialism but lacking in common linguistic identity. Here the element of racial regeneration was even more pronounced than in pan-Slavism. The goal of pan-Turanism, which marked the rise of racial consciousness in the Near East and Central Asia, was the formation of a strong union of all Osmanli Turks and kindred groups embracing a population of some 50,000,000.<sup>1</sup> All Turks, whether in Asia Minor, Central Asia (Turania, homeland of the Turks), in the Caucasus, the lower Volga region, or in the Crimea, were to be united in a vast Turkish community.<sup>2</sup> Substituted for the term "Turk" would be the more comprehensive word "Turanian", while the Muslim crescent was to be abandoned in favor of the pre-Muslim Turkish wolf as a racial emblem.<sup>3</sup> The Turks would dig beneath the layers of Islamic, Persian and Arabic culture and discover once again the origins of their race and tongue.<sup>4</sup>

Pan-Turanism acted as a strong stimulant to Turkish racial pride. Just as the pan-Slavic writers sang of the glorious Slavic past and of their mission as the future bearers of civilization, so

<sup>1</sup> This is double the number of Turkish-speaking people in the world. In the pre-war Ottoman Empire, there were 25,000,000 inhabitants, of whom some 10 millions were Turks, while the others were Arabs, Armenians, Kurds, Greeks, Jugoslavs, Albanians, Gipsies and Jews. Approximately 50% of the entire population were Muslims.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Kohn, "Pan-Movements," *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* A. A. MacDonnell, "Pan-Turanianism," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 12th ed., vol. 32, p. 29 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Hans Kohn, *loc. cit.*

did the pan-Turanian writers create out of whole cloth a mythical past which had to be revived before the Turk could expect to take his natural place as leader of the future. And just as Germans found a home in Europe for the original Aryan race, so did Turkish scientists discover in Turania the place of origin from which their race wandered forth to bring light to a darkened world. The leader of pan-Turanism, Ziya Gok Alp, selected this "broad, eternal land", and not Turkey or Turkestan, as the cradleland from which the Turkish race sprang.<sup>5</sup>

Politically, the gospel of pan-Turanism was a valuable weapon for the Turks in their subjugation of the Balkan peoples. The Balkans, always in a state of ferment, were caught between three conflicting movements: pan-Slavism, under Russian auspices; pan-Germanism, under German and Austrian sponsorship; and pan-Turanism, under Turkish leadership. The Turks, the "sick men of Europe", were the losers in this three-sided struggle for power. With the advent of Bolshevism in Russia, the Soviet state accepted the Turkish minorities in its borders as full members of the U. S. S. R., thus taking some wind out of pan-Turanian sails. The natural result was that the field for pan-Turanian development was considerably narrowed.<sup>6</sup> Impetus for the new pan-Turanism now comes from revived Turkey, which still desires to expand into lands taken away from her by the peacemakers after the World War.

#### WHO ARE THE TURKS?

Once again the tracing of the ethnic origin and character of a people presents almost insurmountable difficulties. The Turks appear to be of Asiatic origin, but it is impossible to trace with any degree of accuracy the region from which they migrated to Europe.

<sup>5</sup> Ziya Gok Alp adopted Attila and Genghiz Khan as "heroic figures that stand for the fame of our race". (*Vide* MacDonnell, *loc. cit.*)

<sup>6</sup> There is considerable difference of opinion as to whether the progressive shortening of the borders of Turkey has resulted in an increase or a decrease in the pan-Turanian movement. One school of opinion holds that it has been strengthened because of the "squeezing-in" process to which Turkey has been subjected. Another viewpoint is that the movement has been weakened because of the smaller geographical size of Turkey.

Some clue may be found by considering the great movements of peoples, in which the Asiatic Turks took part. The Turks are not a race, but a people who speak what was originally a common tongue: the Ural-Altai family, comprising peoples from Northern Asia even to the Pacific Ocean, Finland, the Balkan region and Asia Minor. Included in this linguistic family are the people to whom the physical term, Mongols, is applied.

Originally, the Turks were probably a branch of the Aschin (Asona) Huns, who formed a kingdom in Mongolia about 1200 B.C. and who, for many hundreds of years, carried on incessant warfare with the Chinese. The Tukui, or Turks, became leaders of the Central Asiatic nomads c. 439 A.D., after the Huns had been overthrown by the Chinese. In 569 A.D., the Turks entered into diplomatic relations with Constantinople, and occupied East Turkistan. From 630 to 745 A. D., the Chinese fought this Eastern Turkish group, finally eliminating them completely from history. In the long and involved migrations which subsequently took place, the Turks lost any vestiges of their racial identity. In Asia Minor, Syria, the Balkan peninsula, and in Finland, new ethnical combinations were formed with the indigenous inhabitants. Pure-blooded Turks do not exist in this biological hodge-podge.

In the middle of the sixth century A.D., the Turks dominated the Oxus region. Migrating westward across Northern Persia in the latter part of the eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks occupied Asia Minor permanently. The kindred Osmanli Turks, most prominent in the Western Turkish groups, invaded the Balkan peninsula after the middle of the fourteenth century. The Seljuk Turks mixed ethnically with Afshars, Kurds, Turkoman nomads, Arabs and Persians, becoming eventually the power behind the caliphate at Baghdad. The Osmanli Turks intermarried with the Turkomans of Persia, Russia and Afghanistan, as well as with the Azerbaijani (Turkicized Iranians of the Caucasus).<sup>7</sup>

It will be seen that both major groups of Turks were nomadic

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<sup>7</sup> *Vide* Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 317. Note well Pittard's statement: "If we are to deduce the ethnic quality of the Turks from the events which led to the Osmanli invasions, it will appear beyond question that this people could not have been other than an anthropological amalgam." (P. 318.)

in character. The contention of some racial theorists that nomads never mix their blood may be dismissed as incorrect. The modern Turk<sup>8</sup> has departed widely in an ethnical sense from the ancestral Asiatic type. He bears no resemblance to his Mongolian ancestors, possessing neither almond eyes, flat nose, lank black hair, nor high cheek bones. Such capable anthropologists as Chantre, Ivanowsky, and Pittard have come to contradictory conclusions on the stature, pigmentation, nasal and cephalic index of the "typical" Turk. Pittard examined 300 Turks in the Balkan peninsula in 1911 and found a mean sub-brachycephalic character in general, but in specific cases he found the most characteristic of the Turks to be mesaticephalic, or of intermediate character.<sup>9</sup> Chantre's cephalic index of Turkish groups in Anatolia was 86.11 (distinct brachycephaly), while Ivanowsky discovered an index of 75.4 (dolichocephalic). Such widely divergent conclusions indicate a biological hybridization which has proceeded for centuries and which still defies analysis.

The heterogeneous ethnic qualities of the Turks in the Balkans follows quite naturally from the involved history of the peninsula. In this region there have been for centuries waves of assaults from every direction. It is strongly unlikely that any pure-blooded group survived in this busy corner of the earth. As the Turkish invaders conquered the peninsula, other resident groups, equally as hybrid as the Turks, accepted Turkish religious and political domination in return for economic benefits. Many landed proprietors became Turks by convenience. Slowly but surely, the conquered peoples forgot their own origin and called themselves Turks.

When the pan-Turanian speaks of his racial comrade, he refers to a complex being whose blood is tempered by strains of Mongolian Kalmucks and Kirghez, by European Tatars, by Scandinavian Finns, by Galchas and Tadjiks of the Himalayas, by Anatolian

<sup>8</sup> For centuries the term "Turk" has been applied to any people which accepted the beliefs and practices of Islam. As a matter of fact, the Islamic religious groups very often had no racial relation with the Turkish nomads. Moreover, the so-called Turks of Bosnia-Herzegovina sprang from different ethnic stocks, although they bear the political and ethnic label of Turks.

<sup>9</sup> Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-322.

Gipsies, by Syrians and East Bulgarians, and by the composite ethnic types now living in Constantinople. This "pure-blooded Turk" might have light blue eyes and fair hair, a long head, and a tall and well-proportioned body, or he might be dark and broad-headed, short and stumpy. He might possess an elongated oval face, non-Mongoloid eyes, thick lips and an obese body, but on the other hand he might be Mongoloid in appearance, tall and thin. In his veins would flow the blood of the Sultan Togrulbeg, of the Arabian philosopher, Ibn Sina, and of Abdul Hamid II. He would boast of relationship of the conquerors, Attila and Jenghis Khan. He would be Muslim by religion and Turkish nationalist by political inclination. But ethnically he would be, like most people on earth, an unrecognizable anthropological amalgam.

#### THE RÔLE OF PAN-ISLAMISM

To understand the development of pan-Turanism, it is first necessary to consider the rôle of a religious pan-movement, pan-Islamism. Designed to unify all Muslims in every part of the earth, regardless of race, color or nationality, pan-Islamism cut straight through ethnic and national interests.<sup>10</sup> When united, all of Islamic religion were to resist with all means at their command the encroaching imperialism of the Western powers and especially to prevent Christian penetration. Abdul Hamid was quick to recognize the value of this movement, which could be utilized to work against the European oppressors of the Porte. Pan-Islamism would revive the dormant authority of the *Khalifa*, tighten the bond of Muslim brotherhood, and draw pan-Arabs back to the fold.

Several pan-Islamic congresses were held to promote development of the ideal. Practical steps were taken in formation of the

<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. John G. Hazam, a specialist in Near Eastern history, for his aid on the significance of the pan-Islamic and pan-Turanian movements. For further treatment of pan-Islamism, *vide* Hans Kohn, "A History of Nationalism in the East," trans. by M. M. Green, New York, 1929, chap. 111; S. Khuda Kukhsh, "Essays: Indian and Islamic," London, 1912; C. Hecquard, "*La Turquie Abd al Hamid*," Brussels, 1901, pp. 123 ff; Lothrop Stoddard, "The New World of Islam," New York, 1921; A. R. Colquhoun, "Pan-Islam," *North American Review*, June, 1906, pp. 906-918; A. Vambéry, "Pan-Islamism," *Independent*, Sept. 27, 1906, pp. 725-729; A. Edwards, "Menace of Pan-Islamism," *North American Review*, May, 1913, pp. 645-657.

Baghdad<sup>11</sup> and Hijaz<sup>12</sup> railway projects, as well as in a scheme to colonize the desert borderlands.<sup>13</sup> The Turkish Sultan vigorously promoted pan-Islamism as a method of combatting the Jewish "race" and to preserve the dominance of the Muslim Arab element in Palestine.<sup>14</sup>

Fundamentally, the pan-Islamic movement was religious in nature, but it had an important political aspect. Muslim political theory embodied an unconcealed hostility to all those who did not hold the same faith, particularly to Christians, an antagonism typical of Islam for many centuries. With the development of rapid means of communication, the Muslim world began to revive the idea of a re-born Caliphate. Abdul Hamid assumed the leadership in this move, but his tactless handling of pan-Islamism assured its failure. Moreover, the Western powers discouraged every attempt to unify the Muslim world. Turkey had taken over the dominating position in the pan-Islamic movement, but she was considerably weakened by her gradual dismemberment. Still another cause for pan-Islamic weakness was the brutal attitude of Abdul Hamid to his own subjects, who preferred almost any form of government to his unbridled tyranny.

Like the pan-Slavists, the pan-Islamists made several attempts to organize themselves into an effective body. But they were quite as unsuccessful. In 1911, a Committee of Union and Progress met at Salonica for the purpose of achieving pan-Islamic unity.<sup>15</sup> Representatives to the Congress from all Muslim countries under Christian rule appeared. No important progress was made. When

<sup>11</sup> In 1899, Abdul Hamid remarked that "the Baghdad railway together with the line to Mecca constitutes the most important task that we have to fulfill." (*Vide* Ali Vahbi Bey, ed., "*Pensées et souvenirs de l'ex-sultan Abdul Hamid*," Paris, 1914, p. 46.)

<sup>12</sup> *Vide* Auler Pasha, "*Die Hedschasbahn*," Gotha, 1906 and 1908.

<sup>13</sup> *Vide* S. P. Duggan, "The Syrian Question," *Journal of International Relations*, XI, April, 1921.

<sup>14</sup> In 1907, Lord John Fisher wrote to King Edward VII that "the Sultan is the most important personage in the whole world for England. He lifts his finger and Egypt and India are in a blaze of religious disaffection". (Lord Fisher, "*Memories and Records*," New York, 1920, p. 33.)

<sup>15</sup> This Congress was under Turkish auspices. It marked the triumph of pan-Turanism over pan-Islamism. Lip-service was still paid to the pan-Islamic ideal in order to maintain a hold over recalcitrant elements in the Ottoman Empire.

the World War broke out, the pan-Islamic idea quickly degenerated. The subjects of the Western powers remained loyal during the conflict, preferring to forego the advantages of religious union with the Turks for independence or the more practical political ties with England, France and Russia. Moreover, Islamic Turks were allied with Christian Germany and Austria.

#### THE BIRTH OF PAN-TURANISM

In July, 1908, the Young Turks revolted and compelled Abdul Hamid to grant a Constitution. Nine months later, the vigorous young movement was successful in deposing the Sultan and placing on the throne his younger brother, Muhammad V. Inspired by Western ideals, the Young Turks began to preach ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, as well as religious freedom. The oppressed minorities in the Ottoman Empire—Albanians, Armenians and Arabs, began to feel that a new era of peace and prosperity had come for them after many years of waiting. But the Young Turks had no intention of granting any concessions, particularly to Slavs. They soon dropped pan-Slavism and pan-Islamism in favor of a new move, predominantly racial and nationalistic—pan-Turanism, or pan-Turkism.

In the conflict between the religious and racial concepts which arose in Turkey, race triumphed. The Young Turks displayed considerably more interest and pride in their racial origin than in their religion. They were well represented at the Salonica meeting in 1909, when pan-Turanism was conceived in the form of "a literary and cultural society". Here Alp Bey, a native of Diabakr in Kurdistan and earliest pan-Turanian proponent, admonished the Turks to re-create the virtues of the Turanian race by recalling its heroic past and by maintaining its existence in the future through a process of steady westernization.

In its more developed form, pan-Turanism embodied several principles, which may be summarized as follows: (1) Emphasis upon the racial kinship of all Turanians, especially between the Ottoman Turks and the Turks of Southern Russia and Central Asia; (2) Revival of Turanian traditions, folklore, literature and



customs; (3) Purification of the Turanian language by rejecting all foreign words and phrases, particularly Arabic and Persian, and by creating a new language; (4) Reformation of the entire concept of Islam and making it conform with Turkish ideals; (5) Adoption of Western customs, particularly in such matters as freedom of women. The theme throughout was the dominance and superiority of the Turkish race.

Turkish leaders were faced with what seemed to be an insurmountable task in reconciling racial pan-Turanism and religious pan-Islamism, which took no consideration of racial barriers. At a Congress held at Salonica in 1911, an attempt was made once more to make both movements run along parallel lines, but it was unsuccessful. Pan-Turanism was accepted here as the political weapon by which subject peoples were to remain under the Turkish yoke; at the same time an attempt was made to keep alive pan-Islamism for possible future use.

#### PAN-TURANISM VERSUS PAN-ARABISM

The race problem in Turkey was considerably aggravated by the attitude of Arabs to pan-Turanism. The Arabs, under Turkish domination, refused to grant the superiority of the Turanian race. They resented particularly the unheard of and uncanonical procedure of translating the Koran from its original sacred Arabian tongue to the foreign Turkish.<sup>16</sup> Embittered by the Congresses at Salonica and their repercussions, they formed the counter-force of pan-Arabism, which, although more national in concept, retained a strong ethnic character. Arabs, too, they claimed, had a distinct racial heritage. When the Turks failed to carry out their promise of constitutional reforms, Arab nationalism stiffened and the Arabs called for a unified and independent national state based upon ethnic homogeneity.

The pan-Arabian federation was to include Arabia proper,

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<sup>16</sup> The Arabs believed it sinful to translate the Koran from Arabic to other languages. The Turks, they argued, had nothing to compare with the Arabian tongue. The Arabs also resented any attempts to make Constantinople, with its cosmopolitan religious atmosphere, the centre of religious Islam. Moreover, Westernization, from the orthodox point of view, was incompatible with sacred religious law.

Syria, Palestine and Iraq, all those sections which were predominantly Arabian in character, while the Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa were to be united through a system of alliances.<sup>17</sup> The feeling for unity was stimulated by the inroads made into Arab-speaking territory by England and France in their imperialistic expansion along the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. Pan-Arabism expressed the desire of a people weak in economic resources, divided by internal political differences, culturally backward and always prey to foreign imperialists, to shake off foreign domination and enjoy an independent political development. Bitter experience had taught the Arabs to distrust English promises for emancipation.<sup>18</sup>

The politico-economic rivalry between Turks and Arabs was deep-rooted. Abdul Majid (1839-1861), Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) and the Young Turks all realized that the Ottoman Empire must maintain a strong hold over the Arab world. While the British and French were penetrating into Arabian territory,<sup>19</sup> the Turks, believing that the Arabs as Muslims came naturally under Turkish domination, aimed to counteract European influence and obtain control of the Arabs for themselves. The familiar procedure of *divide et impera* was adopted: one Arab tribe was set against another with the purpose of weakening them all. The involved tribal feuds and dynastic battles which took place cannot be described fully here, but their inevitable result was a weakening of the Arab position.

For the Turks, the pan-Islamic movement was a blessing. Since the Ottoman Empire was the last great Muslim state which had not yet fallen to Western powers, it was Abdul Hamid's plan to utilize the religious movement to its full worth, but always keeping it sub-servile to the aims of Turkish interests. The plan was

<sup>17</sup> Vide Hans Kohn, "Pan-Movements," *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> In the British Government's correspondence with the shereef of Mecca, the English had promised an independent Arabic confederation. The Arabs learned that they could rely only on themselves by the secret war treaties, by the futile attempts of Lawrence of Arabia to help them, and by the Conference of San Remo in 1920, by which Arabian territory was partitioned among the Allies.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. N. Verney and G. Dambman, "*Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant, en Syrie et en Palestine*," Paris, 1900.

no secret to the Arabs, who saw in pan-Arabism a measure of self-preservation against Turkish ambitions.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. "Pan-Islamism, Pan-Arabism and the Iberian Position," *Review of Reviews*, June 9, 1925, p. 668; "Arab National Movement," *Foreign Policy Reports*, May 8, 1935, pp. 50-56; Count Sforza, "*Le mythe du panarabisme*," *Rev. Pol. et. Litt.*, May 4, 1935, pp. 293-295.

## CHAPTER 18

### PAN-AFRICANISM: "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS"

#### THE NEGRO STRUGGLE FOR EXPRESSION

Thus far we have discussed racial theories concerning the white, or Caucasian peoples. We saw that this broad ethnic division contains types which graduate insensibly into each other from long continued marginal intermingling, and we experienced an understandable difficulty in distinguishing between them.

Pan-Africanism, unlike the various pan-movements treated thus far, is concerned with the entire broad ethnic group of blacks—the great mass of black-skinned peoples, most of whom reside in Africa. More than the other pan-movements, pan-Africanism owes its origin to distinct racial prejudice along color lines. As a movement, it is still undefined and lacking in clear-cut aims, but it will undoubtedly grow in force and provide the world with a pressing problem in years to come. It may be defined as a negative movement brought into being as a result of white penetration into Africa and racial persecution of Negroes in other sections of the world. The spoliation of Africa has tended to bring the black natives out of their century-old lethargy and to stimulate among them a resentment against the white man's oppression.

The transfer of the black man as slave to America and the piece-meal acquisition of Western culture by natives of Africa have brought pressing problems. The process of education of African natives has been exceedingly slow and has not yet developed beyond an embryonic stage, but the environment of the African is changing. Once living in a primitive, communal society, he now (with exceptions, of course) has become a cog in the wheel of white civilization, open to its new and strange concepts

of society, to its governmental influences, to its vastly different culture. The Negroes in the United States have been emancipated and have taken on many characteristics of white civilization. It is probable that leadership in the call for emancipation of all the black peoples will come from the American Negro.

It is as yet too early to know the form in which pan-Africanism will become consolidated. It appears certain, however, that the movement will one day progress far beyond its present stage. Pan-Africanism, the union of all the black peoples, may one day become a force with which the white man will have to reckon. Alarmists claim that the next challenge to the white man may be expected from the yellow race under the energetic leadership of recently awakened Japan. Others believe that in this gigantic "war of the races", the blacks will one day enter their own bid for power.

#### THE BLACK RACE

In the popular mind the identification of the Negro presents no difficulty, since he is generally distinguished by black, woolly or kinky hair, and skin which varies from a light brown to deep black colour. It is variously estimated that the Negro, or black, race includes from 150 to 210 millions of people, residing to the greatest extent in Africa south of the Sahara. The four principal divisions are the Sudan Negroes, the Bantus, the Hottentots and Bushmen, and the Papuans. Each of these groups has long been subject to the same marginal intermingling characteristic of white stocks. The Sudan Negroes, who occupy the southern section of the Sahara and the Sudan, have very dark skins and woolly, fleece-like hair. The Bantus live in South Central Africa from the east to west coasts, numbering among them Zulus, Zambezis, Mozambiques, Bechuanas, Congos and other tribes. Allied to this group are the Pygmies, or Negrillos, a dwarfed type of simian appearance with yellowish-brown skin.<sup>1</sup> The Hottentots and Bushmen in Southwestern Africa possess a yellowish-brown skin, their hair

<sup>1</sup> Some writers believe that the Negrillos are the oldest of all African varieties and at one time to have occupied most of the continent. Herodotus spoke of the Pygmies in Africa. (*Vide* A. D. Quatrefages, "*Les Pygmées des anciens et de la science moderne*," Paris, 1886.)

growing in separate tufts. The Papuans, inhabiting the islands of the Papua east of the Fijis, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo and sections of the Philippines, are nearly black, with kinked, tufted hair and protruding lips.<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that African contingents came to Europe during the Paleolithic period, but it is impossible to trace their ancestors. It may be true that the African continent was from the earliest times a battleground between lighter and darker races. The original blacks were probably Pygmies, pushed back into the Equatorial forests by Proto-Negroid peoples, who were mixed with Mongoloid and Proto-Australoid types.<sup>3</sup> These are, however, pure suppositions. The origin of Negroes and Whites is still obscure.<sup>4</sup>

If a racial map is constructed and the demarcation between Negro and White represented by a line, the situation would be misrepresented.<sup>5</sup> The black groups of Africa probably mingled at one time with white stocks. Some ethnologists even believe that contemporary white peoples possess some vestiges of black blood. Thus Pittard wrote: 'I do not shrink from the admission that we have in our veins a few drops of some African blood—the blood of a yellow-skinned African, likely enough,—but we must admit that it is very difficult to find what is left of it.'<sup>6</sup>

Just as there are no "pure" Negro races, so are there no completely black Negroes. The degree of colour of the Negroes of Africa varies from a deep brown to a light brown. In the southern portion of the continent, where contact with white peoples has resulted in changed pigmentation and physical character, the Negroes are lighter in colour. The factor of climate is undoubtedly of

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<sup>2</sup> For a competent discussion of the classification of Negro peoples, *vide* D. G. Brinton, "Races and Peoples," Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 172-194.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>4</sup> Franz Boas believes that the origin of Negroes and Whites springs from the fact that these groups became isolated in very early times, being sufficiently remote to permit the rise of far-reaching bodily differences. With intermarriage and migrations, the isolation of small groups ceased.

<sup>5</sup> "The truth could be expressed only by inserting a transition zone of mixed colour. Yet as soon as we allow such transitions, the definiteness of our classification begins to crumble." (Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 36.)

<sup>6</sup> Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

some importance in accounting for colour differences, but as yet no adequate scientific investigations have been made to determine the extent of climatic influence. The intense heat and humidity, the hot and moist depressions of Africa, may well have had an effect on the colour of the black peoples.

Determination of the ethnic character of the Negro has been made considerably more difficult by the forced migration of Africans to the United States. The Negroes in the past have never of their own volition made any serious inroads into the territory of the white peoples. But the enormous deportation of blacks as slaves has brought a large and steadily increasing black population to the United States.<sup>7</sup> Here the process of intermingling has proceeded at a pace alarming to many whites. Moreover, the changed environment has brought some striking differences in physical character. Leo Frobenius has expressed this thought well: "Open an illustrated geography, and compare the types of the African Negro—the bluish black fellow of the protuberant lips, the flattened nose, the stupid expression and short curly hair, with the tall bronze figures from Dark Africa (American Negro), with which we have of late become familiar, their almost fine cut features, slightly arched nose, etc., and you have an example of the problems pressing for solution."<sup>8</sup>

#### WHITES VERSUS BLACKS

In 1885, representatives of the leading Western nations gathered at Berlin and agreed "for the sake of humanity and civilization to protect the natives (of Africa) in their material and moral well-being; to coöperate in the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, to further education and civilization of the natives, to protect missionaries, scientists and explorers".<sup>9</sup> This altruistic expression

<sup>7</sup> The census of 1930 lists 11,891,143 Negroes in the United States. Including mulattoes and those Negroes who have "passed" into the white group, there are probably as many as 20,000,000.

<sup>8</sup> Leo Frobenius, "The Origin of African Civilization," Washington, 1898, pp. 637-639; cited by W. D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, "Race Relations," New York, 1934, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. C. Langsam, "Europe Since 1914," New York, 1936, pp. 240-241.

was hypocrisy in its most obvious form. From the viewpoint of the imperialist powers, racial superiority of white over black was natural and God-given and permitted no compromise. The natural wealth of Africa was exploited ruthlessly for the sole benefit of white men, and the "white man's burden" was invented as a justification for the frantic scramble for the raw materials of Africa.

The burden was distinctly on the black man. He was exploited to the limit, his land was taken from him, and he was forced to work at backbreaking tasks in order to meet the taxes imposed upon him. In the early days of white penetration into Africa, the white man brought an inhumane trade in whiskey, arms and slaves, and not education or civilization. Leopold II, King of the Belgians, instituted a ruthless oppression in the Congo, a type of exploitation imitated by most Western powers anxious to tap the sources of African wealth.

While predominantly economic, the attitude of white invaders towards the natives of Africa had a distinct racial character. It was assumed that the Negro race was a hopeless case for civilizing efforts, that all Negroes profoundly hated physical or mental work, that they were too indolent to attempt agriculture, being content to live on raw roots and the products of the chase, that their religions never rose above fetishism, their governments above despotism, their marriage relations above polygamy. It was believed that the physical structure of the Negro brain made it impossible that he be educated, since the mental power of Negroes develops quite as rapidly as those of white children up to the age of thirteen or fourteen, but that afterwards there comes a diminution, or even cessation, in mental development. "The physical overshadows the psychological, and they turn away from the pursuit of culture. They are unwilling to undertake, they are unequal to, the more arduous intellectual tasks."<sup>10</sup>

This attitude is familiar and does not require much emphasis. Prejudice against Negroes transcended inter-white rivalries. For example, when the World War began in 1914, Germany proposed

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<sup>10</sup> Brinton, *op. cit.*, p. 193.



to the Allied powers that the neutrality of the African colonies be maintained, on the ground that it was important for all white men to maintain their hold over inferior black races.

After the World War, the long, continued oppression of African natives produced a reaction, as the more educated among black natives began to call for some measure of relief from white domination. In the progressive regions of South Africa, a rising competition for work among blacks and whites led to difficulties. No successful open rebellion against white rule took place, but there have been developing certain symptoms which may eventually give rise to a sense of race consciousness. Among these developments may be noted the decline of white prestige and a resultant change in native mental attitude, a growing sense of native grievance, the outbreak of riots and strikes, and native insistence upon maintaining ancient cultural traits.<sup>11</sup> These symptoms may well presage the rise of a more serious movement. Once a native group becomes conscious of its historic character, there is reason to believe that a development of national and racial awareness will not vary much from that of white men. It will begin to search in the past for its own peculiar traditions and customs which distinguish it from the hated oppressors. It will begin to find a moral inferiority in the white man. Soon the concept of moral superiority will merge into racial superiority, based upon "biological laws". Then a mission for the future will be discovered, a mission calling all blacks to unite for self-preservation.

The problem of racial conflict is by its very nature more defined in Africa than on the European continent. In Europe, the hopeless confusion of physical character often makes it impossible to distinguish between such types as the Slav, the German and the Northern Italian. Here the race question assumes a haphazard, almost meaningless form. But in Africa, the black man is set apart by his color. He lives under a rigid caste system, with whites on

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<sup>11</sup> W. O. Brown, "Race Consciousness among South African Natives," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1930, vol. 40, pp. 569-581. Although the author speaks here of specific South African problems, his thesis, with modifications, may well be applied to most natives groups in Africa.

top and blacks underneath. He is looked upon as a primitive, uncivilized human being.<sup>12</sup> He is given no share in the political development of his country. He is denied opportunities for education which are open to other immigrants.<sup>13</sup> He is refused the right to devote his skill to industrial development. He is dependent upon the European economic order and is subject to the influence of European culture, living on the periphery of the social order of the white man. Being recognized at once, he finds it impossible to "pass" as a white man, as many Negroes do in the United States. Set apart almost as a leper, he is perplexed by the white man's ways. Resentful, sullen, suspicious, he longs for the day of freedom. It would be miraculous if, under the circumstances, he did not eventually develop a racial consciousness.

"AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS": THE GARVEY MOVEMENT

Suffering most keenly from racial prejudice are those Negroes who have been transferred from the African homeland to the United States. For generations they have been in close contact with Whites who regard them as physically, mentally and morally inferior. The wave of nationalism which swept over Europe and America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was not without effect upon Negroes. American Negroes, in particular, were anxious to find a "racial escape" into some situation in which they could develop a life and culture of their own, free from the domination of the white man. Out of this desire grew the pan-African movement, which imitated the other pan-movements in most details. By its very nature, however, pan-Africanism remained vague, unarticulated and unformed. The ideal was the formation of a Negro state in Africa, in which all Negroes would be blended into "one strong, united race".

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<sup>12</sup> It is popularly supposed that Negroes are the most primitive of peoples from the physical point of view. This is not altogether correct. "Negroes are the most primitive (people) with respect to their flat noses, but the least so in their hair texture and lip form." (R. Linton, "The Study of Men," New York, 1936, chap. 3.)

<sup>13</sup> In the Western world, such limitations are utilized to apply only to sections of the population considered defective in capacity and character. (Cf. J. Harris, "Challenge of the Protectorates," *Contemporary Review*, June, 1934, vol. 145, p. 676.)

The movement received its first stimulus in the United States from Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro, of pugnacious bearing and eloquent tongue. Forming an organization called "The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Community League", Garvey called upon American Negroes to take the leadership in creating an African Empire, with the Republic of Liberia as a nucleus. He aimed to bring skilled artisans and scientists to Liberia, where they would determine the possibilities of the soil, the mineral wealth and the extent of raw materials. "Liberia," he said, "will be able to develop into a high state in every way. If sixty million Japs have been able to establish a government in sixty years so powerful as to make every nation fear it, surely four hundred millions of black people ought to be able to accomplish the same thing in ten years."<sup>14</sup>

Garvey's ideals were impractical, but consistent. He appealed to the racial pride of Negroes by beginning a campaign to popularize the term "blackness". The steamship line to take Negroes to Africa was termed the "Black Star Line". His nurses were "Black Cross Nurses". He rejected the idea of a white God, insisting that the God of the Negroes was anthropomorphic in form, black as the Negro.<sup>15</sup> In 1904, Garvey sent missionary men throughout the United States to awaken interest in his project. He himself spoke to millions of American Negroes as "President General of the Association" and "Provisional President of Africa". Newspapers were published by the Association and annual Congresses, attended by Negroes from all parts of the world, were held. Like the pan-Slavs and pan-Turians, Garvey's adherents drew up lengthy manifestos calling for racial unity of all Negroes.<sup>16</sup>

The Negroes of America were not ripe for Garvey's pan-African state. But it provided psychic relaxation for a highly emotional people long oppressed and long made aware of their inferiority. They flocked to Garvey's banners. In 1921, pioneers sailed for

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<sup>14</sup> *Vide* report in the Oklahoma City *Black Dispatch*, May 25, 1922.

<sup>15</sup> *Cf.* Weatherford and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the "Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World", drawn up at the Convention of 1920.

Liberia on Black Star ships to begin the work of rehabilitating the dark continent. Garvey's activities in gathering funds for his project caused federal intervention. He was arrested and sentenced to a term of six years in Atlanta Prison.<sup>17</sup> The movement could not survive this shock; it collapsed almost completely. A group of more conservative Negroes kept the ideal alive by limiting its scope and attempting to prepare a more substantial foundation.

#### PAN-AFRICAN IDEALS

The Garvey movement, while unsuccessful, gave an indication of the Negro revolt against economic discrimination and political tyranny. It appeared to be a dream impossible of fulfillment, yet many movements seemed as fantastic in their early days. In 1919, a more conservative group of Negroes met at Paris at the First Pan-African Congress. Representatives of Negroes from some fifty countries repudiated Garvey's plans as fantastic and impossible to fulfill and limited their aims to a campaign against racial discrimination against Negroes. Recognizing that the problem was one that must be settled slowly, and without the high pressure methods such as Garvey was using at the time, the delegates did little more than fashion the framework for future meetings.

The Second Pan-African Congress, sitting in London in 1921, best expressed the aims and aspirations of pan-Africanism.<sup>18</sup> A manifesto was issued, which was at once a clear-cut statement of the black man's position in a hostile white world and a confession of his weakness. It was a remarkable document, strongly idealistic in tone. The statement opened with these words:<sup>19</sup>

"The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social, is the founding stone of world peace and human advancement. No one denies great

<sup>17</sup> From the Negro point of view, Garvey was arrested because he violated the tenets of the dominant white culture. (Cf. Weatherford and Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 550.)

<sup>18</sup> This Second Pan-African Congress limited itself to a discussion of general principles and the Negro Labor problem. The Third Pan-African Congress (1923) petitioned the League of Nations to investigate conditions in the mandated territories, while the Fourth (1927) demanded self-government, "Africa for the Africans", and land rights and education for Negroes. (*Vide* Hans Kohn, "Pan-Movements," *op. cit.*, pp. 549-550.)

<sup>19</sup> For the full text, *vide* the *Nation*, col. 113, 1921, pp. 357-358.

differences of gift, capacity and attainment of all races, but the voice of science, religion and practical politics is one denying the God-appointed existence of super-races or of races naturally and eternally inferior . . .

“. . . Of all the various criteria by which masses of men have in the past been judged and classified, that of color of the skin and texture of the hair is surely the most adventitious and idiotic.

“It is the duty of the world to assist in every way the advance of the backward and suppressed groups of mankind. The rise of all men is a menace to no one and is the highest human ideal; it is not an altruistic benevolence, but the one road to world salvation.”

The document then went on to attack the insidious propaganda holding the advancement of some races as impossible and undesirable. It accused the white man of imposing intermixture of blood on the black and brown races mainly by brute force and fraud. “The resulting people of mixed race have had to endure innuendo, persecution and insult; and the penetrated countries have been forced into semi-slavery.” If it be proved that absolute world segregation by group, colour or historic affinity be desirable, then let the white race leave the dark world and the darker races will gladly leave the white. White and black men need each other in labor, thought and dream, but they must meet on grounds of equality, justice and mutual respect.

Finally, the manifesto demanded the recognition of civilized man as civilized despite race or colour, local self-government for backward groups, education, freedom of religion and custom, political coöperation, justice and protection against the greed of invested capital:

“The world must face two eventualities: either the assimilation of Africa with two or three of the great world states, with political, civil, and social power and privileges absolutely equal for its black and white citizens, or the rise of the great black African State, founded in peace and good-will, based upon popular education, natural art and industry, and freedom of trade, autonomous and sovereign in its internal policy, but from the beginning a part of the great society of peoples in which it takes its place with others as co-rulers of the world.”

In this stirring appeal, pan-African leaders recognized that the racial prejudice of white against black was grounded in economic

desires, and called for a sense of justice and mercy in dealing with the black man. It was apparent that Negro intellectuals were at last becoming conscious of their plight. Anxious to interpret Negro opinion as well as to guide it, they expressed a somewhat confused and idealistic thinking, which represented a ground swell of resentment. The group of educated Negroes meeting at London represented a calibre that might well lead black men to emancipation in the modern world.

At the Third Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1923, only thirteen countries and six American states were represented, as compared with thirty countries in 1921.<sup>20</sup> The Executive Committee of the Third Congress summarized the "legitimate and immediate needs of the people of African descent" as:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. The right of access to the land and its resources.
3. Trial by jury of peers and under established form of laws.
4. True elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique.
5. Africa for the Africans.
6. Abolition of slave trade and of liquor traffic.
7. World disarmament and abolition of war; but failing this and as long as the white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.
8. Organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.

These demands were admittedly impossible of fulfillment in the near future, but it was clear that the Negro intended a drive for emancipation eventually.

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<sup>20</sup> W. E. B. Dubois, "The Negro Takes Stock," *New Republic*, Jan. 2, 1924.

CHAPTER 19  
PAN-ASIANISM: RACE IN THE ORIENT

JAPANESE RACIAL PRIDE

Modern communication is responsible for the transfer of Western mores to the Orient. Japanese and Chinese have been quick to learn Western customs by a close study of Occidental scholarship, as well as of Hollywood movies. Racial theory, fashioned in the Western countries, was automatically adopted in the Orient, along with cameras, battleships, baseball and diplomacy. In Japan, particularly, racial theory struck a responsive chord.

Throughout their history, the Japanese have exhibited a strong racial pride, although it was not until Western influence began to be felt that the "racial" nature of the people was emphasized. In Japanese mythology, the gods Izanagi and Izanami married and begot the Japanese islands, also giving birth to the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, whose descendants have ruled Japan in an unbroken line, the oldest reigning dynasty on earth. The Japanese, like the ancient Hebrews, have long looked upon themselves as the Chosen People, of divine descent. According to the Japanese scholar, Hirata, "from the fact of the divine descent of the Japanese people proceeds their immeasurable superiority to the natives of other countries in courage and intelligence".<sup>1</sup> Since the earliest inhabitants of the islands were gods, all those now living in Japan are descendants of the race of Yamatos, "Seed of the Sun".<sup>2</sup>

When Japan was opened by Western powers during the middle

<sup>1</sup> Willard Price, "Japan's 'Divine Mission'," *New Republic*, Nov. 17, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Okakura, Japanese scholar, was certain that "every family in Japan claims descent from the grandson of the Sun Goddess in his descent on earth by the light-rayed pathway of the clouds". (*Vide* S. Washnio, "Japanese Origins," *Trans-Pacific*, Nov. 17, 1928.)

of the nineteenth century, many hundreds of young intelligentsia were sent to Europe and America to be educated in Western ways. Being a strongly imitative people, like the ancient Romans, these Japanese scholars studied assiduously the intellectual currents of Western thought, returning to the home-land with a ready-made vocabulary of race. Here was a perfect explanation of Japanese racial greatness and the Japanese mission to save mankind. The new Japanese intellectuals began to utilize Western forms of expression. "It is my conviction," said Yosuke Matsuko, chief of the South Manchurian Railway, "that the mission of the Yamato race is to prevent the human race from becoming devilish, to rescue it from destruction and lead it to the world of light." In the House of Peers, Count Futura gravely declared that the racial spirit of Japan was the only hope of saving the world from coming chaos. The Japanese War Office deemed it "the great mission of the Japanese race" to bring together all the races of the world into one happy accord.<sup>3</sup> Even the old Shinto priests began to speak of the Japanese race as forming the "root of the world".

It goes without saying that this intense belief in Japanese racial divinity served a useful political purpose. Having learned quickly the lessons of Western imperialism, Japan obviously intends to assume leadership over the millions of Asia by creating and fostering an energetic pan-Asianism. The yellow peoples, including Manchukuoans and Chinese, must "coöperate" with Japanese to drive the whites from Asia. Admiral Nobumasa Suetsugu, retired naval officer and Japanese Home Minister, hinted that the domination of Asia by the white race must cease: "Whether or not this will mean the ejection of the white race from East Asia is a very serious problem. From the standpoint of world peace, unless the colored peoples are liberated so that they can receive the benefits of heaven equally with the whites, and unless the white domination of the world is ended, justice and humanity, so often invoked by the white peoples, will remain empty phrases. Unless the colored races are rescued from their miserable slavery under the yoke of the whites there can be no world peace. If we try to bring it about

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



suddenly there will be bitter friction and our aims might be defeated. But the goal is clear and things must tend in that direction."<sup>4</sup>

Japanese racial pride was strongly stimulated by American immigration laws. By the President's Proclamation of Feb. 24, 1913, alien Japanese laborers in Hawaii were not permitted to emigrate to the mainland of the United States. By United States immigration law, "unless otherwise provided for by the existing treaties, and with certain exceptions<sup>5</sup> the so-called Yellow races" are excluded. Since other excluded classes included idiots, diseased persons, anarchists and persons convicted of moral turpitude, the Japanese interpreted these laws as a direct and intolerable insult.

#### ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE

To the Western popular mind, the Japanese are a race distinct and apart, who differ obviously from the European races. It is assumed that the Japanese are a race of small men, possessing abnormally large heads, short legs, Mongolian eye-lids, large and prominent cheek-bones, and straight hair. Yet, scholars have come to some remarkably diverse conclusions in tracing the ethnic character and origin of the Japanese. One thing appears definite: the Japanese are a relatively homogeneous group, but they are by no means a pure race.

Ancestors of the present Japanese people have been discovered to be everything from Melanesian, Malayan, Mongolian, Semitic, Hamitic to Aryan.<sup>6</sup> In 1872, Ashton discovered that the Japanese were in some way related to the Aryans. Since his time, various scholars have concluded that the Japanese were related to almost every people under the sun, from Hottentots to Irish.<sup>7</sup> One Japanese

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1938. The Japanese Foreign Office, fearing the effect of such statements on foreign opinion, maintained that Admiral Suetsugu's views did not represent those of the Japanese Government, and that they were made before he became Home Minister.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the Chinese wife of an American citizen who was married prior to the approval of the Immigration Act of 1924, ministers and professors, students, travelers, governmental officials, etc.

<sup>6</sup> William M. McGovern, "Modern Japan, its Political, Military and Industrial Organization," London, 1920, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> C. K. Parker, "The Origin of the Japanese," *Trans-Pacific*, May 16, 1929.

scholar was quite certain that the Hebrews originated in Japan and gradually worked their way westward through Siberia to the Holy Land.<sup>8</sup>

Two conflicting schools of opinion have held that the Japanese originated in Northern Asia and Southern Asia, respectively. Proponents of the theory of Northern Asiatic origin hold that the earliest dwellers of the Japanese islands were cave-dwellers (*koro-pok-guru*), an aboriginal people who were either annihilated or assimilated by the Ainu, a flat-faced, hirsute people who came from Northern Asia and moved southward.<sup>9</sup> The Ainu were overwhelmed in turn by two successive waves of invaders, who, although of different origin, united to form "the distinctive racial group" from whom the present Japanese are descended.<sup>10</sup> Those who believe in the theory of Southern Asiatic origin find an Indonesian or Polynesian connection. The Dutch scholars, D. Van Henloopen and N. Whyman, who stressed this racial affinity, also discovered that the primeval Japanese built the Tower of Babel. Still other scholars found stranger explanations: Hyde-Clark identified the early Japanese with the Turano-Africans; MacLeod believed them to be one of the lost tribes of Israel; Whitney, Morton and Griffis discovered a Caucasian ancestry; some even traced the parent race to the Hittites.<sup>11</sup>

What do Japanese scholars have to say about the mystery of their ethnic origin? The following table indicates that the Japanese, like the Westerners, are not able to agree on the question of origins:

Origins as deduced from the classics.

N. Motoori (1720-1801) . . . . Descendants of the Kami (god) who lived in Takamahara (heavens).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. D. Murray, "Japan," New York, 1898, pp. 20-31. For a description of the Ainu, *vide* F. Starr, "The Ainu of Japan," *Asia*, April, 1919, pp. 381-387.

<sup>10</sup> The first wave came by way of Korea, probably from the central plateau of Siberia, while the second wandered from South Asia, being ethnically akin to the Malays. (*Vide* A. E. Hindmarsh, "The Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy," Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 4-6.

<sup>11</sup> *Vide* Inazo Nitobe, "The Japanese Nation, its Land, its People and its Life," New York and London, 1936, pp. 406.



## PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE JAPANESE

A consideration of morphological characteristics of the Japanese will yield no tangible results. The Westerner knows that the Japanese is "different". The Japanese is conceived as being of distinctly small stature, the average height being around five feet, three and a half-inches for men and four feet, ten inches for women. Yet, there are many Japanese measuring more than six feet; among wrestlers this height is not considered exceptional. Harada<sup>15</sup> and Brinkley<sup>16</sup> both found the Koreans slightly taller than the average, although Baelz placed these three people in the same race.<sup>17</sup> As a matter of fact, the Japanese do not differ in stature from their Korean and Chinese neighbors as much as the inhabitants of Northern and Western Europe differ from one another. It is significant that the growing generation in Japan appears to be gaining in height, probably due to gymnastic exercises and the new use of chairs and benches in place of the old national custom of sitting with the leg folded back from the knee.<sup>18</sup>

If an "average Japanese" could be constructed to satisfy the Western conception, he would have small upper and lower limbs, proportionately shorter in comparison with the length of the torso. His legs might be bent.<sup>19</sup> His head would be abnormally large in size, appreciably more than one-seventh of the stature. Pigmentation of his skin would be from a light brown to yellow. His hair would be black, his nasal index medium (but there might be a Greek, Roman or "Jewish" nose), his teeth well-formed and sound, his cheek-bones prominent, and he would have but little hair on the face. The socket of his eye would be comparatively small and shallow, the eye being less deeply set than that of the European. In profile, the forehead and upper lid would form one unbroken line. The shape of the eye as modelled by the lids would be oblique because of the higher level of the outer corner (Mongolian eye-lid).

<sup>15</sup> Harada, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> F. Brinkley, "A History of the Japanese People," 1915, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> Nitobe, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>19</sup> In the popular mind this would be attributable to Mongolian ancestors, who practically lived on horseback.

But do these characteristics, which are often extremely variable, denote a specific, Japanese "race"? Hardly. Koreans, Chinese and Mongolians easily fit into the same morphological classification. It is obvious that the yellow race, considered as a biological whole, offers striking contrast to the white and that the vast majority of the inhabitants of Asia are distinctly recognizable members of one group. But the Japanese, like other mixed peoples, vary so much in height, form of skull and bodily proportions, that it is unreasonable to set up any fixed type for them, other than to say that their general Asiatic aspect may be recognized. In common with Boas' demonstration that human types are unstable, it is probable that Japanese physical character will change within a few generations. The Japanese claim of "pure race" may be dismissed as fallacious.

#### CHINESE ETHNOLOGY

Again, to the superficial Westerner, all members of the Chinese "race" look alike. Yet, the huge territory of China presents an ethnic amalgam, predominantly yellow it is true, but including a fusion of hundreds of people of diverse lineage. From the earliest times, when Chinese were nomadic hunters and fishermen, to the age of the Mongols and Manchus, there has been a vast human movement across the heart of China. The resulting ethnic intermixture produced an insoluble complex. Contemporary Chinese in the north bear physical resemblance to Tartars, with narrow Mongolian eyelid, yellow skin and lack of hair on the face, while those in the south appear to be related to the Indo-Chinese, with a skin more nearly Caucasian and with thick beards. It is impossible to determine the ethnic character of the Chinese, other than to say as in the case of the Japanese, that they bear a general Asiatic aspect.

Nevertheless, race consciousness, already crystallized in the Western world, has seeped into China, where little or nothing was known of racial theory until the nation turned to nationalism. Already, Chinese leaders are demanding the unity of the Chinese "race" in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. "Shed your last drop of blood, fulfilling your sacred duty for the glory of the Chinese race, the Chinese Republic, the Chinese Revolutionary

Army!"<sup>20</sup> When the National Socialist Government in Germany began to attack groups without political power, principally Jews, on the basis of racial ideology, the Chinese Government quickly demanded and secured a promise that members of the Chinese race would receive no discrimination.<sup>21</sup>

#### PAN-ASIANISM: THE YELLOW RACE AS KULTURTRÄGER

The imperialistic aggrandizement of the white Western nations in Asia resulted in an intense feeling of racial prejudice and hatred between both white and yellow peoples. In Africa, the politically disorganized and comparatively uncivilized black man was a helpless prey for white imperialists, but Asia had been the homeland of a high civilization while most of Europe was in a primitive stage.

Pan-Asianism has not yet crystallized into an active and compelling force. Still somewhat vague and intangible in concept, there is no doubt that it will one day be grounded solidly in the mass mind of Asiatics through propagandistic methods learned from the West. It demands the federation of the yellow peoples in one great political organization. It rests on the assumption that the Asiatic races have common historical traditions, a common cause and a common future, and that they must one day unite to drive the white invader from Asiatic territory. Since the yellow "race" has lost face by the white man's domination, it must find in continental unity a solution to its present problems.

Pan-Asianism is a comparatively recent development, owing its stimulus to the World War, which strengthened national and racial ties throughout the world. The late development of the movement may be explained on several grounds. The tremendous size of continental Asia has heretofore militated against the pan-ideal. With the extension of modern communication and transportation, as well as Western industrialization, to Asia, the Far East was opened to Western political and intellectual currents, not the least of which was the new racio-nationalism. In addition, for cen-

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<sup>20</sup> Weldon James, *United Press*, Oct. 30, 1937.

<sup>21</sup> Otto D. Tolischus, "Hitler Enlists the Germans Everywhere," *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 21, 1937, p. 2.

turies Asia had sheltered an enormous variety of peoples and cultures, peoples whose conflicting ambitions have long made for division.

Probably the greatest handicap for the development of a working pan-Asianism has been the desire of Japan to assume a leading part in the movement. The slow but steady penetration of the Chinese mainland by Japanese military forces, as expressed in the creation of successive puppet states under Japanese domination, has for the time being prevented a united front against the white man. From the Japanese point of view, Japan's mission in China is a civilizing one and will eventually result in a union of all Asiatics under Japanese leadership. In a pamphlet issued in 1934 by the Japanese War Minister, General Araki, entitled "The Path of Japan", it was explained that Japanese rule over Manchuria and Mongolia was but the first step in a "Japanese Peace" for Asia, which must be made independent of the white man. "The Asiatic peoples are victims of oppression by the white race! The aroused Japanese Empire cannot tolerate the ambitions of the exploiting powers any longer. Japan has the moral duty to attack all nations that threaten the integrity of Asia, however strong they may be. If it comes to open struggle in Eastern Asia, Japan has the right and duty to intervene."<sup>22</sup>

The pan-Asiatic ideal has received support from three independent and mutually hostile sources: from an aggressive Japan; from China, influenced by the nationalistic ideals of Sun Yat-sen; and from Russia, determined to prevent Japanese expansion on the mainland. The future of pan-Asianism awaits the outcome of this three-sided struggle for the mastery of Asia, a struggle that has resolved itself at the present writing into an undeclared war between Japan and China. At the moment pan-Asianism is torn with dissensions which prevent its development as a creative force.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. E. Hurwicz, "Asia for the Asiatics," *Living Age*, January, 1934.

<sup>23</sup> For detailed accounts of the pan-Asiatic movement, *vide* Hans Kohn, "Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient," Berlin, 1928; H. Haushöfer, "Das erwachende Asien," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, vol. XXIV, 1926-1927; "Japan's Pan-Asian Aim," *Literary Digest*, Sept. 30, 1933.

## THE FIRST PAN-ASIATIC CONGRESS, 1926

The First Pan-Asiatic Congress, "an informal international parley", was held at Nagasaki, Japan. Called together as a protest against the tyranny and undue influence of the white man in Asia, the Congress demanded unity of the Asiatic peoples as a step towards politico-economic hegemony. Like the various European pen-Congresses, the aims were expressed in an idealistic vein. Some of the proposals submitted were grandiose and ambitious: it was decided to build a vast trans-Asiatic railroad to link the yellow races, as well as a gigantic company to handle all the commerce and industry of Asiatic peoples. The delegates urged the formation of a common language for all Asia—a kind of Asiatic Esperanto, the establishment of an Academy for Asiatic Sciences, an Asiatic Information Bureau, and an Asiatic Racial Conference.

From its beginning, the conference encountered the undisguised hostility of the Japanese Government. Japan, as the only nation able to boast of independence in Asia, feared embarrassment in international affairs. The Tokyo Government made it clear, therefore, that her future lay "in honest coöperation with the Western world" and not as a leader of Asiatic alignments against the West. The delegates were discouraged by the Japanese Government, which even went so far as to prevent the Afghan representative to the Congress from landing in Japan. Public opinion was against the Government's attitude; some newspapers strongly criticized official "persecution" and "negligence". The Tokyo *Yamato* remarked that "the persons who represented every race in Asia, having been noted patriots, the white peoples were naturally nervous".<sup>24</sup>

## THE SECOND PAN-ASIATIC CONGRESS, 1928

The Second Pan-Asiatic Congress was held at Nantao, a suburb of Shanghai, in early 1928. Representatives attended from all Asiatic countries with the exception of the Philippines and Indo-China. Once again the familiar cry of "Asia for the Asiatics!" was

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<sup>24</sup> For examples of newspaper reaction to the official Japanese attitude towards the Congress, *vide* "The First Pan-Asiatic Conference," *Literary Digest*, Sept. 18, 1926.



raised. Again many speakers spoke in idealistic terms of the necessity for unification of all the yellow races. An ironic note was struck in a resolution urging that Asia, "the cradle of religions", send out religious missions to America, Europe, Africa and Australia, with the purpose of converting heathen Christians to Asiatic religions. Other resolutions proposed better political and commercial relations between the various peoples of Asia.

From the beginning, the Congress was beset by political differences. At the first day's session, the question of racial equality was discussed, the matter being raised by Japanese delegates. Chinese speakers at once proposed that if the Japanese believed in racial equality they must discontinue their policy of encroachment in Manchuria. The Chinese attitude was supported by delegates from India, who warned the Japanese that if they were really in accord with the spirit of pan-Asianism, they would clear out their troops from Manchuria and adopt a generally more conciliatory feeling towards the Chinese. The Congress nearly broke up in pandemonium after these speeches.

The Second Pan-Asiatic Congress, like the First, produced no tangible results. Chinese intellectuals were not concerned with the international problems of India or Annam, but they were deeply interested in attempted Japanese penetration of the homeland. Japanese delegates would not support any move for pan-Asianism unless it were dominated by Japan. It was apparent that racial community of the peoples of Asia must await a more propitious moment, at least until internal conflicts on the continent were settled.

The first attempts to consolidate a working pan-Asianism, while not successful, aroused the Western imperialistic powers. Scare stories began to circulate from London about the new "Oriental menace" and a re-born "yellow peril". In 1926, a story was circulated from London about the formation of an Asiatic League of Nations. According to this rumor, the yellow races had formed a League intended to be used as a counter-force to the League of Nations. The coalition was said to have included Soviet Russia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and China, and was under Russian

leadership.<sup>25</sup> Whether such a League was ever established is problematical. The idea may have been a figment of journalistic imagination, although the British Foreign Office may have had a hand in the rumor. The incident was significant because it indicated the concern with which a really effective pan-Asiatic movement would be greeted by the Western powers.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. "Asia Alarms Europe," *Outlook*, Nov. 24, 1926, pp. 394-395.

## PART 8—RACE AND ANTI-SEMITISM

### CHAPTER 20

## RACIAL ASPECTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

### ARE THE JEWS A RACE?

Among the main tenets of the Aryan-Nordic thesis is the assumption that the opposing force to the Aryans in the struggle for racial mastery are the Jews, a distinct race which has fanatically preserved its purity of blood since the dispersion. It is furthermore believed that the Jews have long struggled to hold other peoples in subjugation, and that if the Aryans wish to take their logical place in history as the bearer of culture, they must eliminate the Jewish peril. The Jews, it is said, possess peculiar, inherent racial traits such as acquisitiveness, lack of courage, deceitfulness and cultural backwardness.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Aryans are warned against intermarriage with Jews, because the latter dominate any racial intermixture.<sup>2</sup>

This grouping of the Jews as a distinct race is scientifically fallacious. The Jews are not a race, either from the standpoint of physical character or historical tradition. Investigation of Jews by Weissenberg has shown beyond a reasonable doubt that Jews are by no means uniform in physical character, various groups in dif-

<sup>1</sup> This attitude has long been held as a truism in the popular mind. Even Hillaire Belloc wrote that "We know a horse to be a horse, an apple to be an apple, a Chinaman to be a Chinaman, or a Jew to be a Jew".

<sup>2</sup> "The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a Negro is a Negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and a cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew." (Madison Grant, "The Passing of the Great Race," New York, 1920, p. 18.)

<sup>3</sup> S. Weissenberg, "Die jemenitischen Juden," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, vol. XLI, pp. 309-327; "Zur Anthropologie der nordafrikanischen Juden," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 85-102.

ferent sections of the world differing widely in skull form, stature, pigmentation and eye color. Furthermore, it has been found that Jews have long been confused with other Semite groups with which they have little in common physically.<sup>4</sup> From the historical point of view, the continuous migrations of the Jews and the fact that they are scattered throughout the world with no common homeland, together with the constant ethnic intermingling that has proceeded since the dispersion, make it incorrect to speak of a common historical unity of a people remaining racially pure.<sup>5</sup>

The Jews, like other peoples, reflect the physical type among which they live.<sup>6</sup> There are many pertinent examples. The low stature of the Jews in Poland is similar to that of other Poles, a condition undoubtedly due to the unfavorable economic environment of Poland throughout its history. Moreover, when these Jews, called by Nordic racialists "of dwarf stature and peculiar mentality", emigrated to America, a change of type appeared even after the first generation. Franz Boas investigated the Polish-Jewish school-children of New York City and found that they changed their type both mentally and physically after the first generation.<sup>7</sup> The differences appeared to develop in early childhood and continued throughout life, undoubtedly a reflection of better climate, a higher standard of living, better food, and a more stable manner of life. Changes were noted particularly in the form of the head, which some scientists believe ordinarily remains biologically stable.<sup>8</sup>

In comparing the North African Jews with their non-Jewish

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<sup>4</sup> The Semites would properly include all those speaking Semitic languages, particularly the Arabs.

<sup>5</sup> "No Jewish race, in the zoölogical sense of the word, exists. The Israelites constitute a religious and social community, certainly very strong and very coherent; but its elements are heterogeneous in the extreme. . . . There is no more a Christian race than a Musulman race. And neither is there any such thing as a Jewish race." (Pittard, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-351.)

<sup>6</sup> In "*Rasse und Moderne Forschung*," Dr. V. Suk, Professor of Anthropology and Folk-Lore at the University of Prague, reported on the results of 3000 precipitation experiments on the blood of Jews, "Nordics", Alpines, Baltics, Eskimos, Kalmuks, Gipsies, etc. He found that "the blood of Jews, Nordics and others was not clearly differentiated."

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* pp. 40 ff.

<sup>8</sup> "Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants," *United States Immigration Commission*, 1910.

neighbors, Dixon found in most respects a striking accord. "Throughout the whole region the population is predominantly dolichocephalic, and in the main of Mediterranean and Caspian types, these elements being somewhat more strongly marked in Egypt than in the west, just as among the Jews."<sup>9</sup> Dixon also pointed out that in Germany the lower proportion of brachycephalic factors of the Jews in Cologne and Frankfort-on-Main, as compared with Baden, was the same as the Gentile German population.<sup>10</sup>

There is no undeviating type of head form to be found among the Jews scattered throughout the world, since they show no tendency to centre about one particular cephalic type. The cephalic index of Jews in various sections of the world varies along with the local population: in Baden it is 88.6 (Ammon); in Frankfort-on-Main from 73.8 to 88.6 (Weissenberg); in Spain 78.1 (Weissenberg); in Central Asia 82.5 (Weissenberg); in Persia 79.8 (Weissenberg); at Damascus 80 and Aleppo 84 (Weissenberg); on the Barbary Coast 74 (Bertholon and Chantre); in Morocco 75.92 and in Tunisia 76.11 (Fishberg); in America 81 (Pittard); in Turkey 76 and the Caucasus 87 (Pittard). Nearly as great a variation has been found in the species of mankind, i.e., from 65 to 98, as has been found among Jews. There can be no question here of "typical type of head".

It is often assumed that the Jews as a "racial unit" are invariably brunet and that they can be distinguished by color of hair. This assumption has no basis in fact. In sections of Germany and England where the population is predominantly blond, the Jews are also prevailingly blond. The Jews of Italy, North Africa and the Near East, where a majority of the population is brunet, are also dark-haired. Fishberg found that 67% of Jews have straight, 26% wavy and only 6% curly and 1% woolly, fuzzy hair, and that 60% of the Jews in Southwestern Germany are blond, 25% in Galicia and more than 11% in Germany and America.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>10</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>11</sup> *Vide* Fishberg's "The Jews, a Study in Race and Environment," Contemporary Science Series, London, 1911.

Still another physical characteristic said to distinguish Jews from other peoples is the so-called "Jewish nose". In the popular mind, the aquiline or hooked nose is a certain characteristic of the Jewish race. Yet the "Jewish nose" is found among the Armenoid types in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia, who bear few other Jewish qualities and whose hatred for Jews matches that of Nordic theorists. It is significant that the proportion of "Jewish noses" among the non-Jewish population of the world is larger than among the Jews. Fishberg fixed the percentage of aquiline noses among the Jews of New York City at 14.25%.<sup>12</sup> In a survey of 2,836 adult male Jews in New York City he found the percentage to be:

Straight (Greek).....	57.26%
Retroussé (snub).....	22.07%
Aquiline (hooked)....	14.25%
Flat and broad.....	6.42%

Here, again, the physical character varies with the environment. In the southern regions of Germany, where the hooked nose is prominent among Bavarians, the Jews, likewise, possess aquiline noses. In Slavic countries, where the retroussé nose is common, the Jews, too, possess snub noses. The Jews of Northern Europe who possess aquiline noses were undoubtedly technically mixed with early Canaanite settlers, whose nasal character was typical of the Near Eastern region. Jewish prisoners represented on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II dating from the ninth century B.C. show the peculiar aquiline nose, which was also common to the contemporary Hittites.<sup>13</sup>

The attempt to segregate Jews by race has proceeded along fantastic lines. For instance, it is claimed without scientific substantiation that Jews are more fertile than other peoples (circumcision is said to be practiced for this purpose),<sup>14</sup> that Jewish girls begin

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>14</sup> So-called Jewish fecundity appears to be on the wane. From 1820-1866 the Jewish birth-rate was 37.70 per 1000; in 1902 the figure declined to 22.5 per 1000. (Pittard, *op. cit.*, p. 339.)

menstruation earlier than Gentiles, and that the Jews are peculiarly susceptible to certain diseases such as tuberculosis or diabetes.

Systematic anthropological investigations by Weissenberg, Bertholon, Chantre, Fishberg, Boas and others indicates that the Jews are physically a chaotic ethnic group who reflect nearly always the physical character of the people among whom they live. They form a religious body and not a distinct race.<sup>15</sup> The homogeneous Jewish "type" exists only in the imagination, since there are Jews with dark and light hair, narrow and aquiline noses, short and tall stature, narrow long-heads and broad short-heads. From the earliest times the Jews were an ethnic mixture of Hittites, Amorites, Moabites and Ammonites, who after the dispersion intermingled with Babylonians, Spaniards, Egyptians, Romans and other peoples. Even Günther admitted that the Jews were not a race, but a people made up of several races.<sup>16</sup> The "typically Jewish face" is not anthropological or physical in character, but psychical and social, a result of centuries of Ghetto life.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL ANTI-SEMITISM

One of the first attempts to distinguish the Semitic peoples was made by Franz Bopp, who, in his "Comparative Grammar" (1833-1852), made a distinction between the Indo-Germanic and Semitic tongues. The linguistic paleontologists who followed Bopp furthered the distinction. Christian Lassen, for example, held that: "History proves Semites do not possess the harmony of psychical forces which distinguishes the Aryans. The Semite is selfish and exclusive. He possesses a sharp intellect which enables him to make use of the opportunities created by others."<sup>17</sup> Ernest Renan claimed for himself recognition of the inferiority of Jews,<sup>18</sup> main-

<sup>15</sup> "The Jews, who were once a nationality, at present, of course, form a religious body, which somewhat variably, in part from inner cohesion and in part from outer pressure, tends also to constitute a caste. They evince little hereditary racial type, measurements indicating that in each country they approximate the physical type of the Gentile population. (Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 57.)

<sup>16</sup> Günther, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75. *Vide* also Günther's "*Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*," appendix.

<sup>17</sup> Christian Lassen, "*Indische Altertumskunde*," Bonn, 1844-1861, vol. I, p. 414.

<sup>18</sup> Ernest Renan, "*Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*," Paris, 1878, p. 4.

taining that the Aryans created all the great military, political and intellectual movements of history, while the Jews never had any understanding of civilization, of public spirit, or of tolerance.<sup>19</sup> He believed that the cause of eighteen centuries of persecution of the Jews was due to the fact that the Jews claimed the future for themselves.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century, the concept of the Jews as a foreign racial group gathered strength in Europe. Thousands of books and pamphlets were written to prove that the Jew was cosmopolitan, that he possessed a shrewdness and selfishness which made him master of the honest Aryan, and that he was "a cancer slowly eating into the flesh of other races". It was claimed that the Jew, while participating to an extent in the political and social activities of the nations among which he settled, insisted upon remaining a separate ethnic group and that he endeavored to make all other peoples bow to his will.

Although the term anti-Semitism is often used to express persecutions of Jews since early biblical times, when they were accused of hatred of other peoples, clannishness and bodily odor, and since medieval times, when objections to Judaism were based largely upon religious grounds, in its recent form it originated after 1871. When Germany emerged on the international scene as a unified state ripe for imperialistic conquest, anti-Semitism broke out in "scientific" form. The French Revolution, with its concepts of religious liberty and equality of men, made it necessary to find a new basis for attacks on Jews. The new racial theories provided an excellent means of justifying anti-Semitism on scholarly grounds. In Germany, Jewish emancipation had been completed by 1871, but there was a vigorous reaction to the tolerant spirit. When the New Industrial Revolution began to take effect in Germany, the Jews were accused of taking a leading part in the development of capitalistic enterprise and at the same time they were identified with the rising Social Democracy because of the prominence of individual Jews in its leadership. With the quick payment of the

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<sup>19</sup> Ernest Renan, "*Études d'histoire religieuse*," Paris, 1862, pp. 85-88.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.



French indemnity after the Franco-Prussian War and the resulting economic crash in Germany, anti-Semitism flared up in virulent form and soon became an organized political and social movement.<sup>21</sup>

The scientific anti-Semitism which was formed at this time coincided with the development of the Aryan-Nordic racial theory.<sup>22</sup> A flood of anti-Semitic pamphlets and books appeared in Germany. One excerpt is sufficient to express the tone of this literature:

"In the case of the Jews we have to do with an entirely different ethnic group. . . . This people, scattered and settled in Aryan Europe, is purely Semitic. From an anthropological point of view, the Jew who lives in our midst stands quite as far apart from us as the Arab, and the emphatic contrast between the two . . . is for the most part exactly the same as exists between Aryanism and Semitism. The European feels so to speak instinctively in the Jew who stands over against him the foreigner who has immigrated from Asia. . . . The so-called prejudice is a natural sentiment. Civilization will overcome the antipathy against the Israelites who merely profess another religion, but never against the racially different Jew."<sup>23</sup>

The works of Gobineau and Treitschke ("the Jews are our misfortune!") were popularized. Jews were assaulted in the streets of Berlin; Jewish merchants were boycotted; anti-Semitic meetings were held through Germany. Stoecker's Christian Socialist party, which adopted anti-Semitism as a leading plank in its platform, finally declined in power,<sup>24</sup> but anti-Semitism lingered in Germany, breaking out after the World War with increased virulence.

What was originally a religious and politico-economic issue was transformed under the impact of the new racial theory to an ethnic problem. Jews were placed in the rigid category of a distinct race, biologically compact and differentiated from other peoples. A "war for civilization" was fashioned, between the preponderant "Aryan race" and the "Jewish race", which constituted in numbers a tiny minority. Apparently the human animal finds himself constitutionally unable to live at peace with his neighbors. To-day it is war against the Jews; to-morrow it may be the oft-predicted and

<sup>21</sup> Guinzburg, *supra*.

<sup>22</sup> *Vide* chap. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Friedrich von Hellwald, *Zur Charakteristik des jüdischen Volkes*, *Das Ausland*, vol. XLV, 1872, pp. 901-906 and 951-955.

<sup>24</sup> *Vide* pp. 169 ff.

dreaded war between white white-yellow-black races. There are some who believe that the Jews have become the catalyzator or even the force which will precipitate this future conflict. These alarmists prophesy that the fatal moment is approaching for Jews, that the fabulous, secret organization of Jews will be forced into frightful existence. Then, when the last Jewish group has left Europe and America, the Jews, who for thousands of years have been familiar with the weaknesses of the white nations, will take over leadership of the colored races in the inevitable conflict.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL ANTI-SEMITISM

It was comparatively easy to confuse the economic and ethnic aspects of anti-Semitism in the minds of the masses. The average German or Austrian could not understand the economic system which meant poverty and discontent for him, but he was strongly impressed by simple arguments that his unlucky economic status was due directly to the Jew, who was the "unproductive exploiter and employer of other peoples' labor".<sup>26</sup> The paradox was not clearly seen: Jewish radicals were accused of attempting to undermine the state, while Jewish financiers were said to be bolstering autocracy. It appeared that the only solution was the elimination of the Jews from European life.

The consequences of racial anti-Semitism, now so widespread in Europe, have been truly tragic. The plight of Jews in Germany is familiar, with its inevitable starvation of the spirit and broken, frustrated careers. Scarcely less tragic has been the fate of Jews in Poland, where of a population of some 32,000,000, at least 3,000,000 Jews have been living in a state of terror. Racial hatred of the Jew, instead of decreasing has been increasing everywhere, in Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, even in Italy. "The Jews see the . . .

<sup>25</sup> *Vide* Hermannson, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

<sup>26</sup> "It is not surprising that German peasants suspicious of the prices of Jewish grain-merchants or horse-dealers, Viennese craftsmen-shopkeepers fearful of damage from the arrival of Galician Jews in the capitol, the Hungarian rustics in debt to Jewish publicans or shop-keepers, could only too easily be persuaded that their troubles were solely ascribable to malevolent Jewish agency." (S. Maccoby, "Modern Anti-Semitism," *Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1935, pp. 342-348.)

terror approaching and slowly creeping nearer and nearer as a man in the very agony of fear sees coiling slowly nearer and nearer a monstrous serpent unescapable and sure to strike. These people have not the wherewithal to flee. But their flight, had they the means and courage, would be a flight without aim. The gates of the Western world are closed to them. They are precisely like the man in Poe's tale of 'The Pit and the Pendulum'. Thongs bind them; the merciless knife comes nearer and nearer; the dreadful walls close in."<sup>27</sup>

The intensity of racial anti-Semitism in various countries is dependent upon socio-political, economic, cultural and religious factors, which vary in most nations. Whereas anti-Semitism in Poland may be expressed in outright pogroms, in the United States it is reflected in social discrimination. The Jewish issue is intensifying in varying degree in almost every country, depending upon local conditions. If the process continues, and indications are that it will, the Jews may be amputated from the European social body. The steady intermingling of Jews with the various Occidental ethnic groups has produced a hybridized population which will be difficult to identify. It will be comparatively easy to eliminate the "typical Jew", but the question of proceeding against those Jews, who have taken on the physical character and mental outlook of those among whom they live, will provide a real challenge to the racialist.

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<sup>27</sup> L. Lewisohn, "Jews in Trouble," *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan.-June, 1936, pp. 53-60.

## PART 9—CONCLUSION

### CHAPTER 21

## RACE IN MODERN COLLECTIVE LIFE

### THE RACE MYTH

The various racial theories discussed in this volume represent in combined form what may be termed "the race myth", a concept pseudo-scientific in origin, grounded on hatred and hypocrisy and scorning the machinery of the intelligent mind. Fundamentally, the race myth was a mechanism devised to strengthen the all-pervading force of nationalism, which became in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a dominant force in history and a veritable religion. Nationalism and its concomitant racialism formed a curious development: while they dominated the mind of the nineteenth century and while the peoples of Europe were consciously emphasizing their national and racial idiosyncrasies, a new type of civilization based upon the supernational industrial system was being devised. People were attempting gravely to prove themselves conspicuously different from one another, and yet the great fact of the times was the formation of a civilization which transcended political frontiers.

But the perversity of the human mind is well-known. Under the impact of modern industrial and economic development, all peoples were being drawn together, but they preferred to stress their national differences. The race myth appeared in the midst of this struggle for national expression. It acquired persistence and a certain dignity, along with an intellectualized vocabulary, scholarly support and official sanction. Race theory, always vague and abstract, could be manipulated to fit any given situation. It was invaluable to those who sought for philosophical or "scientific" support

of nationalism. In the popular mind, national characteristics were easily confused with racial qualities; for example, it became obvious to many that German thoroughness, conscientiousness and demand for personal cleanliness were "racial" characteristics passed along from generation to generation as an expression of the peculiar Teutonic nature. It was relatively simple to convince the patriot, already engrained with the fervent conviction of the national superiority of his own people, that he was a member of a superior and dominant race whose characteristics had been passed on unchanged from generation to generation. For him "race" and "nation" meant one and the same thing. Being a gregarious animal, he looked with sympathy upon his newly-discovered "blood-brothers" and he was perfectly willing to show his hatred for all foreigners of alien "race" in his country.

Artificial, irrational, the race myth nevertheless steadily assumed more and more importance. For the last century there has been growing in the popular mind the belief that race is a hidden and all-powerful force, essential and decisive for the human animal in his evolutionary process. It is held to embrace an extraordinary range, being responsible for cultural clashes between nations, for economic rivalries, for the necessary enslavement of inferior races, for revolts against authority, for migrations and wars. That historical development is due to a multitude of causes closely inter-related is overlooked in the naive search for simplistic explanations. In this sense, the race myth is an escape mechanism from the consideration of politico-economic, socio-cultural and religious influences, in that the comparatively simple method of attributing all to inherent biological differences is accepted as the final truth.

Race theory has now passed well beyond the situation in which it was born. What was once an attempt to divide mankind into several recognizable groups has developed into a vast and complicated mythology. This early attempt to clear up much of the confusion surrounding historical development was a natural one. But once a search was made for the different instincts and emotions existing among different peoples, cultural forces were confused with biological. Even though the vital evidence was lost, the

tendency was to distinguish peoples and nations on biological grounds, although the social forces which bound peoples together into nations and resulted in different languages, customs and traditions, were cultural in nature. The search for "pure races" and "superior races" soon developed into a broad movement reflecting the economic struggle of nations.

The lesson to be learned here is an important one: a movement arising casually and apparently without aim may soon develop into a persistent and all-important force as soon as historians and philosophers endow it with dignity and a vocabulary. This has been the history of the race myth, which commenced harmlessly enough, but which to-day has developed into a powerful and dangerous intellectual concept. Instead of promoting harmony between the peoples of the earth, it has tended to aggravate national differences and to strengthen the urge to war.

Nor does the movement seem to be abating in intensity. The contemporary press is filled with allusions to race. What was once a vague and intangible force has now assumed political reality. Germans stress the dignity of the whole German race; Rumanians create organizations against foreigners "who weaken Rumania's racial character" to leave the country; Englishmen worry about the continued domination of Africa and the Far East by the "Anglo-Saxon race"; the Chinese fighting the invading Japanese recall the ancient glories of the "Chinese race". Mussolini suddenly discovers that "Fascism is one of the purest and most significant manifestations of the Aryan spirit" and hails Italy's racialist position as proof of her increased power, "since decadent peoples do not have a racist conscience".

It is apparent that these manifestations of race are improvisations derived from particular considerations. Beliefs held as to race capacity by a people are not the outcome of impartial examination and verification, which form the very core of scientific inquiry, but are the result of decisions taken and emotions experienced in the course of acts performed toward other peoples.<sup>1</sup> The tendency is

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<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

to find in obscure racial theory the explanation for tangible politico-economic clashes or for wars. Thus, the contemporary German drive for territorial expansion is predicated on the assumption that there is a racial struggle to the death between Aryans and Jews. In the relations between great and small nations and in the domination of Western nations over those of the East, race provides a medium of maintaining the status quo. The attitude of Western whites to the blacks in Africa is based upon a belief so strong that it is accepted as a matter of course: the colored men are heathens of inferior race who must be exploited for the economic advantage of the stronger race.

A somewhat depressing question arises: since the problems of race are so shrouded in doubt and mystery and since all vital evidence in the differences between the so-called races has been lost, what is the point of the whole race theory? And furthermore, how is it possible that men of reason continue to apply racial doctrines to practical political life with their resultant abject misery and fratricidal wars? It is difficult for the rational human being to find an answer. One might as well ask the question: why do human beings who for thousands of years have endured the civilizing process persist in murdering one another in barbaric and costly warfare? The streak of irrationalism in the human mind is strong and utterly inexplicable. It would seem that the crude fanaticism, the unscholarly dogmatism and deeply-engrained perversity of race theorists would dissolve quickly in the compound of human intelligence, yet we of the contemporary world witness the accelerated tempo of a myth which honest scientific inquiry persists in rejecting but which nevertheless continues to gain headway among deluded masses of people.

Is it not reasonable to say that generally speaking all human beings make up one great universal human race? This is not to deny that there exist within this universal human race, groups with national and cultural variations.

In summary, then:

1. All mankind consists of but one species: *homo sapiens*.
2. There are no pure races.

3. There are no inferior peoples; within every people there are inferior individuals.
4. The differences between various peoples, both physical and psychical, are by no means as great as those between individuals of the same so-called races.

#### RE-EVALUATION OF RACIAL THEORY

We have seen in the course of this volume that an enormous amount of confusion exists even among the most capable scholars of race. The main problems of physical anthropology, a comparatively new study and one faced with a rapidly developing body of new techniques and knowledge, will not be solved perhaps for another one or two decades. Moreover, ethnology has not kept pace with its sister science. By the time when principles of evolution had received recognition, students of race accumulated a mass of data and dogmas, among which was the thesis that the various human varieties were static entities, subject to modification only through race mixture. This dogma has persisted in spite of the recognition of evolution of our species as a whole from a lower form and of the tendency towards mutability of other species. Moreover, physical anthropologists have accepted the doctrine of the fixity of the human varieties and have been busily looking for minute differentiations between such varieties. They have sought for new and more involved racial classifications, most of which are speculative and not susceptible to proof.<sup>2</sup>

The difficulties are obvious and striking. We have seen that no satisfactory definition of race has been generally accepted. Classification of races satisfactory to all scientists do not exist. The identification of race and nation, of race and culture, is manifestly fallacious, yet how can the effects of racial character be obtained otherwise? In other words, up to the present time all the problems of race have been attacked in a superficial manner, and without those weapons of science that in other cases yield satisfactory results, little can be accomplished.

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<sup>2</sup> Ralph Linton, "The Present Status of Anthropology," *Science*, March 18, 1938, pp. 241-248.



Therefore, a group of younger scientists, notably Linton and Klineberg, has rejected the voluminous racial literature of the past because it leads to a *cul de sac*, from which it is impossible to emerge. These scholars admit that there have been some accomplishments thus far in basic theory, but they call for a general moratorium on definite conclusions until cultural and physical anthropologists, physiologists, paleontologists, ethnologists, biologists and psychologists are able to work together more closely. Then further research will lay the groundwork for a rational re-evaluation of racial theory.

The new school of scientists rejects the superficial criteria of cephalic index, stature, pigmentation, hair color and other somatic characteristics and urges an investigation into blood types, growth rates, metabolism, hormone balances and specific disease resistance. It will be noted that this opens an entirely new field of endeavor. No longer would the anthropologist be able to measure heads and then arbitrarily classify his racial types; he must turn to other scientists, the biologist as well as the physician, for assistance in his work. He will hold the matters of racial classification and description in abeyance for a valid reason: the environmentalists have proven that a relatively pure race, at least as far as can be ascertained, will change its physical character when thrust into a new environment; now it must be proven *why* such changes occur. Here is a new and interesting race concept, which holds that human varieties are dynamic and not static phenomena.<sup>3</sup>

This attitude is a far and welcome cry from the day when race and culture were accepted as an integral relationship. The new approach is a healthy one and one that should wipe away much of the existing confusion in racial theory. The scientist who would work in this new direction requires before all complete freedom of investigation. If his work is subjugated to the interests of the state, i.e., if he be under the compulsion of "proving" any theory for the edification of state legislation or the Rome-Berlin axis, he must reject the name of scientist and accept the designation of state-

<sup>3</sup> Linton, *supra*.

lackey. Intuition, witticism or political expediency have nothing in common with honest scientific inquiry.

The first necessity for study in this new direction of races as dynamic and not static groups is a working definition of race. It is a strange fact that so important a term, upon which so many millions of words have been written, should never have been defined in a way acceptable to all investigators in the field, but such is, unfortunately, the case. Further difficulty arises from the imperfect investigations of the relative importance of heredity and environment in the life of the human animal. Until more scientific data is at hand on this crucial subject, the matter of proper definition of the term race will have to await a more propitious moment.

Moreover, a more intelligent understanding of race awaits the development of the comparatively new science of genetics. The keystone of genetics is the *gene*, hereditary invisible chemical entities which bear to the living cell somewhat of the same relation as the atom to the molecule. A long step forward in the study of race will have been taken when modern genetics has established a relationship between the characteristics of organisms and genes in the cells. As yet, the problem is complicated. In the evolution of animals there is a constant branching, each branch becoming isolated and incapable of fertile crossing with other branches. But in man the branches constantly meet, unite and form new types of shoots. Thus an ancestral tree becomes virtually meaningless, and no simple method of classifying peoples can be made. Nor can the method of scientific control of matings be applied to human beings. The success of genetics in unraveling these tangles will be the standard for any future solution of the race question.

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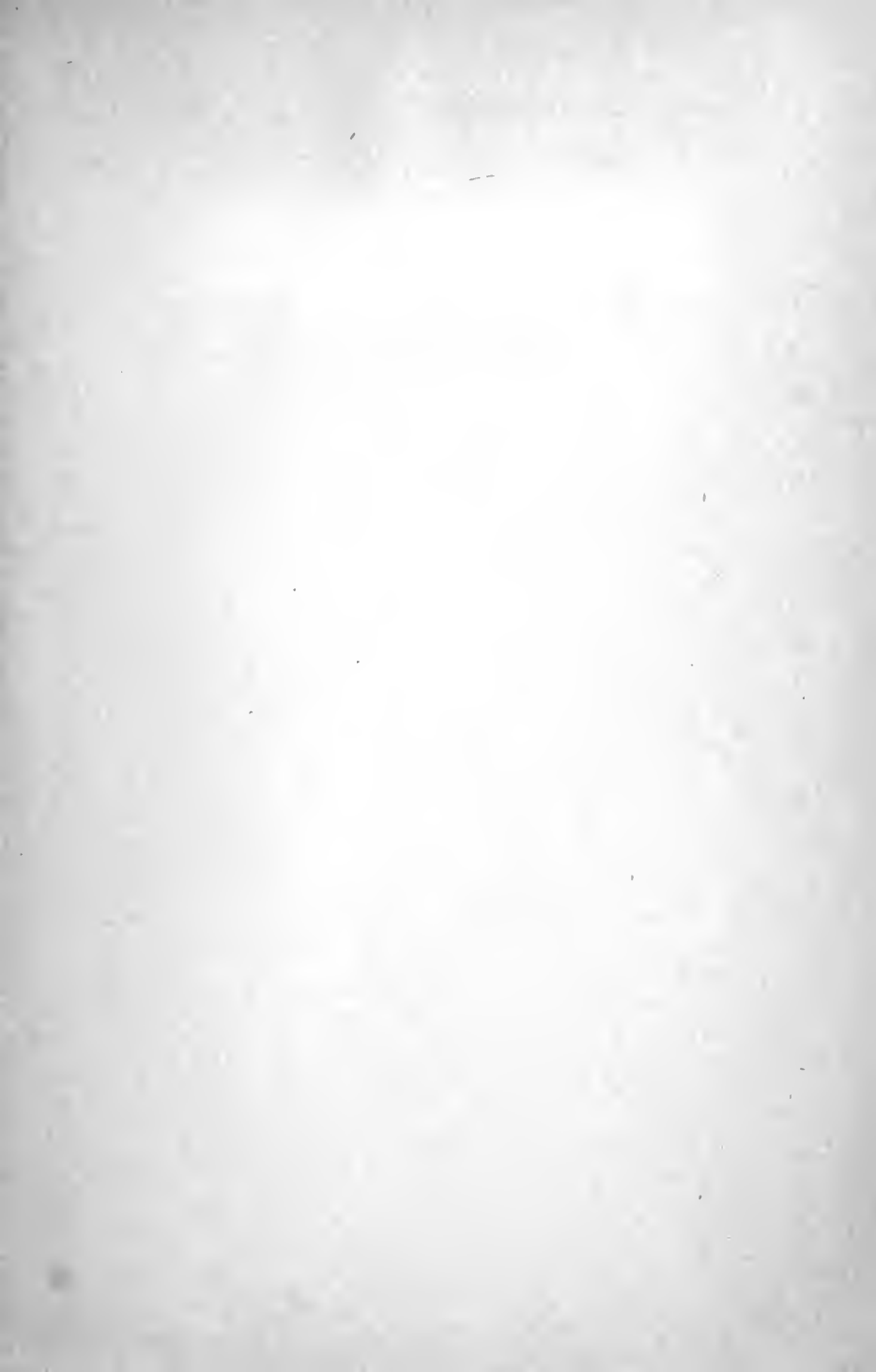
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