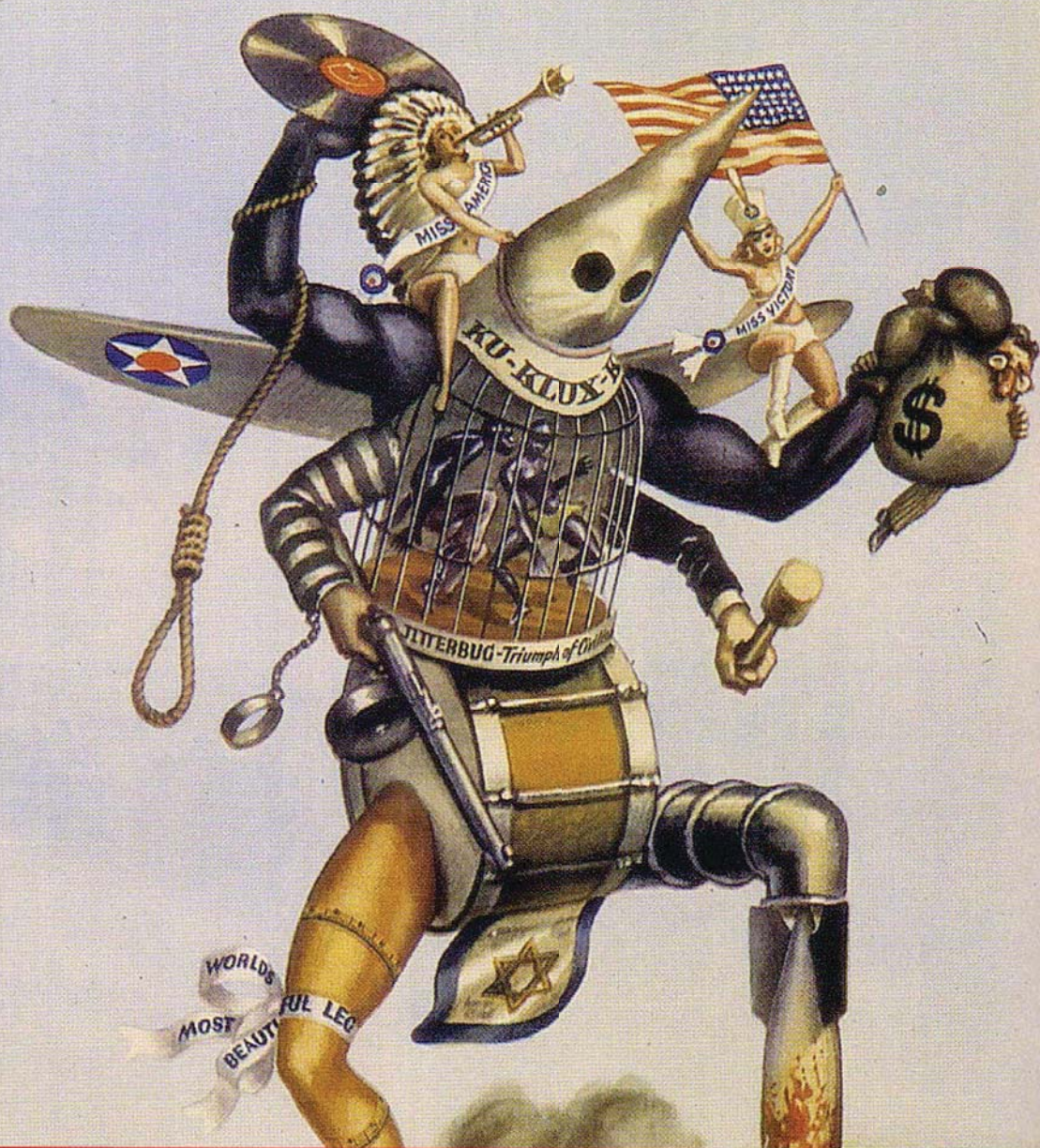


ANTI-AMERICA



By

Bruno Cariou

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Race: The Story of an Idea in the United States

The following text is the first part of the introduction to the French translation of Lothrop Stoddard's *Racial Realities in Europe*, to be published later this year. It is a summary of Thomas F. Gossett's *Race: the history of an idea in America* (New York, Schocken, 1965), supplemented in some places and stripped of its *droitdelhommisme*. Although, unlike the author, we have adopted as neutral a point of view as possible in this presentation of the genesis of the racial idea in the United States, neutrality does not necessarily mean half-heartedness. The term "nigger" is in no way pejorative, it is simply a translation of the English word "Negro". The international black nationalist organisation founded by the militant Marcus Garvey in Jamaica in August 1914 was called the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, the Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World was proclaimed in 1920, Martin Luther King gave a speech in 1960 entitled "The Negro and the American Dream" and, in "I have a Dream", he declared "We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality".

Eighteenth-century anthropology

When the English colonisers first landed in North America, they were immediately confronted with the issue of race: in the form of the Indians. A few years later, in 1619, the first ship loaded with black slaves landed in Virginia. There was no racial theory at the time.

The first attempt to classify all human races was probably made by the French traveller François Bernier, a disciple of Gassendi. In 1684, he anonymously published an essay in the *Journal des Sçavans* entitled "Nouvelle division de la Terre par les différentes espèces ou races d'hommes qui l'habitent" ("New division of the Earth by the different species or races of men that inhabit it"). Bernier began by pointing out that, until then, only geographers had been concerned with dividing the earth into different countries or regions, by drawing the natural, territorial and political boundaries of the globe. However, geographical maps had one major flaw: they identified territories and nations, not the people who lived there. How, then, were we to know the origin of any particular traveller, migrant or settler? To determine the 'Race' or 'Species' of man, Bernier developed a method based on facial features and anatomy. The first encompassed the whole of Europe, minus Muscovy, the whole of the Barbary Coast, from Morocco to Egypt inclusive, and Western Asia as far as Turkestan. To this he added Indo-China and part of Malaya. The second included all the rest of Africa, i.e. the negroes, whom he distinguished from the Hottentots, "ugly and small". The third, all the rest of Asia and Malaya. The fourth, the Lapps. As for the North American Indians, he found them to bear a resemblance to Europeans because of their noses. He gave specific characteristics to each of these four species. While admitting that Europeans differed

greatly from one country to another, he nevertheless considered them all - with the exception of the Lapps - to be members of the same race.

The classification of animals was rudimentary at the time. The attempt to explain the universe in terms of natural laws had led to the development of physics and chemistry, but not biology. The best scientific minds of the 17th century were absorbed in problems such as the laws of motion and the effect of gravity. They had deduced laws of motion in physics, but no general laws for organic phenomena. The mechanistic propositions that were applied in physics and chemistry were not applied in biology. Just as astronomers before Galileo had assumed that angels governed the movements of the planets, so scientific thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries generally assumed that the Creator must have personally seen to the production of every animal and plant on earth. An organism was what it was because God had decided that it should be. Its similarities to other organisms were evidence of God's glory, but they were in themselves incidental and unimportant. Finally, man had been created "in the image of God". Could God have many different faces? The study of racial differences, like the study of biology itself, was bound to stagnate.

In any case, the eighteenth century would have found it difficult to assimilate theories establishing a hierarchy between races. The importance that the philosophers of the Enlightenment attached to 'universal reason' would have been enough to distance them from the ideas of innate character and intelligence, if they had existed at all.

The hope and belief of the Enlightenment was that at birth a child's mind was a *tabula rasa*, an empty vessel. Education and environment could turn that child into a completely reasonable and intelligent being. The idea that character is innate belonged, in this view, to the discredited Calvinist theory of predestination.

Eighteenth-century anthropology distinguished between species and varieties. Species were seen as immutable prototypes, "distinct thoughts in the mind of God", perfectly designed to play their part in the divine economy of nature. Varieties were simply subdivisions of the same species, which, because of factors such as climate and geography, looked different. The idea of the fixity of species forms the basis of Linnaeus' classification system for all living organisms. Buffon, one of the most influential authorities on natural science at the time, had collected a vast amount of information and stimulated interest in his discipline. Although he was mainly interested in the lower biological orders, he did develop some considerations on the variety of human races. Of the nine chapters devoted to man in his *Natural History*, the most important is entitled "Of the Varieties of the Human Species", in which he is the first to use the word "race" in the exact sense in which we understand it. In the very first pages, he first

identifies a boreal race, to which he does not give a proper name and which includes the Lapps, the Samoyeds and the Eskimos. He then goes on to describe the Chinese and Japanese as another race, albeit with features that unite it with the previous one, and ends with the Indo-Chinese, whom he links with the Chinese and Japanese, as well as the Tartars. Thus, the Mongols, the Chinese and the Indo-Chinese differ enough to be separated, but they have traits in common that force them to be brought together; in short, as a whole, they form a race and, each in particular, a sub-race. All these human variations have three causes: climate, food and customs. The warmer the climate, the blacker the men; the milder the climate, the whiter their skin. Primitive man was white; he multiplied and spread throughout the world and was affected by the climates. Individual varieties were repeated in a large number of men at the same time under the influence of common causes. These varieties went from being individual and accidental to being general and constant. Hence the races. But the same influences occur in the opposite direction and it is therefore very likely, Buffon continues, that these constant varieties will disappear or at least become different. So races last only as long as the causes that gave rise to them. Incidentally, the indefinite fertility of their cross-breeding contributes to mixing and multiplying them.

In 1744, the American physician, botanist and cartographer John Mitchell, well known for his map of eastern North America, published an article through the Royal Society in London, where he was resident, entitled *An Essay upon the Causes of the Different Colours of People in Different Climates*, in which he asserted that the first race on earth had brown or reddish skin such as that of certain Asians and Amerindians. In 1775, influenced by Buffon's writings, the famous English surgeon John Hunter published a theory on the causes of racial differences. Like Buffon and Mitchell, Hunter considered climate to be the main determinant of race. His theory was widely disseminated in England, where it encouraged the study of the natural sciences.

That same year in Germany, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, professor of medicine at the University of Göttingen, co-founder with Buffon of anthropology, father of craniology and the true founder of the comparative study of human races, presented a doctoral thesis, "On the natural variety of humanity", the first in a long series of ethnological studies on race. He collected specimens of human skeletons, particularly skulls, from all over the world. (It was Blumenbach who coined the term "Caucasian" to describe the white race. In his collection of skulls, he had just one from the Caucasus. He found strong similarities between this skull and the skulls of the Germans and therefore hypothesised that this region was the original home of the Europeans). Mr Wagner, his successor at the chair, summed up his ideas on races in five propositions: 1. All the bodily diversities found among the nations of the globe are no greater than those found in animals and plants of one and the same species, which are designated by the name of varieties (*spielarten*); 2. These varieties of the human race are divided into: a) accidental varieties, for example men without pigment, albinos, which can be observed among all peoples and among many mammals and birds; b) climacteric varieties, i.e. those in which the influence of climate on skin colouring, height, etc. can be demonstrated; c) subsistent varieties or races; 3. The number of these

racis is determined more or less arbitrarily; it depends on the degree of deviation deemed necessary to form a race. Blumenbach admitted five races, which, in general, corresponded to the five parts of the world: Indo-European (he extended this to the Caucasus as far as the Indus and the Ganges, as well as to Asia Minor and northern Africa), Asian, frizzy-haired African and American, or, according to the predominant colour, white, yellow, black, red; Blumenbach's fifth race is the Malayan or brown race, to which he added the flat-haired black race of Australia and perhaps even the Papuans; 4. All human races intermingle freely; unions are fertile and the fruits of these unions, mulattoes and half-breeds, in turn give birth to fertile offspring. Thus, all races form a single species, which here is identical with the genus, *genus humanum*; 5. Historical documents, human skeletons found as mummies in tombs, or in the ground in a sub-fossil state, show us that man has not undergone any essential changes in shape or size, and the most recent geological data have confirmed the fact that man, in the series of organisms, is the last to have appeared on the scene of creation. To these five propositions are added a sixth and a seventh, which Wagner poses in the form of a question, namely: can all human races be traced back to a primitive form, and how did they arise? Can we admit, for purely physiological reasons, that all men come from a single couple? One of Blumenbach's fundamental ideas, which Wagner did not take into account, was that all races are unhealthy deviations from a primitive type of which we are representatives, so that nine-tenths of the human race was made up of degenerate individuals. Unlike his predecessors, he believed that colour differences between races could be due not precisely to climate, but to a combination of climatic and other factors. He scoffed at the idea of racial hierarchy. Those who classified races according to their beauty particularly irritated him. In his library he had collected books written by black people to show that they were not naturally stupid.

Reverend, it goes without saying that Samuel Stanhope Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of New Jersey, later Princeton, was, like Blumenbach and others, a proponent of the theory of the fundamental unity of mankind. Smith was already an old man when the race question began to attract a great deal of attention. Imperialism and the Atlantic slave trade had brought Europeans into contact with people from all over the world, which raised an essential question: since human beings in different parts of the world were very different, how could they all be descended from Adam and Eve? To answer this question, Enlightenment scientists and philosophers theorised that human beings were profoundly shaped by the environment (natural and social) in which they lived. Buffon put forward a memorable hypothesis: if you transplanted a few dozen people from Denmark to Senegal and a few dozen Senegalese to Denmark, within a few generations the blacks would become whites and vice versa. Confident in the ability of the environment to shape humanity, theorists like Smith thought they had solved the mystery of human diversity without threatening the biblical myth that all human races once lived in the Garden of Eden. The idea that Afro-Americans or Amerindians might be inferior to whites had been little debated during the colonial period. Ironically, it was the birth of the anti-slavery movement in the 1770s that brought scientific racism to light. Stung by the rhetoric of human brotherhood that inspired early anti-slavery activists in Europe and America, pro-slavery French and British thinkers countered that non-whites lacked the intelligence and potential of Europeans and, for the first time, evidence from biology was used to justify their servitude down the generations.

This is echoed in the chapter on slavery in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1786), in which he paints a physical and psychological portrait of Negroes. First of all, he states that the Negro is ugly. In addition, the Negro has "a very strong and disagreeable odour". "Superior beauty is considered a factor worthy of attention in the reproduction of our horses, dogs and other domestic animals. Why not in human reproduction? From a psychological and moral point of view, while he admits that they are "at least as brave and more adventurous than the whites", he is quick to add that this bravery "may stem from a lack of foresight". He concedes that they may have musical ability, but doubts that they are capable of learning a complicated melody. They have no affinity for poetry or art in general. "Love for them seems to be more of a yearning than a tender and delicate mixture of feelings and sensations. Their existence "seems to be made up of sensations rather than reflections". "As far as memory is concerned, they are equal to the Whites; as far as reason is concerned, they are far inferior" and "their imagination is dull, insipid and abnormal". He therefore "advances the hypothesis that Negroes, whether originally a distinct race or made distinct by time and circumstance, are inferior to Whites both in bodily characteristics and in intellectual aptitude". He added "with great tenderness", perhaps because he felt uncomfortable knowing that most naturalists of the time did not share his opinion of negroes, and no doubt also because, like them, he had received a Christian education and feared being anathematised: "[...] our conclusion would reduce a whole race of men to a rank lower than that which their Creator may have given them in the scale of beings". Indeed, the idea that Negroes could be a "distinct race" was associated with atheism and blasphemy.

In response to Jefferson's book, in 1788 the Reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith, professor of moral philosophy at the University of New Jersey, which later became Princeton, published *Essay on the Cause of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*, an ethnological treatise imbued with the same racial ecumenism as the writings of Hunter and Blumenbach, and which remained the most famous study in this field before the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859. All men, Smith argued, were created equal - it is true that the Declaration of Independence stated that "all men are created equal", and for some, including Smith, this meant not just equality before the law, but equality of natural ability. Every difference in the human form could be explained by "the smallest causes, which have been constantly at work for a long time". Above all, he believed that human variation was reversible, that enlightened reformers could change virtually every aspect of a human being simply by altering the environment in which he lived. A universalist, Smith believed that all human beings had the same potential, but he was not a relativist. He did not recognise African or Indian cultures as equivalent to Anglo-American culture and his hopes for the future of the nation were based on his belief that African-Americans and Indians could be 'improved' - both physically and culturally - until they closely resembled whites - in fact, until their skin eventually became white, provided they lived in temperate climates.

In his essay, Smith referred to a first experiment in racial 'improvement', carried out in 1785 at Princeton on a Delaware Indian named George Morgan White Eyes, whose father had been killed by American militiamen in 1778 and whose education at Princeton had been funded by Congress as compensation. Two years later, White Eyes' progress at Princeton had convinced Smith that "the differences between men are much less than they seem". A few months later, the academic career of Smith's young protégé came to an abrupt halt, after he was formally reprimanded for cavorting with a group of dissolute and undisciplined students. In 1789, he was living in poverty in New York. When Congress cut off his stipend, he complained to George Washington about "my treatment at Princeton" and the bad reputation that had followed him to New York. White Eyes eventually returned to the West, where he was killed in a brawl. Washington concluded that educating Indians at the country's most prestigious universities was a bad idea. George's experiment was "not likely to do their nations any good," he told a friend in 1791. "It may even be a source of misfortune. The experience was not to be a lesson to Smith, for in the reprint of his Essay in 1810 he changed virtually nothing in the enthusiastic account he had given of it two decades earlier. In the decades that followed, Smith's ideas on racial 'improvement' were reshaped on a national scale. The administrations of Washington, Adams and Jefferson developed a 'civilising' policy that encouraged Indians to integrate into white society and even to amalgamate with white settlers. Smith had suggested that the Indians would welcome the opportunity to embrace a "superior civilisation".

The idea that black people could be a "distinct race", as we said earlier, was associated with atheism and blasphemy. One of its main advocates in France was Voltaire. Although he never paid particular attention to the subject of race, he ridiculed those who were foolish enough to imagine that human races, however different, must all be descended from Adam and Eve. For Voltaire, Indians and Negroes were different species of men from Europeans, and it was therefore futile to look for any significant physical or cultural relationship between them. It is not only their appearance, but also their state of civilisation and their level of intelligence that leads Voltaire to deny them the status of relatives of the white man: "if," he says, "their intelligence is not of a different species from our understanding, it is very inferior. They are not capable of great attention; they combine little and do not seem to be made either for the advantages or for the abuses of our philosophy". Even more critical than Voltaire in this respect, Kant, in *Essai sur le sentiment du beau et du sublime*, wrote: "The negroes of Africa have not received from nature a taste that rises above the ridiculous".

Among Voltaire's contemporaries, one of the best-known defenders of the idea of the distinct origin of races was Henry Home, Lord Kames, a Scottish jurist and author of works on a wide range of subjects - law, mathematics, metaphysics, aesthetics and the history of social institutions. In his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), which White also attacked, he rejected Buffon's view that climate was the cause of differences between races. There are," he argued, "different races of men, and these races or species are naturally adapted to different climates; from this fact we have every reason to conclude that originally each of these species was placed in the climate that suited it, whatever changes may have occurred as a result of wars or trade. When people are transported to a country with a different climate

from their own, they cannot change. In fact, they do not change and, to support this, he cites the example of black slaves who remain inferior in the Americas. He admits that their intellectual inferiority may be the result of their condition as slaves and that, if they were freed, they could perhaps make progress: "Who can say how far they would improve in the state of freedom if they were obliged, like Europeans, to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow? Kames' fundamental contribution to the study of race was his assertion that traits of character and temperament are even more important than outward appearance. Courage and cowardice vary considerably from race to race. Such qualities "must depend on a permanent and invariable cause". The reason cannot be climate, because examples of courageous and cowardly people can be found in every climate. The only logical conclusion that can be drawn from all the differences between races is that each race is a distinct species. As a Christian, he tried in vain to find confirmation of his point of view in the Bible.

It was Dr Charles White, the eminent English physician and surgeon, who developed the scientific arguments in favour of polygenism, the theory that the human species as a whole derives from different primitive types. White is best known for a single, short work on race, entitled *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man*. In it, he presents a series of drawings tracing the cranial development from lower to higher animals. At first glance, these drawings appear to be a demonstration of the theory of evolution, but White is not an evolutionist. In his view, living species do not derive from each other by successive transformations, they are simply arranged hierarchically: "From man to the smallest reptile, whose existence can only be discovered by the microscope, nature presents us with an immense chain of beings, endowed with varying degrees of intelligence and active powers adapted to their rank in the general system". According to White, the Negro is an intermediate species between the white man and the ape. The differences, which he emphasises, between negroes and whites are mainly anatomical: the feet of negroes are flatter, their fingers and toes are longer, their thumbs shorter. Their hair is coarser. Their cheekbones are more prominent, their arms are considerably longer and their chins, instead of protruding, are tucked in like those of monkeys. Their skulls have a smaller internal capacity. Their nerves are larger and their brains smaller. Their bodies give off an unpleasant odour, a characteristic accentuated in monkeys. Their sexual organs show significant differences from those of whites. The mental and emotional differences are just as striking. Even if the only mental function more developed in Negroes than in whites is memory, "the domestic animals with which we are most familiar, such as the horse and the dog, [also] surpass the human species in this faculty". To the argument that negroes have abilities that apes do not, White replied that apes themselves had often been underestimated by Europeans. In response to the argument that negroes and Europeans are able to interbreed successfully and have many children, White noted that mulattoes - like mulatresses - tend to be sterile.

White insisted that he had no ulterior motives. In his view, it was the advocates of monogenism, not the advocates of polygenism, who were degrading the human species. If it were true that negroes were of the same species as men, "it would be easy to maintain that several species of primates are only varieties of the human species" and, as there would be no reason to stop there, one could extend the

argument and affirm that "almost the entire animal kingdom derives from a single couple and consider it as a single family". He made it clear that he had "no desire to elevate the brute creation to the level of humans or to reduce the human species to the level of brutes". He hoped that nothing he said on this subject would be interpreted "in such a way as to give the slightest support to the pernicious practice of slavery", which he wished to see abolished throughout the world. Nor did he want negroes to suffer penalties such as opprobrium because they were a species apart. They were at least "equal to thousands of Europeans in capacity and sense of responsibility and should therefore have the same right to freedom and protection". The laws should not give greater liberty to a Shakespeare or a Milton, a Locke or a Newton, than to men of inferior ability". This reference to men of letters is no doubt not innocent. Indeed, in the second edition (1810) of his book on race, which he had written to refute Kames's ideas, Smith also attacked Jefferson's view that it was through contact with their masters that black slaves had begun to cultivate art and poetry. To practise them, he replied to Jefferson, one had to "enjoy liberty" and "be rewarded at least with praise". In the meantime, Jefferson had modified his ideas about the abilities of negroes. In 1809, he replied to a letter from a Frenchman who criticised his lack of fairness towards them: "My doubts were the result of personal observation within the limited sphere of my own State." He went on to say that Negroes "are daily rising in the opinion of nations and (that) encouraging progress is being made towards their restoration to equality with members of other colours of the human family".

While in the eighteenth century most scientists agreed that negroes and other coloured races had moral and intellectual qualities, this opinion rapidly lost ground in the following century, under the pressure of the first real racial theories.

The Enlightenment's optimism on the question of race rapidly faded in the nineteenth century. This change can be clearly seen in the ongoing debates about whether or not human races belonged to the same species. Although the debates were acrimonious, the opponents were not as far apart as they seemed to think. The leading representatives of both schools of thought had increasingly come to believe that the Negro was inherently inferior and that neither education nor environment could do much to improve him. Other races of colour were not much better off. Coloured populations apparently had more to gain from the advocates of monogenism, but sometimes the only advantage they got from them was the concession that they were entitled to the consolations of religion. The advocates of polygenism, on the other hand, maintained that it was quite futile to try to evangelise them.

Nineteenth-century anthropology

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the anthropologist most sympathetic to blacks was James Cowles Prichard. Prichard entered the medical profession mainly because of the opportunities it offered to pursue his research into race, but he was born into a family of learned Quakers and his work shows a strong ethical bent. His doctoral thesis, *De Humani Generis Varietate*, completed at Edinburgh University in 1808, was followed over the next forty years by a multi-volume series of studies on race. Like Hunter, he maintained that all human races descended from the black. To support his assertion, he drew a series of analogies with lower animals. He was convinced that the coats of domesticated races became lighter and he believed that civilised life had had a similar effect on whites. People who still live in the wild are almost invariably dark-skinned.

Prichard tackled the problem of the origin of races from the point of view of comparative philology. An accomplished linguist, in 1831 he published a study of the relationship between the Celtic languages and Sanskrit, with the aim of proving the kinship of the Celtic peoples with the Indo-Europeans. He also made a comparative study of the social institutions, philosophies and religions of the main races, with the aim of demonstrating the essential unity of all human races. Because he was a tireless scholar and researcher, he enjoyed a considerable reputation among scientists and historians. He has been called the founder of English anthropology.

Prichard's optimism about the qualities of the coloured races was not typical of his time. The evolution of scholarly attitudes to race can be seen clearly in a series of lectures given between 1816 and 1818 by Sir William Lawrence, a physician at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. Lawrence believed that all human races belonged to the same species, but his views on 'inferior' races were similar to those of Dr Charles White, a proponent of polygenic theory. Like White, Lawrence insisted that the superiority of the white race did not justify its enslavement or mistreatment of inferior races. He also thought it foolish to argue that racial superiority and inferiority were not facts of nature that had to be taken into account. In Europe, he was one of the first anthropologists to defend the idea of racial hierarchy.

In Europe, the question of the unity or diversity of human races was indirectly addressed in a famous debate between Baron Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, two of the most famous French naturalists. Cuvier, a man of immense scientific reputation - he was nicknamed the "dictator of biology" - maintained that all living organisms descended from ancestors identical to themselves in structure. Saint-Hilaire, Darwin's precursor, argued that all living organisms were related to each other and that higher forms descended from lower forms. During the debate, he undertook to prove specifically that there was a fundamental similarity of structure between cuttlefish and vertebrates. But thanks to his superior knowledge of anatomy, Cuvier was able to convince his colleagues that the thesis of the immutability of species was correct. The biological theory of evolution had suffered a defeat - which implied that the biblical account of creation was correct. Moreover, with Saint-Hilaire's theory discredited, polygenism, which underpinned it, also fell into disrepute.

In the United States, on the other hand, the idea that Negroes were a distinct species persisted and, indeed, for a time almost dominated the thinking of men of science on the subject. The leader of the polygenist school of thought in this country was not, as one might suppose, an apologist for slavery. He was Dr Samuel George Morton (1799-1851), as famous a physician as he was a natural history researcher. His natural history studies initially focused on palaeontology. The key to the distinct origin of races, according to Morton, lay in hybrids or mulattoes. Since Linnaeus, the criterion for identifying species in natural history had been the ability of two organisms to have many children. Supporters of the polygenic theory challenged this definition of species, arguing that there are many examples of animals of different species capable of having many children. Morton took up their argument. Among the human races, he admitted that mulattoes were fertile, but his own research into interbreeding between whites and negroes indicated that mulatto women bore children only with great difficulty. If these women only mated with other mulattoes, the offspring from this union would be even less fertile and the line would eventually die out. Convinced that half-breeds could not multiply indefinitely, Morton concluded that whites and negroes were not varieties of the same race, but totally different species.

Polygyny, which was widely prevalent in the United States, would have provided the South with an excellent justification for defending slavery. But the South wanted nothing to do with the arguments of the polygamists. In 1854, the Richmond Enquirer declared that some might accept the "faithless" doctrine of diversity because it seemed an excellent defence of slavery, but they would be wrong. Southerners could not afford to have defenders such as polygenists if the Bible, the foundation of the theory that all human races had a common origin, was to be "the price they had to pay". Were not abolitionists seeking to undermine the Bible by rejecting its recognition and justification of the institution of slavery? George Fitzhugh, one of the fiercest defenders of slavery and the innate inferiority of the black man.

nevertheless considered the Black man to be of the same species as the white man. The South thus turned its back on the only intellectually respectable defence of slavery.

The spread of the biological theory of evolution was to put an end to the controversy between polygenists and monogenists. In 1859, the American physician and surgeon Josiah Clarke Nott, one of Morton's main followers along with the English Egyptologist and racial theorist George Robin Gliddon, wrote to a friend that he had "got through Darwin's book - the man is evidently mad, but he strikes a blow at the pastors". The American botanist Asa Gray, whose *Darwiniana* was an attempt to reconcile religion and science, pointed out that his book was a refutation of the theory that blacks and other coloured races were separate species and not human. It was now scientifically respectable to argue that

"the very first step backwards" in the evolutionary past "makes the Negro and the Hottentot our blood relatives"; that the human species was one. Nott himself came to accept the evolutionary thesis, although, unlike Gray and many others, he did not do so for humanitarian reasons.

The Origin of Species had the effect of changing the basis of race theory, but it did not do away with the argument for the superiority of certain races. In fact, racism had begun to move in a new direction even before its publication. In 1843, Robert Chambers, an Edinburgh publisher and amateur scientist, had anonymously published *Vestiges of Creation*, which, while putting forward an evolutionary hypothesis, discredited it because of the flagrant liberties it took with natural science: he had not been trained as a naturalist. Nevertheless, his biological conception of evolution applied to race corresponded exactly to what hundreds of millions of people would come to understand by evolutionism, once this doctrine had become respectable. Based on the following observations, taken from Percival B. Lord's *Popular Physiology* (1834) Lord: "One of the points where ossification begins first is the lower jaw. This bone is consequently completed earlier than the other bones of the head and acquires a predominance which, as is well known, it never loses in the negro. While the bones of the skull are still supple, they naturally take on an oblong shape that is close to the permanent shape of the American skull. At birth, the flattened face, the broad, smooth forehead of the infant, the eyes turned to the side of the head, and the wide space between the two [eyes], represent the Mongolian form; it is not until the child grows up that the oval face, the rounded forehead, and the marked features of the true Caucasian are fully developed," Chambers concluded that "the principal characters of the various races of mankind are but representations of particular stages in the development of the highest or Caucasian type."

Darwin was much more cautious than Chambers when it came to describing the evolution of the human races. He did not attempt to place each race in its proper place on the evolutionary ladder, nor did he assume that the apex of evolution was the Caucasian race. He believed that the changes were due to sexual selection. Men and women who were more vigorous or more attractive were probably in a privileged position to mate and propagate. Slight changes in the conformation of a person's body could make it easier for them to attract a partner. This is how, in his opinion, new races were eventually created. A race might show superior traits at a particular time and in particular circumstances, but Darwin was not trying to point to universally superior traits. He did believe, however, that human races differed greatly from each other, both externally and internally, and that many of these differences could be measured.

The theory of evolution stimulated a practice that many anthropologists were already engaged in: measuring the differences between races. If races represented different stages of evolution, it was important to measure their differences. Ambitious projects to measure racial differences therefore proliferated. The 19th century was a period of exhaustive research into criteria for defining and describing racial differences. The most important of these was colour.

The idea that there was a correlation between climate and skin colour was challenged in Europe by Peter Simon Pallas in 1780. In the same year, Thomas Henry Huxley divided the races of Europe into two categories: xanthochroids (light-skinned) and melanochroids (dark-skinned), but the two groups differed and resembled each other in so many other ways that his classification system was not unanimously adopted. Paul Broca, founder of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris in 1859, used thirty-four shades of skin colour to try to distinguish between races, but no classification scheme was able to gain acceptance. In the end, colour as a racial determinant was one of the least satisfactory methods.

The study of skulls, begun in the 18th century, initially proved less fruitful. The Dutch physician, naturalist and biologist Peter Camper had put forward the theory that races could be classified hierarchically according to the "facial angle", i.e. the angle formed by two imaginary lines, one running from the opening of the auditory canal to the base of the nostrils, the other joining the upper jaw to the most protruding part of the forehead. This is expressed by saying that the skull is orthognathic or prognathic. In an orthognathic skull, the facial angle is 80° and more; in a prognathic skull, it is less than 80° and may even be as low as 60°. Camper measured the profiles of Greek statues and concluded that the ancient Greeks had a facial angle so orthognathic that it often reached 100°. Negroes were the most prognathic race, with a facial angle of 60 to 70°. The results obtained with Camper's method have had a great impact. However, it was not immune to well-founded criticism. Blumenbach criticised it for not covering a sufficient number of characters and for neglecting some of the most important ones, such as the width of the base of the skull, the degree of protrusion of the cheekbones, etc., in a word for "reducing these racial varieties [...] to a single scale". Blumenbach's criticism of the "facial angle" as a racial index did not prevent this theory from enjoying a long career, particularly in the United States, where, after the Civil War, speeches made in Congress against the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, which provided that "the right of 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, colour, or previous condition of servitude", referred to the "distinguished Professor Camper".

In this country, the opponents of monogenism relied at the time on the work of Samuel S. Kneeland, a Boston naturalist and one of Dr Morton's disciples. Kneeland, a Boston naturalist and one of Dr Morton's disciples, who believed that "the animals with the longest snouts are always considered the most stupid and gluttonous" and that the "animal aspect" of prognathic negroes could not fail to "strike an unprejudiced observer".

Phisonomy", or "the art of determining a man's character from his external conformation", as Aldebrandin of Siena defined it in *Regime of the Body* (1256), was known to the Ancients - Aristotle devoted a treatise to it - and had spread to Europe by the Middle Ages, with experts in the field often

also being astrologers. Banned in England in 1743, it was popularised on the continent by Johann Kaspar Lavater. In 1775-76, he published the two volumes of his *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniß und Menschenliebe*, a text beautifully illustrated with engravings designed to enable readers to interpret the character of an individual on the basis of his or her physical features, generally the face and skull. In 1831, Darwin almost didn't make the HMS Beagle expedition because of his physiognomy. The ship's captain, a fervent follower of Lavater, doubted that "someone with a nose like mine could have sufficient energy and determination for the voyage".

Phrenology stems from physiognomy. According to the title of a work by Franz Josef Gall (1757-1828), phrenology is the Art of recognising the instincts, inclinations, talents and moral and intellectual dispositions of men and animals by the configuration of their brain and head. Hippocrates assigned the left ventricle as the seat of intelligence. Michel Servet (sixteenth century) thought that the choroid plexus was the organ destined to secrete animal spirits and that the fourth ventricle was the seat of memory. Later on, the brain was generally considered to be the organ of thought and intelligence, but opinions were divided as to whether it should be regarded as a single organ or as made up of a series of distinct organs, each of which was assigned a special and independent function, whether, in short, the phenomena of intelligence were due to an action of the brain as a whole or whether the various psychological elements that constitute them were related to isolated and circumscribed parts of the encephalon. It was from this latter hypothesis that the principle of the localisation of the cerebral faculties emerged, a principle which had been suggested by various physiologists long before the eighteenth century and was first defined by Gall, who divided the encephalon into organs endowed with primordial faculties distinct from one another. The idea of establishing a relationship between the brain and certain intellectual faculties came to him when he was struck by the prominence of the eyeballs of those of his students who had a remarkable memory. This external prominence led him to believe that there was an internal cerebral prominence that produced it, and it was by applying this line of reasoning to the other prominences of the skull that he developed his doctrine - which he called craniological. The brain was made up of different parts, each with its own special function. His system was based on the topographical determination of each of these organs. He listed thirty-seven of them. An experienced "craniologist" could determine a person's character by examining the size and shape of these various parts of the skull. At the time of his death, Gall enjoyed an immense reputation. Metternich, for example, said that Gall was the greatest mind he had ever met.

Craniology, renamed "phrenology" by Spurzheim, Gall's pupil, attracted the Scotsman George Combe; After founding a phrenological society in Edinburgh (1823), he exported the doctrine to the United States, where it met with some short-lived success, particularly among poets such as Emerson, Poe and Whitman, just as it inspired Balzac and Sue in France, where Broussais had founded the *Société parisienne de phrénologie* (1832). Fanny Kemble, an English actress who lived for a time in Georgia after marrying a slaveholder, observed that Combe would have had many emulators in the United States if he had scientifically rationalised the institution of slavery. When asked about this, Combe cautiously replied

that the Negro's skull was inferior to that of the white man, but that he was by no means devoid of abilities. He was not unfit for free labour. What was needed was a vigorous programme of education. As far as the Indians were concerned, Spurzheim and Combe believed not only that they were inferior in intelligence, but that, because of the peculiar organisation of their cerebral faculties, they were almost irredeemably savage and intractable.

Morton made the most extensive and meticulous comparisons of human skulls. His collection of eight hundred skulls from many parts of the world enabled him to compare and contrast human races better than any of his contemporaries, either in the United States or abroad. In studying the skulls of the indigenous peoples of America, he was naturally led to investigate the extent to which the practice so common of artificially deforming the skull was detrimental to the development of brain mass. He therefore deemed it necessary to measure the capacity of the skull. Morton not only measured the total capacity of the skull, but also tried to determine the capacity of certain regions of the skull separately. Vertically, he divided the skull into two regions: the coronal region and the subcoronal region. The coronal region was the part of the cranial vault above a more or less horizontal plane formed by the two frontal bosses and the two parietal bosses. Morton also divided the skull, from front to back, into two chambers, one anterior, the other posterior. A more or less vertical plane, passing through the anterior edge of the foramen magnum and perpendicular to the plane of the crown, separated these two chambers. Determining the volume of the brain, or cranial capacity, was one of the essential elements in the study of races, but most anthropologists had neglected it because of the lack of precision in measuring procedures and the lack of agreement in the results obtained by the various observers. Saumarez used it in 1798 to measure thirty-six European skulls and one Negro skull and found that the latter was the smallest of all. Around 1831, Hamilton substituted solid bodies for liquids and cubed the skulls by filling them with fine, dry, homogeneous sea sand. Tiedeman substituted grains of millet for the sand. Philipps, a colleague of Morton's, substituted grains of white mustard and his procedure was adopted by Morton for the measurements published in his great work on the *Crania americana*. However, Morton had to recognise that white mustard seed is also unfaithful. He thought he had finally found an accurate method by using small-calibre shot for this purpose. Morton came to the conclusion that the larger the skull, the higher the intelligence. The most intelligent were the English and the Germans, followed by the Anglo-Americans, the Arabs, the Irish and so on. The Peruvians and Hottentots came last.

Morton had several disciples in the United States and Europe. Nott who, in response to his remark that some Chinese, some Indians and even some blacks had larger skulls than some whites, replied that no reliable indication of a person's intelligence could be obtained by measuring his skull. For the comparison to be justified, it was necessary to compare not individual skulls, but groups of skulls and, moreover, it was not only the overall size of the skull that determined intelligence, but the ratio of size between its parts.

In 1857, Gratiolet established, on the basis of the morphology of the sutures, a division into three major groups, each characterised by the predominant development of one of the three main regions of the skull and, correlatively, by the complication of the sutures in this region: the frontal or white races, the parietal races corresponding to the yellow or Mongolian type and the occipital or nigritic races. The time at which the sutures are obliterated can vary considerably from one race to another. These differences provide useful clues as to the evolution of the brain itself. Obliteration marks the end of the growth of the skull, which is also the end of the growth of the brain. In humans, the onset of synostosis of the skull bones normally occurs well before old age. In the white races, the average age of natural synostosis is around the fortieth or forty-fifth year. The lower races are, in the majority of their individuals, much more predisposed to early obliteration of the sutures. In the Negro races, obliteration begins on average at around twenty-five years of age. In this respect, these races are close to the individuals with little intelligence or who are completely alienated from intellectual life, who occupy the lowest rungs of the higher races. The fact that black children, although they may be as intelligent as white children, begin, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, to fall behind because their skulls prevent their intellectual development has sometimes been used as an argument against the education of blacks in the North.

The hypothesis was that any intense mental activity on the part of a black person would lead to his physical and mental collapse.

In 1842, the Swedish anatomist Anders Retzius published his research into the physical differences between Finns and Swedes. On the one hand, he found that Finnish skulls were brachycephalic, whereas those of his compatriots, whose Indo-Germanic idiom seemed to provide sufficient evidence of their foreign origin, were elongated, i.e. dolichocephalic. On the other hand, by studying the skulls that had been extracted from ancient burials in Scandinavia, he found both types and concluded that the primitive or indigenous race was brachycephalic and that, on the contrary, dolichocephaly characterised the race of the invaders. Having then received two brachycephalic skulls from France, said to be of Basque origin, he felt entitled to apply his doctrine to the whole of Europe. This theory was enthusiastically accepted by a large number of scientists. In 1859, de Baer believed he had discovered new proof in the presence, in the middle of the Rhaetian Alps, of a brachycephalic race known as Romans, and did not hesitate to regard it as descended from the indigenous race. Retzius' doctrine seemed to be firmly established until the French physician, anatomist and anthropologist Paul Broca, having resolved to subject it to the scrutiny of more rigorous observation, demonstrated that Retzius' two Basque skulls were devoid of any authenticity.

Broca thought for a moment that he had improved on Morton's method of measuring cranial capacity by inserting a thin-walled vulcanised rubber bladder into the cranial cavity, distending it as completely

as the bone walls would allow with water and measuring the water. He soon discovered that it was just as unreliable. This accumulation of obstacles eventually dampened the enthusiasm of the "anthropometrists". Not all of them: in 1900, one of them thought he was being clever by measuring a single skull in five thousand different ways, while the inflation of terms such as "Pentagonoides acutus" and "Ellipsoides embolicus" did little to lend credence to anthropometric terminology. By 1880, it had become clear that craniology did not provide a method of distinguishing one race from another. Dolichocephaly and brachycephaly themselves were not constant in any group and, in many cases where a degree of uniformity might reasonably be expected, the most astonishing diversity prevailed.

Weighing brains seemed more promising. In 1838, F. Tiedeman, a German anatomist from the University of Heidelberg, after determining the weight of fifty white and fifty black brains, drew the following conclusions: the brain of the negro is, in its totality, as voluminous as that of the European and other human races; the weight of the brain, its dimensions and the capacity of the bone case demonstrate this fact; the nerves of the negro, in relation to the volume of his brain, are neither thicker nor larger than those of the Europeans, as some had suggested; the internal structure, the distribution of the cortical and medullary substance, nor the internal organisation of the brain of the negro show any difference from that of the European; the brain of the negro resembles that of the orang-utan no more than that of the latter resembles that of man, if we except the somewhat more symmetrical distribution of the encephalic convolutions and sulci. Thus, like the abolitionists, Tiedeman judged the anatomical and physiological conformation of negroes to be perfectly similar to that of whites. Nott immediately challenged his conclusions. Darwin himself believed that brain size was related to intelligence and that some races were more intelligent than others.

The Frenchman Joseph Deniker collected data on eleven thousand European and Negro brains and reported in 1900 that the average brain weight of the two groups was almost identical. In 1906, Dr Robert Bennett Bean, assistant professor of anatomy at Johns Hopkins University and later president of the New Orleans Academy of Sciences, compared one hundred and fifty white brains with the same number of black brains and found significant variations between the two groups. He concluded that blacks were superior to whites in certain faculties - smell, sight - but inferior in self-control, willpower, reason, ethical and aesthetic judgement. One of Beann's colleagues, Franklin P. Mall, undertook to weigh and measure the same brains that Beann had used in his experiment: he reported that he could find no qualitative difference between the brains of whites and those of blacks. Could it be that both sides had unconscious prejudices and that these prejudices influenced their conclusions? In the 1920s, a number of researchers came to the conclusion that there was a small but measurable difference between the brain sizes of the different races.

The structure of human hair has also been considered as a possible clue to race. Blumenbach had already attempted to classify races on the basis of their hair, before discovering that peoples who

looked alike differed markedly in the structure of their hair. In the 1840s, Peter A. Browne, a Philadelphia lawyer, invented a variant of the microscope, which he called a 'trichometer', to measure the different properties of hair and wool. It enabled him to discover that there were three kinds of human hair: the oval, the cylindrical and the 'eccentrically elliptical', which he believed were peculiar to the white race, the Indian race and the Indian race respectively. He found that black hair looked more like wool than white men's hair. He deduced that the white man and the black man "belong to two distinct species". A black American pastor then allayed the fears of his flock, assuring them that they were under God's special protection, since they were his lambs.

When the promise of craniometry, on which anthropologists had placed so much hope, finally faded, a number of them, including Broca, Keane, Johannes Muller, physician, physiologist, ichthyologist and professor of comparative anatomy, Thomas Huxley, professor at the Royal School of Mines in London, and the biologist, philosopher and free thinker Ernst Haeckel, set about studying human hair in the hope of finding a basis for racial classification. All their intensive research revealed was that hair provided a more consistent basis for differentiation than cranial measurements.

Even the lice on the human body were once seriously considered as a possible clue to racial differences. In 1861, the English entomologist Andrew Murray, says Darwin, "has carefully examined the lice collected, in different countries, from the various races of man, and finds that they differ, not only in colour, but in the conformation of their claws and limbs. The differences were constant in all cases where the samples were numerous". He added: "This fact that the human races are infested with parasites which appear to be specially distinct might be advanced, with some reason, as an argument establishing that the races themselves should also be considered as such." In 1886, the *Encyclopedia iconographica's* article on ethnology mischievously explained that American schoolteachers "could have informed Darwin of the ease with which lice pass from the unkempt children of one race to those of another".

The confusion over the methods of determining racial differences was most apparent in the general disagreement over the number of human races. Linnaeus counted four, Blumenbach five, Cuvier three, John Hunter seven, Burke sixty-three, Pickering eleven; Haeckel counted thirty-six; Huxley four; Topinard nineteen; Desmoulins sixteen "species"; Deniker seventeen races and thirty types. The Polish-born French journalist Jean Finot, in *Le préjugé des races* (1905), declared that the methods of classification were so different that "it is easy to imagine the possibility and ease with which human races can be created at will! Far from being astonished at the number that already exists, we should bless heaven for having preserved us from a billion races and classifications as a result!

Teutonism

In the eighteenth century, America showed little interest in racial theories that drew distinctions between white men. The country needed labour and, in general, did not care much which particular branch of the white race a man came from. In Europe, however, a few theorists were already using race theory to defend the claims to eminence of a particular class or nation. In France, the Comte de Boulainvilliers (1658-1722) developed a racial theory to explain the special privileges of the nobility. According to him, the French nobility had descended from the Germans; the commoners, defeated by the Franks, from a blond, courageous, chaste and autonomous Germanic tribe, from the Gallo-Roman plebs. In France, Germany, England and finally the United States, Tacitus was invoked to explain the differences in ability and virtue between the various white ethnic groups.

In the eyes of eighteenth-century English historians, Tacitus' name had no particular significance. The Anglo-Saxon tribes were recognised as a branch of the Germanic people, but were generally regarded as mere barbarians. As we have seen, the philosophers of the Enlightenment were generally opposed to the idea that the character of peoples is determined by race. The emphasis on environmental explanations of human behaviour led many historians to view racism with scepticism. The two leading historians of the day, Edward Gibbon and David Hume, despised writers - Irish and Scottish - who tended to glorify the history of their own people. Neither of them regarded the northern tribes who had conquered Rome as a superior race. They tended to see the period from the destruction of Rome to the Renaissance as one of darkness and superstition. It was not uncommon for Hume to show contempt for the early Germanic tribes and the Anglo-Saxons in particular. For Gibbon, it was the debilitating effects of Christianity, not the superior virtues of the Teutonic tribes, that had caused the fall of Rome.

However, as early as 1745, Samuel Squire, in *An Enquiry into the Foundation of the English Constitution*, had extolled the ancient Germans' "invincible love of liberty". John Pinkerton's *Dissertation on the Origin of the Scythians or Goths* (1787) was one of the first English histories to draw heavily on racial theory. Sharon Turner, whose *History of the Anglo-Saxons* was published in several volumes between 1799 and 1805, while judging that the Saxons, with their "attachment to piracy", their binge drinking and taste for brawls, blood feuds and penchant for raw meat, were not altogether admirable ancestors, was the first to stress the importance of the *Beowulf* epic for the study of history and, even more so, the influence of the political conceptions of the first Anglo-Saxons on English parliamentarianism. The first in England. Montesquieu, who prided himself on being descended from the Goths who, conquering the Roman Empire, "founded monarchy and liberty everywhere", had stated that the English had "derived the idea of their political government" from the Germans. "This beautiful system was found in the woods". Hume disagreed.

In the United States, Thomas Jefferson was sufficiently interested in the extent to which representative government and English law were descended from the Anglo-Saxons to engage in the study of their language. He himself devised an Anglo-Saxon grammar, but his many other activities prevented him from pursuing his Anglo-Saxon studies as far as he would have liked.

In 1832, Sir Francis Palgrave published *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*. The son of Meyer Cohen, he had no particular reason to glorify the Anglo-Saxons. His book was an attempt to reassure conservatives and encourage those in favour of change to proceed with caution and wisdom. He argued that the English got their ideas of government from the Romans and the Teutons - from Rome, the monarchical idea, which had enabled them to avoid becoming a collection of small satrapies; from the Teutons, the idea of limiting the power of the monarch. The "love of freedom", accompanied by precise guarantees against arbitrary power, had always been characteristic of the first Teutons, according to him. It was tradition, not race, that interested Palgrave in the Anglo-Saxons, and he was counting on their institutions to bring about a certain form of peace between the two factions then vying for power in England.

When the historian John Mitchell Kemble published *The Saxons in England* (1849), the revolutions of 1848 had dampened enthusiasm for reform and strengthened the position of the Conservatives. In it, he tried to show why his country had escaped the social and political upheavals so common on the continent. On all sides, "he declared, "thrones waver and the deep foundations of society are shaken", while Queen Victoria was "assured of the affection of a people whose institutions have given her all the blessings of equality before the law". "The Englishman has inherited from the Anglo-Saxons the noblest part of his being", he continued. "In spite of all influences, we bear a wonderful resemblance to our ancestors.

In the United States, the historical works published just before the Civil War sometimes took up the racial arguments found in British historians of the time. In this country, the theory of the Teutonic origins of representative institutions appealed, even more than in England, to historians who had great faith in democracy. This theory was useful in defending representative institutions against attacks from conservatives - both in England and abroad - who argued that democracy, as a theory of government, had not stood the test of time. Progressives could show that, on the contrary, representative government had a long, honourable and successful history. The idea was that freedom was a racial inheritance from the Germanic peoples' love of independence. Of all the nations in the European world," wrote the American historian and Democratic politician George Bancroft in his *History of the United States* (1834), "the chief emigration has been that of the Germanic race, most famous for their love of personal independence. Bancroft had studied in Germany and, in a way, favoured the Germanic element in American history. In general, however, he had little interest in racial explanations of history. His main aim was to show that God's will had determined the triumph of democracy.

Like Bancroft, the American historian and diplomat John Lothrop Motley was inspired by the ideals of democracy and (religious) freedom. If ten people in the world hate despotism a little more and love religious liberty a little better as a result of what I have written," he said in *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856), "I shall be satisfied. The history of the Netherlands was not the history of a province; as he wrote to one of his friends from Rome on 4 March 1859: "It is the history of European freedom. Without the struggle of Holland and England against Spain, the whole of Europe could have become Catholic and Spanish. It was Holland that saved England in the sixteenth century, and thereby ensured the triumph of the Reformation and placed the independence of the various states of Europe on a firm footing. Struck by the similarities between the struggle for independence of the United Provinces against Spain and that of the American colonists against England, he encouraged Americans to take a particular interest in the struggle of the Dutch, as they were racially related to them. The history of the Dutch "is part of the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race - essentially the same, whether in Friesland, England or Massachusetts". Douglas Campbell, a Republican and Puritan but, like Motley, even more Puritan than Republican, was even more insistent than Motley on the influence of the Dutch on American history and institutions in *The Puritan in Holland, England and America* (1892).

Not all American writers on the history of national institutions from a racial perspective were as committed to democracy and parliamentarianism as Bancroft or Motley. In this respect, they paid tribute to the supposed prudence and common sense of the Anglo-Saxons or Teutons, which prevented them from making representative institutions too representative or leaving them without checks and balances. William Hickling Prescott spoke with satisfaction of the stern virtues of the Anglo-Saxons, in particular their self-confidence, their willingness to see change take place gradually, and their distrust of utopian reform projects. In his *Conquest of Peru* (1847), Prescott also praised the character of the Spanish warriors, but he had serious reservations about them. In the Spanish character, "the meanest influences mingled strangely with the noblest, the temporal with the spiritual". The courage of the Spanish soldier was "tainted with cruelty, a cruelty that also stemmed - strange as it may seem - from his avarice and his religion". The flaws of the Spanish were contrasted with the virtues of the English who had settled in North America. In a letter to a Spanish friend, written around the time of the 1848 revolution, Prescott wondered whether the countries of continental Europe were suited to free institutions. Spain was in "a charming state of disorganisation". The consolidation of the German Empire was "a noble idea", but he doubted it was "practicable". The "liberation of Italy from the barbarians" was a "beautiful old dream" that probably couldn't be realised either. "The republicanism of France is a chimera, I fear. The volatile spirit of this people must be encircled by iron. It must be subjected to a rule of iron. All the difficulties of these nations were probably due to the racial character of their people. "Liberty and equality seem too strong an incentive for some constitutions. They suit the Anglo-Saxons better than anyone else. In addition to his good sense of political institutions, the Anglo-Saxon deserved the gratitude of mankind for his ability to apply science to the useful arts.

The Prussian-born jurist and political scientist - the first real political scientist to graduate from an American university - Francis Lieber, author, at the request of Abraham Lincoln, of the first attempt to codify the laws and customs of war, the famous Lieber Code (1863), also tried to establish a link between the institutions of the representative and constitutional system and the race he called "Anglican", i.e. the Anglo-Saxon race, wherever it governed, in Europe, the United States or other parts of the world. According to him, the Anglican nations considered that freedom consisted to a very large extent in the adequate limitation of public power. [...] [A]nglish liberty," he wrote in an essay entitled Anglican and Gallican Liberty (1848), "consists essentially in a proper restraint of government, and in a proper amount of power sufficient to prevent any interference with that personal independence which exists in the people themselves, so that order and law-abiding spirit become another of their distinguishing characteristics. No people of the past or present has ever made use of the right of association, even when it existed in full, to the extent that the English and Americans have made extensive and sometimes gigantic use of that right for great practical purposes of a social and political character. Public interference is abhorrent to them. For them, government is not the educator, leader or organizer of society. On the contrary, when you read the many constitutions that this race has produced, the purpose of which is to define the sphere of the various public powers and to fix the rights of the individual, you almost want to read above them the motto: "Hands off". Anglican liberty" was opposed to "Gallican liberty": "The Anglican race is decidedly a race that loves institutions and establishes them, as were the Romans, who established civil law. It is both conservative and progressive, and believes that conservatism is as necessary an element as progression. The fanaticism of conservatism is a Chinese idolatry of the past. The French, on the other hand, as they appear, at least in modern times, are philosophical organisers, often brilliant, and in this more like the Greeks, who did not establish laws, but whose philosophers proposed imaginary governments. The fanaticism of this disposition consists in starting again and again at each stage and denying the need for continuous progress". He believed that "the French confuse democratic absolutism with democratic liberty; that the whole continent will have to go through long periods of ardent struggle before it can rid itself of the consequences of the age-old centralisation which the absolute princes, in their blindness, have taken for power and imposed on the people". He forgot to state explicitly that one of the main characteristics of the "Anglican race" was, in his view, universalism: "We belong to that Anglican race which has brought Anglican principles and Anglican liberty to the whole earth, because wherever it goes, liberal institutions and a customary law full of manly rights and imbued with the principle of an expansive life accompany it. We belong to that race whose obvious task is, among other noble and sacred tasks, to cultivate and propagate civil liberty in all parts of the Earth, on continents and islands. We belong to that tribe which alone possesses the word self-government. "In all parts of the Earth", unless all the races of the Earth come to the United States: "[...] [i]t has been shown," he declares, again in a literally chilling passage from the same essay, "that the new immigrants, though on the whole less desirable, from the point of view of general intellectual ability, than the native population, have nevertheless brought to the American population abilities of aesthetic judgment, artistic creation, and a sanguine temperament which will contribute greatly to the enrichment of American life and culture in the years to come. Since the interbreeding of healthy strains of different races is biologically sound, we hold that Italians, Hebrews, Turks, Chinese, and Negroes of above-average (well-endowed) intellectual ability are better materials for forging a nation than average or below-average Northerners." From 1835, he taught at the

College - now University - of South Carolina. In 1857, he was appointed to a chair at Columbia University, where he taught until his death in 1872.

Francis Parkman, still a student at Harvard, planned to write a history of the struggles between France and England for control of North America - what he later called his 'epic of the forest'. Between 1865 and 1892, with the help of French historian and archivist Pierre Margry, he published a seven-volume historical fresco entitled *France and England in North-America: Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865), *The Jesuits in North-America in the seventeenth century* (1867), *The discovery of the great West* (1869), *The old regime in Canada* (1874), *Count Frontenac and New-France under Louis XIV* (1877), *A Half-Century of conflict* (1892) and *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1884). Parkman was particularly interested in political institutions, which he considered responsible for the downfall of French Canada, but behind these institutions he saw the racial factor at work. In his view, it would be easy to imagine that the difference between the French and English colonies was "a difference in political and religious institutions", but this explanation "does not hold water". "The Germanic race, and in particular the Anglo-Saxon branch, is particularly masculine," he says, "and therefore particularly apt to govern itself. It usually submits its actions to the guidance of reason". The French Celt, on the other hand, is cast in a different mould. He sees the goal clearly and reasons about it with admirable clarity; but his own impulses and passions continually divert him from it. Opposition excites him, he becomes impatient with delays, he is always inclined to extremes and does not willingly sacrifice a present inclination to a long-term good. He delights in abstractions and generalisations, detaches himself from unpleasant facts and wanders in an ocean of desires and theories". There would have been no point in the French trying to imitate the government of the English colonists. "The institutions of New England were totally inapplicable to the population of New France" and the attempt to apply them would have produced only harmful effects... Freedom is reserved for those who are fit for it. The others will lose it or corrupt it.

The underlying theme was the Franco-British rivalry in North America, a conflict between the forces of obscurantism and tyranny (Catholic and monarchical New France) and those of freedom and progress (the future American republic), whose outcome (the victory of the good, i.e. the Anglo-Americans) was inescapable. "Never has a more beneficial catastrophe befallen a people than the conquest of Canada by British armies", he declared. This statement quickly became one of the leitmotifs of English-speaking Canadian historians, who did not reject it until a century later, when, as early as 1878, Laval University's proposal to award Parkman an honorary doctorate caused such an outcry that it had to be buried - only to be taken up by McGill University, an Anglo-Saxon bastion in the midst of French-speaking Canada.

"The most civilised people on earth transferred part of their population to a vast country. It was not a stampede, a stampede of Saxons [...]; it was the emigration of part of a Celtic race, with all its gods, its monasteries and its bigotries, its convents and its seigneuries, its feudalism and its primogeniture; with all the other laws and influences that feudalism and religion could invent to enslave the souls and bodies

of men. This must have been the old France on a small scale; that is what it very quickly became, with the difference that, withdrawn from the great mass of their race, the colonists remained farmers, as they had been in France at the time of their emigration, so that a traveller, on landing there, could find himself suddenly transported back to the time of Louis XIV, or even of the Regency; small men in sky-blue coats, dreamy, half-mad fiddlers; small women, small horses and cattle, small carts, even smaller ideas. If the colony had been left to its own devices, cut off from Europe for a century or two, I believe that the forest, the buffalo, the savage and the redskin would have driven them into the St. Lawrence, from which they never had the courage to stray. The race degenerated; the inhabitants submitted to a handful of English troops; they were unable to strike a single blow for their country. They had sunk so low that, when the glorious name of "Liberty", inscribed on her colours, enabled ancient France, in a period so brief as to seem incredible, to bring down, for a time at least, the monstrous dynasties of Europe, the Canadian Celt remained at peace, in the noblest republic for his near neighbour that the world had ever seen. The Canadian Celt spends his life in "idleness, indolence, slavery, mental slavery, the most dreadful of human conditions. [...] "If you are looking for an explanation, go back to France; go back to Ireland, and you will find it," wrote Robert Knox, Professor of Anatomy at the College of Surgeons in Edinburgh and who had worked at the Hôpital de La Charité under Professors Alexis Boyer and Philibert Joseph Roux, about France's colonisation of Canada in *The Races of Men* (1850). The races of men," he wrote in the introduction, "as they exist on earth today, are a fact that cannot be ignored. They differ from each other to a very great extent, but the existence of these differences, some of which are important, has not been denied; the word 'race' is in everyday use and applies even to man. Since the race war began in continental Europe and Ireland, no expression has been more frequently used than race. It is not, therefore, a new expression that I am using, but I am using it in a new sense, for whereas the statesman, the historian, the theologian, the universalist, and the simple scholar either attached no special significance to the term, for reasons best known to themselves, refused to follow the principle to its consequences, or attributed the moral difference between races of men to fanciful causes, such as education, religion, climate, etc., and their physical distinctions sometimes to the physical differences between them, and sometimes to the moral differences between them, I am using it in a new sense. - and their physical distinctions sometimes to the same random influences, sometimes to climate alone, sometimes to climate aided by a mysterious law [...], sometimes, finally, to chance and randomness, I am ready to affirm, in opposition to these opinions, that race is everything in human history; that human races are not the result of an accident; that they are not convertible into one another by any artifice whatsoever. The eternal laws of nature must prevail over protocols and dynasties: fraud - i.e. the law - and brute force, i.e. the bayonet, can do much; have done much; but they cannot alter nature. In *The Races of Men*, whose purpose was to show that "race is everything", he reviewed the physical and moral characteristics of the various races, which, while considering them radially different, he ranked in order of importance. At the top were the Goths and the Slavs, followed by the Saxons - whom he also called "Scandinavians" and criticised for their "extreme self-importance" and lack of sensitivity and artistic talent - and the Celts, characterised by "furious fanaticism : a love of war and disorder; a hatred of order and patient industry; the inability to administer any good; thoughtless, treacherous, unpredictable; look at Ireland" ; At the base, by the Negro, whom he pointed out "is no more a white man than an ass is a horse or a zebra" and whom he recognised as having warlike qualities likely to jeopardise the supremacy of the white peoples in Africa - an anti-colonialist

and abolitionist, he criticised the Boers as "the cruel oppressors of the dark races". By now, everyone will have understood that when Knox claimed that "the war of the races has begun in continental Europe and Ireland", he was not referring to a war between the natives and the coloured races, but between these two ethnic groups of the white race, the Anglo-Saxons and the Celts, particularly the Irish. In fact, "[t]he source of all evil lies in the race, the Celtic race of Ireland. This race must be driven out of the country; by fair means, if possible; but it must go anyway. The security of England demands it. Even in the United States, "the free United States, where if a man remains a mental slave it is his own affair, the Celt is still distinguished from the Saxon. Make no mistake for a moment about the evolution of the race question: it will one day test the strength of the 'Declaration of Independence', for the Celt does not understand what we Saxons mean by independence". The Saxons are "democrats by nature, the only democrats on earth, the only race that really understands the meaning of the word freedom". In 1868, *The Anthropological Review*, a journal published by the Anthropological Society of London, judged Knox to be "right on the whole".

During the 1840s, a massive influx of immigrants, mainly Germans in the Midwest and Irish in the East, had greatly alarmed old Protestant Americans. In 1849, the Secret Order of the Star-Spangled Banner was formed in New York, and soon afterwards lodges were formed in almost every other major city in the country. Members, when asked about their organisation, were expected to answer that they knew nothing, hence the name Know Nothing Party when it became a political party in the early 1850s. As its membership grew, it gradually shed its clandestine nature and took the name American Party. It called for restrictions on immigration, the exclusion of foreign-born people from voting and holding public office in the United States, and an extension of the residency requirement for citizenship from five to twenty-one years. However, the ethnicity of the newcomers was not the issue. An editor of the Know Nothing newspaper declared that the Irish were "our natural enemies, not because they are Irish, but because they are the true guardians of the papacy". Few 'nativists' would have embraced the phrase that New York civil society figure George Templeton Strong wrote in his diary in 1857, after seeing an Irish woman lamenting the death of her husband: "Our fellow Celts are almost as far from us in temperament and constitution as the Chinese."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, a reader of *The Race of Men*, while repulsed by what he saw as the book's exaggerations, nevertheless found it "full of biting and unforgettable truths". The only book in which Emerson touched on the subject of race was *English Traits*, a collection of observations and anecdotes in which we find a theory of race written after his second visit to England - Emerson was of English descent. In the first chapters of the book, he describes the ethnic groups that have influenced English identity and society. In doing so, he refers to the Saxon, Celtic, Norman and Norse 'races' that have successively helped to shape the English character. He places particular emphasis on the Saxon and Norse 'races'. Far from presenting the English as a pure race, he concludes that "all that is English is a fusion of distinct and antagonistic elements". Although he cited several authors who had written on

race, he rejected the idea that racial characteristics were imperishable and obeyed the laws of determinism. Moreover, he said, "it is not possible to know where a race begins and ends".

In 1863, in the midst of a terrible and uncertain war, Emerson wrote in "The Fortune of the Republic": "The great difference between this country and Europe is that, while all their systems of government and society are historical, our policy is almost ideal. We want to treat men as men, without distinction of rank, wealth, race, colour or caste, simply as human souls. We are close to nature, we are nature's rentiers, we draw on inexhaustible resources and we interfere as little as possible with individual freedom." In the democratic society of free and equal individuals that he called for in his 1841 essay "Self-Reliance", slavery, the ultimate form of "the life of a race at the expense of the race", clearly had no place. While still pastor at Boston's Second Church, he had exhorted his parishioners with the words, "Let every man then say to himself: the Indian's cause is mine; the slave's cause is mine." He gave his first anti-slavery speech on the occasion of the anniversary of the emancipation of the coloured peoples of the British West Indies. According to Emerson, this emancipation and its consequences had conclusively demonstrated that the widespread belief in the inferiority of negroes was false. The advocates of slavery, he said, "believe that it is in the order of nature and fate" that negroes are inferior. The only answer," he concluded, "to this poor sceptical flock is the affirmation of the heart. The feeling of right... fights against this damned atheism". These statements, to which we could add many others in the same vein, did not prevent the American historian Nell Irvin Painter, author of *The History of White People*, from describing him as "the philosopher-king of the American theory of the white race".

In English-speaking countries, the idea that the key to history was largely race did not originate in the United States, but in Great Britain, in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first to defend it were Bishop William Stubbs and Edward A. Freeman, both Oxford professors of history and leaders of the Oxford School. According to them, almost everything that is good about English civilisation can be traced back to the Teutons. It is in ancient Germany," said Stubbs, "that we must look for the first traces of our ancestors, for the greater part of us are of German origin; though we call ourselves Britons, that name has only a geographical significance. The blood that runs in our veins comes from Germanic ancestors. Our language, as diverse as it is, is basically a Germanic language. Our institutions are based on the ancient institutions of Germany. The Jutes, Angles and Saxons were just different tribes from the great Teutonic home; the Danes and Norwegians, who subdued them to the north and east, were of the same origin; the Normans too: the feudal system itself was of Frankish, i.e. German, origin. Even if a small Celtic element, derived from the native wives of the first conquerors, enters into the composition of our blood, our institutions are not of Celtic origin". In their attempt to trace modern British political institutions back to the Teutonic ancestors of the Britons, Stubbs and Freeman relied heavily on Tacitus' *Germania* and early Anglo-Saxon chronicles. But, they argued, the genius of the Teutonic races was not only political.

Until that time, the Anglo-Saxon had been prevented from becoming a true racial icon by the belief that he had certain innate flaws. The theory was that he was brave and freedom-loving, but lazy and stupid. The Norman's refined taste for luxury," argued Macaulay in *History of England* (1876), "presented a striking contrast to the coarse voracity of his Saxon neighbours. Stubbs and Freeman then set about the task of rehabilitating the Anglo-Saxons. They considered the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans to be one and the same people. The Normans had shown themselves capable of absorbing the best of French civilisation. Moreover, it was unfair to stigmatise the Normans for their savagery. We must remember," observed Freeman in *Old English History* (1873), "that we were then a people both pagan and barbarous, and that it is not fair to judge our fathers by the same rules as if they had been Christians or civilised men. In any case, the barbarity of the first Anglo-Saxons, frank and open, was even better than the cunning hypocrisy of the Celts and Latins. Better still, it had ensured England's racial purity. In the end," Freeman argued, "it was better that our ancestors had killed or driven out almost all the peoples they found in the country, for the English were thus able to form a nation in Britain and their laws, customs and language developed with them and were not copied from those of other nations. Once their hard task of exterminating the enemy had been accomplished, the Anglo-Saxon proved that he was capable of elevating himself to the highest culture. "Do we not find Homer in the heroic tale of Beowulf? Was not Milton prefigured by the sacred song of Caedmon?"

Neither Stubbs nor Freeman had much favourable to say about the non-Teutonic races. In 1859 Stubbs supported Austria in its war against 'those wretched Italians' and on another occasion railed against 'those horrible Poles'. In a letter to a German scholar, he rejoiced that the Jews of that country were considering returning to Israel; he took the opportunity to wish the Irish well too.

The most popular English historian of the time, John Richard Green, while deploring the 'overwhelming Teutonism' of Freeman and Stubbs and showing some sympathy for ethnic minorities such as the Irish, dedicated his *Short History of the English People* (1874) to them. Like his 'two dear friends', Green traced the British Parliament back to the 'little peasant communities' of Germany, and like them he found Teutonic characteristics in English literature. Even the German devil was a superior devil. The human energy of the German race," he explained in *A Short History of the English People* (1878), "its sense of the power of the individual man, has transformed, in Caedmon's verse, the Hebrew Tempter into a rebellious Satan, unwilling to be God's vassal. In contrast to them, he maintained that once the natives had been killed or driven out of Britain, "everything [there] had [...] [become] purely English".

For almost a quarter of a century, the theory of Teutonic origins dominated American historiography. In 1870, William F. Allen, a classics scholar at the University of Wisconsin, suggested that the conditions then prevailing in the United States might allow Tacitus' ideas about Germanic tribes to be tested, since the ancient race had returned to its primitive conditions in this country in relatively recent times. In a letter to the *Nation* newspaper, he pointed out to Sir Henry Maine, historian of English law, that the

early settlements of the English colonists in New England were strikingly similar to those described by Tacitus. Maine had argued that private property was not a primitive human institution, but only appeared when a people became civilised. Allen thought that this idea could be confirmed in New England, where the colonists "had had a free hand, like the Saxon conquerors of Great Britain". It is true that they had experimented with common property, but they had not been able to put it into practice and had finally discarded it.

Allen had studied Greek and Latin in Göttingen and Berlin. His *Short History of the Roman People* (1890) shows the strong influence of Teutonic theory. In it, he explains that it was not the Germans who plundered the Roman Empire, but the Huns, a "Tartar race" from Central Asia, "small in stature, dark-skinned and hideous in features". The Germans had long since sent emissaries to Rome and citizens of German blood had occupied "the highest positions of government and administration". They had not been numerous enough to save Rome from barbarian invasions from the east. It had taken them centuries to restore European civilisation to some semblance of its former greatness. Allen, an enthusiastic admirer of Tacitus, published an edition of his *Germania*.

In other writings, Allen seems to have had doubts about the character of Germans. He was troubled by the fact that German immigrants to the US did not always behave as history said they had in the past: they tended to espouse socialism. The Germans must have been corrupted in Rome, where work was "left to the slaves" and "it was dishonourable for a free man to work". However, "in the countries of the continent which, by an uninterrupted succession, have derived their institutions and their civilisation from the Roman Empire, industry has continued to be held in the same contempt". This is how Allen explains the workers' "agitation" which, in all the countries of continental Europe, "threatens to subvert our social organisation". It must be admitted, however, that Germany is "the homeland of socialism", provided it is understood that this is due to the fact that the Germans were contaminated by the Romance-speaking nations with which they came into contact at a very early stage. Thus, for Allen, it is England and not Germany that is the true inheritor of the "democratic spirit" of the ancient Teutons.

Henry Brooks Adams, Professor of History at Harvard, enthused by the special seminar he had conducted during the academic year 1873-74 on the study of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon institutions, decided to open at Harvard, at his own expense, a class of doctoral students to continue for another year the research already begun. Their results were published in the collective work *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1876), to which Adams himself contributed an essay favourable to democracy and devoid of references to racial theory. Also in favour of the separation of powers, he endeavoured to discover the mechanisms of a similar system in the conflicts between nobles and kings in England and, further still, in the tribal customs of the Anglo-Saxons and their ancestors in Germany. He believed that the antiquity of representative government among the Germanic peoples "gives to the history of Germanic and especially English institutions a philosophical completeness and continuity which add greatly to their

interest and even to their practical value". But, according to Adams, it was not the idea of parliamentarianism that the Teutons and Anglo-Saxons had passed on to their descendants, it was the principle of law. The Germans had bequeathed to the Anglo-Saxons a set of fundamental laws. This system of law had come under great strain during the conflicts between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and even more so under the Normans, but it had never been completely destroyed. The essential legal principles were private property, jury trials, the settlement of disputes by compromise and the family settlement of private affairs. This was not parliamentarianism, but the primacy of the law over the personal whim of a ruler, which dated back to the Germanic tribes. Around 1900 Adams rejected his own theory, attributing to the Normans the qualities he had previously admired as peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons.

In the 1880s, Herbert Baxter Adams was the leading proponent of the theory of Teutonic origins in America. Like many of his predecessors, he had studied in Germany with the great von Treitschke. From its foundation in 1876, he introduced the German historian's method to the Johns Hopkins University. In 1883, he began publishing the Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science, which he edited for many years. Allergic to controversy, he had little interest in applying the lessons of history to modern events. He took the same gentle pride in tracing his country's institutions back to ancient sources that genealogists take in contemplating the achievements of their distant ancestors. Unlike Stubbs, Freeman and Henry Adams, he did not study Anglo-Saxon documents. He made direct comparisons between the institutions and customs described in Tacitus' *Germania* and those of colonial New England communities. According to him, the early settlers' system of individual land allocation, their system of communal grazing, the functions of some of their municipal officials, and their methods of building small fortifications and spiked barricades found their equivalents in Tacitus' account. But, above all, the New England town meeting was a resurrection of the Teutonic tribal council, a direct embodiment of the freedom 'lost' a thousand years ago. H. B. Adams's historical method overlooked the Anglo-Saxons of England or, at best, treated them as a relatively unimportant link between the United States and the Germans. The Anglo-Saxons of England were, he argued in *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns* (1882), "but a branch of the great Teutonic race, a mere offshoot of the tree of liberty which has its roots in all the past". It is not that Adams was anti-British, but he wanted the Americans and the British to recognise their close link with the Germans.

H. B. Adams sometimes tried to explain American traits by the innate character of the Teutons. The cruelty of the Puritans towards criminals and Indians was, according to him, the result of their Saxon origins. Nevertheless, he argued in a lecture entitled "Saxon Tithing-Men in America" (1881), "[i]t is folly to cast opprobrium on the Pilgrim Fathers". "We Americans, whether in the North or the South, are of the same English blood; we have inherited similar institutions, which have much the same virtues and much the same vices. He generally confined himself to saying that Teutonic blood is very good blood and that those who have it should rejoice. He did not express an opinion on the question of how the

Teutonic races should relate to each other and how the Teutonic races should relate to the non-Teutonic races.

In contrast, the British historian and politician Edward A. Freeman, author of *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, Its Causes and Its Results* (5 vols., 1870-1876) and *The Historical Geography of Europe* (1881), insisted on the need for racial solidarity between the Teutonic races. During a lecture tour of the United States in 1881, while singing the praises of Herbert B. Adams, he hammered home the point that the Teutonic race, in its "three homes" (England, Germany and the United States), was the source of world civilisation, that the old quarrels between these three countries had to be forgotten, that England had to understand that George Washington was a spiritual and racial descendant of the Teutonic folk heroes. The American revolutionaries had rediscovered that love of freedom that the English, although also of Anglo-Saxon origin, had temporarily lost. The example they had set by lighting the fires of liberty had inspired their English brothers overseas to a political revolution that was non-violent, but just as profound. From his call for racial solidarity among them flowed his position in favour of assimilation, which was not limited to immigrants of Teutonic origin. If all the Teutons are very close to us," he declared in one of his lectures, entitled "The Second Voyage and the Third Rome", "no European Aryan is very far from us; there are enough affinities, enough similarities, between all those whose ancestors took part in the great migration for them to assimilate easily, naturally and healthily. Assimilation is undoubtedly more rapid among our close relatives, but it is certain that it will occur sooner or later among all those who are related". This statement was preceded by the following preamble: "I shudder to speak of Aryan settlers who are not of the Teutonic race; I have heard that others who have lectured in this city have been persecuted for not speaking with due respect of certain persons who belong to this category. I will not go down that slippery slope. He would take it frankly in *Some Impressions of the United States* (1888), writing that "it is permissible to think that an Aryan country might do even better without the Negro vote and that a Teutonic country might do even better without the Irish vote" - he seems to have been one of the first American historians to use the word "Aryan". What I have dared to say out loud," he added immediately, "has been whispered in my ear in private by many Americans who understand perfectly well the state and needs of their country. Many agreed with me when I suggested that the best remedy for all that was wrong would be for every Irishman to kill a negro and hang for it. Those who disagreed were usually on the grounds that if there were no Irishmen and no negroes, they could have no servants.

The theory of the Teutonic origins of government dominated the thinking of American historians at the time. The Germanic origin of American institutions, declared historian Albert Bushnell Hart in 1887, was a fundamental principle that should be "clearly defined in the minds of students at Harvard", where his publishing house was based. At Washington University in St. Louis, John Fiske, one of the popularisers of Darwinian theory and Herbert Spencer's disciples, an ardent defender of the Teutonic doctrine and the racial superiority of the English race, published an uninterrupted stream of works in which he prophesied its final and complete domination of the globe. Former US ambassador to Germany Andrew

D. White championed the theory at Cornell University, where he was president; historian Moses Coit Tyler, the first full professor of American history in the US, at Columbia, where political scientist John W. Burgess was its most consistent and influential standard-bearer. While some proponents of the Teutonic doctrine sought to demonstrate the relationship between American institutions and Norman ones, and others the contribution of the early Anglo-Saxons to the character of American institutions, Burgess was among those who emphasised the German origins of these institutions.

As a student at the universities of Göttingen, Leipzig and Berlin, Burgess had absorbed far more of the racist and nationalist ideas that were then characteristic of German thought than most of the Americans who had also studied there. He had arrived in Germany just after the end of the Franco-Prussian War and witnessed the return of the victorious army to Berlin. He saw the German triumph over France as the triumph of Teutonic justice over Latin "barbarism in disguise". In Germany, his history teachers had been men who advocated total nationalism: Mommsen, Droysen, von Treitschke and von Gneist. Burgess identified totally with German philosophy, science, literature, music and militarism, which he equated purely and simply with civilisation.

Burgess had grown up in a slaveholding family in Tennessee, but the family was strongly Unionist and he himself had served in the Union army. By this time he had begun to dislike the British because of the sympathy in England for the Confederates, and this dislike had intensified during his studies in Germany. In his view, the English were not really Teutons. The infusion of French blood they had undergone during the Norman Conquest had been fatal to them, completely changing their character. When the English arrived in America, the difficulties encountered by the pioneers in the wilderness had to some extent stripped them of their "Norman-French" veneer and brought out once again the "German element of the English character". Heavy German immigration to America had reinforced this trend. The German nation," Burgess argued, "is ethnically closer to the American people than any other European nation. It followed that Germany and the United States shared characteristics that England did not. In England and France, Burgess argued in *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law* (1893), government could theoretically function without safeguards and, therefore, in these nations Caesarism was a constant threat. In Germany and the United States, he argued, there were constitutional restrictions on the will of the majority, but he feared that these would eventually, through mass immigration of non-Teutons, weaken to the point where the 'masses' would take control of government and the distribution of wealth. As long as this immigration was limited to people of the Teutonic races," he declared in a lecture given in Cologne in 1907, "everything was fine... But today we are receiving people of an entirely different kind... Slavs, Czechs, Hungarians... They are inclined to anarchy and crime... They are, in everything that constitutes the popular character, the exact opposite of true Americans. It remains to be seen whether Uncle Sam will be able to digest and assimilate such a morsel". The treatment he advocated was as follows: "In a state composed of several nationalities, the Teutonic element, when it is dominant, must always retain the balance of power. In certain circumstances, it should not even allow the other elements to participate, even in a limited way, in the government".

This is because, although there was "a diversity of gifts among nations as among individuals [...] political genius does not seem to have been granted more equally than other types of genius". The Greek, for all his artistic genius, had no talent for political organisation, any more than the Slav. The psychology of the Celt is," he added, "even more impolitic than that of the Greek and the Slav. Only the Teutonic races were capable of establishing stable governments. They might have learned something from the Romans, but "education can only develop what already exists in germ", so that "Roman discipline, which was clearly anti-national in its universality, could not have given rise to the national idea in the Teutons; this idea could only have been an original principle of the Teutonic political genius". The Teutons of Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, England, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria had been "the dominant elements in the foundation of these modern national states", and at the same time they were organising states in Greece, Romania, the Danube principalities and even Russia. The Teutonic races had to recognise that they alone were capable of founding stable states, even in countries where they were in the minority. As for the other races, they were condemned to "remain in a state of barbarism or semi-barbarism, unless the political nations undertake to organise the State for them". "The civilised State can rid the country of their presence and make it the home of civilised man". Above all, the dominant Teutonic power "must not ask itself too many questions about the morality of this policy, as soon as it becomes manifestly necessary". The subject was approached with far too much "sentimentality abroad", and this sentimentality was mainly due to a "lack of discrimination with regard to the capabilities of the races".

During his thirty-six years of teaching at Columbia, Burgess exerted a considerable influence on higher education in the United States. He sent many of his students to Germany, where they attended lectures by his former professors and returned to the United States "with trunks full of Droysen's *Preussische Politik* and the writings of Leopold von Ranke". He himself said that "American universities [were] practically controlled by men educated at German universities. Burgess, in founding the Columbia School of Political Science, had hoped that it would become the training ground for the country's future leaders.

This wish seemed to have been granted when he had Theodore Roosevelt as a student in 1880-1882. Burgess regarded him with affection and approval, while Roosevelt had immense admiration and respect for him. They disagreed, however, about the Spanish-American War. Burgess was opposed to the war because he believed that the conquered territories would eventually be annexed by the United States and that members of the overseas 'half-breeds' would become American citizens. Moreover, he was convinced that British diplomacy had tricked the United States into starting the war. By 1908, Burgess had apparently forgiven Roosevelt, declaring that he and Kaiser Wilhelm were "the two greatest statesmen among the leaders of the world".

During the First World War, Burgess's Teutonism led him to champion the cause of Germany, which he saw as a country of equal opportunity and economic democracy. He was convinced that the Kaiser had done everything in his power to prevent war. He defined the war as a battle for "Teutonic civilisation" against the "East Slavic quasi-civilisation" of Russia and the "decaying Latin civilisation" of France. The British had gone to war against Germany mainly out of jealousy of German foreign trade. According to Burgess, the German government's attitude towards the Wilson administration was in every respect moderate and just. Only British perfidy and clever propaganda prevented America from recognising its true friends. After the war, he castigated the Allies for failing to re-establish Germany as a first-rate power to counter the threat of "Asiatic Bolshevism". By this time Burgess's position was widely regarded as extremist and he had lost all political support.

The second variant of Teutonism in the United States, that which emphasised the contributions of the Normans to civilisation, had few supporters. Its best-known advocate was Henry Cabot Lodge, a former student of Henry Adams and contributor to *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, who was not entirely satisfied with Adams' thesis that the American legal system was Anglo-Saxon in origin. In his view, on the one hand, the Anglo-Saxon legal system was a web of contradictions and, on the other, practices common in the United States, such as the popular initiative and the referendum, were alien to the experience of the Anglo-Saxon race, for which, moreover, he did not show as much enthusiasm as his Teutonic colleagues. In England, the Anglo-Saxons liked to "fight for the sake of fighting". They were "narrow-minded, slow-witted, sometimes brutal, lacking in flexibility and skill". A certain laudable conservatism and a rudimentary intuition of the value of law were the characteristics that had saved them from total barbarism. Lodge did not like the Anglo-Saxons as much as the Normans, who in his eyes had also emerged from the Germanic forests; they were not Frenchmen, as Freeman claimed, but 'Saxons who spoke French'.

His admiration for the Normans did not lead him to advocate any particular relationship between the United States and any of the European countries. He was too much of a nationalist to worry about alliances or close associations between the United States and foreign countries. He had little regard for the Germans and the French and little more for the English. The American Revolution, in which his ancestors had rebelled against England, was still very present in his mind. He wanted the United States to follow a path independent of all other countries and, in the controversy over the League of Nations after the First World War, he contributed to the triumph of the isolationist policy. He feared and loathed certain classes of immigrants. He remembered with nostalgia the Boston of his childhood, before the city was transformed by the influx of foreigners. He sometimes portrayed the Irish as quarrelsome and restless - in his later public appearances he was obliged, for political purposes, to say something very different. For many years he was the most active supporter of restricting immigration.

Finally, there were the supporters of Teutonism who, like William F. Allen, sang the praises of the Anglo-Saxons against a backdrop of imperialism.

The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed an even greater revolution in American foreign affairs. In the early 1890s, the United States was a leading regional power, the pre-eminent country on both American continents. By the end of the decade, however, the United States had announced its desire to assume the status of a world power and had done much to justify this claim. It had fought a war in both hemispheres at once and had laid the foundations for an empire in both hemispheres. They had taken the liberty of telling the great powers of the world how to run their affairs and had not been surprised that they often listened. The United States had been preparing for some time for its spectacular entry onto the world stage. For many of them, this preparation had begun at the creation of the world. They were not alone in believing that Providence had specially appointed them to spread their values and institutions across the face of the earth, in accordance with a pre-established project of the Almighty - by which I mean Calvinism - but they believed in it perhaps more intensely than most other universally-inclined nations. This belief was given a name - Manifest Destiny - in the mid-nineteenth century, and was used to justify American expansionism. The United States annexed Texas, went to war with Mexico, seized California and New Mexico and acquired Oregon. After the Civil War - which confirmed, at least in the eyes of the Unionists, that the United States were the agents of divine will - they annexed Alaska. The spirit of the Manifest Destinarians was partly self-serving, but partly sincere. Since the days of the Puritans, many Americans had believed that they had a duty to regenerate humanity. By spreading American institutions and values - for example, by extending the borders of the United States - they thought they were sharing God's blessings with less fortunate peoples. It would have been selfish and unworthy to refuse.

John Fiske, convinced, as we said earlier, of the racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, defended this view in a pamphlet entitled precisely Manifest Destiny, first published in 1885, but which was a great bestseller during the 1890s. For Fiske, a popular historian and lecturer, the particular genius of the United States lay in the combination of a unique racial and cultural heritage and acquired political skills. Noting the spread of Anglo-Saxon influence throughout the world over the previous three centuries, he had no doubt that this trend would continue. The work which the English race began when it colonised North America," he declared, "is destined to continue until every country which is not already the seat of an ancient civilisation becomes English in its language, in its political habits and traditions, and, to a predominant extent, in the blood of its people. The day is at hand when four-fifths of the human race will trace their ancestry back to the English, just as four-fifths of the whites in the United States trace their ancestry back to them today. According to Fiske, all English-speaking peoples were capable of governing vast territories and many peoples, but the American branch of the family had developed these skills more fully than the others. The secret of the United States' success lay in its representative democracy, which guaranteed a government accountable to the people, and its federalism, which ensured a balance between local and national interests. In the United States, these two political

concepts had merged as nowhere else, producing an effect no less revolutionary in politics than the application of motive power or electricity in industry. If the Roman Empire," said Fiske, "could have possessed in all its parts that political vitality which is guaranteed in the United States by the principles of equal representation and limited state sovereignty, it could have defied all the shocks which tribal barbarism could have directed against it. Overflowing with this vitality, the United States would extend its influence and institutions throughout the world. In a century or so, the United States would constitute "a political entity immeasurably surpassing in power and size all the empires that have hitherto existed". Faced with the enormous economic productivity of the United States, the tired old regimes would give way. "The peaceful pressure exerted on Europe by America is becoming so great that it will no doubt soon overcome all these obstacles". Americans would benefit, but the whole world would benefit even more if the United States extended its empire "from pole to pole" and "from sunrise to sunset".

This sense of "Manifest Destiny" was not unanimous in the United States of the 1890s. Some wondered whether the United States (or any other country) should rule the world, and others wondered whether the United States could do so. Few Americans doubted that their country possessed the material potential to lead other nations, but some wondered whether their country possessed the national character to do so. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the latter.

Racial theories had an immense influence on the writings of nineteenth-century social scientists. In studying human societies, they generally assumed that they were also studying innate racial characteristics. They believed that races represented different stages of evolution, with the white race - or sometimes a subdivision of the white race - at the top. Consequently, any given society represented the power and influence of its different racial strains, as well as the quantity and quality of the mixtures between them. They saw heredity as a far more important factor in the development of society than environment, and for many social theorists heredity meant primarily race. Their acceptance of the Darwinian theory of evolution led them to accept the idea of the evolution of institutions and civilisations, but they believed that societies changed only very gradually, perhaps as slowly as biological organisms change their physical characteristics. Most theorists influenced by Darwin believed that no society could be improved beyond the level to which the natural forces of evolution had brought it. Any attempt to change society would in fact have catastrophic results.

Social Darwinism

Darwin had shattered the prevailing traditional, mystical and theological conceptions of the origin and nature of man and had discredited polygenism and monogenism. But Darwinism had only destroyed a

large part of the foundations hitherto held by racism in order to establish new ones. Darwin's influence on the theory of race was due not so much to what he himself wrote on the subject as to certain analogies which his followers drew between the relations between lower animals and the relations between men. The idea of natural selection gave rise to the idea of struggle between individual members of a society, between members of classes in a society, between different nations and between different races. This conflict, far from being an evil, was indispensable to nature in order to produce superior men, superior nations and superior races. These are the main ideas of Social Darwinism, and the man who did most to give them form and substance was Herbert Spencer (1820-1903).

The aim of the *Essay on Progress* is to determine scientifically the nature and cause of progress. The common idea is final cause," says Spencer. We see in phenomena only their relation to human happiness. We reserve the name of progress only for those changes which tend, directly or indirectly, to increase human happiness. And they are seen as progress simply because they tend to increase human happiness. But to understand progress properly, we need to find out what the nature of these changes is, leaving aside our own interests". To find the nature of progress, we need to determine the common character of all the changes that can be designated by this name, to discover the law that they all follow. Wolff, Goethe and Von Baer had shown that the evolution of individuals consisted of the passage from a homogeneous state to a heterogeneous state. The animal or the plant emerges from the embryo through an infinite number of successive differentiations, "organic progress is a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous". For Spencer, the law of organic progress is the law of all progress, and he shows how it is realised in all orders of physical facts, biological facts, psychological facts and sociological facts.

If the nebular hypothesis is true, the solar system initially took the form of an indefinitely extended medium that was more or less homogeneous in terms of density, temperature and other physical properties. The transition from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous can be seen in the following facts: the development of the group formed by the sun, the planets and the satellites, the contrasts between the sun and the planets and satellites in terms of volume, weight, speed and temperature, the differences between the planets and their satellites in terms of the inclinations of their orbits and axes, their physical constitutions, and so on. "The groups of astronomical, geological, biological, psychological and sociological phenomena obviously form a set of phenomena dependent on one another, their successive parts having generated one another by insensible gradations and their separation being considered merely conventional. Obviously they are also unified by the fact that they all manifest the law of transformation and the causes of transformation. This is why they must take their place in a coherent body of doctrine, linked by their fundamental kinship". Spencer's monumental task was to show this "fundamental kinship" and thus develop a universal philosophy. Even before the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859, Spencer had already worked out the essentials of his theory of evolution. To complete it, he lacked the concept of natural selection, which he therefore borrowed from

Darwin. It was Spencer who coined the two terms commonly associated with the biological theory of evolution, "the struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest".

In his treatise *Inductions de la Sociologie*, he asks the question: What is a Society? He regards it as an entity, because, although it is made up of discrete units, the preservation over generations and centuries of an arrangement which, in a general way, retains the same physiognomy, implies that the assembly of these units has something concrete about it. Spencer's second proposition is that a society is an organism, and he shows many analogies between living and social bodies. In explaining the development of both individual and social organisms, he makes little allowance for anything other than external circumstances and the influences of the environment in which they operate, without taking into account the principle of primitive impulse and direction towards a predetermined end which presides over all organisation. A society improves very slowly through the process of evolution, but it cannot be improved by other means. In Spencer's ideal society, government seems to have been an exception to the general law of development from homogeneity to heterogeneity. In his primitive state, according to Spencer, man necessarily resorted to violence and war. War had a eugenic effect "by eliminating the inferior races", thus establishing "an equilibrium of advantages in the early stages". However, with the development of industrial societies, conflicts between men would change from military to economic, and war as an instrument of politics would eventually disappear. Strong government was necessary in the primitive or "military" phases of society's evolution, but would be less necessary when society reached its "industrial phase". The "purification process", the survival of the fittest through natural selection, would "continue through industrial warfare". As man became more civilised, government would become less and less necessary and would disappear altogether. Spencer saw the role of government in his day as preventing social conflict from erupting into open violence, while refraining as far as possible from intervening in economic processes. The sociologist's main task was to convince mankind that society would improve to the extent that the powers of government and the sentimental idealism of charity did not interfere with 'free' economic forces. As Spencer explained to one of his correspondents, what is important is not what government should do, but what it should not do. "No adequate change of character can take place in a year, or a generation, or a century. All that education can do - all that can be done by spreading the principles of sociology more widely - is to prevent retrograde action. It is not possible to alter considerably the course of individual growth and organisation, nor to anticipate considerably the stages of development. But it is possible, to a great extent, by knowledge, to check the behaviour which leads to pathological states and the degradation which accompanies them". Spencer was opposed to public education, public libraries and the mint. All these 'socialistic' institutions would eventually lead not to the improvement of society but to its degeneration. He was opposed to hygiene laws, the professionalisation of medicine and compulsory vaccination. In the ideal society, there would be no social legislation, no regulation of industry, no help for the poor, nothing to interfere with the laws of natural selection.

Spencer's social theory obviously had racial implications. Rousseau's idea of the "primitive equality of men" was "absurd" and "wholly incompatible with evolutionary doctrine". Little or nothing could be done for primitive peoples, as their civilisation merely reflected the stage of their biological evolution. Primitive peoples, on the other hand, offered the sociologist a subject for study that could enable him to penetrate the evolutionary process. Spencer was convinced, for example, that the idea of monogamy had been conceived by the superior races and had become an 'innate' disposition in their germ plasm. Thus, a race's attitude to marriage could be a clue to its stage of evolution.

In a lecture delivered at the Institute of Anthropology on 22 June 1875, Spencer set himself the task of tracing the general mental evolution of man using a method similar to that employed by Darwin to trace his biological evolution. His starting point was the study of character, which he called 'mental mass'. The first point is that "[t]he superior races dominate the inferior races mainly by virtue of their greater energy, a sign of a more considerable mental volume", and the second is that "[t]he races differ among themselves by the greater or lesser complication of the constructions of their minds". To understand this, he says, we need to remember "the differences between the mind of a child and that of a mature man : The third point is the law according to which "organisms take longer to develop the higher they are; consequently, it is to be expected that the inferior human races will reach the end of their mental development sooner than the superior ones"; The fourth is "comparative plasticity", i.e. the relationship between the flexibility retained by the adult mind and the volume, complexity and speed of its development; in this respect too, there is a contrast "between the inferior and superior human races": "Travellers often tell us about the unchanging habits of savages. The semi-civilised nations of the East have always been characterised by more rigid customs than those of the more civilised nations of the West", although... "[b]ecause of the history of the savages, their customs have always been more rigid than those of the more civilised nations of the West". [the history of the most advanced nations shows that in ancient times ideas and habits were less flexible than they are today"; the fifth point is "variability": "[...] certain inferior races cannot keep their attention fixed for more than a few minutes, even on an object which provokes only very simple acts of the mind. The same is true of their emotions: they last less than those of civilised men"; there are, however, some restrictions to be made: "the savage shows great tenacity in the exercise of the lower intellectual faculties". Finally, Spencer addresses the question of the effect of race-mixing on mental nature. In the whole animal kingdom," he says, "we have reason to believe that all cross-breeding between varieties which have become too foreign to each other produces nothing physically good; on the contrary, the union between slightly different varieties gives, physically, good effects. Is the same true of mental nature? According to certain facts, the mixing of very different races of men seems to produce a worthless mental type, which is good neither for the life of the superior race nor for that of the inferior, and which is not suited to any kind of life. On the contrary, peoples of the same origin, who, having lived for several generations in different circumstances, have diverged slightly from one another, sometimes produce, by interbreeding, a mental type that is superior in certain respects. He attributed the failures and successes of nations to the qualities of their race and their degree of interbreeding. After France's defeat in 1871, he wrote to a friend that France had been in decline for many years "for a cause difficult to find (race, or particular

mixtures of races, may have been the cause)" and that he had little hope of its regeneration. At the beginning of the 20th century, any well-born Frenchman could only have shared his realism when he read the following passage from an article by the journalist and writer Lucien Delpon de Vissec entitled "L'Emigration européenne aux Etats-Unis", published in 1903 in the *Revue bleue*: "[o]ur intellectual superiority, the richness of our French temperament, comes largely from the fact that we were, in our beginnings, an agglomeration of peoples. When the elements that combine are not too heterogeneous, like the white race and the black race for example, they form the most complete and satisfying whole. They act on each other, and this reaction is a cause of progress". The article ended with this excerpt from a speech Spencer gave at a gala dinner in New York on 9 November 1882: "From biological truths it is inferred that the final blending of the parent branches of the Aryan race will produce a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed: a more plastic type of man, more capable of adapting himself and understanding the changes necessary to the perfection of social life. I believe that, whatever the difficulties they have to overcome, Americans can reasonably foresee a time when they will produce a civilisation greater than any the world has ever known."

Some of Spencer's ideas on race, however, proved embarrassing to more committed racists. Spencer accepted Darwin's theory of biological evolution in broad terms, except on one important point. Darwin maintained that organisms change by accidental variations, either internal, i.e. particular mental dispositions which suddenly and exceptionally manifest themselves in an individual and determine him to perform certain absolutely new acts, or external, i.e. influences which, from outside, can act simultaneously or successively on the organism and modify it in such a way that it becomes capable, at a given moment, of performing an action for which its hereditary constitution had not prepared it. Spencer, for his part, had adopted the Lamarckian theory of the heredity of acquired characters and, after a trip to the United States, had observed, to the great displeasure of the American Teutonists, that "the descendants of Irish immigrants are losing their Celtic aspect and are becoming Americanised...". Spencer also disturbed the Teutonists who advocated Anglo-Saxon domination over the primitive races: "First we send men to teach Christianity to pagans," he lapidary observed, "then we send Christians to shoot them with machine guns. The so-called savages, who, according to many travellers, behave well until they are mistreated, are taught good behaviour by the so-called civilised, who then subjugate them - who teach them rectitude and then illustrate it by taking over their lands. The policy is simple and uniform: Bibles first, bombs later.

In the United States, Spencer's influence on the developing discipline of sociology was enormous. His prestige among conservatives undoubtedly led many American university boards to set up sociology departments. His reputation was not just academic. An advocate of *laissez faire*, he was acclaimed by American business circles when he visited the United States. Spencer's main American disciple was William Graham Sumner, professor of political science at Yale and one of the founders of American sociology. Sumner was just a little less anti-statist than Spencer. He supported public education, but he opposed all poor laws, all charitable institutions and all regulation of factory hours and working

conditions. Like Spencer, Sumner often compared society to a living organism, and he used this analogy to combat the ideas of trade union leaders, Greenbackers, populists, socialists and single-tax advocates. What the reformers failed to understand, he felt, was that talk of changing the 'system' was 'talk of making a man of sixty into something other than what his life has made him'. Racial theory had relatively little place in his sociology. He opposed the right of blacks to vote, and was little better disposed towards Russian Jews, Hungarians or Italians.

The eugenics movement, then in its infancy, also helped to sharpen racial awareness among American social scientists. Eugenists sought above all to prove that geniuses generally came from superior stock and that debility, criminality and pauperism were also strongly influenced by hereditary factors. The movement began in England, where its leader was Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin. It was Galton who coined the word "eugenics", as well as the phrase "nature and nurture", which has given rise to so much controversy about the respective importance of heredity and environment. He was also the originator of mental tests and the first to apply the statistical method to the problem of the evolution of organised beings.

In *Hereditary Genius* (1869), Galton tried to prove, with the help of genealogical tables, that "a man's intellectual faculties are transmitted by heredity, just as the physical form and characters of any organised being are", the effect of environmental factors and social and economic conditions being much less on the production of genius. In three hundred (British) families he found over a thousand eminent men and concluded that talented men tend to come from a relatively small number of families and to be related to each other. Galton also investigated whether genius is more likely to be passed down through the female or male line and found that, for judges, statesmen, warriors, writers and scientists, the ratio of male to female heredity is 70 to 30; in other words, there is twice the probability of inheriting genius from one's father than from one's mother. Among poets and artists, the female influence on the heredity of genius is infinitely less than the male. Among theologians, on the other hand, the ratio between the influences of the two sexes is reversed, which Galton explains by the fact that feeling plays a greater part than intelligence in theological aptitudes and that religious feelings are better transmitted by the mother than by the father. The author came to the following seven conclusions: 1^o The heredity of average and distinctive characters, of all physical, moral and intellectual categories, is a general law that suffers few exceptions; 2^o The interruption of heredity for one or more generations (atavism) rarely occurs; 3^o The more striking or influential an individual is, for good or for ill, the more pronounced and numerous are his instinctive feelings and intelligence. Some of these characteristics appear for the first time in the family; 4^o Women have fewer distinctive characteristics than men; 5^o All the distinctive characteristics considered in groups are transmitted more by the fathers than by the mothers, especially those of intelligence, of which the fathers have a greater number. The general cause is probably that the characters are more strongly developed in them; 6^o It is very difficult to know whether characters acquired by an effect of education, reading, examples and all social influences, such as patriotism, a religious opinion, a point of honour, devotion to a dynasty, are

transmitted by heredity; 7° The most marked characters in an individual are usually those that he gets from his two parents and especially from his parents and other ascendants. The most serious authors have accepted these results as established scientific facts. Since intellectual capacities, like physical characteristics, were innate, it was possible to accelerate intellectual evolution through a selection programme, a eugenics programme. Galton defined eugenics as "[t]he science of improving stocks, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious crossing, but which, particularly in the case of man, is based on all factors likely to give the most suitable races or strains of blood a greater chance of rapidly prevailing over those which are less suitable".

The idea of a link between heredity and genius had occurred to Galton "in the course of purely ethnological researches into the intellectual peculiarities of different races". "The average intellectual level of the black race", he wrote in *Hereditary Genius*, while admitting exceptions, "is two degrees below our own", while the "Australian type" or aborigine "is one degree below that of the African black"; Although he found that "families of high intellectual lineage" abounded among the Jews and Italians, and that the populations of Germany were "also full of interest", he judged the civilisation of continental Europe to be generally mediocre because of the poor quality of the lineages that represented it. In France, "the Revolution and the guillotine [had] wreaked havoc on the progeny of the most capable races". More generally, he blamed the deterioration in the qualities of the continent's white peoples on the policies of the Church and the repressive authority of governments. "I believe that the long period of darkness in which Europe has languished is largely due to the celibacy imposed on religious orders in their vows. The social condition of the time was such that men and women of gentle natures, suited to acts of charity, meditation, letters and the arts, had no refuge except in the bosom of the Church. But the Church preached and demanded celibacy. The consequence was that these gentle natures left no posterity, and that thus, by a conduct so singularly imprudent and disastrous that I can hardly speak of it without impatience, the Church brutalized our fathers. It acted exactly as if it had wanted to choose the crudest part of society to perpetuate future generations. It used the same means that a breeder would use to train ferocious, brutal and stupid natures. It is not surprising that the law of the strongest should have prevailed in Europe for ten centuries; what is surprising is that there should have remained in the veins of Europeans enough goodness to raise the race to the present very modest level of morality".

In the United States, as in England, the eugenics movement developed. In 1877, Richard Dugdale published his study of the Jukes, a family in which mental deficiency predominated over several generations. Dugdale gave more credence to environmental factors than many eugenicists would do after him, but he gave credence to the idea that mental and emotional qualities were largely a matter of heredity. In the 1880s and 1890s, books by G. Stanley Hall and James Mark Baldwin spread the idea of the importance of heredity among psychologists and educators.

The neo-Darwinists maintained that natural selection, which fixes congenital variations, provided an adequate explanation for the progress of the race. This theory therefore took no account of the ontogenetic acquisitions of individual organisms. Consequently, it did not accept that an individual's experiences, adaptations and progress could be passed on to his offspring. The neo-Lamarckists, on the other hand, defended the heredity of acquired traits. Natural selection, seen as the principle of survival, was accepted by all. However, it did not explain how variations, which had not been favoured by selection, had come to intervene in the lines of evolutionary progress. Baldwin's theory of "organic selection" bridged the considerable gap that separated the two rival theories, since it answered the objections to both: acquired characters, individual modifications or adaptations, in short all the acquisitions known as accommodations, were not inherited directly; however, they influenced heredity and evolution, indirectly determining their course. Modifications or accommodations, when they occurred in certain living animals, withdrew the congenital variations of these animals from the destructive action of natural selection and thus allowed variations in the same direction to develop in subsequent generations, while variations in the opposite direction, or in a different direction, were lost without becoming fixed. The species would therefore progress in the directions first indicated by these acquired modifications and, gradually, the characters, which were originally only individual acquisitions, would become congenital variations. The result would be the same as if heredity had been direct, and the acquired traits that appeared to be inherited would be fully explained. To put it in 'socio-genetic' terms, according to Baldwin, individuals adapted to the conditions of their environment and transmitted this adaptation to their offspring. Mental and emotional traits became part of the germ plasm and, as a result, the children of educated people received biological and environmental benefits from the mental activity of their ancestors. By 1900, the idea that intelligence and character traits tended to be inherited was widely accepted, and one piece of evidence for this was found in racial differences.

Eugenicists disagreed with the proponents of Social Darwinism. Eugenicists did not believe in laissez faire. Galton was convinced that "the vigorous classes" failed to produce enough children, while "the incompetent, the sick and the hopeless" were all too successful at reproducing the same number of children. The upper classes should be encouraged to have more children and the lower classes should be encouraged, if not forced, to have fewer. Galton thus drew a distinction between positive eugenics, the improvement of the human races by encouraging the fecundity of the fittest, and negative eugenics, the aim of which was to curb the reproduction of the least fit. For the rest, Social Darwinists and eugenicists agreed that it was only the heredity of the poorer classes that kept them poor. Poverty, dirt and crime," said David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, "are due to bad human material. It is not the strength of the strong, but the weakness of the weak that breeds exploitation and tyranny". G. Stanley Hall believed that "[t]he many seductive programmes of the reformers are at best palliatives" to the improvement of the country's human material and that "their usefulness is generally only transitory". It was dangerous to feel sorry for society's failures, because helping the deficient risked interfering with the processes of healthy natural selection. Sterilisation and segregation of the unfit were the only reform measures that inspired any enthusiasm.

The United States was the first country to introduce eugenics policies. Dr Harry Sharp carried out the first sterilisations in Indiana as early as 1890. Beginning with Connecticut in 1896, many states passed marriage laws based on eugenic criteria, prohibiting anyone who was "epileptic, imbecile or feeble-minded" from marrying. The first state to introduce a compulsory sterilisation bill was Michigan in 1897. Eight years later, Pennsylvania state legislators passed a sterilisation bill, which was vetoed by the governor, so Indiana became the first state to pass a sterilisation law in 1907, followed by Washington, California and Connecticut in 1909. Virginia did not repeal its sterilisation law until 1974.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, a large and dynamic network of scientists, reformers and professionals implemented national eugenics projects and actively promoted eugenics legislation. Founded in 1906, the American Breeder's Association (ABA), the first eugenics organisation in the United States, aimed to "study and account for heredity in the human race and to emphasise the value of superior blood and the threat to society posed by inferior blood". Its members included David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, and the Scottish scientist and engineer Alexander Graham Bell. Psychologist Henry H. Goddard, educator Harry H. Laughlin and Madison Grant lobbied for solutions to the problem of the 'unfit', solutions that ranged from immigration restrictions to sterilisation and segregation. Laughlin was appointed executive director of the Eugenics Record Office (ERO) when it was founded in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, in 1911 by famed Mendellian biologist Charles B. Davenport, with funding from the Harriman railroad company and the Carnegie Institution. In 1906, J.H. Kellogg helped found the Race Betterment Foundation in Battle Creek, Michigan. Several feminist organisations, including the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the National League of Women Voters, also lobbied for eugenic legal reforms. One of the most prominent feminists in favour of the eugenics agenda was Margaret Sanger, founder of the first birth control clinic in the United States (1916) and later head of the American Birth Control League - on whose board Lothrop Stoddard sat - and Planned Parenthood (1942). She saw birth control as a means of preventing unwanted children from being born in unfavourable conditions. It sought to "bring the knowledge of birth control to the poorest and least biologically endowed populations" and, on the contrary, to favour the reproduction of people with healthy heredity.

The way in which the law on sterilisation was applied was similar in the various States: the Medical Committee of the Asylum drew up a file on the patient, which was submitted to the Official Office of the State. If sterilisation was authorised, the patient or guardian was notified and had twenty to thirty days to appeal to the District Court and then to the Supreme Court. If the sterilisation was confirmed, the operation took place within 30 days. It is estimated that, between 1907 and 1963, the law was not applied to more than 65,000 people, a third of them in the State of California alone.

It's easy to see why, when the new ERO students arrived at Cold Spring Harbor for the summer eugenics fieldwork training programme, their first practical exercise was to put on a play designed to introduce

them to the principles of heredity, entitled *Acquired or Inherited?* subtitled "A Eugenic Comedy in Four Acts", whose main character was Eugenie Traveller and which had been co-written by Laughlin. Their training continued using theatrical methods. It is also easy to see why a book could be written about the convergence of heredity theory, the eugenics movement and modern avant-garde theatre from the 1890s to the 1930s, why it is called 'Mendel's Theatre' (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) and why it has been published in the Palgrave Studies in Theatre and Performance History series.

The Origins of the Welfare State in the United States

The term "welfare" is used to describe a state in which the government provides the majority of social services; the expression also refers to these services collectively.

The welfare state is a political system based on the premise that the government (and not the individual, corporation or local authority) is responsible for the welfare of its citizens and, as such, must ensure that they all have a minimum standard of living, by providing most social services, free and universal education, free and universal medical care, insurance against disability, sickness and unemployment, family allowances, old-age pensions, and so on. Welfare can be financed by governments from general revenues, usually through redistributive taxation.

Historically, the welfare state emerged in many countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Its origins can be found in Islamic law, and more specifically in the concept of zakat, the third pillar of Islam, which refers to a person's obligation to donate a certain proportion of their wealth each year to charity. As far back as the time of the Caliph Rashidun, this was one of the taxes that every Islamic government raised and then used to pay an income, or even a pension where appropriate, to the needy, the poor, the elderly, orphans, widows and the disabled (i). Of course, public assistance existed in one form or another in societies long before Islam. However, it differed essentially from zakat (ii) in that no official body was responsible for it and it was granted in kind rather than in cash - an Islamic innovation that was soon to open the door to the welfare society. In Europe, it was the Elizabethan Poor Laws (1601) that opened the door, by stipulating that relief granted to the destitute should consist half in food and fuel and half in money.

The "welfare state" had not even begun to exist in institutional form before criticism arose against the state interventionism which, it was believed, was the cause (iii). This criticism, whether political, economic or social, came first from the so-called liberal school, then from the so-called 'conservative' camp and some socialists. Marx argued that measures to generalise welfare benefits, together with those to raise wages and improve working conditions, making the condition of workers in capitalism more tolerable for them, would do much to move the working class away from socialism and the revolutionary consciousness he believed was necessary for the establishment of a socialist economy. The Marxist critique of the welfare state is therefore only instrumental: welfare is not an evil in itself, it is only harmful insofar as it delays the advent of socialism. Today's Christian Democrats largely agree, arguing with consummate cynicism that the welfare state has acted as a safety valve, reducing the risk of social unrest and giving all citizens a sense of belonging and duty to the community. In 1987, the renowned American liberal economist Lester Thurow still acknowledged that "the welfare state enables

capitalism to continue to function... The welfare state is an essential ingredient of capitalism. Without it, capitalism would not survive for long" (iv). If the English poet and social critic Hilaire Belloc were to be resurrected today, he who, in *The Servile State* (1912), remarked that the good intentions of socialism can only lead to collectivist totalitarianism, he would be obliged to note that the good intentions of capitalism can also only lead to collectivist totalitarianism. In any case, for the neo-liberal philosopher and economist Friedrich von Hayek, "any attempt to establish the 'welfare state', or socialist centralised planning, inevitably leads to totalitarianism (of course, national socialist or fascist), to 'The Road to Serfdom' (1944).

More perceptive, de Tocqueville had grasped the type of totalitarianism to which the welfare state was paving the way: "I want to imagine the new features of despotism that could appear in the world: I see an innumerable crowd of similar and equal men who turn without rest to procure for themselves small and vulgar pleasures with which they fill their souls. As for the rest of his fellow citizens, he is next to them, but he does not see them; he touches them and does not feel them; he exists only in himself and for himself alone, and if he still has a family, it can at least be said that he no longer has a homeland".

"Above them rises an immense and tutelary power, which alone is responsible for ensuring their enjoyment and watching over their fate. It is absolute, detailed, regular, far-sighted and gentle. It would resemble paternal power if, like it, its aim were to prepare men for manhood; but it seeks, on the contrary, only to fix them irrevocably in childhood; it likes citizens to rejoice, provided they think only of rejoicing. He willingly works for their happiness, but he wants to be its sole agent and sole arbiter; he provides for their security, foresees and ensures their needs, facilitates their pleasures, conducts their main affairs, directs their industry, regulates their inheritance and divides up their inheritances; what can he do to take away from them the trouble of thinking and the pain of living? Assisted (v) is, in a word, what peoples with a democratic social state want to be, by virtue of man's natural passion "for idleness. (...) Any measure that places legal charity on a permanent footing and gives it an administrative form therefore creates an idle and lazy class, living at the expense of the industrial and working class. This is, if not its immediate result, at least its inevitable consequence" (vi). (*Mémoire sur le paupérisme*) Being assisted is what democratic man demands and even claims, almost as a right, whatever his condition, whether he has a fortune or very little money (think of the subsidies which, officially supposed to meet the needs of the State, are given, more or less secretly, to individuals, companies, pressure groups which serve personal interests ; Think of the vast web of subsidised associations, the labyrinth of establishments, observatories, bodies and institutes, inexhaustible seams of hideouts tailor-made for the scoundrels upstairs and the scum downstairs). And since it is in the nature and interest of the modern state to assist, it is not above responding favourably to this demand.

Basically, the infamous "social contract" is a tacit agreement of mutual assistance between the scum below and the scoundrels above. It could only be agreed, concluded and finalised once a certain number

of members of the riff-raff below, who had gradually replaced the legitimate representatives of an aristocracy they had gradually infiltrated and whose wells they had, so to speak, poisoned, had taken over the State and risen to the very top of a hierarchy that was now in some way reversed. To stay there, it was vital that the scoundrels from above transmute the people into real scoundrels from below, into a community of 'clients' who were like their externalisation, or, to use Guénonian terminology, a 'support' for certain subtle or psychic influences of a lower order. Hence, as eugenicists have pointed out, without however drawing all the conclusions, the particular care with which the scoundrels above not only preserved first the most inferior elements of the white race and then, after exporting them en masse to the European continent, the most inferior elements of the coloured race, but did everything possible to allow them to proliferate. Hence the welfare state (vii).

The American economist and political philosopher of Jewish origin, theorist of the Austrian school of economics, libertarianism and anarcho-capitalism, did not grasp the real ins and outs of the welfare state, of which he was a resolute critic and opponent, any more than the eugenicists did. The interest of this study lies essentially in its ability to identify and expose the coteries, lobbies and networks of influence that gave rise to the welfare state in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. The job - in the Old Testament sense of the term - was done "in the family", by a few individuals, pastors, pastors' wives, pastors' sons and daughters, academics, social workers, major industrialists, the wives, daughters and sons of major industrialists, almost all of whom knew each other personally and many of whom had a sexual attraction to individuals of their own sex. The number of foundations, societies, institutes and associations that they set up or that were set up for them is impressive, and listing them can make one dizzy, but it is necessary to show that these screen or nested establishments are at the same time the *modus operandi* and one of the keys to the success of any large-scale subversive enterprise.

Introduction

Current theory sees government as functional: a social need arises and government, more or less automatically, arises to fill the need. The analogy is based on the law of supply and demand of the market economy: for example, a demand for cream cheese will result in a supply of cream cheese on the market. But it is certainly difficult to say that, in the same way, a demand for postal services spontaneously gives rise to a state monopoly on the Post Office, prohibiting competition and providing us with an increasingly poor service at ever higher prices.

Indeed, if the analogy doesn't work when it comes to a genuine service (for example, delivering the mail or building roads), imagine how false the analogy is when the government doesn't provide goods or services at all, but tyrannically redistributes income and wealth.

When the government authoritatively takes money from A and gives it to B, who claims what? The producer of cream cheese on the market uses his resources to satisfy a genuine demand for cream cheese; he is not engaging in coercive redistribution. But what about all the operations through which part of the revenue is taken from A and paid back to B? Who are the claimants and who are the suppliers? It could be said that the subsidised, the 'beneficiaries', 'demand' this redistribution; certainly, but it would be extremely credulous to assert that A, the shorn, also 'demands' this redistribution. In fact, A is a reluctant supplier, a coerced donor; B wins at A's expense. But the really interesting role here is played by G, the government. Because, except in the unlikely case where G is a voluntary altruist, carrying out this action without asking for compensation like Robin Hood, G receives a percentage, recovers intermediation costs, receives, so to speak, a finder's fee for carrying out this small operation. In other words, G, the government, "redistributes" by swindling A for the benefit of B and itself.

Once we focus on this aspect of the operation, we begin to understand that G, the government, may not simply be a passive recipient of B's economic needs and demands, as standard theory would have it; G himself may also be an active demander and, like a full-time paid Robin Hood, may even stimulate demand from B, so as to line his own pockets. Needs may also be felt by the government Robin Hood himself.

Why the welfare state?

Why has government expanded so much in this century?

More specifically, why did the welfare state emerge, develop and become bigger and more powerful? What was the functional need for it? One possible answer is that the growth of poverty over the course of the century gave rise to welfare and redistribution. But this is hardly logical, since it is clear that the standard of living of the average person has risen considerably over the last fifty years and that poverty has fallen sharply.

But perhaps inequality has worsened and the masses, even if their situation has improved, are revolted by the widening income gap between them and the rich? In French: les masses sont dévorées par l'envie

et la disparité croissante des revenus reste sur l'estomac. But it's obvious that the disparity of income and wealth between the rich and the masses is much greater in the Third World than in Western capitalist countries. So what's the problem?

Another common and more plausible response is that industrialisation and urbanisation, from the end of the 20th century onwards, deprived the masses, uprooted from the land or the small town, of their sense of community, belonging and mutual support (1). Alienated and uprooted from the city and the factory, the masses asked the welfare state to take the place of their former community.

It is true that the welfare state was born at the same time as industrialisation and urbanisation, but coincidence does not mean causation.

One of the serious flaws of this theory is that it ignores the real nature of the city, at least the nature it had before it was effectively destroyed in the decades following the Second World War. The city was not a monolithic agglomeration, but a series of neighbourhoods, each with its own character, its own network of clubs, its own fraternal associations and its own informal meeting places. The memorable description of urban neighbourhoods in Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities* is a charming and accurate portrayal of the unity in diversity of each neighbourhood, the important role of the "street watch" and the small shopkeeper. The big cities in the United States in 1900 were almost exclusively Catholic and ethnic, and the political and social life of Catholic men revolved, and to some extent still revolves, around the neighbourhood bar. The men of the neighbourhood met there every evening to drink a few beers, socialise and discuss politics. The barkeeper, who was usually a Democratic Party election agent, would give them a political education. The wives met separately in their homes. The beloved community was still going strong in urban America.

The apparently plausible theory mentioned above does not stand up to closer historical analysis, either for the United States - where, despite American exceptionalism, i.e. the fact that the country industrialised more rapidly than European countries or for a number of industrialised countries - where, as detailed surveys have shown, for example, there is no correlation between the degree of industrialisation and the adoption of social insurance programmes between the 1880s and the 1920s or 1960s (2).

Even more strikingly, the same conclusions apply to the United States, where American exceptionalism can play no role. The first large-scale welfare programme in the United States was the distribution of pensions to veterans of the Union army and their dependants after the Civil War. Yet these pensions

would probably have helped farmers and small-town dwellers more than the inhabitants of large industrial cities. A county-by-county study of these war pensions in Ohio in the late 1880s, the peak of pension payments, shows a negative correlation between the rate of urbanisation - or the percentage of people living in houses rather than on farms - and pension payment rates. The author of the study concludes that "generally speaking, pensions were granted in predominantly rural Anglo-Saxon areas", while the large city of Cleveland had the lowest rate of pension payments per capita (3). Furthermore, the pioneers of unemployment insurance and other social legislation were often the least industrialised and most rural states, such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oklahoma and Washington (4).

According to another classic viewpoint, that of the liberal left or the "social democratic model", as its supporters call it, the emergence of the welfare state is not the consequence of the semi-automatic march of industrialisation, but rather of important conscious mechanisms generated by the demands of the presumed beneficiaries of the welfare state themselves: the poor, the masses or the oppressed working class. This thesis was boldly summed up by one of its defenders.

Everywhere, he says, the welfare state has been the result of a highly centralised and broad-based trade union movement acting in close coordination with a unified reformist socialist party which, mainly because of the massive support of the working class, succeeded in acquiring hegemonic status in the party system (5).

Admittedly, this thesis is on the whole far-fetched, even for Europe, where the welfare state was mainly the work of conservative and liberal bureaucrats and political parties, not trade unions or socialist parties (6). But, to return to the United States, the Socialist Party has never enjoyed mass support there, let alone achieved "hegemonic status".

The trade unions were therefore the only possible support for the social-democratic model in the United States. Here, however, historians, almost all of them exalted supporters of trade unions, have furiously exaggerated the importance of trade unions in American history. Beyond the romantic histories of strikes and social conflicts (in which the role of the union is inevitably justified, even glorified), even the best economic historians do not bother to inform the reader that unions have had very little quantitative importance in the American economy. Indeed, until the New Deal and with the exception of periods when unionisation was imposed by the federal government (during the First World War and in the 1920s in the railways), the percentage of union members in the workforce generally varied from 1 to 2 per cent in recessions and 5 or 6 per cent in inflationary overheats, falling back to a negligible percentage in the following recession (7).

Moreover, in times of growth or crisis, trade unions, in a market environment, could only take root in certain occupations and specific sectors of the economy. Specifically, unions could only thrive in the craft sector, (a) where they could control the supply of labour because of the small number of workers it required; (b) where this limited number constituted a small fraction of the employer's wage bill; and (c) where, due to technological factors, the industry in question was not very competitive in all geographical areas of the country. These factors can be summed up by saying, in economists' jargon, that employers' demand schedules for this type of labour are inelastic, meaning that a small reduction in the supply of labour can lead to a large increase in the wages of the remaining workers. Unions could also take root in industries as geographically uncompetitive as anthracite coal, which is only found in a small area of northeastern Pennsylvania, or the various building trades (carpenters, bricklayers, electricians, joiners, etc.), since building in, say, New York City is significantly less competitive than in Chicago or Duluth. On the other hand, despite their determined efforts, it was impossible for unions to prosper in sectors such as bituminous coal, which is found in major regions of the United States, or garment manufacturing, where factories can easily be moved to another area where the workers are not unionised.

It was because they understood these principles that the craft unions grouped in Samuel Gompers' American Federation of Labor were able to thrive, while others, the more radical and socialist unions, such as the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, quickly collapsed and disappeared from the scene (8).

It should therefore be obvious that the advent and development of the welfare state in the United States had almost nothing to do with the growth of the labour movement. On the contrary, the development of trade unionism in America - during the First World War and the 1930s, its two great bursts of activity - was imposed by government. Consequently, trade unions were the effect rather than the cause of the welfare state, at least in the United States.

Post-millenarian Yankee pietism

If it wasn't industrialism or mass working-class movements that brought the welfare state to America, who was it? Where should we look for the determining factors? First of all, we need to understand that the two most powerful motivations in human history have always been ideology (including religious doctrine) and economic interest, and that a fusion of these two motivations can be downright irresistible. It was these two forces that came together powerfully to create the welfare state.

The ideology was propelled by the vigorous religious doctrine that spread through and took control of virtually all Protestant churches, particularly in the 'Yankee' areas of the North, from 1830 onwards. Similarly, the corollary ideology of statism and corporate socialism spread among intellectuals and clerics in the late twentieth century. The burgeoning welfare state promoted two economic interests in particular. One was the growing group of qualified (and often overqualified) intellectuals, technocrats and "social workers" who sought power, prestige, subsidies, contracts, safe havens and numerus clausus in their specialties through forms of licensing from the welfare state. The second group was made up of big businessmen who, having failed to achieve monopoly in the market economy, turned to government - local, state and federal - to provide it. The government granted them subsidies, entered into contracts with them and, in particular, imposed cartelisation. At the turn of the 20th century, the two groups merged, combining two crucial elements: wealth and the power to manufacture opinion, the latter no longer hindered by the Democratic Party, now converted to ideological laissez-faire. The new coalition combined its efforts to create and accelerate the advent of the welfare state in the United States. Not only was this true in 1900, it remains true today.

Perhaps the most decisive of the events that triggered the formation of the welfare state was the remarkably rapid transformation of American Protestantism in the late 1820s. Following a trend in Europe, fuelled by the intense emotionalism that was often generated by revival meetings, this Second Great Awakening conquered and reshaped Protestant churches, leaving older forms such as Calvinism far behind. The new Protestantism was stimulated by the sentimentality that reigned in the revival meetings organised throughout the country by the Reverend Charles Grandison Finney. This new Protestantism was pietistic, despising the liturgy because it saw it as papist or formalist and despising even the formalisms of belief and the Calvinist Church. So confessionism, the law of God and the Church were no longer important. What mattered was that each person should attain salvation through his or her own will, by being "born again" or "baptised in the Holy Spirit". An ecumenical, creedless, pietistic, emotional, vaguely defined Protestantism was to replace strict doctrinal or liturgical categories.

The new pietism took different forms in different parts of the country. In the South, it became personalistic, or salvific, with the emphasis on each person being capable of this salvific rebirth on their own rather than through social or political action. In the North, particularly in the Yankee areas, Protestantism took a very different form. It was aggressively evangelical and post-millennialist, meaning that every believer had a sacred duty to devote his or her energies to the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, the establishment of the perfect society in America and ultimately in the world, the eradication of sin and the 'sanctification of America' as an essential preparation for the eventual Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The duty of every believer did not stop at simply supporting missionary activity, for a crucial point in the new doctrine was that anyone who did not do his best to maximise the chances of salvation for others would not himself be saved. After only a few years of agitation, it became clear to these new Protestants that the Kingdom of God on earth could only be established by government, which alone could definitively ensure the salvation of individuals by removing the opportunities for sin.

Although the list of sins was particularly long, the PPM (Post-Millenarian Pietists) expressly emphasised the need to do away with the Demon Rum, which clouded men's minds to prevent them from attaining salvation; with slavery, which prevented the slave from being saved; with all Sabbath-day activities except prayer or Bible reading; and with all the activities of the Anti-Christ in the Vatican, the Pope and his conscious and devoted agents, who constitute the Catholic Church.

The Yankees who most embraced this view were an ethno-cultural group descended from the Massachusetts Puritans who migrated west from rural New England and settled in New York State (the Burned-Over District), northern Ohio, northern Indiana, northern Illinois and surrounding areas. From the Puritan era onwards, the Yankees did their utmost to force themselves and their neighbours to obey the Law; the first American public schools were opened in New England to inculcate obedience and civic virtues (9).

The concentration of the new statist in Yankee areas is absolutely remarkable. From the Reverend Finney to virtually all the progressive intellectuals who set America's course after 1900, almost all were born in Yankee areas: rural New England and, for their descendants, upstate and western New York, northeastern Ohio (the "Western Reserve", originally part of Connecticut and soon settled by Connecticut Yankees) and the northern part of Indiana and Illinois. Almost all of them grew up in very strict Sabbatarian families and often their father was a lay preacher and their mother a minister's daughter (10). It is very likely that the propensity of Yankees to quickly adopt the despotic and fanatical attitude of the new Protestant pietism was a legacy of the values, morals and worldview of their Puritan ancestors and the community they had established in New England. In recent years we have been reminded of three very different and antagonistic groups, all Protestants, who came from very different parts of Britain and settled in different parts of North America: The despotic, community-minded Puritans of East Anglia, who settled in New England; the Cavaliers of Wessex, who settled in the coastal regions of the South to become landowners and planters; and the courageous, individualistic Presbyterians, who had come from the border region of northern England and southern Scotland and settled in the South and hinterland of the West (11).

The Reverend Charles Grandison Finney, the founder of the Pietist movement, was a typical Yankee. Born in Connecticut, his father joined the emigrants with his family at an early age and settled on a farm in western New York on the Ontario border. By 1812, two-thirds of the 200,000 people living in Western New York had been born in New England. A Presbyterian, Finney converted to New Pietism in 1821 at the age of 29 and received his second baptism, his "baptism in the Holy Ghost". His conversion was greatly facilitated by the fact that he had no religious training and had to educate himself in this area. Having rejected the Calvinist tradition of biblical scholarship, Finney was able to carve out his own religion and become a minister of it himself. As the revival movement he had launched in 1826 in northern Ohio, where he practised as a lawyer, met with remarkable success, his new pietism spread to

the Yankee areas of the East and Midwest. Finney retired to Ohio's Western Reserve, where he became president of Oberlin University, making it the nation's leading centre for the teaching and dissemination of post-millennial pietism (12).

Pietists (13) soon felt drawn to state paternalism at local and state level: to try to eradicate the Rum Demon, forbidden Sabbath activities, dancing, gambling and other forms of pleasure, but also to try to ban or cripple Catholic parochial schools and to expand their network of schools with the specific aim of converting Catholic children to Protestantism, or, to use a common phrase in the late twentieth century, to "Christianise Catholics". But they used the national government early on: to try to limit Catholic immigration, in response to the influx of Irish Catholics in the late 1840s; to restrict or abolish slavery; or to eliminate the sin of Sunday mail delivery. So the new Pietists had no difficulty in expanding their consciences to favour paternalism in national economic affairs. The use of big government to create a perfect economy seemed consistent with its use to eradicate sin and create a perfect society. From the beginning, the MPC advocated government intervention to support business interests and protect American industry from competition from foreign imports. They also tended to advocate public works and the government creation of mass purchasing power through paper money and central banking. The MPC quickly gravitated to the statist Whigs, then to the fiercely anti-Catholic Know Nothings, and finally to the Republican Party, the "party of great moral ideas" (14).

But not all religious groups wanted to be subject to MPC theocracy - Catholics, German Lutherans, traditional Calvinists, secularists, Southern Salvationists, naturally gravitated towards the laissez-faire political party, the Democrats. The Democrats, whose party had become known as the "Personal Liberty Party", advocated small government and laissez-faire economics at the national level, i.e. the separation of state and business, free trade and hard money (15).

The Democratic Party was the champion of laissez-faire, minimal government and decentralisation from its inception until its takeover by ultra-Pietist Bryanite forces (the Christian Bible Church) in 1896. After 1830, the electorate of the laissez-faire Democratic Party was considerably strengthened by the influx of religious groups opposed to Yankee theocracy.

While post-millennial Protestantism provided a crucial impetus for statism, one of the most important forces in creating the partnership between government and industry was the zeal of businessmen and industrialists to jump on the bandwagon of state privilege. Vital to the Republican coalition were the railways, which were heavily indebted and dependent on government subsidies, Pennsylvania's iron and steel industry, chronically inefficient and perpetually in search of high tariffs to protect them from import competition. When industrialists, as was often the case, were both post-millennialist Yankee

pietists seeking to impose a perfect society and inefficient industrialists seeking government assistance, the fusion of religious doctrine and economic self-interest began to strongly determine their actions.

Yankee women: the driving force

Of all the Yankee activists in favour of statist 'reforms', perhaps the most formidable force was the group of Yankee women, especially middle- and upper-class women and especially single women, whose predisposition to stick their noses in everywhere was not hampered by family responsibilities. One of the MPC's favourite reforms was the right for women to vote, which was effectively granted in various states and localities long before a constitutional amendment imposed it on the country as a whole. The main reason for this was that it was obvious to everyone that, once the right to vote was granted to Yankee women, most of them would not take long to rush to the polls, whereas Catholic women believed that their place was at home and with their families and were not interested in politics. Extending the right to vote to women was therefore a way of increasing the total number of post-millennialist votes at the expense of Catholics and Lutherans.

The impact of the evangelical transformation of Protestantism in the 1820s and 1830s on women's activism is well described by the feminist historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg

"Women's religious movements multiplied. Women converts to evangelicalism formed "Groups of Saints" to help the evangelist spread evangelical doctrine. They would meet with him at dawn to help him plan evangelical strategies for the day. They put up posters in public places urging people to attend evangelical meetings, pressured shopkeepers to close their shops [on these occasions] and hold religious services, approaching sinners and praying with them. Even though they were "simple women", they presided over prayer vigils in their homes that went on late into the night. Most of these women were married and respected members of respectable communities. Yet, transformed by the millenarian zeal, they ignored virtually all the constraints on women's behaviour. They fiercely claimed control of sacred space. They took the message of Christ to the streets, even in the new poor districts (16).

The first leaders of the suffragette movement were initially ardent supporters of prohibitionism, the main political concern of post-millenarian Protestants. They were all Yankees and their activities were initially concentrated in the Yankee heartland of New York State. Susan Brownell Anthony, born in Massachusetts, was the founder of the first temperance (prohibitionist) association in New York State in 1852. Alongside Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, came from Johnston, New York, in the heart of New York's Burned-Over District. Prohibitionism began to develop in the winter of 1873-1874, when

"crusading women" took to the streets of Ohio towns with the specific intention of shutting down saloons through direct action. Thousands of women across the country took part in similar actions throughout the winter. Once the violence subsided, the women founded the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in Fredonia (near Buffalo), New York, in the summer of 1874. The WCTU was a resounding success and for decades remained the flagship movement of Prohibitionism.

What is less well known is that prohibitionism was not the WCTU's only hobbyhorse. In the 1880s, the WCTU lobbied all states and localities to adopt a wide-ranging programme of state intervention and social protection. These measures included the banning of licensed brothels and prostitutes' districts, the imposition of an 8-hour maximum working day, the provision of government facilities for abandoned and dependent children, the opening of public homes for the children of working-class women, public recreational facilities for the urban poor, federal aid for education, public schools for mothers and public vocational training for women. The WCTU also actively supported the "movement to promote the kindergarten system", which aimed to lower the age at which children came under the authority of teachers and other education professionals (17).

Progressives and the progressive secularisation of post-millenarian pietism: Ely, Dewey, and Commons (18)

A crucial but largely unknown aspect of American political history is the gradual but inexorable secularisation of post-millenarian Protestant pietism in the mid to late twentieth century (19). The tendency, almost from the beginning, was to use government to eradicate sin and create a perfect society, in order to usher in the Kingdom of God on earth. It changed slowly but surely over the decades: the emphasis shifted from Christ and religion, which became increasingly vague and confused concepts, to a social gospel that government should correct, organise and plan the perfect society. From its paternalistic role of righting wrongs, government was increasingly divinised, seen more and more as the guide and benefactor of an organic social whole. In short, the liberals, Know-Nothings and Republicans who were to dominate political life and culture from 1900 onwards were becoming increasingly progressive; some of the most radical thinkers were openly socialist, while others were content to be partisans of statism and organic collectivism. And as Marxism became increasingly popular in Europe after the 1880s, the progressives prided themselves on being moderates, supporters of organic statism midway between the old ruthless laissez-faire individualism on the one hand and proletarian socialism on the other. Progressives proposed a Third Way for society, in which Big Government, in the service of the common truths of science and religion, would harmonise all classes into an organic whole.

In the 1880s, the focus of post-millenarian Christian activity began to shift from Oberlin University to Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, the home of the liberal 'new theology'.

The Andover liberals, as Jean Quandt points out, insisted on the "immanence of God in nature and society, a concept partly derived from the doctrine of evolution". Moreover, "Christian conversion... increasingly came to mean the progressive moral improvement of the individual". Consequently, says Quandt, "the Andoverian identification of God with all the regenerative and civilizing forces of society, coupled with the emphasis of Arminian theology on the great moral achievements of man, heralded an increasingly secular version of the transfiguration of America" (20). For Professor Quandt, this gradual but inevitable change amounted in essence to a "secularisation of the eschatological vision". As Quandt writes:

"The outpourings of the Holy Spirit that were to usher in the Kingdom in the 1850s were replaced in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era by advances in knowledge, culture and ethical Christianity. Whereas evangelical Protestantism had initially insisted that the Kingdom would come by God's grace at work in history and not by any natural process, it then often substituted the providential gift of science for redemptive grace. These shifts towards a more naturalistic view of the world's progress were accompanied by a change in attitude towards the instruments of salvation. Churches and the charitable societies associated with them were still seen as important instruments of the coming Kingdom, but great importance was now attached to impersonal messianic agents such as the natural and social sciences. The spirit of love and brotherhood... was (now) often seen as the achievement of human evolution, with little connection to a transcendent deity (21)."

Progressive intellectuals and social and political leaders all rose to prominence at the same time and, remarkably, almost all of them were born in or around 1860 (22).

Richard T. Ely was born on a farm in western New York, near Fredonia, in the Buffalo area (23). His father, Ezra, a descendant of Puritan refugees from Restoration England, belonged to a long line of Congregationalist and Presbyterian priests. Ezra, who came from rural Connecticut, was a farmer whose poor land was only suited to growing barley; an ardent prohibitionist, he refused to approve barley because the main consumer product made from it was beer. Ezra was a fanatical Sabbatarian who banned games and books (except the Bible) on the Sabbath and hated tobacco and alcohol.

Richard was very religious, but not as pious as his father; he was mortified that he had not experienced conversion in his youth. He learned early how to get along with wealthy benefactors and borrowed a

considerable sum of money from his British classmate, Edwin R. A. Seligman, heir to the New York investment bank of the same name. Ely graduated from Columbia in 1876, in a country where there was as yet no doctoral programme. Like most economists, historians, philosophers and sociologists of his generation, he went to Germany to take one. Like his fellow students, Ely was enchanted by the Third Way, or organic statism, which he and the others thought they had found in Hegel and German social doctrine. As luck would have it, when Ely returned from Germany with a doctorate in his pocket at the age of 28, he became the first professor of political economy at America's premier institution of higher learning, Johns Hopkins University. Ely taught there and found disciples among a host of aspiring statist economists, sociologists and historians, some of whom were not much older than himself, such as the Chicago sociologist and economist Albion W. Small (b. 1854), the Chicago economist Edward W. Bemis, the economist and sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross, the President of the City College of New York John H. Finlay, the Wisconsin historian Frederick Jackson Turner and the future President Woodrow Wilson.

In the 1880s, Ely, like so many remarkably active post-millennial pietists, founded the American Economic Association and ran it with an iron fist for several years; he also founded and was the first president of the Institute of Christian Sociology, which pledged itself to "present... the kingdom (of God) as the complete ideal of human society to be realized on earth". Ely practically took over the reigns of the Chautauqua evangelical movement's summer camps and his book, *Introduction to Political Economy*, became a bestseller, largely because it was distributed by and was required reading for the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle for half a century. In 1891, Ely founded the Christian Social Union of the Protestant Episcopal Church with the openly socialist Reverend William Dwight Porter Bliss, who was the founder of the Association of Christian Socialists. Ely was also fascinated by the socialist Knights of Labor union, which he enthusiastically described as "truly scientific" and praised in one of its publications, *The Labor Movement* (1891); however, the Knights collapsed abruptly in 1887.

Disheartened at not getting a full professorship at Hopkins, Ely, thanks to his former student Frederick Jackson Turner who taught at the University of Wisconsin, not only managed to secure a professorship there in 1892, but became the president of a new institute, a School of Economics, Political Science and History, in which he was the highest paid. A talented academic and empire builder, he managed to find funding for an assistant professor, a fellow student and for his institute's extensive library.

Ely attracted his favorite alumni to Wisconsin, and Ely and his alumni and new students became key advisors to the administration of Robert M. La Follette (b. 1855), when he became Wisconsin's progressive governor in 1900. Thanks to La Follette, Ely and the others pioneered national welfare state programmes. Significantly, La Follette had entered Wisconsin politics as an ardent prohibitionist.

The essential point of Ely's thinking is that he virtually divinised the State. God," he declared, "acts through the State to accomplish his purposes more universally than through any other institution" (24). Once again, Ely's thinking is best summed up by Professor Quandt:

"In Ely's eyes, government was the divine instrument through which we were to act. Its pre-eminence as a divine instrument was based on the idea of removing the division between the sacred and the secular that had arisen after the Reformation and on the state's ability to implement ethical solutions to public problems. The same identification of the sacred with the profane... enabled Ely to deify the state while socialising Christianity. He believed that government was the principal divine instrument of redemption (25)."

We must not believe that Ely's vision was totally secular.

On the contrary, the Kingdom was never far from his thoughts. It was the task of the social sciences to "teach the complexity of the Christian duty of brotherhood". Thanks to instruments such as the industrial revolution, the universities and the churches, through the fusion of religion and social science, there would come, Ely believed, "the New Jerusalem" "that we are all impatiently awaiting". And then "the earth [will become] a new earth and all its cities the cities of God". And this Kingdom, according to Ely, was fast approaching.

A striking example of the secularisation of a postmillennialist progressive leader is the famous founder of pragmatist philosophy and progressive education, the prophet of great atheistic democracy, the philosopher John Dewey (b. 1859). It is little known that, at the very beginning of his seemingly endless career, Dewey was an ardent preacher of postmillennialism and the coming of the Kingdom. In a speech to the Michigan Student Christian Association, Dewey argued that the biblical notion of the earthly Kingdom of God was a precious truth that the world had forgotten, but that now the development of modern science and the communication of knowledge had prepared the world for the temporal advent of the "Kingdom of God" "... the common Life incarnate, the goal... that animated all men and brought them together in harmonious whole. Science and democracy, Dewey urged, together restore religious truth and, with this new truth, religion can contribute to the "spiritual unification of mankind, the realization of the human brotherhood, all that Christ called the Kingdom of God on earth...".

For Dewey, democracy was a "spiritual fact". Indeed, it is the "means by which truth is revealed". It was only in democracy, Dewey argued, that "the community of ideas and interests through the community

of action, that the incarnation of God in man (man as the organ of universal truth) becomes a living being, something present".

Dewey concluded with a call to action: "Can we conceive of a higher, more inspiring task? To merge the social principle with the religious principle, to break down the barriers of self-righteousness and self-assertion which isolate religious thought and conduct from the everyday life of man, to make the State a Republic of truth - surely this is a cause worth fighting for (26)". Thus, with Dewey, definitive secularisation was at hand: the truth of Jesus Christ was the truth revealed to man by modern science and modern democracy. Clearly, Dewey, like other progressives in the same situation, was only one step away from abandoning Christ and retaining his ardent faith in the ability of government, science and democracy to establish the Kingdom of an atheistic God on earth (27).

If Richard T. Ely was the most prominent MPP and progressive in economics and the social sciences, the leading progressive activist was his tireless and beloved alter ego, Professor John Rogers Commons (b. 1862). Commons had been a student of Ely's at Johns Hopkins and, although he failed to complete his graduate studies, he remained Ely's right-hand man and activist and became Professor of Economics at the University of Wisconsin. Commons was a leading member of the National Civic Federation, the leading progressive organization calling for statism in the economy. The National Civic Federation was an organ financed by big business, which published articles in favour of and lobbied for model legislation on federal and state unemployment insurance, federal regulation of commerce and regulation of public utilities. In addition, she was the main inspiration behind progressive policies from 1900 to the United States' entry into the First World War. Commons was also one of the founders and principal leaders of the even more explicitly left-wing American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL), which, from 1907 onwards, had a decisive influence on public works, minimum wage levels, legal working hours and trade union legislation. The AALL, funded by industrialists Rockefeller and Morgan, was very influential in the 1920s and 1930s. The executive secretary of the AALL for many decades was John B. Andrews, who began as an assistant to Commons at the University of Wisconsin.

John R. Commons was a descendant of the famous English Puritan martyr John Rogers. His parents had moved from rural Vermont to the very Yankee and fiercely post-millennialist Western Reserve region of northeast Ohio. His father was a farmer, his mother an extremely energetic schoolteacher and a graduate of the PMP's virtual headquarters, Oberlin College. The family settled in north-eastern Indiana. Commons' father, the financial pillar of the family, was a very religious pietistic Presbyterian and an ardent lifelong Republican prohibitionist. Mother Commons was eager for her son to become a minister and, when Commons enrolled at Oberlin in 1882, she accompanied him there, where mother and son founded and published a prohibitionist magazine. Although a Republican, Commons voted prohibitionist in the national election of 1884. Commons felt fortunate to be in Oberlin and to have arrived just as the Anti-Bar League, the pressure group that would become the largest united force to introduce

Prohibitionism in America, was being formed. The League's national leader was Howard W. Russell, a former theology student at Oberlin.

At Oberlin, Commons found a loving mentor in James Monroe, a professor of political science and history, who convinced two Oberlin trustees to fund Commons' graduate studies at Johns Hopkins. Monroe was himself a deeply religious, protectionist and prohibitionist PPM and for 30 years was a Republican congressman from the Western Reserve. Commons graduated from Oberlin in 1888 and enrolled at Johns Hopkins University (28). Before moving to Wisconsin, Commons taught at several institutions of higher learning, including Oberlin, Indiana University, Syracuse University, and helped found the American Institute of Christian Sociology on behalf of Christian Socialism.

Not only was Commons, once in Wisconsin, to become the principal inspirer and activist of the 'Wisconsin Idea', helping to establish the regulatory welfare state in that region, but several of his doctoral students at the University of Wisconsin were to exert a decisive influence on Roosevelt's New Deal. Selig Perlman, appointed to the Commons chair at the University of Wisconsin, was, following in his mentor's footsteps, the leading theorist of the policies and practices of Commons' beloved American Federation of Labor. And two other students of Commons, Arthur J. Altemeyer and Edwin E. Witte, became senior officials of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, founded by Commons to implement that state's union legislation. Altemeyer and Witte went on to become the main architects of Franklin Roosevelt's social security legislation (29).

Progressive women in America

The Elys, Commonses and Deweys might have enjoyed greater renown, but progressive American women provided the shock troops for the progressive movement and thus for the burgeoning welfare state. Like the men, they gradually but irresistibly secularised over the decades.

The first group of abolitionists were fanatically post-millenarian Christians, but the later group of progressives, born, as we have seen, in the 1860s, were no less fanatic, though more secular and less oriented towards the concept of the Kingdom of God. The evolution was almost inevitable; after all, if your Christian evangelist activism had virtually nothing to do with Christian belief, Christian liturgy or the Protestant notion of personal reform, but was concerned exclusively with using the power of government to educate the whole of society, eradicate sin and bring about a perfect society, if government really was the chief divine instrument of salvation, it is natural that the role of Christianity in your practical activity should take a back seat. Christianity became background noise; your practical

activity was to use government to eradicate alcohol, poverty or anything defined as sin and to impose your own values and principles on society.

Moreover, by the end of the nineteenth century, as the 1860 group reached middle age, more special opportunities presented themselves for women's activism in favour of statism and government intervention. The activities of the earliest groups, the Women's Crusades, had been short-term and had therefore relied on the outbursts of enthusiasm of married women. However, as women's activism became more professional and specialised in social work and welfare centres, there was little room for women, except for single upper-class and upper-middle-class women, who answered the call in large numbers. The social work centres, it should be emphasised, were not simply private organisations whose mission was to help the poor; they were designed to spearhead social change and the government's programme of intervention and reform.

The most important of the progressive Yankee social workers, and emblematic of the movement as a whole, was Jane Addams (born 1860). Her father, John H. Addams, was a Pietist Quaker who settled in northern Illinois, built a sawmill, invested in railways and banks and became one of the wealthiest men in northern Illinois. John H. Addams was a lifelong Republican who attended the founding meeting of the Republican Party in Ripon, Wisconsin in 1854 and served as a Republican Senator for 16 years.

After graduating from one of the first women's universities, Rockford Seminary, in 1881, Jane Addams was deeply affected by the death of her beloved father. Intelligent, middle-class and energetic, she agonised over what to do with her life. She had no interest in men, so marriage was unlikely; indeed, she seems to have had several intense lesbian affairs (30).

After eight years of indecision, Jane Addams decided to devote herself to social work and founded the famous Hull House social work centre in the slums of Chicago in 1889. Jane had been inspired by reading the influential English art critic John Ruskin, an Oxford professor, Christian socialist and scathing critic of laissez-faire capitalism. Ruskin was the charismatic leader of Christian socialism in England, who had influence over the Anglican clergy. One of his disciples was the historian Arnold Toynbee, in whose honour Canon Samuel A. Barnett, another Ruskinian, founded the social work centre at Toynbee Hall in London in 1884. In 1888, Jane Addams travelled to London to observe Toynbee Hall, where she met Canon W. H. Freemantle, a close friend and mentor of Canon Barnett, and this meeting was decisive for Jane Addams, as it led her to return to Chicago to found Hull House with her former schoolmate and close friend, the lesbian Ellen Gates Starr. The main difference between Toynbee Hall and its American counterparts was that Toynbee Hall was staffed by male social workers, who stayed for a few years

before moving on and making a career, whereas the staff of the American social work centres were almost entirely made up of spinster girls, almost all of whom made a career there.

Jane Addams was able to use her upper-class connections to find ardent supporters, many of them women, who became her close friends and with whom she probably had lesbian relationships. One of her staunch benefactors was Mrs Louise de Koven Bowen (b. 1859), whose father, Jean de Koven, a Chicago banker, had amassed a large fortune. Mrs Bowen became a close friend of Jane Addams; she also became treasurer of Hull House and even built the building for this centre for social work. Other society women who supported Hull House included Mary Rozet Smith (who had a lesbian affair with Jane Addams) and Mrs Russell Wright, the mother of the future famous architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Mary Rozet Smith was able to replace Ellen Starr in Jane Addams' heart. She did this in two ways: by being totally subservient, to the point of self-deprecation, to the militant Miss Addams and by providing substantial financial support to Hull House. She and Mary Jane proclaimed themselves 'married' to each other.

One of Jane Addams' close associates and probable lovers at Hull House was the tough and truculent Julia Clifford Lathrop (b. 1858), whose father, William, had emigrated from New York State to Rockford in northern Illinois (31). William Lathrop, a lawyer, was a descendant of John Lathrop, the eminent English non-conformist and Yankee clergyman. William became a trustee of Rockford Seminary and was elected to the Illinois Senate on the Republican ticket. His daughter Julia, who graduated from the seminary shortly before Addams, went on to study at Vassar College. Julia Lathrop moved to Hull House in 1890 and had a long career in social work and government service. Julia founded the country's first juvenile court in Chicago in 1899, before becoming the first female member of the Illinois State Board of Charities and president of the National Institute of Social Work. In 1912, Lathrop was appointed by President Taft to head the first Children's Bureau.

Embedded in the federal government, the Children's Bureau became an outpost of the welfare state and social work. Its activities are strangely and unpleasantly reminiscent of the modern era. For example, the Children's Bureau was the centre of propaganda and advocacy for federal grants and programmes, propaganda in favour of the nation's mothers and children - a sort of macabre foreshadowing of Hillary Rodham Clinton's 'family values' and concern for 'children' and the Child Welfare Fund. The Children's Bureau declared 'Baby Week' in March 1916 and again in 1917, and declared 1918 'The Year of the Child'.

After the First World War, Lathrop and the Children's Bureau lobbied Congress in late 1921 for the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act, under which the state would provide funds to

states that opened a Bureau of Child Welfare and Hygiene and offered public education in maternal and child care by nurses and doctors. These were the beginnings of social medicine and the social family. This public education was offered to individuals at home and in health centres, and to health professionals in every region. What is chilling is that it was also envisaged that these states, to whom the state dangled federal subsidies, would take their children away from the parents in the event of "inadequate care", the standard being determined, of course, by the government and its presumed professionals. In addition, birth registration became compulsory and the federal government granted aid to pregnant women and children.

Julia Lathrop was instrumental in persuading Sheppard-Towner to extend the original Bill - including the flagship measure, which only affected those unable to pay - to everyone. Lathrop said, "The bill is designed to emphasise the need for the state to strengthen its public responsibility for the protection of life, just as we already recognise the public responsibility for the education of children in our state schools." The logic of the cumulative process of public intervention was irresistible; it is unfortunate that no one reversed that logic and launched a campaign to abolish public education.

While none of Sheppard-Towner's opponents went so far as to call for the abolition of public education, Senator James A. Reed, a fervent defender of laissez-faire, dotted the i's and crossed the t's. Caustically, Reed declared that "it is now proposed to put the mothers of the country under the control of a few unmarried women stationed in Washington... We had better reverse the proposal and create a committee of mothers to take charge of these old maids and teach them how to find husbands and have babies themselves" (32). Senator Reed may thus have put his finger on the motives of these Yankee progressives.

Around the same time that Jane Addams and her friends founded Hull House, social work centres were being opened in New York and Boston, also by Yankee spinsters and modelled on Toynbee Hall. In fact, the founder of the first social work centre in New York, which was soon to close, was Stanton Coit (born in 1857 in northern Ohio), whose father was a successful merchant and a descendant of the Massachusetts Yankee Puritan John Coit. Coit obtained a doctorate from the University of Berlin, worked at Toynbee Hall, then established The Neighbours' Guild in New York in 1886, which did not last long; it closed the following year. Inspired by this example, three Yankee lesbians founded the College Settlement Association in 1887, which opened social work centres in New York in 1889, and in Boston and Philadelphia a few years later. The main founder was Vida Dutton Scudder (b. 1861), a wealthy Bostonian whose father had been a Congregationalist missionary in India. After graduating from Smith College in 1884, Vida studied literature at Oxford and became a disciple of Ruskin and a Christian socialist, ending up at Wellesley University, where she taught for over 40 years. Vida Scudder became an Episcopalian, a sincere socialist and a member of the League of Women's Trade Unions. The other two founders of the Association were Katharine Coman (born 1857) and her long-time lesbian lover

Katharine Lee Bates. Katharine Coman was born in northern Ohio to a father who had been an ardent abolitionist and had taught school in upstate New York, before settling on an Ohio farm following injuries they had received in the Civil War. A graduate of the University of Michigan, Coman taught history and political economy at Wellesley and was later appointed to the chair of economics there. Coman and Bates travelled to Europe to study and learn how to promote social insurance in the United States. Katharine Bates was a professor of English at Wellesley. Coman became the leader of the National Consumers' League and the League of Women's Unions.

The initiator of the Children's Bureau concept, Florence Kelley, who lobbied for the Children's Bureau and for the Sheppard-Towner Act, was one of the few women activists who was both unique and paradigmatic. In many ways, she was like other progressive women. Born in 1859, her father, William D. Kelley, was a wealthy Republican senator from Philadelphia, whose attachment to protectionist tariffs, particularly for the Pennsylvania iron industry, was so strong that it earned him the nickname 'Pig Iron'. An Irish Protestant, he was an abolitionist and a radical Republican.

Florence Kelley differed from her colleagues in two ways: (a) she was the only one who called herself a Marxist and (b) she was neither single nor a lesbian. In the long run, however, these differences did not matter much. For Kelley's avowed Marxism was not, in practice, very different in its political consequences from the less systematic socialism or Fabian progressivism of her sisters. She was able to take her place at the other end of a spectrum that was not really very far from the mainstream of non-Marxist women. As for the second point, Florence Kelley managed to get rid of her husband in a very short space of time and hand over the upbringing of her three children to friends who loved children. In this way, home and hearth proved to be no obstacle to Florence Kelley's activism.

After graduating from Cornell University, Florence went on to study at the University of Zurich. She soon became a Marxist and translated Engels' *The Situation of the Working Class* into English. In Zurich, Florence met and married a Russian medical student, Lazare Wischnewetsky, a Jew and a Marxist, in 1884. She moved to New York with her husband, with whom she had three children in 1887. In New York, Florence quickly set up the New York Consumers' League and succeeded in getting a law passed on the inspection of women in factories. In 1891, Florence left her husband with her children and went to Chicago for reasons unknown to her biographers. In Chicago, she inevitably ended up at Hull House, where she stayed for a whole decade. Meanwhile, the voluminous, volcanic and hammy Florence Kelley helped radicalise Jane Addams. In Illinois, Kelley succeeded in passing a law establishing a legal eight-hour working day for women. She then became the first factory inspector in the State of Illinois and surrounded herself exclusively with socialists.

Florence Kelley's husband, Dr Wischnewetsky, had been consigned to oblivion. But what of her children? While Florence set about the task of transforming Illinois into a socialist state, she managed to entrust the upbringing of her children to her friend Henry Demarest Lloyd, a prominent left-wing journalist at the Chicago Tribune, and his wife, the daughter of one of the Tribune's owners.

In 1899, Florence Kelley returned to New York, where for twenty-five years she resided in what was then the city's most important social work centre, the Henry Street Settlement on the Lower East Side. Kelley founded the National Consumers' League and was the main lobbyist for the Federal Children's Bureau and the Sheppard-Towner Act. She fought for the passage of minimum wage and maximum hours laws for women, fought for the ratification of a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women and even found a way to become a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). When accused of being a Bolshevik in the 1920s, Florence Kelley hypocritically pointed out that she belonged to a good Philadelphia family - how could a member of such a family be a Marxist (33)?

Another very important and wealthy New York Yankee was Mary Melinda Kingsbury Simkhovitch (b. 1867). Born in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, Mary Melinda was the daughter of Isaac Kingsbury, a prominent Congregationalist and Republican merchant. She was the niece of a director of the Pennsylvania Railroad and a cousin of the head of Standard Oil in California. A graduate of Boston University, Mary Melinda travelled to Europe with her mother, studied in Germany and was deeply moved by socialism and Marxism. After becoming engaged to Vladimir Simkhovitch, a Russian scientist, she joined him in New York when he took up a post at Columbia University. Before marrying Simkhovitch, Mary Melinda became a caretaker at the Association of the Order building in New York, studied socialism further and learned Yiddish so that she could better communicate with her neighbours on the Lower East Side. Even after marrying Simkhovitch and having his two children, Mary Melinda founded her own social work centre in Greenwich House, joined the New York Consumers' League and the National League of Women's Unions, and fought for old age pensions and public housing.

A particularly important role in the development of statism and the adoption of the social reform programme in New York State was played by the wealthy and influential Dreier family, who produced several enterprising daughters. The Dreiers were Americans of German origin, but they could just as easily have been Yankees, as they were fervent - not to say fanatical - evangelical pietists. Their father, Theodore Dreier, had emigrated from Bremen and become a successful merchant; during the Civil War, he returned to Bremen and married his young cousin, Dorothy Dreier, the daughter of an evangelical minister. Every morning, the four Dreier daughters and their brother, Edward (born 1872), read the Bible and sang hymns.

In 1898, Father Dreier died, leaving his family several million dollars. His eldest daughter, Margaret (born 1875), found the words to persuade her siblings to let her indulge in radical and philanthropic activities (34). To dramatise her altruism and supposed "sacrifice", Margaret Dreier used to wear poor quality clothes. An active member of the Consumers' League, Margaret joined the League of Women's Unions with her sister at the end of 1904, which she financed generously. Margaret soon became president of the New York branch of the WCL and its national treasurer. Margaret Dreier was president of the League from 1907 to 1922.

In the spring of 1905 Margaret Dreier met and married the progressive Chicago adventurer Raymond Robins (b. 1874). They had met, appropriately enough, at a lecture he had given on the Social Gospel in an evangelical church in New York. The Robins became the first progressive couple in the country. Margaret's activities hardly slowed down, since the advocates of the welfare state were as active in Chicago as they were in New York.

Raymond Robins had an eventful career as a wanderer and nomad. Born in Florida, abandoned by his father and neglected by his mother, Robins travelled all over the country and managed to get a law degree in California, where he became a progressive and supporter of trade unionism. While prospecting for gold in Alaska, he had a vision of a burning cross in the wilderness and became a minister; he was oriented towards the social gospel. After moving to Chicago in 1901, he distinguished himself as a clerk in a social work centre and, naturally, frequented Hull House and rubbed shoulders with 'Saint Joan' Addams.

Two years after Robbins married Margaret Dreier, her sister Mary came to him and confessed her immense love for him. Robbins persuaded Mary to sacrifice her shameful secret passion for left-wing social reform, and they kept up a lifelong secret correspondence, the only subject of which was the "Order of the Flaming Cross", a secret society they had set up and of which they were the only two members.

Perhaps Margaret Dreier's most important contribution to the cause was to persuade wealthy women to put their wealth at the service of the League of Women's Trade Unions' left-wing and welfare-state programmes. League supporters included Anne Morgan, daughter of J. Pierpont Morgan; Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, daughter of John D. Rockefeller, Jr, Dorothy Whitney Straight, heiress of a family related to the Rockefellers, the Whitneys; Mary Eliza McDowell (born 1854), a Hull House alumna, whose father owned a steel mill in Chicago; and the very wealthy Anita McCormick Blaine, daughter of Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the mechanical harvester, who had already been inducted into the movement by Jane Addams (35).

We won't leave the Chicago scene without noting the growing attraction of the next generation of leftists to activism and academia. Sophonisba Breckenridge (b. 1866) was a wealthy unmarried academic who came from a prominent Kentucky family and was the great-granddaughter of a US senator. She wasn't a Yankee either, but she was clearly a lesbian. Dissatisfied with being a lawyer in Kentucky, Sophonisba entered the University of Chicago and became the first woman to earn a doctorate in political science in 1901. For the rest of her career, she taught social sciences and social work at the University of Chicago, where she became a mentor to Edith Abbott (b. 1876), with whom she probably had a long lesbian relationship. Edith Abbott, born in Nebraska, had been secretary of the Boston Trade Union League and had studied at the London School of Economics, where she had been strongly influenced by the Webbs, the leaders of Fabian socialism. Predictably, she lived and worked in a London welfare centre. Edith went on to study for a doctorate in economics at the University of Chicago, graduating in 1905. Having become a teacher at Wellesley, Edith soon joined her younger sister at Hull House in 1908, where they lived for the next twelve years, Edith as Director of Social Studies at Hull House. In the early 1920s, Edith Abbott became Dean of the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration, co-editing the *Social Service Journal* with her friend and mentor Sophonisba Breckenridge.

Grace Abbott, two years younger than Edith, gravitated more towards activism. The Abbott sisters' mother had come from upstate New York and graduated from Rockford Female Seminary; their father was an Illinois lawyer who had become lieutenant governor of Nebraska. Grace Abbott, who also lived at Hull House and was a close friend of Jane Addams, became Julia Clifford Lathrop's assistant at the federal government's Children's Bureau in 1917 and, in 1921, succeeded her mentor Lathrop as its head.

Although almost all social reform activists were Yankees, by the end of the twentieth century Jewish women were starting to get involved. Of the crucial group in the 1860s, the most prominent Jewess was Lillian D. Wald (b. 1867). Born into an upper-middle-class German and Polish-Jewish family in Cincinnati, Lillian and her family soon moved to Rochester, where she became a nurse. She went on to found the Nurses' Welfare Center on New York's Lower East Side, which was soon to become the famous Henry Street Welfare Center. It was Lillian Wald who first suggested the creation of a Federal Children's Bureau to President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 and who campaigned for a federal constitutional amendment banning child labour. Although not a Yankee, Lillian Wald continued the dominant tradition, since she was a lesbian - she had a long relationship with her partner Lavina Dock. Lillian Wald, while not particularly wealthy, had an uncanny ability to raise money for Henry Street, including from major Jewish financiers such as Jacob Schiff, Mrs Salomon Loeb of the Wall Street investment bank Kuhn-Loeb and Julius Rosenwald, then head of Sears Roebuck. An equally important role in financing Henry Street was played by the Milbank Fund of the Rockefeller-affiliated family, which also owned the Borden Milk Company.

The four Goldmark sisters, Helen, Pauline, Josephine and Alice completed the large contingent of activist Jewish socialists. Their father had been born in Poland, had practised as a doctor in Vienna and had become a member of the Austrian Parliament. After fleeing Austria for the United States following the failed revolution of 1848, Mr Goldmark worked there as a physician and chemist and made his fortune inventing percussion caps, helping to form the Republican Party in the 1850s. The Goldmark family lived in Indiana.

When Dr. Goldmark died in 1881, his eldest daughter, Helen, became head of the family. Helen married the eminent Felix Adler, philosopher and [Jewish] founder of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, a kind of Jewish Unitarianism. Alice married the prominent Jewish Boston lawyer Louis Brandeis Dembitz, a moderate liberal whom she helped radicalise by converting him to progressive socialism. Pauline (born 1874), after graduating from Bryn Mawr in 1896, remained unmarried, studied botany, zoology and sociology at Columbia University and Barnard, and then became assistant secretary of the New York Consumers' League. An even more remarkable activist was Josephine Clara Goldmark (b. 1877), who graduated from Bryn Mawr in 1898 and went on to do postgraduate studies in education at Barnard, before becoming communications officer for the National Consumers' League and author of the League's annual handbooks. In 1908 Josephine became chairman of the League's newly formed Law Committee and, together with her sister Pauline and Florence Kelley (and Alice), persuaded Brandeis to submit a famous brief to the court in *Muller v Oregon* (1908), arguing that Oregon's law on maximum working hours for women was constitutional. In 1919, Josephine Goldmark continued to rise through the ranks by becoming Secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation Committee for the Study of Nursing Education. Josephine Goldmark crowned her career by writing the first hagiographic biography of her friend and mentor in socialist activism, Florence Kelley (36).

The New Deal

It wasn't long before these progressives and social reformers exerted a decisive influence on American national politics. The Progressive Party was launched in 1912 by the Morgans - the party was led by Morgan's partner, George W. Perkins - in an attempt to defeat President William Howard Taft, who had broken with the pro-Morgan policies of his predecessor, Roosevelt. The Progressive Party brought together all the spearheads of statism: progressive academics, the businessman Morgan, Protestant pastors of the Social Gospel and, of course, the leading progressive social workers.

Delegates to the 1912 Progressive National Convention in New York included Jane Addams, Raymond Robins and Lillian D. Weld, as well as Henry Moskowitz of the New York Society for Ethical Culture and

Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch of New York's Greenwich House. True to its feminist position, the Progressive Party was also the first, with the exception of the Prohibitionist Party, to send women to the Convention and the first to nominate a woman elector, Helen J. Scott of Wisconsin. After the Progressive Party's success in the 1912 elections, the social workers and social scientists who had flocked to the party were convinced that they were introducing the pure values (or rather non-values) of "science" into political life. Their statist proposals were 'scientific' and any resistance to them was therefore narrow and contrary to the spirit of science and social protection.

In its 1913 permanent organization, the Progressive Party adopted a "Plan of Work" that had been proposed by Jane Addams just after the election. Its main section was Progressive Science, led by New York social worker, lawyer and sociologist Frances A. Kellor. Director of the Bureau of Legislative Reference, a department of the Progressive Science section, the pro-union Chicago labour lawyer Donald Richberg would later have a major hand in the Railway Labor Act of 1920 and the New Deal. One of the most important members of the Progressive Party's Board of Education was none other than John Dewey. The importance of the Department of Social and Industrial Justice, headed by Jane Addams, was considerable. Under her leadership, Henry Moskowitz headed the Men's Labour Committee and the wealthy philanthropist Mary E. McDowell headed the Women's Labour Committee. The Social Insurance Office was headed by Paul Kellogg, editor of the leading social work journal *Survey*, while Lillian Wald played a leading role in the Child Welfare Committee (37).

More important than the heady years for the Progressive Party, however, was the accelerating growth in the influence and power of the state and federal government. In particular, the women's welfare movement exerted an enormous influence on the development of the New Deal, an influence that has generally been underestimated. Take, for example, Mary H. Wilmarth, the daughter of a gas appliance manufacturer and a member of Chicago high society, who had been introduced to the group of wealthy supporters at Hull House. Mary Wilmarth was soon to become one of the main funders of the radical League of Women's Trade Unions. Mary's sister, Anne Wilmarth, married a progressive Chicago lawyer, the avaricious Harold L. Ickes, who soon became the League's lawyer. During the New Deal, Ickes would become Franklin Roosevelt's high-profile Secretary of the Interior.

At the other end of this social and ethnic spectrum was the petite, single - and proudly so - Jewish American of Polish origin Rose Schneiderman (b. 1882). Miss Schneiderman, one of the most openly left-wing of the agitators, had emigrated to New York in 1890 with her family and, at the age of 21, had set up the first local women's section of the Union of Jewish Socialist Manufacturers of Cloth Hats and Caps. Rose, one of the League's most influential members, played a key role in the formation of the Seamstresses' Union and ended up on its Executive Committee. Rose Schneiderman was appointed to the Labour Advisory Council during the New Deal.

From Florence Kelley's National Consumers' League came Molly Dewson, who became a member of Franklin Roosevelt's Social Security Council, and Josephine Roche, who became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in the New Deal.

But there were much bigger fish in the women's movement for statism and welfare. The leading force in this movement was none other than Eleanor Roosevelt (born 1884), who was perhaps the first bisexual First Lady. Eleanor, a pupil at a London school for girls from very good families, had fallen under the influence of her headmistress, the passionately radical Madame Marie Souvestre,

Back in New York, Eleanor joined Florence Kelley's National Consumers' League and became a Reformer. During the 1920s, Eleanor worked for and financially supported Lillian Wald's Henry Street and Marie Simkhovitch's Greenwich House social work centres. In the early 1920s, Eleanor joined the League and helped fund this radical organisation, campaigning for maximum working hours and minimum wage laws for women. Eleanor became close friends with Molly Dewson, a future member of the Social Security Council, and Rose Schneiderman. Eleanor introduced her friend, Mrs Thomas W. Lamont, wife of Morgan's powerful partner, to her circle of agitators.

The woman who rose to prominence during the New Deal and threw her weight behind its social legislation was Frances Perkins (b. 1880), Secretary of Labor, the first woman to enter government in American history. Frances Perkins was born in Boston; her parents, who came from Maine, were both practising Congregationalists and her father, Fred, was a wealthy businessman. Frances began her university studies in 1898 at Mount Holyoke, where she was elected class president. At Mount Holyoke, Frances was swept up in the intense pietistic religious wave that was spreading there; every Saturday night, each class held a prayer meeting.

The leader of what might be called the 'religious left' on campus was American history professor Annabelle May Soulé, head of the local branch of the National Consumers' League, which urged the abolition of child labour and the closure of sweat factories, another important cause of the statist movement. A lecture at Mount Holyoke by the League's charismatic Marxist leader, Florence Kelley, had changed Frances Perkins' life, transforming her into a supporter of the welfare state.

In 1913 Frances Perkins was married in a secret ceremony to the economist Paul C. Wilson. Wilson was a wealthy, cheerful but puny social reformer who enabled his wife to enter local reform circles. It is

unlikely that the very sensible Frances Perkins thought she was marrying for love. Her unmarried friend, welfare activist Pauline Goldmark, lamented the fact that Frances had married, but added that she "did it to get out of the way". In a sign that feminism was still in its infancy, Frances refused to take her husband's name. When she was appointed Secretary of Labor by Franklin Roosevelt, she rented a house with a close friend, the powerful and prodigiously wealthy Mary Rumsey Harriman, daughter of the great tycoon E. H. Harriman. The Harriman family exerted a considerable influence on the New Deal, an influence that has been largely neglected by historians. Mary Rumsey Harriman, widowed in 1922, was head of the New York Maternity Association and, as part of the New Deal, was chairman of the Consumer Advisory Committee of the National Recovery Board (38).

The close relationship between social work, women's activism and extremely wealthy financiers is best illustrated by the career of Frances Perkins' close friend Henry Bruere (b. 1882), who had been Wilson's best friend. Bruere was born to a doctor in St. Charles, Missouri, studied at the University of Chicago, attended two law schools and then did postgraduate studies in political science at Columbia University. After graduate school, Bruere resided at the College Settlement Association's welfare centre, then at the University Settlement, before becoming personnel director at Morgan's International Harvester Corporation.

From then on, Bruere's life was a revolving door. He moved back and forth between social agencies and private companies. After leaving the International Harvester Corporation, Bruere founded the New York Municipal Research Bureau and became chairman of the New York Welfare Committee. He was then appointed Vice President of Metropolitan Life and General Manager of the Bowery Savings Bank, which was his base of operations from the late 1920s to the early 1950s.

But Henry Bruere still had plenty of time for good works. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Bruere was a member of New York City's Executive Committee and Welfare Board, where he spearheaded the campaign for unemployment insurance. Bruere was appointed by Perkins in 1930 as chairman of the New York City State Commission for the Stabilization of Industry, in which the Government of National Recovery's idea of imposing the cartelization of industries was already taking shape. During the New Deal, Bruere also became an advisor to the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Credit Association, to various employment agencies and to various pension insurance funds and the Financial Reconstruction Corporation (FRC). Bruere also became chief of staff to William Woodin, Roosevelt's first Secretary of the Treasury.

Meanwhile, and this must be emphasised, in addition to the high offices he held in the federal government and the positions he held in welfare organisations, Bruere fraternised with the biggest

financiers, became a director of Harriman's Union Pacific Railroad and treasurer of the Twentieth-Century Fund of the left-wing liberal Edward A. Filene. The millionaire retailer Filene was the chief sponsor of the legal activities of his friend and part-time adviser, Louis D. Brandeis.

As the case of Henry Bruere shows, once the women of the United States had launched the first welfare organisations, the men followed suit. Strongly influenced by their stays at Hull House were the famous journalist Francis Hackett; the eminent historian and political scientist Charles A. Beard, who had also stayed at Toynbee House in London; the man who was to become one of the staunchest advocates of the cartelisation of American industries, Gerard Swope, director of the Morgan's General Electric Company; and the man who was to become one of the leading social and trade union activists in the service of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and, finally, Rockefeller's man as Liberal Prime Minister of Canada for many years, William Lyon Mackenzie King.

But perhaps the most important male social worker during the New Deal was the economic expert who became the Roosevelt administration's Secretary of Commerce and later shadow (unofficial, if not official) Secretary of State, Harry Lloyd Hopkins (b. 1890). Hopkins, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, could be considered the first militant, statist social worker of the 1880s activist group, the generation that came immediately after the pioneers of the 1860s.

Hopkins was born in Iowa to a harness-maker father who later became a department store owner. Cast in the pietistic mould of the Yankee social gospel, Hopkins' Canadian mother, Anna Pickett Hopkins, preached the gospel and became president of the Methodist Home Mission Society of Iowa. Hopkins graduated from Grinnell College in Iowa in 1912 with a degree in social sciences. Hopkins had barely settled in New York when he married Jewish heiress Ethel Gross. Hopkins immersed himself in the social work movement and moved to Christodora House in New York. He went on to work for the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor (AICP) and became a protégé of the AICP's executive director, John Adams Kingsbury (b. 1887). Kingsbury - no relation to the wealthy Marie Kingsbury Simkhovitch - was born in rural Kansas to a socialist father who became a school headmaster in Seattle. No sooner had Kingsbury graduated from Teachers College in Columbia in 1909 than he became a social worker.

Under the reformist administration of New York Mayor John Purroy Mitchell, Kingsbury became Commissioner of Public Assistance, while Hopkins was Executive Secretary of the Council for the Protection of Children, where he sat alongside such reformist luminaries as Henry Bruere, Molly Dewson and Frances Perkins.

From 1917 to 1922, Hopkins administered the Red Cross in the South. Back in New York, he had not yet become deputy director of the AICP when Kingsbury took over as director of the very powerful Milbank Memorial Fund, which financed numerous public health programmes and was in the orbit of the Rockefellers. Kingsbury financed a major programme of the New York Tuberculosis Association after Hopkins became its director in 1924. Kingsbury became increasingly openly radical, praising the alleged medical achievements of the Soviet Union and campaigning for compulsory health insurance in the United States. Kingsbury campaigned so violently against the American Medical Association that the AMA threatened a boycott of Borden Milk (the Milbank family's main business) and succeeded in getting Kingsbury fired in 1935. But don't worry; Harry Hopkins soon employed his old friend Kingsbury as a consultant to the agency he had set up to accommodate his needy friends, the Works Progress Administration.

How did Harry Hopkins, a social worker in a welfare centre when he first started out, manage to become one of the most powerful people in the New Deal? Part of the reason was his friendship with W. Averill Harriman, a descendant of the Harriman family; his friendship with John Hertz, a partner in the powerful investment banking firm Lehman Brothers; and his association with the rising political star of the time, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. Indeed, when Hopkins was appointed Secretary of Commerce in the New Deal, he offered the post of Assistant Secretary to Nelson Rockefeller, who declined.

The Rockefellers and social security

The Rockefellers and their intellectual and technocratic entourage were truly at the heart of the New Deal. In essence, the New Deal saw the replacement of the Morgan family, which had dominated economic and financial policy in the 1920s, by a coalition led by the Rockefellers, the Harrimans, Kuhn Loeb and the Lehman Brothers investment banking house (39). The Commerce Department's Business Advisory Committee, for example, which was to exert great influence over the development of New Deal measures, was dominated by Harriman family descendant W. Averill Harriman and Rockefeller satraps such as Walter Teagle, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey. For lack of space, we shall confine ourselves here to delineating the influence of the Rockefellers, allied with the progressives of Wisconsin and the graduates who worked in the social welfare centres, in the creation and imposition on America of the social security system. This was the end product of the gradual but inevitable process of the secularisation of the messianic ideal of the post-millenarian pietists. It is perhaps fitting that a movement launched by post-millennialist Yankee shrews taking to the streets to try to shut down bars should eventually give birth to Wisconsin social scientists, technocrats and Rockefellerite pundits manipulating the levers of political power to achieve a complete revolution in the form of the welfare state (40).

Social Security began in 1934, when President Franklin Roosevelt appointed a triad of senior officials to select members of a Committee on Economic Security (CES) to draft legislation for the Social Security system. The three officials were Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, Director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration Harry Hopkins and Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace. The most important of the triad was Perkins, whose department was more knowledgeable about Social Security and who was responsible for presenting the Administration's views at Congressional hearings. Perkins and the others decided to entrust this crucial task to Arthur Altmeyer, a disciple of Commons at the University of Wisconsin who had been Secretary of the Wisconsin Commission on Industry and had administered Wisconsin's unemployment insurance system. When Roosevelt imposed the corporatist, collectivist National Recovery Agency (NRA) in 1933, Altmeyer was appointed director of the NRA's Bureau of Labor Inspection. Corporatist businessmen warmly approved of Altmeyer's handling of the job, including Marion Folsom, chairman of Eastman Kodak and a leading member of the Business Advisory Council.

The man Altmeyer wanted to become President of the ETUC was none other than Dr Bryce Stewart, Director of Research for the Industrial Relations Consultants (IRC). The IRC had been set up in the early 1920s by the Rockefellers, in particular by John D. Jr, who was in charge of ideology and philanthropy for the Rockefeller empire. The IRC was the scientific and militant pilot fish for a new form of corporatist cooperation between management and labour and for pro-union and welfare policies in industry and government. The IRC also opened powerful industrial relations departments at Ivy League universities, notably Princeton.

However, Bryce Stewart was reluctant to campaign so openly for social security on behalf of the IRC and the Rockefellers. He preferred to stay behind the scenes, consulting with the ESC and co-directing a study on unemployment insurance for the Committee.

Stewart rejected his offer, so Altmeyer turned to his successor as Secretary of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, Commons disciple Edwin E. Witte. Witte became Executive Secretary of the ESC and was responsible for appointing its other members. At Roosevelt's suggestion, Altmeyer consulted the powerful members of the Big Business Advisory Committee (BAC) - Swope, Teagle and John Raskob of DuPont and General Motors - about the composition and policies of the ESC.

The list of names that Altmeyer and Witte prepared for FDR to finish forming the ESC Advisory Council included members of "civil society", businessmen, trade unionists. In addition to Swope, Folsom, and Teagle, the Advisory Council included two other powerful corporatist businessmen. The first, Morris Leeds, was chairman of Leeds & Northrup and a member of the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL), an organization favourable to corporatism, trade unions and the welfare state. The

second, Sam Lewisohn, was vice-president of the Miami Copper Company and former president of the AALL. It was a leading academic, the beloved Southern liberal Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, who was chosen to head the Advisory Council.

Altmeyer and Witte appointed three eminent experts to the ESC's Technical Board: Murray Webb Latimer, J. Douglas Brown and Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, the first professor of women's law at the University of California at Berkeley. All three were affiliated with the IRC and Latimer and Brown were prominent members of the IRC-Rockefeller network. Latimer, president of the Railroad Retirement Fund and a long-time IRC employee, had conducted a study for the IRC on workers' pensions and drafted the Railroad Retirement Act. Latimer was a member of the AALL and helped administer the insurance and pension plans of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of Ohio and Standard Oil of California.

J. Douglas Brown was head of the Princeton Industrial Relations Service - set up by the IRC - and the driving force behind the ESC's social security old-age pension programme.

Brown and the big business leaders who were members of the Advisory Council made a point of ensuring that no employer escaped paying tax for the old age pension scheme. Brown was adamant that small businesses should not escape the consequences of this obligation to pay social security contributions. In this way, the big companies, which were already willingly providing their employees with expensive old-age pensions, were able to use the federal government to force the small companies that were their competitors to finance expensive programmes of this kind. Thus, Brown explained in his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in 1935, the great benefit of the employer's "contribution" to old-age pensions is that it standardizes throughout industry the minimum cost of providing old-age security and protects the liberal employer, who now contributes to pensions, from competition from the employer who kicks out an elderly employee who is not entitled to a pension when he reaches retirement age. It equalises the costs of protecting old age for both progressive and retrograde employers (41).

In other words, the law deliberately penalises the "backward" employer with cheap products and cripples him by artificially raising his costs in relation to those of the large employer. Naturally, this also harms consumers and taxpayers, who are forced to pay for this largesse.

Not surprisingly, almost all of the largest companies fully supported the Social Security system, while it was attacked by small business associations such as the National Association of the Metal Trade, the Illinois Manufacturers Association and the National Association of Manufacturers. In 1939, only 17 per

cent of American businesses were in favour of repealing the Social Security Act, while not a single large company supported it.

Big business was an enthusiastic supporter of social security. When the Social Security Board (SSB) was faced with the daunting task of opening 26 million individual accounts, it consulted the BAC and Marion Folsom helped plan the creation of 300 regional SSB centres. The IBC encouraged the Board to hire the director of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce's Bureau of Industry as its chief executive, and J. Douglas Brown was rewarded for his service by becoming chairman of the Social Security Administration's newly expanded Advisory Council.

The American Association for Labor Legislation had a decisive influence on the development of the social security system. This left-wing body, founded by Commons and led for decades by his pupil John B. Andrews, was funded by Rockefeller, Morgan and other powerful liberal corporatist financial and industrial interests. The AALL was the leading proponent of disability and health insurance in the 1920s, before helping the Administration draft model unemployment insurance bills in the 1930s. In 1932, Wisconsin adopted the AALL plan, which, under pressure from AALL, the Democratic Party incorporated into its platform. To develop the Social Security system, key positions on the ESC's Technical Council and Advisory Council were given to AALL members. Not only that, but in early 1934 Secretary Perkins simply asked Paul Rauschenbusch, the AALL's Washington lobbyist, to draft a bill for Social Security, which was then used as the basis for further discussion of the issue in the ESC. The AALL was also closely associated with Florence Kelley's National Consumers League.

Paul Rauschenbusch had a fascinating ancestry. Paul was the son of evangelical Baptist minister Walter Rauschenbusch. Paul was taught by John R. Commons and was the principal author of Wisconsin's unemployment insurance law. Rauschenbusch's progressivism did not stop there, however, as the woman he married was none other than Elizabeth Brandeis, daughter of the famous progressive jurist.

Elizabeth, too, had been taught by Commons and received a doctorate from the University of Wisconsin. She was also a close friend of the Marxist Florence Kelley and promoted the publication of the biography of Kelley that had been lovingly written by her aunt Josephine Goldmark. Elizabeth also helped draft Wisconsin's unemployment compensation law. She taught economics at Wisconsin, eventually becoming a full professor.

We can conclude by pointing out, with the historian Irwin Yellowitz, that all these reformist organisations were dominated and financed by "a small group of wealthy employers, professionals and

social workers. Wealthy women, including some from New York society, were essential in financing and staffing them" (42).

Murray N. Rothbard, "Origins of the Welfare State in America, *Journal of Libertarian Studies*", Autumn 1996, 12(2), pp. 193-232, translated from the American by B. K.

(i) It was under the reign of the caliph Rashidun that a public pension scheme was introduced for the first time in the world (see B. Koehler, *Early Islam and the Birth of Capitalism*).

(ii) See E. Lion, *La charité chrétienne et l'assistance publique*.

(iii) Progressives, whether liberals or socialists, are at liberty to criticise the state, some arguing that "less" of it is needed, others that "more" is needed. In fact, the state they criticise is not really a state at all, because it is not a sovereign political authority. The state they criticise has no sovereign powers: it is a branch of stateless high finance. It follows that the interventionism that some reject and others advocate is that of stateless high finance, which is hidden behind the State and acts through the State, whether in the political, diplomatic, economic or military sphere.

(iv) For a detailed description of the measures of these laws, see P. Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, Volume 1, p. 369 and supra). A summary, as well as a brief critique, can be found in A. Blanqui, P. L. E. Rossi, E. Buret, *Cours d'économie politique* (p. 472): "We believe we must briefly recall the main provisions of the old legislation governing the poor. The law made the poor the responsibility of each parish, which had to provide work for the able-bodied poor and assistance for those unable to support themselves. An office, made up of the officers of the parish, administered and distributed the funds earmarked for the relief of the poor. Inhabitants were taxed according to the income from their properties or the proportion of their rent, to make up the sum required for the upkeep and administration of the local needy. If we were unaware of the facts that, for two centuries, have so painfully tested this law, we could easily assume them. By restricting the domicile of relief to the parish, it divided the commune into two opposing parties of interest, the well-off inhabitants who saw their income diminish each year through the increase in taxation, and the poor inhabitants who claimed relief as a right, as a tax levied for their benefit on the superfluity of the rich. As the parish was only obliged to maintain its poor, it had an interest in preventing the establishment of working-class families who could later add to the list of taxpayers; it rejected them without mercy, disputed the right to assistance of those who were already established, pleaded with the needy themselves and with the other parishes not to have to pay for some unfortunate person surprised by illness on its territory, or even not to pay the costs of his funeral. The laws on domicile, known as *de seurement* laws, which were constantly amended by parliament, encouraged these scandalous lawsuits, so that the parish found itself obliged to give lawyers and court officials a large share of its tax revenue". The authors report one of the many aberrant consequences of these laws: "... a lawsuit between two parishes, concerning a

single indigent person, often cost more money than it would have taken to assist all the poor in the two parishes.

Another author from the following period details the disastrous effects of these laws as follows: "c. Several causes act in England to worsen the lot of the poor: first, the poor laws there manifestly tend to increase the population without adding anything to the means of subsistence: a poor man may marry there with little or no means of supporting a family, because he relies on the relief of the parish. In this way, the laws create the poor they assist. As a result, the labour of those who are not assisted buys less food than before, and as an inevitable consequence, the number of those who need assistance must increase constantly.

" d. Secondly, the quantity of food that is consumed in the parish work-houses or workshops, and that is distributed to the part of society that cannot be considered as the most valuable, reduces by the same amount the portions that would otherwise be distributed to more industrious and more deserving members of society. Thus, once again, this institution tends to force a greater number of men to fall back into its care. If the poor, who work in workhouses, were better fed there than they are now, this new distribution of money would tend even more strongly to worsen the lot of those who work outside these workhouses, because it would contribute more effectively to raising the price of subsistence".

"Fortunately, there is still some reluctance on the part of peasants to resort to assistance; but this is a feeling that the poor laws tend to erase; they have succeeded only too well in doing so; and, if they had had their full and complete effect in this respect, their pernicious influence could not have been concealed, as is being done.

"This is, in particular cases, a harsh maxim; but, in the end, assistance must not be without shame. It is an incentive to work, indispensable for the good of society: any effort that tends to weaken this feeling produces an effect that is directly contrary to what is expected of it. When poor men are tempted to marry by relying on parish assistance, not only are they being encouraged to place themselves and their children in misfortune and dependence, which is an act of harshness and injustice towards the latter, but they are also being led, without their even realising it, to do real harm to all those in the same situation as themselves.

"The Poor Laws, as they exist in England, have contributed to raising the price of subsistence and lowering the price of labour; they have therefore contributed to impoverishing the class of people who live only by their labour. It is quite probable, moreover, that they have contributed to making the poor

lose the virtues of order and frugality which are so honourably displayed by those who do some trade or run small farms. By taking away the desire and the ability to save a little, these laws remove one of the most powerful motivations for work and sobriety; by the same token, they are essentially detrimental to happiness.

"It is hard to believe that these workers would not have been prepared to save some of these wages for themselves and their families, instead of spending them foolishly, if they did not count, in the event of an accident, on the fact that they had to pay a high wage. It is hard to believe that these workers would not be willing to save some of these wages for themselves and their families, instead of spending them foolishly, if they did not count on the assistance of their parishes in the event of misfortune.

" e. The laws on the poor were undoubtedly established with benevolent aims in mind; but it is very clear that they have not achieved their goal. One must agree that in some cases they reduce suffering; but, in general, the lot of the poor assisted by the parishes is very deplorable: moreover, to bring the poor within reach of this painful assistance, it has been necessary to subject the entire class of people to a system of truly tyrannical regulations. However much care has been taken to amend them, they are no less contrary to all our ideas of freedom (A. de Villeneuve Bargemont, *Economie politique chrétienne*, p. 364-5).

See also M. Montoussé, 100 fiches de lecture : en économie, sociologie, histoire et géographie, p. 26, for a critique which, although more recent, is no less similar to the previous ones.

(v) In J. D. Douglas, *The Myth of the Welfare State*, p. 50.

Malthus, who is often denigrated by those who have not read him or by those for whom welfare is not a problem, but rather a matter of course, since they are themselves on welfare in one way or another, wrote as long ago as 1803 in his "Essay on the Principle of Population" (1803): "There will always be poor people". Poverty was a bottomless pit, and aid was ineffective in the face of what he called the population principle: "The difficulty of feeding oneself results in a powerful brake acting constantly on population (...) This natural inequality between the multiplying power of population and the productive power of the land, and this important law of nature which constantly keeps their effects in equilibrium, constitute the great obstacle which seems to me insurmountable on the road to the perfectibility of society. All other arguments are of small and secondary importance compared with this one. I see no way in which man can escape the weight of this law that is imposed on all living nature. No egalitarian utopia, no agrarian code, no matter how extreme, could remove its yoke, even if only for a century. And this law seems to be decisively opposed to the possibility of a society in which all members would live in ease, happiness and corresponding leisure, without experiencing the slightest anxiety to ensure their subsistence and that of their family." Or again: "To help the poor is to multiply poverty and encourage

immorality"; "A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot obtain from his parents the sustenance he can justly ask of them, and if society has no need of his labour, has no right to claim the smallest portion of food and, in fact, is one too many at nature's banquet. There is no place for him. She advises him to leave, and she herself will promptly carry out her orders if he cannot have recourse to the compassion of some of the guests at the banquet. If these guests squeeze in and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear and ask for the same favour. The rumour that there is food for all those who arrive fills the room with many clamouring arrivals. The order and harmony of the guests is disturbed. The abundance that had previously reigned is transformed into scarcity, and the happiness of the guests is destroyed by the spectacle of misery and discomfort in all parts of the room and by the importunate clamour of those who are justly furious at not finding the food they had been taught to count on. Too late the guests recognise the mistake they have made in thwarting the strict orders against intruders given by the grand mistress of the banquet."

(vi) It would be more accurate to say that the more undifferentiated a man is, the more likely he is to be idle.

(vii) The establishment of the Welfare State in the countries of Western and Northern Europe was the sine qua non for the importation and settlement of tens of millions of people of colour in these countries. Without family allowances, housing benefit, maternity benefit, specific solidarity benefit, temporary waiting allowance, active solidarity income, disability compensation benefit, etc., the majority of them, without resources, would not have been able to survive in our countries.

As far as France is concerned, you have to be blind or acting in bad faith, or even assisted, not to see that this country is only apparently capitalist (see http://www.vedegylet.hu/fejkrit/szvggyujt/schmidt_frenchCapitalism.pdf).

As far as Germany is concerned, official historians like to say that social policy hardly changed course from Bismarck through the Third Reich to Kohl. As far as the Third Reich was concerned, "this remarkable continuity" was mainly due to the fact that the Weimar bureaucrats were still in place in the National Socialist technocracy, especially in the Ministry of Labour, and that they did everything in their power to thwart the National Socialists' efforts to combat the welfare state, aided, it should be stressed, by industrialists and insurance companies. As a result, few reforms were completed. However, the spirit of these reforms speaks volumes about National Socialism's determination to undermine the foundations of the welfare state on undemocratic principles. Firstly, social benefits no longer depended on social rights, but on the will of the State; secondly, the amount of unemployment benefit was considerably reduced: In a country where, by 1936, there was full employment and where, three years later, there was a shortage of labour, this provision was obviously intended to dissuade the idlers, to whom the Weimar regime, because it was democratic, had given every latitude, from putting up resistance; major changes were made to the financing and management of public assistance (H. L.

Wilensky, *Rich Democracies*, p. 233); social benefits were often granted by the companies themselves. Crucially, social benefits were strictly reserved for ethnic Germans.

(1) Harold Wilensky makes no bones about it: "Economic growth is the fundamental cause of the development of the welfare state". Harold Wilensky, *The Welfare State and Equality*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975, p. 24.

(2) Flora and Alber find no correlation between levels of industrialisation and social insurance programmes in twelve European nations between the 1880s and the 1920s (Peter Flora, Jens Alber, 'Modernization, Democratization, and the Development of Welfare States in Western Europe', in Peter Flora, Arnold Heidenheimer, eds, *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and American*, New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Press, 1981, pp. 37-80). Similarly, Collier and Messick find no link between industrialisation and the adoption of social insurance programmes in fifty-nine nations between the 1880s and the 1960s (David Collier, Richard Messick, "Prerequisites versus Diffusion: Testing Alternative Explanations of Social Security Adoption", *American Political Science Review* 69 (1975), pp. 1299-315. Quoted in Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 559-60.

(3) Heywood Sanders, "Paying for the 'Bloody Shirt: The Politics of Civil War Pensions", in *Political Benefits*, Barry Rundquist, ed. (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980), pp. 150-54.

(4) Edwin Amenta, Elisabeth Clemens, Jefren Olsen, Sunita Parikh, Theda Skocpol, "The Political Origins of Unemployment Insurance in Five American States", *Studies in American Political Development* 2 (1987), 137-82; Richard M. Valley, *Radicalism in the States: the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the American Political Economy*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989; and Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers*, p. 560-61.

(5) Michael Shalev, "The Social Democratic Model and Beyond: Two Generations of Comparative Research on the Welfare State", *Comparative Social Research* 6 (1983), p. 321. To put it another way: "the welfare state is a product of the growing strength of labour in civil society" (John Stephens, *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*, London, Macmillan, 1979, p. 89).

(6) Further proof that the same spirit was already reigning under the most varied political labels (NDE).

(7) The percentage of union members in the American population aged between 15 and 64 was only 1.35 in 1871, 0.7% in 1880 and, after the development of the AFL and the modern labour movement in 1886, 1% in 1890 and 1.9% in 1900 (Lloyd Ulman, *The Rise of the National Trade Union*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1955). Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1924) and Leo Wolman, *Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1936) are still the best works on union workers at this time.

(8) For the classic exposition of Gompersian unionism by an economist and former student of John R. Commons, the Wisconsin institutional economist who was virtually Gompers' theorist, see Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement*, New York, Augustus M. Kelley, 1949; see also Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, New York, Macmillan, 1922.

(9) These two great ideological and political adversaries of the late 1880s and early 1890s, Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison, embodied this struggle in the Presbyterian Church. Cleveland, a Presbyterian Calvinist from Buffalo, was the son of a hard-drinking, bon vivant Democratic Calvinist minister; the prim and austere Harrison was a pietistic Republican Presbyterian from Indiana. See Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 79-80.

(10) Rural, because urban centres in New England such as Boston had gone over to the Unitarians during the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the Unitarians, along with the MPC, advocated a more secular version of the Kingdom of God that the government should establish by force. On Unitarianism, Calvinism and the Kingdom of God on earth, especially as it dominated the public school movement in the twentieth century, see the important but neglected work of Rousas John Rushdoony, *The Messianic Character of American Education: Studies in the History of the Philosophy of Education*, Nutley, N.J., Craig Press, 1979, pp. 18-32, 40-48.

(11) See the huge and fascinating work by David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1989.

The question of whether these two Frontaliers, or Irish-Scottish, were of Celtic origin is controversial; Fischer rejects this view, while most other authorities, including Grady McWhiney and Forrest McDonald, maintain it.

(12) On Finney and the "Great Awakening", see Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and their Impact Upon Religion in America*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1958. See also the classic work by Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1950).

(13) Paternalism is a philosophical doctrine according to which it is moral to deprive a person of their freedom or individual autonomy for their own good (NDE).

(14) On the enormous but neglected importance of anti-Catholicism and Know-Nothings co-optation in the process of the Republican Party becoming a major party, see William E. Gienapp, 'Nativism and the Creation of a Republican Majority in the North before the Civil War', *Journal of American History* 72 (December 1985), pp. 529-59.

(15) The terms "hard money" and "soft money" are "used to differentiate between funds whose use is or is not governed by federal campaign finance law. Hard money refers to money whose allocation is governed by law and which can be used to influence the outcome of federal elections, i.e. in favour of

specific candidates". http://www.blogg.org/blog-67213-themes-usa_campaign__glossaire__processus_electoral__historique__archives_-156442.html), the separation of government from the banking system (NDE). .

(16) Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1985, p. 85-86.

(17) See Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: the Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1981. On the post-millennialists and women's suffrage, see the excellent work by Alan P. Grimes, *The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1967.

(Yankee women thus initiated the process by which the father would be stripped of all authority over his children. NDE)

(18) As the term often gives rise to all sorts of misunderstandings, it should be stressed that the act of giving something a secular, non-religious character does not mean that it loses its religious nature. To put it briefly, secularisation can be the result of the application of religious forms of thought or the dogmas of the constituted religion to the various sectors of human activity that may be beyond the direct control of that religion. For example, once it has been established, as Christians do, that, on the one hand, the State is God's instrument on earth and, on the other, that all men are equal before God, the democratic notion of the equality of men before the law takes shape. NDE).

(19) See the enlightening article by Jean B. Quandt, "Religion and Social Thought: The Secularizing of Postmillennialism", *American Quarterly* 25 (October 1973), 390-409. See also James H. Moorhead, "The Erosion of Postmillennialism in American Religious Thought, 1865-1925", *Church History* 53 (March 1984), pp. 61-77.

(20) Quandt, "Secularization", p. 394.

(21) Quandt, "Secularization", p. 396.

(22) See the impressive list of progressive groups in the 1860s in Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), pp. 275-76.

(23) For a biography of Ely, see Benjamin G. Rader, *The Academic Mind and Reform: the Influence of Richard T. Ely on American Life*, Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1966.

(24) Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire Thought and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865-1901*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1956, p. 180.

(25) Quandt, "Secularization", p. 403.

(26) Crunden, *Ministers of Reform*, p. 57-58. See also Quandt, "Secularization", pp. 404-5.

(27) Dewey, as H. L. Mencken put it, was "born of the indestructible Vermont race, and it would have been difficult to support a more sober man than he". Dewey was the son of a small-town Vermont grocer; his mother was an ardent evangelical congregationalist. H.L. Mencken, "Professor Veblen", in *A. Mencken Chrestomathy*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 267.

(28) See John R. Commons, *Myself*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, [1934] 1964.

(29) See Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1918-1933*, New York, Viking, 1959, 4, p. 395-98.

(30) Recent feminist historians have been happy to overcome the reticence of earlier historians and have proudly 'unmasked' the lesbianism of Addams and many other single progressive Yankee activists of the time. These feminists are probably right, and the lesbianism of most of the movement's members is essential to a historical understanding of why it succeeded. At the very least, they could not simply follow other women and thrive in marriage and housework.

(31) On Jane Addams and her friends and colleagues, see Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1973. For a critical assessment of Addams, see Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type*, New York, Random House, 1965, pp. 3-37. It is all too obvious that Jane Addams is lying in her autobiography (1910) when, in order to ennoble her decision to found Hull House, she writes that she took it when she was still under the spell of the revulsion she had felt at seeing a bullfight in Spain. None of this so-called revulsion is apparent in her letters of the time.

(32) Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, p. 500-1.

(33) On Kelley, see Dorothy Rose Blumberg, *Florence Kelley: The Making of A Social Pioneer*, New York, Augustus M. Kelley, 1966. See also Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House - the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs* 10, no. 4 (Summer 1985), pp. 685-777.

(34) The only one of the Dreier sisters who did not quite fit into the family mould was Katherine (b. 1877), an artist and patron of modern art who, interested in organic philosophy, espoused National Socialism in the 1930s.

(35) See Elizabeth Ann Payne, *Reform, Labor, and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1988.

(36) Josephine Goldmark, *Impatient Crusader: Florence Kelley*, Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 1953.

(37) On the Progressive Party, see John Allen Gable, *The Bull Moose Years: Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party*, Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1978.

(38) On Mrs. Perkins, see George Whitney Martin, *Madame Secretary: Frances Perkins*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1976.

(39) See Thomas Ferguson, "Industrial Conflict and the Coming of the New Deal: The Triumph of Multinational Liberalism in America", in *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, S. Fraser, G. Gerstle, eds, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 3-31.

(40) The Rockefellers were originally ardent post-millenarian Baptists, John D. Sr. was from New York State. John D. Jr. led the moral and philanthropic wing of the Rockefeller empire and, in New York in 1920, was head of a Grand Jury determined to eradicate vice in that city. After the First World War, however, the Rockefeller family handpicked a minister, the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick, the spearhead of 'liberal Protestantism', a secularised version of postmillennialism, to stem the rising tide of premillennarist 'fundamentalism' in the church. Harry Fosdick became head of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, the dominant liberal Protestant organisation. Meanwhile, John D., Jr. appointed Fosdick's brother, Raymond Fosdick Blaine, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, and then made him his official biographer. Fosdick had worked in a social welfare centre. The Fosdicks brothers were born in Buffalo to a Yankee New England family. On the Fosdicks, see Murray N. Rothbard, "World War I as Fulfillment: Power and the Intellectuals", *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 9, no. 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 92-93, 120.

(41) Jill Quadagno, *The Transformation of Old Age Security: Class and Politics in the American Welfare State*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1988, p. 112; Jill Quadagno, "Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935", *American Sociological Review* 49 (October 1984), p. 641. See also G. William Domhoff, *The Power Elite and the State: How Policy is Made in America*, New York, Aldine de Gruyter, 1990.

(42) Irwin Yellowitz, *Labor and the Progressive Movement in New York State, 1897-1916*, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1965, p. 71. See in particular J. Craig Jenkins, Barbara G. Brents, "Social Protest, Hegemonic Competition, and Social Reform: A Political Struggle Interpretation of the American Welfare State", *American Sociological Review* 54 (December 1989): 891-909; and J. Craig Jenkins, Barbara Brents, "Capitalists and Social Security: What Did They Really Want?", *American Sociological Review* 56 (February 1991): 129-32.

Jewish America

1

The American mirage

"Look at Roosevelt, Otto Kahn, Morgenthau, Filène, Barush, Rosenthal... Just look at those stupid faces..."

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

Corpse School

At first, it was the homeland of the 'good' philosophical savages who shed torrents of tears and practised natural morality under the ecstatic gaze of the Panglosses of the Encyclopaedia.

Then came the "sacred soil of liberty". When, thanks to the soldiers of the King of France, the Insurgents forced the English to carry out their traditional reembarkation, our "great ancestors" shouted with great joy, for for the first time men emancipated from monarchical superstitions had undertaken to govern themselves, by the people, for the people...

At the same time as its institutions vindicated the political fantasies of European cranks, America offered all the unfortunate, all the bankrupt, all the bad boys on the run from the gallows and the fanatics in search of biblical virtue, marvellous prospects of revenge or escape. It was the land of unlimited opportunities, clean criminal records, gold rushes and inherited uncles.

Then came the paradise of technology and machines, industrial perfection, high wages, assembly-line work and cars for everyone.

Even today, it is to America that we turn all those who have been thrown into disarray by the upheavals in Europe, all those who have not understood the profound meaning of our revolution and who, lacking imagination, cling pathetically to hackneyed myths, to old recipes, to the derisory hope of impossible

miracles: America will give us bread, peace, freedom and pernod for Arthur. We believe in Roosevelt, the infallible, the all-powerful, like children believe in Father Christmas. With the same faith but without the same excuses.

For if America once symbolised the new order, if it was for a long time a refuge and an example, if its institutions and prosperity were identified with the notion of progress, all this has ceased to be true.

Today, America is nothing more than a reactionary nation perpetuating outdated values, the forty-eighty Taylorism of the industrial prison and the forty-eighty verbiage of the democratic stage. It is like those child prodigies who amaze their families before they can write, and whose development suddenly freezes at puberty. In the middle of the 20th century, with its giant houses, aerodynamic locomotives and millions of engines, America is as archaic as a speech by Jefferson. It has let itself be overtaken by events. Like the old Austrian monarchy, like the Turkey of the sultans, it has ceased to march to the rhythm of the century, it is perpetually behind an idea or an army: a shiny facade criss-crossed with enormous cracks that no longer even conceals the obsolete bric-a-brac of dead illusions.

No doubt the high standard of living of some of the American masses has prolonged the mirage. But what merit is there in achieving a certain level of prosperity when all you have to do is bend down to pick up oil, gold, iron and coal? In a country where natural wealth is superabundant, it is inevitable that the least gifted individuals will reap at least a few crumbs.

American prosperity is not the result of American political principles or American genius. This prosperity was built, it must be said, in spite of the Americans. Since people were free to do as they pleased, with no master plan, no social obligations and no constraints from the State, they exploited the country's resources absolutely at random, and the famous Yankee efficiency is above all reflected in a gigantic waste. The pioneers deforested indiscriminately; they wiped out the forests that were most essential for regulating the flow of the great rivers, which now overflow in the spring with catastrophic violence. Farmers use methods that would have made people in the Middle Ages blush. When a piece of land is exhausted, they sow a little further away, without thinking about alternating crops or restoring the soil's fertility. The country is so vast... As for the cattle, they raise themselves on the immense plains of the Far West.

It's the same anarchy in industry, where the plutocrats of the trusts practice a clever Malthusianism. The aim is not to produce what Americans need, but what can be sold at a profit. If necessary, mining production is reduced and oil wells are mothballed.

No rational organisation of internal conquest, no effort to distribute the common wealth equitably. In a land that could provide normal resources for five hundred million human beings, one hundred and twenty-five million men and women live in perpetual insecurity, and eleven or twelve million unemployed people, plus their families, have had to subsist, from 1929 until the war, only on the meagre allowances of a government deprived of imagination and daring.

The extraordinary thing is not that many American workers enjoy a certain degree of affluence, but that their standard of living is barely higher than that of workers in deprived nations, that they are not five times more opulent, and that in the land of overproduction, millions of men are reduced to indigence.

From a material and social point of view, the failure is complete. There is nothing to correct or temper the abominable law of the jungle of economic liberalism. From a political point of view, it's the same nothingness: institutions that are frozen, sclerotic, totally unfit to provide sound solutions to the problems of the modern world, that have dried up American idealism, corrupted the people, rejected youth in favour of the exclusive cult of gangsterism and finance, condemning America to impotence, dooming it to the worst catastrophes.

Now that America has gone to war, there can be no doubt. But this war was no surprise to those in Washington. They had wanted it with tenacious fanaticism. In two years, they had had ample time to prepare. But the first cannon shots plunged them into complete disarray and revealed to the world the extent of American stupidity. In the space of a few weeks, the Yankees were swept from the Pacific, deprived of all their bases and dispossessed of the trading posts and fortresses they had dotted around the Far East. Their allies were crushed without so much as a gesture of assistance. Their terrible battle fleet vanished into thin air. Their ships were attacked and destroyed by German submarines close to their territorial waters. The British and Russians are begging in vain for equipment that the Americans are unable to manufacture in sufficient quantities for themselves. In the words of Abel Bonnard, Roosevelt has been reduced to promising himself the planes he has been promising all the anti-fascists in the world for two years.

And if this is the case, if this nation, which had the material potential to become the most powerful in the world and to serve as an example to the universe, is demonstrating its dazzling failure in every field, it is because it is a democracy. And to make matters worse, a Jewish democracy.

In this way, everything is explained, everything becomes clear. You can't understand anything about America if you don't constantly have this explanation in mind, which is the common thread running through the American tragedy.

American failures are democratic failures.

The American abomination is the Jewish abomination.

Nothing more, nothing less.

Nor was such a fate inevitable. True, the United States was founded by rambling philosophers, but the country could have freed itself as it developed from the mortgage of "immortal principles". It was prevented from doing so. In the history of the United States, the American Civil War is more important than the Bill of Rights. It was during this period that the democratic system was confirmed, and it was the victory of the Northerners that condemned America to becoming permanently stuck in the democratic rut, preventing it from seeking other solutions or even being tempted to imagine them.

Then, when democracy had been firmly established, the Jews only had to appear for the country to surrender to them. And in the easiest way in the world they managed to ruin America, to defile it, to pervert it. Just as the presence of Blum at the head of the French government is the logical consequence of '89 and '48, so the easy conquest of America by the Jews could not be explained without the American Civil War. Lincoln did not just free the Negroes. He prepared the cantonments for the Jewish invaders. He put his country in a state of least resistance, he offered it, defenceless, to the unbridled lusts of the chosen people.

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 9-12

The crushing of the civilised

"Another prodigious flan, this famous U. S. race barrier. S. A.... Just a minute! One day, the Jews will throw the Negroes, their brothers, their shock troops on the last white "cadres" and reduce them, all drunkards, to slavery. Harlem would become the 'white' quarter. The niggers on a binge, they'll go and see, they'll make the whites dance for them, the "blanc boula".

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

Bagatelles pour un massacre

Long before the colonials in Boston revolted against the King of England (over a sordid issue of tea tax that lawyers later idealised), two perfectly distinct forms of civilisation were taking shape on the new continent.

The North was industrious, democratic, egalitarian, puritanical and preachy. It was directly inspired by those "Pilgrim Fathers" whom the Mayflower had once brought from Holland, after their fanatical proselytism had made them undesirable first in Scotland and then in the debonair Netherlands. These pioneers were rough men: they had cleared the land by quoting the Bible. They truly despised worldly goods. Their sons, on the other hand, soon developed a taste for wealth. They began to earn dollars frantically, but without abandoning the virtuous vocabulary of their ancestors or the outward signs of austerity. And the new immigrants, poor wretches who had been more or less outlawed in their countries of origin, found it convenient, in order to regain their legal virginity, to emulate the rigour of the original occupants.

The Yankees regarded everything that came from Europe with extreme suspicion, if not outright hostility: people and things, ideas and customs. They regarded as frivolous and contemptible everything that embellished life, everything that made it pleasant or simply bearable: the most innocent pleasures as much as libertine amusements, art in all its forms, theatre and literature as much as the joys of the table or the alcove. And above all, they did not tolerate the slightest hierarchy - apart from that of money - the slightest superiority of talent or spirit. Their grandfathers had emigrated out of resentment against the 'Babylonian' mores of the old world, their fathers had fought the 'despot' of London with arms in their hands. In their virgin land, they saw themselves as a chosen people, receiving directly from the Almighty the revelation of wisdom and the material reward for their virtue. So why bother with traditions? Traditions were detestable. They could only be a useless or harmful burden, the heritage of Satan. Only personal merit counted, and that merit could only be measured in dollars. It was in New England that the habit of judging an individual only by his material success, and of giving success a moral significance, originated, and is now widespread in all forty-eight states. If a man makes money, it's because God is with him, and if God is with him, it's because he's righteous.

By virtue of their recruitment and philosophical training, Northerners were predisposed both to carefully nurture democratic prejudices and to worship nothing but the dollar.

The South was very different. Life there was amiable and easy, adorned with all the aristocratic graces of the eighteenth century. Of course, money was not despised, but it was not the only title of nobility below the Dixie line. Southerners were very proud to have as ancestors 'honourable' emigrants who had been neither undesirable missionaries nor adventurers hunted down by the courts of Europe.

Socially, a poor planter whose family had established itself and who was known to behave like a gentleman had a much more enviable position than a happy speculator.

The people of the South also maintained close contact with their homelands. They retained their customs and traditions. The girls copied their dresses from those of the ladies of the French court, and the boys went off to Oxford or Paris to complete their studies and, above all, to acquire that veneer of politeness that is the prerogative of refined civilisations.

In the South, there was no shame in owning a library. Leisure was not considered a mortal sin. From plantation to plantation, there were more and more opportunities to meet, friends and relatives were invited, and then they were kept for days, sometimes weeks on end, by devising pleasant entertainments for them in the style of Marie-Antoinette's Trianon.

What's more, the people of the South only paid lip service to democracy, because it was fashionable, because at the time, especially in America, it would have been inconceivable to attack the "immortal principles" head-on. But deep down they were committed to the ideas of authority. This was clearly seen during the war. While Lincoln was lost in Washington in parliamentary intrigues, while he wore himself out in sub-committee chatter and changed his general-in-chief like his shirt to satisfy his influential constituents, the Southerners accepted the principle of dictatorship from the outset, without discussion, and left President Davis absolutely free to conduct the affairs of the Confederacy as he saw fit.

Finally, in the southern states there were elements of a racist doctrine.

Let's be clear: today, all Americans are racist when it comes to yellow or black people, but this is a defensive reflex, an individual attitude that philosophers and legislators disavow and that citizens barely dare to admit. In practice, you don't marry a Negress and you don't eat at the same table as a Negro. Officially, thanks to the victory of the Northerners, the most distressing gherkins of our eighteenth century have become the spirit of American law: all men are equal, all men are equal. (1) It is easy to see how the Jews can take advantage of such a state of mind to infiltrate people whose instinctive racism is limited to the colour of their skin and who nevertheless remain, on a theoretical level, doctrinaires of anti-racism.

It was only in the Southern States, before the debacle of 1864, that people took a stand with an absence of hypocrisy that no longer remains today. The South, racist in fact, was not ashamed to be so openly and frankly. As soon as Confederation was formed, the vice-president of the new state hastened to proclaim :

The dominant idea of Jefferson and most of the eminent statesmen at the time of the framing of the old Constitution was that the slavery of Africans is a violation of the law of nature. Our new Government is built upon the very opposite idea; its foundations are made, its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. Our new government is the first in the history of the world to be based on this great physical, philosophical and moral truth. The architecture of our society is made of the material which nature deems necessary; and by experience we know that it is better, not only for the superior race, but also for the inferior race that it should be so.

There is no doubt that if they had won the war, people who so boldly professed the great modern theory of racial inequality would have been able to defend themselves against a peril far more formidable than the Negro peril: the Jewish invasion.

They were given neither the time nor the means. One of the two Americas was too many. Since the early 19th century, the gap between North and South had widened.

The incompatibility of moods was too obvious for the bitter-sweet exchanges not to turn into open conflict sooner or later. However, things could have remained as they were for a long time to come, since it was in the interests of both adversaries to remain part of the same economic unit, if, towards the middle of the century, this quarrel over trends had not escalated into a quarrel over money. From then on, the Yankees forgot that the constitution drawn up by the founders of the Republic was

intended to preserve the independence of the States and leave them free, within the federal framework, to administer themselves as they saw fit. Being the strongest, they did not hesitate to interpret the constitution in their own way, to impose by force both their economic dictatorship and their philosophy of existence. When we are told at school that slavery was the cause and the issue of the American Civil War, we are shamelessly mocked. The American Civil War was about tariffs. Nothing else. The North was protectionist, the South free trader. The North had rapidly industrialised and needed strong protection for its manufactured goods. The South, on the other hand, lived off its cotton exports, and found it more advantageous to buy its machines and fabrics in the European countries where it sold its crops. Faced with being outnumbered, the South repeatedly threatened to withdraw from the Union. This would have been a catastrophe for the Yankee businessmen: they would have lost both immense commercial outlets and access to the sea via the Mississippi - the old man river - control of which is essential to the prosperity of the Middle West. Each time, a more or less satisfactory compromise enabled the conflict to be temporarily postponed. From year to year, however, the dispute became more acute and secession more threatening. It was quite clear that the Northerners would never agree to a divorce, and that they would go to war if necessary to maintain the Union and keep their customers. But a war over tariffs is not a very honourable thing to do. It's much more glamorous to proclaim that you're fighting for human brotherhood, law, justice, freedom, democracy and the emancipation of slaves.

Freeing the slaves was the Yankees' alibi.

In so doing, the plutocrats of the North were not lacking in a certain audacity. For they themselves had engaged in the slave trade, and had given slavery the subtle and ferocious form that it has retained to this day in liberal countries.

In the North, as in the South, there was an urgent need for labour. But the descendants of the first settlers who had cleared the land had turned away from manual labour, becoming industrialists or bankers, and the use of black slaves had proved disappointing. The transplanted negroes were too expensive to maintain, their yield was meagre and they had difficulty withstanding the rigours of the climate, so they were freed, but to make up for this shortcoming, compact masses of "free" workers were imported from Europe.

New-style recruiting sergeants canvassed the slums of Ireland and the Balkans, picking up the poor bastards by the hundreds of thousands and sending them off to America, in the steerage rooms of the liners, with a meagre viaticum and extravagant promises. On arrival, these pariahs, most of whom spoke no English, were completely unable to defend themselves. They had to endure exactly the same

conditions as their employers: twelve or fourteen hours' work a day for wages that barely kept them from starving. The lot of these unfortunate whites was worse than that of the official slaves, because in the event of illness the boss was under no obligation to provide for their subsistence and there was naturally no question of paying them the slightest pension for their old age.

It is interesting to note that none of the tribunes who thundered so vehemently against the barbarity of slavery in the Southern States seems to have been concerned about the fate of the immigrants who were unloaded every week, in boatloads, on the docks of New York or Boston. Better still, these same tribunes were often the most relentless in proclaiming that the right to strike (after all it was the only recourse of these unfortunate people) would have been an abominable attack on the sacred rights of employers.

In comparison, the real slaves on the cotton plantations were treated much better. Over time, around the 1960s, slavery became more humanised and patriarchal.

The Southerners treated their slaves not, of course, as their equals - they were too rightly aware of their superiority - but with a familiar condescension from which sympathy was not excluded. For the most part, moreover, they had been brought up by one of those ebony mammies, fat and tyrannical, who took on in every home the importance of the nannies of the old Spanish repertoire. They knew the negroes, they knew how to talk to them and inspire their confidence. Very few abused their power. Race hatred, in any case, was a totally unknown feeling. This hatred only arose later, after emancipation, after Washington's "idealists" had unleashed the Civil War.

Slavery was gradually being eradicated. Of course, no one imagined that freedmen would become the political equals of white men, but far-reaching reforms were in the pipeline, aimed at improving the lot of blacks without compromising social equilibrium.

If the liberation of the slaves had been the only ambition of the Northerners, it is certain that the war of '60 would not have taken place. Nevertheless, the pious Pharisees of the North used it as a pretext.

The conflict lasted four long years. It was the fiercest and deadliest war of the nineteenth century. To the very end, the Southerners fiercely resisted, one against four, defending every square inch of their territory with magnificent heroism. At the call of President Davis, the whole country rose up. While in the North conscription reached only a relatively small percentage of the population, in the South every

man of military age enlisted in the Confederate army. Entire families donned their uniforms, as has since happened in Catholic Navarre, where old men and teenagers rushed into battle to save Spain from Bolshevism, leaving large deserted villages in their wake.

There was nothing sordid about this resistance. It was not their 'feudal' privileges that the Southerners were defending, it was their homes, their honour, their liberties, their philosophy of life. Ah, the quarrel over slavery was well forgotten, so forgotten that the Congress of the Union did not remember the Negro question until after two years of war. Even then, it only passed the law making all slaves free men and citizens for reasons of propaganda and strategy, in order to satisfy the "universal conscience" and to try to provoke insurrections in the Southern States. But this second objective was not achieved. The coloured soldiers who took part in this war were significantly more numerous in the Southern ranks than in the Northern ranks.

Finally, overwhelmed by their numbers, reviled by the whole world which had fallen for the fable of generous Northern idealism, deprived of arms and ammunition, reduced by the blockade to the most appalling famine, the Confederates capitulated. And the Northerners set about savagely exploiting their victory. Not only were the Southerners stripped of their political rights, not only was their property taken from them (on the pretext that they could no longer pay taxes) and Yankee settlers installed in their place, but local and "freely" elected governments were imposed on them by force of bayonets, made up entirely of illiterate negroes manoeuvred by rapacious adventurers, the carpet baggers. It is without precedent that a defeated nation has been physically annihilated with such method and refinement. In the past, conquerors put their victims to the sword. This process is arguably more humane than Yankee 'reconstruction' methods.

The States of the South never recovered from this debacle, and above all, America never regained its equilibrium or the means to justify the hopes raised by its early beginnings. The civilised America that was traditionalist, humane, authoritarian and hierarchical, the one that held the seeds of fascism in its power, was murdered. The other America triumphed, that of aggressive puritans, blacksmiths and democratic gibberish.

Wonderful manure offered to the Jewish invasion. From all the ghettos of Europe and the East, the vultures with hooked fingers would rush to the slaughter.

It was around 1890 that the Jews launched their first waves of assault on the New World. In less than half a century, the conquest was complete.

The whole of America was in their hands.

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 13-18.

(1) In principle, of course. In practice, the laws governing immigration favour the Nordics to the detriment of the Mediterraneans and Slavs, who are considered to belong to inferior races. But this is discrimination of which the anti-racist Roosevelt does not boast.

3

The promised land

"Louis XIV was only a very small sire in terms of victories next to Felix M. Warburg of New York.

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

Bagatelles pour un massacre

When I came back from captivity and was sorting through some old papers, I found a damning document: the yearbook of De Witt Clinton High School, where I spent nine months of my childhood in 1921. I'd forgotten all about it. Or rather, I had only a vague memory of transatlantic holidays, of baseball games on the grassy squares, of vagrancy with young thugs in knickerbockers who looked like the 'Angels of Hell', and also of those atrocious evenings when I tried to translate Latin into English and English into Latin, knowing almost nothing about either language.

Twenty years later, the yearbook of De Witt Clinton High School brought back to life for me the image of my classmates. After all, my classmates have been photographed extensively. There's the theme group, the saxophone group, the philatelists' group, the 'good stories' club, the swimming champions, the policemen, the football players, the nature lovers, the lawyers, the news reporters, the radio club... All these photos are excellent, ruthlessly sharp. All of them, except one, the one of the military preparation, in which - naturally! - are ghetto photos. They sum up America. They are America.

I confess, to my great confusion, that in 1921 I didn't understand him at all, I didn't suspect the drama that was unfolding before my eyes, nor the lessons I could have learned from it, more valuable than the knowledge of a few tirades from *Midsummer Night's Dream* or Cicero's Orations. My classmates were Samuel Asofsky, Alfred Baum, Nathan Beckenstein, Berkovitz, Bernstein, Jacob Cohen, Nathan Cohen, Morris Cohen, Eisenstein, Eliasberg, etc., etc., etc.. The orchestra was directed by Rapaport, the theatre troupe by Bercovici, the rugby team by Lévy, baseball by Samuels, football by Boulotchnik and tennis by Neuberger. Rosenthal was in charge of the library and Rosenbaum of the Economics Club. Aaron Oesterreicher was in charge of the refectory and Oppenheim the internal police. I'm not making this up, I'm just copying my old yearbook...

Teachers called Salomon or Goldbloom told us in all seriousness that America was populated by Anglo-Saxons and that "our ancestors" had taught the world freedom after rising up against the King of England in 1776 and creating an empire. It was no less preposterous than the classic history lesson for little negroes in Senegal: "Our ancestors, the Gauls...". But the humour escaped me. I didn't realise that my little friends were Jews, that the school was Jewish, that New York was a Jewish metropolis, that the whole country was subject to the Jews. Everything that instinctively shocked me, everything that my Aryan adolescent reflexes rebelled against, I didn't understand, I couldn't understand that it wasn't Americanism, but triumphant Judaism. My excuse was that I was fourteen and nobody had ever bothered to open my eyes to Jewish reality...

Who else could have informed me? It was a time when dozens of migrant French writers periodically discovered America with great cries of ecstasy. They discovered everything in America: vertiginous lifts, fridges, chewing gum, gangsters, sex appeal, automatic bars, slaughterhouses, five and ten cents, the Taylor system and petting parties. Everything but the essentials, except the Jews. Some people were so conscientious as to note in passing that New York had a 'large Jewish community'. But they said this in a detached and modest tone, as if it had been an observation of secondary interest, with as much composure as when noting the charm of Californian damsels and the appeal of speakeasies.

On the other hand, they never forgot to talk to us copiously about negroes, the negro invasion, the negro peril! As if this danger existed! Even if there were two, three or four times as many Negroes, there would be no danger to the Aryan community, since all Americans are aware of the need to protect the white race. It does not matter that thirty out of forty-eight States prohibit mixed marriages by written law: it is in forty-eight out of forty-eight States that "prejudice" opposes such marriages with an intransigence, a vigour and an effectiveness that no police regulation could ever achieve. What's more, Negroes have no economic power or political influence; they do not control any major bank or trust, they do not publish any major newspaper, and if they appear in the theatre or on the radio, it is only as

jazz singers. Whatever one may say, the Negro question does not arise. It has been settled by the subordination of blacks to whites, by the erection of an invisible barrier preventing blacks from entering areas of white influence.

The Jewish problem, so well glossed over by French writers, is more formidable. The most serious specialist on America, André Siegfried, devotes exactly three pages of his remarkable work on the United States to the Jews. He notes that, of all foreigners, the Jews are the ones who give the impression of adapting most easily, of becoming Americanised most zealously, even too zealously, but that this is not to be trusted and that "in the end, these pseudo-assimilates from the early days remain in the state of heterogeneous ferment; they are distinguishable, unmixed at the bottom of the melting pot" This is the outline of the problem. André Siegfried does not go any further, and none of the contemporary discoverers of the New World attempted to give a Jewish explanation of America. It was safer to do so. If these Christopher Columbus of the pen had revealed the true Jewish face of America, and supposing they had found a publisher bold enough to print their prose, what reprisals, what a boycott! For, in democratic countries, the Jewish plot enjoys the astonishing privilege of being able to flaunt itself in broad daylight, to display itself insolently without anyone having the right to say a word about it. This used to be called freedom of the press.

And yet it is so obvious. I returned to the United States in 1929 and 1935, a little more mature than I had been in 1921, and I easily discovered what they were so careful to hide from us.

Naturally, the conquest was only apparent in the big cities. There are 1,800,000 Jews in New York, 300,000 in Chicago, 247,000 in Philadelphia, more than 50,000 in Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles and St Louis.

In New York, one doctor in three and one lawyer in two are Jewish. The theatre is Jewish, the cinema is Jewish, the press and the two major radio stations, Columbia Broadcasting System and National Broadcasting Corporation, are Jewish. Jewish in banking and politics...

New York, we are told, is not America. How clever! Would Paris, by any chance, not be France? Just as an occupying army does not need to settle in every village and every house to hold a country, and all it needs to do is control the major centres and strategic points, so the Jews are the masters of a nation when they have seized the capital, when they have domesticated political power, when they hold the reins of the major economic enterprises and when they have a monopoly on the means of expression. Numbers don't matter. Out of 125 million inhabitants, there are barely 4,500,000 Jews in the United

States. But in Africa, too, Negroes far outnumber whites. However, the whites are the masters and nothing is done without their permission. In America, Aryans of British, Scandinavian, German or French stock are the negroes of Jewry.

Less discreet than the modest French travellers of the inter-war years, the American writer Werner Sombart agreed in a book full of tenderness for the Jews. On page 51 of *Jews in Economy Life* we read:

To a certain extent we can say that the United States owes what it is, what its Americanism is, to Jewish influence, because what we call Americanism is simply the Jewish spirit which has found its definitive expression... And because of the enormous influence which America has exerted ever since its discovery on the economic life of Europe and on the general culture of Europe, the role played by the Jews in the construction of an American world has become of capital importance for the wholesale revolution of our history.

So Werner Sombart not only notes the conquest of America, but also foresees the conquest of the world with the United States as a springboard, and he goes back on Benjamin Franklin's famous prophecy, which should be recalled here because never before has the problem been posed with such clear-sightedness. Benjamin Franklin was not an agent of Germany, nor was he a Hitler-Japan fascist. Appointed Grand Master of the Lodge of Pennsylvania in 1749 by Thomas Oxnard, Grand Master of the New England, Franklin was the ornament of American Freemasonry, the darling of our encyclopaedists, the idol of the great ancestors of 1989. This did not prevent him from making the following speech in 1787, during the debate on the United States Constitution:

In every country where the Jews have settled in large numbers, they have lowered its moral standards, debased its integrity... They have made a mockery of the Christian religion, they have established a state within the state.

If you don't exclude them, in two hundred years' time your descendants will be working in the fields to provide for them, while they'll be sitting in their banks rubbing their hands.

I warn you, gentlemen, that if you do not exclude the Jews, your children will curse you in your graves.

The Jews, gentlemen, are Asians; they will never be otherwise. Their ideas do not conform to the American ideal and they never will, even if they live among us for ten generations.

A leopard cannot change its spots. Jews are Asians. They are a threat to the country that admits them and should be excluded by the Constitution.

Two hundred years haven't gone by, but everything happened exactly as Benjamin Franklin said.

Of course, there aren't only Jews in the United States. But to see Aryans, you have to leave New York, go out into the countryside and discover these little towns in the Middle West called Vincennes, Paris, London, Bismarck, La Grange or Des Moines, where the descendants of the pioneers of the heroic era live, the sons of those rugged men who set off on horseback for the mysterious West, taking women and children in covered wagons, who conquered the country with rifles, who cleared it by the sweat of their brows.

These people are the real Americans. Despite the triumph of mechanical civilisation and the ravages of cinema and radio, they have retained the slightly rough, slightly indiscreet kindness, the simplicity and the courage of the nomads in "Caravan to the West" and "Fantastic Ride".

When I toured the United States in 1929 with three young Yankees, I got to know and love these Americans, these forgotten Americans. They have a wonderful hospitality, the hospitality of the prairie. It's not so long ago that all you had to do was walk into a ranch and politely ask for a horse, and they'd give it to you straight away, without explanation. But anyone caught stealing a horse was immediately hanged.

In 1929, the foreigner, the real foreigner who arrived from Europe (in the Middle West, people from New York are also called foreigners) was immediately the object of warm curiosity. He absolutely had to tell his story. And people listened, open-mouthed, albeit a little incredulous, asking for crazy details and marvelling:

- No, really, there are beans in France! Really? More smuggled whisky?

We forgot their ridiculousness. We were won over. We thought: "How brave they are!

We camped every night and, one Monday, in Kansas, the money order we received every week from New York didn't arrive. We had nothing left to eat, but we were too proud to ask for charity. One day, two days went by like that. On the third day, a farmer turned up:

- Boys, I've been watching you since Sunday. I never see you eat. You just lie there on the edge of my field. What's going on, boys?

We told him the truth. He got angry:

- You couldn't have told me that earlier? Come on, shoo! Come to the farm.

And he treated us to a fantastic meal, which I still remember with extraordinary precision. The farmer spoke simply about the things of the land, rather like Péguy's craftsmen speak of their trade, with common sense and love. He also told us how hard his task was, complicated as it was by the ferocious interference of the sprawling trusts who took their tithes from the tractor, the fertiliser and the harvest, and who had marvellously perfected the technique of ransoming by devising a system of credit that completed the stripping of the farmer. Franklin had foreseen it: "Your descendants will be working in the fields... and 'they' will be in their banks rubbing their hands".

In the fields and in the factories. There are no more Jewish workers in the big industrial companies than there are Jews on the farms of the Middle West. Henry Ford said as much in December 1938, in an interview that somewhat scandalised the "universal conscience" of New York journalists: "It is useless," he observed, "to send me Jewish refugees from Germany to Detroit. Experience proves that they never stay. They accept work for a few weeks, just long enough to get their bearings and make a few contacts, and then they go somewhere else. The 'jobs' we could find for them here would only be stepping stones to management positions...".

We suspected as much. Jews don't go to America to clear land or to build. They go there to profit from Aryan labour. Their invasion is a very recent one, a fact that cannot be overstated. In the nineteenth century and throughout most of the nineteenth century, at a time when colonisation involved real dangers and arduous physical effort, there were practically no Jews in America. Yet there was nothing to

stop them coming, no law to restrict immigration. Anyone could disembark, hire out their arms or plunge in, rifle in sling and axe in hand, through the solitudes inhabited only by wild animals and Indians. At that time, the Jews were no more or less miserable than in the ghettos of Europe in the twentieth century. But they preferred these ghettos to the risks of conquest.

It was only when the "age of the frontier" - as the American historian Adams calls it - was over, from 1890 onwards, that they rushed to the slaughter, in deep masses, driven by a devouring frenzy. They came from all over, from Germany, Poland, Russia and the Balkans. We hesitate, so banal is this comparison, to write that they arrived "like a swarm of locusts". But how else to put it? The Jewish invasion of the United States is so much like a plague of locusts! To the Aryan pioneers, the ungrateful and unpleasant efforts, and to the parasites, the harvest, the beautiful harvest of this prodigiously rich land. To them, gold and oil; to them, wheat and iron. To them, the banks and the Capitol.

The Jewish conquest of the United States has reached a kind of perfection. In less than half a century, the Aryan conquistadors have been driven out, dispossessed, reduced to secondary jobs and menial tasks. And the new gentlemen settled in, occupying the strategic points one by one, successively dislodging the former occupants from the bastions they thought they had secured for eternity. A job well done, a clean sweep.

On the eve of the other war, barely twenty-five years after the beginning of the conquest, the Jews occupied such important positions in America that nothing could be undertaken without their consent.

André Tardieu, who was French High Commissioner to the United States from April 1917 to November 1918, recounts in *L'Année de Munich*, not without some naivety, how he came to this revelation. His mission had been well received, but nothing more, and he was met with a kind of smiling indifference that made his task singularly difficult. To put it bluntly, the 'Americans' couldn't care less about France, about La Fayette, about the great memories of a historic fraternity that could only liven up the end of a banquet at speech time.

On the other hand, the British mission operating in parallel was getting exactly what it was asking for and Mr André Tardieu suddenly realised that its leader, Viscount Reading, was born Rufus Isaac. This Hebrew aristocrat did not waste his time courting Aryans. He went straight to the point, he laid siege to Judge Brandeis who was the confidant of the paralytic Wilson, and his officers, most of whom were Jewish, canvassed only Jewish circles. André Tardieu understood that this was the key to the problem,

that if he wanted to avoid failure, he had to abandon his La Fayette rhetoric and seduce the real masters of the country.

He therefore added two photogenic rabbis to the chaplains of his information service, who he never missed an opportunity to put in the limelight, and he also surrounded himself with highly decorated Jewish officers who told anyone who would listen about their war "exploits" and did their best to galvanise their racial brothers in New York. Then Mr Tardieu asked Pichon, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, to send him a telegram he had written himself containing France's support for the Balfour plan to create an Israelite home in Palestine.

As soon as he had his telegram, Mr Tardieu took it to Judge Brandeis who, he said, "wept with joy". From then on, the case was won. And Mr Tardieu concluded: Our relations with the American government, American finance and the American press, which we so urgently needed, were greatly facilitated.

It couldn't be clearer that by 1917, Aryans in the United States hardly counted at all. But since then, the situation has only worsened. The Jewish octopus has spread its tentacles and its domination everywhere.

The best part is that this gigantic expropriation took place without the real Americans realising what was happening to them. First of all, the first Jewish immigrants were rather likeable. They were so humble, so smiling, so good at inspiring compassion! What's more, they were the biblical people, the children of Jehovah, and the Puritans of the North were far too steeped in the Old Testament not to feel in communion of spirit with people who commended themselves to the same metaphysical inspiration, who were well versed in the same philosophical disciplines, familiar with the same Palestinian stories. To a certain extent, a Puritan is closer to a Jew than to a Catholic. And how could the Americans have been suspicious? Their vigilance was paralysed by the political ideology bequeathed to them by the founders of the Constitution, whose puerile dogmatism had been definitively consolidated by the disastrous outcome of the American Civil War: one man is as good as another, all men are brothers, it only takes one generation to turn a Russian or a Spaniard into a 100% American.

And this was true, in fact, for the Russians, for the Spaniards, for all the other representatives of the great European family. After one or two generations, the immigrants had melted into the American melting pot, they had forgotten their origins, they thought and acted like Americans.

The old Yankees had seen so many newcomers assimilate almost instantly, that they were unsuspecting when Crémieux, Frankfurter, Warshawski and Ben Soussian arrived in their turn. Crémieux called himself French, Frankfurter German, Warshawski Polish and Ben Soussian Syrian. Many other Frenchmen, Germans, Poles and Syrians mingled effortlessly with the Americans. They were well received. But these newcomers were not French, Germans, Poles or Syrians. They were Jews. They were the most intransigent racists in the world, the most conscious of their racial and national solidarity, the only elements of the American community that were absolutely unassimilable. They came from all over Europe, Africa and Asia. But as soon as they disembarked, they formed a block, and whatever their geographical origin, they merged not with the Americans, but with the other Jews who had been in the promised land longer.

The Americans, who disapproved of the formation of national groups, such as Irish or Germanic associations, because these groups, by prolonging loyalty to the mother country, delayed the assimilation of the immigrant, found it perfectly legitimate for the "French" Crémieux, the "German" Frankfurter, the "Pole" Warshawski and the "Syrian" Ben Soussian to group together as soon as they arrived and agree on common action.

Completely ignorant of Jewish realities, and oblivious to Franklin's cry of alarm, the old Americans contemplated with a good smile the coalition of the "French", the "German", the "Pole" and the "Syrian", and said proudly: "You see, it's the fusion of the races...".

It is extraordinary that today, now that the colonisation of the United States by the Jews is practically complete, Americans have not yet understood that they have been conquered and subjugated by a foreign people. It is extraordinary that they are unaware to an unimaginable degree of the first elements of the Jewish question. Their candour exceeds, if it is possible, that of the pre-war French. This is because they do not have, as we do - although they have suffered as much as we have from the debasement of immortal principles - a tradition of anti-Semitism that stretches from Saint Louis to Drumont and Céline. It's also because, by the time Americans began to open their eyes, it was too late. The Jews who had broken in had already conquered the airwaves, printed paper and advertising. It was impossible to utter the word "Jew", to denounce the Jewish peril, without immediately being muzzled, broken, annihilated.

Of course, there is opposition. Clubs, salons and universities are closed to Jews. A small but resolute number of Americans have guessed the danger.

We will talk about these rebels later. Let us say straight away that their action did not arouse any echo, that it was limited to isolated demonstrations without vigour or scope.

The people of America do not suspect their own servitude. They are so sensitive, so intransigent when the Negro question is raised, so fearful of being swamped by a black wave from the Southern States, and they contemplate with apathy the infiltration of the trusts and the government by the Jewish imperialists. He suffers, he accepts without reacting. Above all, he did not understand that the Jewish problem was a racial problem. He still imagines that it is a religious matter and he is rightly indignant that medieval prejudices can be revived to reproach free citizens for their metaphysical conceptions.

As the brilliant Céline wrote in *Bagatelles pour un massacre*: "The American Yankee women, who are heard to utter such cries, to create such uproars, such universal howls (lynchings, petitions, lawsuits, etc.), as soon as a Negro caresses them (in public), how they marry Jews! and at full speed! and while they can!"

That is the tragedy. If the Americans could be informed of the racial aspect of the problem, they would undoubtedly understand more quickly and more easily than we do, and they would react with unsuspected vigour. After all, living with Negroes for so long has familiarised them with the problems of blood and shown them the need to defend the purity of the white race by every means possible.

But when it comes to Jews, the question doesn't even arise. The most intransigent of Yankees, the one who would smash the windows if a half-breed entered the same restaurant as him, placidly accepts that his daughter be soiled by some Levy and that frizzy, lippered Orientals take his money, impose their philosophy on him and decide peace and war for him.

Faced with the Jew, the American is as helpless as the island bird fascinated by the snake. So the Jew takes advantage. He has straightened his back. He's wallowing in the boss's chair, cigar in mouth, feet up on the table. He is the master, the only master.

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 19-26.

The New York ghetto

"O New York! Kahall Souk! The most clamorous, the most insulting, the most trivial, the most obscenely materialistic, the most boorish shylockery in the world! At your command! Irrevocably! Carried away by the greatness of the sacrifice! We shudder with joy at the thought that soon, thanks to the profits from our battles and our twenty million corpses, you will regain your joie de vivre, your delirious prosperity, your most dazzling swoons of pride, supreme bliss! the jubilant Kabalic Apotheosis!

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

Corpse School

The New York ghetto? There is no ghetto in New York. New York is a ghetto.

Every time I try to gather my memories, to resurrect the images of my stays in New York, it's the Jews who pop up in aggressive, haunting close-ups. I see confused, blurred crowds swarming around a classic backdrop of dizzying obelisks, the morning rush to work, the night rush to pleasure, the din of the narrow streets where a crush of cars slower than pedestrians stagnates, the ferocious brawls around the metro doors on a litter of huge daily papers, abandoned to the whims of the wind, the city lights that scream eroticism, the chlorotic patches of grass spared by reinforced cement, the squares of chlorotic grass untouched by reinforced cement and crowded with the unemployed, the rush of football gladiators in leather armour, the dirty pink bricks of 14th Street and the gleaming marble of 42nd, the perfumed strollers of Riverside and the sleazy bad boys of the East River, the vice, the toil and the love of this frenetic, disconcerting and brutal metropolis where you feel more desperately alone in the midst of seven million termites than in the loneliest of thebaïdes.

And on top of all that, superimposed on it all, Jewish men and women.

They are not alone, of course. In New York there are quite a few Irish, a million Italians, many Spaniards, three hundred thousand Negroes and even a few Anglo-Saxons. In New York, where there are one million eight hundred thousand Jews, that is, one Jew for every four inhabitants, you can't see anything but them; not only are they everywhere, they are the city itself. The traveller, who is content to discover America in New York and sees only that, must return with the conviction that the beautiful athletes at

the Olympic Games and the long-legged girls in Californian films are a rather crude propaganda trick, with no equivalent in everyday reality.

The standard New York 'Yankee' is a fat little man with floppy ears, flabby muscles and sloping shoulders. He dresses like Clark Gable, he tries to wear the imperceptible little moustache of the Hollywood Romeo, but he only succeeds in becoming even more worrying. His aim was to acquire the seductions of the West, and he only succeeded in taking on the gangster genre. The males of New York seem to have been gathered there to appear in a gigantic crime film. It's hard to believe that they look like their Krakow synagogue doppelgangers, who at least look the part.

As for the women, they are desolate. Not Myrna Loy, not even Mae West. Just fat, withered ladies at twenty-five, their flesh swollen with sweets, their skin oily and their clothes in brightly coloured fabrics in blatantly bad taste.

Is it because of these people that New York, that "sort of disgusting failed fair that we would insist on making a success anyway", as Céline wrote in *Journey to the End of the Night*, gives such a desolate impression of dirtiness? There's no doubt about it. A lot of trouble has been taken to explain to us that New York can't be clean, that its avenues cut like thin cannons into the compact block of skyscrapers keep perpetual draughts stirring up dust and filth without respite.

That's too convenient an explanation. In Los Angeles, too, there are skyscrapers and draughts, and the city is clean. If it were only a question of the dust carried in by the whirlwinds... No, the dirt in New York is congenital, it's racial. It is shamelessly on display as soon as you stray a little - very little - from the marble caravanserais where the residences of the aristocracy are superimposed, as soon as you move away from the insolently cosseted temples erected by Israel to the glory of the cinema.

The filth here surpasses in horror anything seen in the former 'zone' of the Paris fortifications. It's the filth of the ghetto, a horrible Oriental bric-a-brac set against a backdrop of rusting girders and fire escapes decorated with rags that are drying out under new sediments of dust.

I know of nothing as hideous as the Communist restaurant on 13th Street. In front of the door, ragged negroes sell the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses*; mismatched and orthodox books, the works of Lenin, *Under fire* by Henri Barbusse and collections of 'revelations' about Nazi terror are also sold at a discount. All printed in English for external use. Inside the restaurant, the hairy intellectuals, devouring a

proletarian goulash in a nightmarish setting of inexpressible filth, under large anti-fascist posters, read only Yiddish newspapers. They don't even need to pretend to assimilate. For them, Communism is an affirmation of their nationalism.

I don't know to what extent I don't prefer this ramshackle Judaism to the sordid but more degrading manifestations of luxury Judaism.

It was Jews who devised the perverse technique of burlesque shows, the systematic exploitation of an eroticism that is exacerbated with diabolical refinement without ever allowing it to be satisfied.

They invented taxi girls, a form of white slavery more degrading than prostitution.

They are the ones who have multiplied all over New York these gigantic theatres whose monstrosity is the shame of our age. In Paris, Mr Jacques Haïk's Rex, with its ultramarine blue stuccoed ceiling studded with stars, its plaster nymphs, its minarets, its Gothic balconies and its pergolas, is a fine example of what Israel can achieve when it has free rein. The Jews of New York are no less or more barbaric than M. Jacques Haïk, but since they are much more powerful than their compatriots in the Paris ghetto, their bad taste is displayed and imposed with even greater insolence.

It's a debauchery of Corinthian colonnades and gargoyles, massive outrageously gilded ornaments and gaudy panelling, a frenzied accumulation of everything you shouldn't do, everything you should avoid.

The traveller who has visited the Paramount in New York, or the Roxy, or the Hippodrome, is quick to conclude that Americans conceive nothing but monstrosities. Which is very unfair. I certainly don't claim that Americans on the whole have very good taste (although they have created a 'colonial style' in New England and the Southern States that is not lacking in charm). But the most visible, most distressing faults of taste to be found in New York and elsewhere (I'm thinking of the medieval castles of the Hollywood plutocrats) are primarily the manifestation of the triumphant Jewish aesthetic. Real Americans - in this as in so many other things - are suffering the consequences of their ignorance of the Jewish problem. They have allowed themselves to be enslaved and are held responsible for the attacks carried out by their conquerors.

It is also said in France, to criticise the filthy Paris-Soir of the distinguished industrialists Beghin and Prouvost, that it introduced American customs into our press. American? There are no American newspapers in New York. There are only Jewish newspapers. And those that are not completely Jewish have been forced to follow the trend, to copy the formula that is so wonderfully successful, to sacrifice everything to scandal, to sensationalism, to elaborate flashy presentations, to elevate contempt for the reader to the level of an art.

When the tide of tabloids swept through New York at the end of the afternoon, you almost thought that our Paris-Soir had a certain air about it... One of them - I've unfortunately forgotten its name - came out one evening with this gigantic headline: Valentino dead. It was known that the famous actor was very ill. Everyone rushed out to buy the special editions. And it was only after buying the paper that you could read in tiny letters € announcing the public rumour, which was fortunately denied." Rudolph Valentino wasn't dead at all, but the editor of the tabloid had found this excellent typographical device to sell his paper.

The whole technique of Jewish journalism lies in this anecdote, and it is not surprising that in order to obtain a good copy of the New York methods, the pious Messrs Beghin and Prouvost placed the horrible little Jews Lazareff and Weiskopf (known as Gombault) at the head of their Paris-Soir. These stateless men immediately felt at home. The right men in the right place.

In the old days - by which I mean before 1933 - New York newspapers produced sensational stories about alcoves, photogenic divorces and stars' thighs. Since Hitler came to power, a new element has been available to the re-write men of the New York editorial offices. For Hitler had become - and we'll come back to this later - public enemy No. 1, the man to be shot, the reprobate whose head was being called for with all the more fanfare because American Jews were convinced that they personally risked nothing in the venture. And it's easy to imagine that the people who didn't hesitate to kill Valentino in anticipation weren't going to shy away from other tricks. I once had in my hands a magazine showing a 'torture room' in a German concentration camp. Well, the photo was taken in such a way that it was rather confusing, but terrifying. You had to be well-informed to know that the torture room was simply a shower room... Unless hydrotherapy is considered by the sons of Israel - at least by those who arrived from Bukovina or White Russia - to be real torture.

At the same time as they were piling up the horrific details of racist 'barbarity', the Jewish newspapers of New York adopted once and for all - like those of Paris before the war - that little mocking and contemptuous tone that we know so well from having found it so many times in our own country in the

articles of Léon Blum: Hitler is a big bad wolf, but it's not serious, it's not solid, he can't maintain himself, he's on the verge of collapse...

The great female star of the New York press, "Miss" Dorothy Thompson, wife of Sinclair Lewis, the American Geneviève Tabouis, wrote as early as 1931, after having approached Hitler:

All you have to do to deflate this ridiculous little man is "boo" in front of him. He'll never be a dictator!

And since then, all the New York dailies have been repeating the same nonsense every day with the same bliss. Systematic underestimation and denigration of the fascist revolutions, the poisoning of the public mind by the vilest means, the constant incitement to war. Such is the New York Jewish press.

The citadels of Jewish power stand at the very tip of Manhattan in a gush of cement, steel and stucco. This is where Broadway begins. This is where the epileptics of Wall Street gesticulate. All the country's business is crammed, vertically, into the meagre surface area of a tiny township. Anyone who hasn't worked in one of these buildings has no idea what the refinements of Taylorisation can achieve. When, in 1929, I was an employee of a financial firm - Jewish, of course - the Credit Alliance Corporation, I left my office every evening with my brain empty, my legs limp, my nerves on edge, twenty times more exhausted than I had ever been during my captivity, unloading coal for ten long hours every day in a kommando in Thuringia.

In these temples of business, there is a kind of religious frenzy that infects even the most apathetic. Making money really is a priesthood, a holy thing to which one must devote body and soul. It is the only moral criterion, the only way to determine social precedence.

How many times have people to whom I've just been introduced, and with whom I've only spoken for a few moments, abruptly asked me: "How much do you make? How much do you earn? They were quite excusable. They wanted to know where I stood. There are no foolish or dishonest jobs in New York, any more than there are honourable or refined jobs. There are only people who 'make' a lot of money - and who are automatically entitled to the admiring consideration of their compatriots - and people who vegetate. The latter are not interesting. And if they also happen to be intellectuals or artists, then their case becomes frankly laughable.

However little sympathy I have for Anglo-Saxons, I refuse to consider that this way of sizing up men is British in origin. In London, a penniless lord is held in higher esteem than an upstart adventurer, and in the southern United States, old planter families who have reached a higher level of civilisation refuse to get involved with Yankee businessmen.

Nor do I believe that business frenzy is an Anglo-Saxon vice. City merchants have a sense of leisure, and they make it a rule to respect - however ridiculous it may sometimes be - the rituals of the weekend. They do not think, as is the rule in New York, of sacrificing everything, absolutely everything, to business. Not, of course, to accumulate money, because nothing is more alien to Americans than the concept of savings, but for the sole pleasure of making dollars, as many dollars as possible, very quickly and by any means necessary.

And this, this falsification of human values under the sign of money, this mad scramble for other people's gold, is so specifically Jewish that it is inconceivable that none of the discoverers of America whose stories cluttered our pre-war press had the elementary honesty to say so. They watched with amused eyes the sarabandas of overly kinky gentlemen around the golden calf of Wall Street and noted: "How greedy these Americans are".

The Americans? No. The Jews.

Now let's look at some other Jews. Jews who are less well known, but who are not doing too badly. Let's go to the Préfecture de Police.

I was allowed to visit this institution in 1935 - I was the special envoy of Je Suis Partout which, incidentally, did not wait for the fall of Mr Mandel to call a Jew a Jew - and it was a very instructive walk. There was a mind-boggling display of the means of repression available to New York cops. But this modernism only served to demonstrate the impotence of the law. And the cops themselves were not shy about saying so.

I was shown all sorts of sophisticated weapons, given a description of the organisation of the alert services, and taken for a long walk around a vast room where radio operators, wearing headphones, directed the armoured car patrols that criss-crossed the city from a distance. I then went to the anthropometry offices. It was simply marvellous: all the criminals, big and small, all the public enemies were on cards, front and side, lined up in impeccable binders, arranged by speciality. Here the

pickpockets, there the racketeers, a little further on the pimps, then the confidence men, the common assassins and the gun molls. And right in the middle, in an isolated cupboard - because you don't want to mix the napkins with the tea towels - the 'public enemies', the big crime stars, labelled in order of malfeasance, public enemy n° 1, public enemy n° 2, public enemy n° 3, and so on.

The policeman who acted as my cicerone, a big redheaded Irishman, was fully aware of the importance of his mission, but he didn't want to exhaust the interest of the visit all at once. He knew how to measure his effects. Before I reached the cabinet of celebrities, he imposed a review of the small fry, a gradual initiation, as it were. In this way, I saw all the specimens of the underworld parade by category: smartly dressed gangsters, sly little thugs, bestial-faced stranglers, and not very pretty women - much less pretty than the lady-bandits of the cinema - all of whom, unlike the men, sported dazzling smiles. Is it my fault that none of these reprobates was called Smith or Brown, that all the pimps were of Mediterranean origin and all the crooks Jewish?

But this review had no other purpose than to whet my curiosity and, when the policeman thought my initiation was sufficient, he led me with a grand theatrical gesture, with a sort of devotion, towards the stars.

- Here," he tells me proudly, "is New York City's public enemy number 1: Fleggenheimer, aka Dutch Schultz, the king of slot machines.

I saw - still from the front and in profile - an ugly man with slanting eyes, a squashed nose and huge lips.

- Yes, he's a Jew," said the policeman, who, like most Irishmen in New York, was somewhat anti-Semitic. You wouldn't want him not to be Jewish... he's one of the richest men in town: you can't imagine the money you can make from slot machines. Provided, of course, that he has a monopoly on them, that he imposes his machines in all public establishments and that he chases away competitors, with a gun if need be. Dutch Schultz has millions and millions of dollars. He has a mansion on Long Island that is a veritable palace. He is someone...

- But he's not in prison? You have his file, his photo, his address...

The policeman laughed a big Irish laugh:

- There's no point in bothering to arrest Dutch Schultz. As many times as we take him to court, as many times he'll be acquitted. The last time, we managed to get him charged with tax fraud... Mind you, this chap has quite a few human lives on his conscience, but that's even harder to prove, as no-one wants to testify against the leader of a well-organised gang... Whereas, for tax fraud, there was no doubt about it, Dutch Schultz was fiddling his accounts and not paying his taxes. Any average taxpayer would have been convicted. Not Dutch Schultz. After twenty-eight hours of deliberation, the jurors in Malone (New York State) acquitted him and Public Enemy No. 1 walked out of the court triumphant, riding on the shoulders of his friends. As for us, there's nothing we can do about it. All we can do is wait for Dutch Schultz to be gunned down by killers from a rival gang.

And indeed, a few weeks later, the gangster's body was found riddled with bullets in the back room of a café where he had been counting his takings.

New York had lost its Jew, public enemy number 1. It kept its other Jews, its Jewish bankers, its State Governor, the Jew Lehman, its Jewish Mayor, Mr La Guardia.

It is logical that New York should have Mr La Guardia at the head of its municipal authority. As shocking as it was to see Mr Blum at the head of an 'old Gallo-Roman country' like ours, it is only natural that the Jews of New York should be governed by one of their own.

Mr La Guardia, poetically nicknamed "the little red flower" by his friends, is a man of cramped stature, short on legs, with a large, plucked toad's head reminiscent of that other Jew, Bela Kun. I saw him in 1935 at City Hall. He was receiving Madame Lebrun, who had just arrived on Normandie, her first trip.

Dripping with sweat, gesticulating with elephantine grace, the "little red flower" evoked the indissoluble fraternity of the great democracies. And behind him, a thick cohort of Hebrews - the entire municipality - flanked by gigantic Irish policemen, smiled at the cameras with the ugly grins of carpetbaggers. Poor Madame Lebrun, pressed up against the microphone, overwhelmed by the din of big, loud words, stammered out two carefully memorised sentences in a sixth-form accent:

- Zis is very charming, monsieur le maire. I zank you very much, monsieur le maire.

A brass band attacked the Marseillaise and all the councillors of the New York ghetto rectified their position. An apotheosis of Franco-Jewish friendship.

At that time, the naïve still imagined that France was loved for itself, for its magnificent past and its ancestral virtues. In 1940, we saw what happened. No more democracy, no more love. The France cherished by the New York tribe was Blum's France, the last continental bastion of Jewry, the "soldier of right" who was encouraged by kind words to sacrifice himself for the Cause, the supreme hope of the émigrés in a hurry to get back to Berlin in our vans, in a hurry to make a footstool out of our corpses to recover their fiefdoms across the Rhine.

Who could doubt it? Long before the first cannon shot was fired, New York had already been at war with fascism and Hitlerism for a long time. A war limited to rhetorical exercises or demonstrations such as the storming of the liner Bremen on 27 July 1935 by Jewish rioters who were later scandalously acquitted by the Jewish judge Brodsky and congratulated for having thrown the ship's "pirate flag" into the Hudson. No cannons were fired, but it was already war. La Guardia, whom the Jew Lecache called in *Le Droit de vivre* - precisely in the same issue where Jean Cocteau joined the anti-racist crusade - "Anti-Nazi No. 1", sponsored all the meetings and demonstrations where the horror of the new European order was expressed.

- Bring me Hitler," he proclaimed to the crowds in Madison Square Garden, "and I'll have him hanged on the spot.

Obviously, there was no question of La Guardia taking it upon himself to seize the Führer. Each to his own role: the French the Stuka bombs and the Americans the exhilaration of radio invective. In March 1937, before the delegates of the American Jewish Congress meeting in New York, La Guardia proposed that at the next international exhibition a torture chamber should be built featuring an effigy of Hitler "the fanatic in the brown shirt". And as the government in Washington paid lip service to the Reich with a vague apology, La Guardia returned to the American Jewish Congress to proclaim with a flourish of his chin that nothing could silence him. The Congress then enthusiastically adopted the following motion: We pledge to intensify the boycott of German products in order to protect (!!!) the German people from the destruction threatened by Hitlerism.

Just as the English 'protected' the French by murdering them, the good Jews of New York were eager to 'protect' the Germans by having them gutted by French soldiers.

But in 1938, the French seemed to have shirked their "mission". They had pushed insubordination to the point of making agreements with the Germans. So it was necessary to hear the chorus of imprecations from the matamores in the New York ghetto.

- France has disgraced itself!" exclaimed Mr La Guardia, to the cheers of his bellicose (but cautious) constituents.

And Chief Rabbi Stephen Samuel Wise, that other half of Jehovah - in the Middle Ages, the Pope and the Emperor were the two halves of God, today, in New York, the two-headed Holy Empire of Israel has its mayor and its rabbi - Wise covered his face in horror.

I did not approach Stephen Samuel Wise, who is too powerful a lord to waste his time with puny European journalists, but I do know the importance of this character and the influence he exerts on the New York community and on the general politics of the United States.

It was to him, moreover, that the traitor de Gaulle recently addressed himself to assure him that, after the British "victory" (!!!), the Jews in France would be reinstated in their positions of command. Now, since de Gaulle, as vile as he is, probably did not make such a compromising declaration out of the good of his heart, and since it seems certain that he made it under pressure of imperative blackmail - "speak out publicly for the Jews or we'll cut off your funding! - This is a measure of the Chief Rabbi's power.

Curiously enough, Stephen Samuel Wise is much less Jewish in type than some of his more mixed-blooded compatriots (La Guardia, for example, has Italian ancestry). With his thin lips, sunken eyes and pallid complexion, he looks more like a Methodist minister constipated by too much hypocrisy.

But appearances are deceiving. Stephen Samuel Wise is wonderfully Jewish and in no way hypocritical. In fact, he is admirably frank. It was he who wrote, on 13 June 1938, in the New York Herald Tribune, these lines which explain the whole of American politics:

I am not an American citizen of the Jewish faith. I am a Jew. I am an American. I've been an American for sixty-three sixty-fourths of my life, but I've been a Jew for four thousand years. Hitler was right about one thing: he called the Jewish people a race. And we are a race.

A race that has seized all the levers of control and broken down all resistance.

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 27-35.

5

Roosevelt or Rosenfeld?

"Roosevelt, the fat ventriloquist preparing for the next... is only the cabotin instrument of the great Jews."

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

Bagatelles pour un massacre

Is Mr. Roosevelt Jewish? Some ingenious biographers have said so. Their arguments are admittedly not very convincing, but no hypothesis should be overlooked.

On October 15, 1936, a pastor, the Reverend G.B. Winrod, published in the Wichita newspaper *The Revealer* a family tree drawn up by the Carnegie Institute, which tends to demonstrate the President's Hebrew origin. A Jewish writer, P. Slomovitz, took up and developed this argument in the *Detroit Jewish Chronicle*. This author goes further than the Carnegie Institute, which only traces the Roosevelt family back to 1582. P. Slomovitz goes back as far as 1520, when the Rossocampos (red field) were expelled from Spain and settled in Holland, where they took the name Rosenvelt or Rosenfeld (pink field). Their descendants were then called Rosefeld, Rosevelt and finally Roosevelt.

In 1649, the first Roosevelt came to America where he married a girl named Heyltje Kunst, who is said to have been Jewish. Thereafter, although the family practised the Reform religion, almost all its members

were given biblical names. The men were called Abraham, Moses, Abel, Isaac, Enoch, Ephraim, Samuel, Ezekiel, Eliezer, Simon and Nathan. The women were called Abigail, Hannah, Rebekah, Deborah, Rachel and Ruth.

Franklin Roosevelt made no protest against the revelations of Reverend G.B. Winrod and Mr. P. Slomovitz. Questioned by the New York Times, he simply replied:

My ancestors may well have been Jewish in the past. All I know is that the Roosevelt family descended from the Claes Martenszen van Roosevelt family.

He also told Vienna's Neue Freie Presse:

My ancestors came to America from Holland - about 300 years ago. Whether they were Jews, Catholics or Protestants is not a question that worries me. It's enough for me that they were good, God-fearing citizens.

The genealogical research mentioned above seems rather fragile. And even if they were to show that Mr Roosevelt descended from a distant Jewish ancestor, the marriages contracted since 1649 with Aryans would have reduced the President's Hebraic heredity to a tiny percentage. As for the biblical surnames on the family tree, they prove absolutely nothing. This is a consequence of the Reformation, which restored the honour of first names taken from the Old Testament, a custom that is still honoured today in Puritan families.

What is serious is that Mr Roosevelt thinks and acts as if he were 100% Jewish. What is serious is that he serves the cause of Judaism with as much passion and tenacity as if he were a child of the Twelve Tribes. Even better. Because if he were called Disraeli, Trotsky or Blum, his intentions would automatically be suspect, and his action would be much less likely to be effective.

The Jews have no interest in personally governing the nations they have conquered and enslaved. Every time they show themselves too much, they provoke terrible reactions from which the whole people of Israel suffers. The ideal is to govern by proxy, to have in hand a straw man of proven docility, a synthetic Jew. Mr Roosevelt is that man. He is the model servant, the President who cannot be found. If he did not exist, he would have to be invented.

I saw Mr Roosevelt for the first time in July 1935, in circumstances I shall not soon forget. Washington was home to 25,000 Freemasons and the President had specially interrupted his holiday to come back and greet his Royal Secret comrades.

A prodigious affair. On the train (which was taking me to the capital), at every station there were men on board who made you wonder whether they were carpet merchants or businessmen on the prowl, sprung from some nightclub and decked out in cotillion accessories by enterprising girls. All of them, in fact, wore a fez, with a great deal of naturalness and gravity. The other travellers, clearly blasé, paid no attention to their attire.

In Washington, the quays of Union Station were red with fez. And red too were the broad avenues of the capital. Large banners greeted the delegates: Welcome nobles! Welcome nobles!

It was explained to me that this was the "Ancient Arab Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Altar", which groups the highest dignitaries of American Masonry, those who have reached the 32nd degree. All these venerables had gathered to elect their 'Imperial Potentate'. It was quite a masquerade. For many of the 'nobles' were not content to wear the fez. Some were dressed like Zouaves, from head to toe. They wore scarlet jackets, salmon-coloured knickerbockers and multicoloured belts.

And in the evening, it was even funnier. In columns of twelve, grouped by "temples" (one temple per state), the Nobles of the Mystic Altar marched down Pennsylvania Avenue to the strains of Sousa's march. At their head, the outgoing "Imperial Potentate", a tall, hairless gentleman draped in an immaculate burnous, chewed a cigar, as pleased with himself as if he had saved the country, as burlesque as Laurel and Hardy in *Les Compagnons de la noub*. All along the procession, kids were throwing firecrackers and the crowd was roaring with enthusiasm. What was this tumultuous crowd cheering? The 'Nobles' were not, after all, victorious soldiers. They were ordinary citizens who had taken the trouble to disguise themselves and march in step. The mystery of popular emotion...

The goal of the parade was the White House. There, on a platform draped with star-spangled flags, Mr Roosevelt, dressed in a cream suit and also wearing a scarlet fez, smiled broadly at the "Nobles of the Mystic Altar". Head up. Sousa marches again. Another storm of cheers.

So the carnival parade really came into its own. Of course, appearances were against the 'Nobles'. You might have thought that these serious businessmen from the forty-eight States of the Union had come here mainly to escape the vigilance of their rigid wives for a few days - and, in fact, they were quite happily enjoying their temporary freedom as soon as night fell. You felt like smiling at their disguises, at the childishness of their oriental symbolism, not taking them seriously. And besides, when it comes to Masonic events, aren't we always tempted to focus only on the ridiculous and neglect the sect's deeper work? The little pigskin aprons, the cotillion accessories, the truncated columns and the skeletons are so good at diverting the suspicions of the uninitiated. Likewise the zouave jackets and fez of the "Nobles".

But at the foot of the stage where Mr Roosevelt shone, there was no mistaking it. These were not just clowns or revellers on parade. They were the shock troops, the assault sections of American democracy. Because every country has the stormtroopers it deserves.

The high dignitaries of Masonry saluted their führer, F.' Roosevelt. From the top of this White House, thirty-two degrees look down on you...

Mr Roosevelt was initiated on 28 November 1911 at Holland Lodge No. 8 in New York City. On 28 February 1929, the 32nd degree of the Scottish Rite was conferred upon him in Albany (capital of the State of New York). Mr Roosevelt is a member of the secret societies of the Eagles, the Elks, Phi-Beta-Kappa and the Royal Order of the Elk. He has been awarded the title of "Great Cedar of Lebanon". He is Master of the Grand Lodge of Georgia. His three sons are also initiated.

In short, one could hardly be more of a Freemason than Mr Roosevelt. Now, while it is inaccurate to claim that Freemasonry is a specifically Jewish affair, there is no doubt that the interests of Jewry and Freemasonry have always coincided very closely, that these two great forces of the modern world have never ceased to collaborate, to strive towards the same goals, with the same ideal, to the point of sometimes coming to merge, and that a Mason is a priori the dream instrument of Jewish imperialism.

Mr. Roosevelt's Masonic degrees may not be sufficient to explain completely the President's total subordination to Jewish wishes. They do, however, show that Mr Roosevelt was more predisposed than anyone else to bow to these wishes, to regard as legitimate and worthy of sympathy the political aspirations of the Jewish people, their philosophy of life, their ethics and aesthetics.

All Mr Roosevelt's biographers harp on the fact that the President is above all an aristocrat, an American of old stock whose family has known opulence for several generations, and that this distinguishes him from self-made politicians enriched by backroom deals and bribery.

At first sight, Mr Roosevelt offers more guarantees of honesty than most of his competitors or associates. This man, showered from birth with all the goods of this world, seems to have entered politics only out of idealism, to impose on his compatriots a programme of fraternity and social justice. Rich, he denounced the trusts, the evils of capitalism and the abominable tyranny of big business. It was on the strength of these promises that he was elected to the New York State Parliament, became Governor of the State and was finally elected President of the Republic.

For the common people as much as for his eulogists, Roosevelt was a kind of aristocrat of the night of 4 August, a feudalist who abjured feudalism, the champion of a generous cause who was all the less suspicious because it was repeated that he had nothing to gain by attacking the capitalist system from which his family had derived all its prosperity.

But in tracing his career, we modestly fail to recall the decade or so that the enemy of big business devoted to big business. The story is told of how Mr Roosevelt became President Wilson's Under-Secretary of State for the Navy in 1917, how he abandoned politics in the aftermath of the war following his attack of infantile paralysis, and then, in 1928, of his accession to the government of the State of New York. From 1918 to 1928, nothing, just a blank. What became of Mr Roosevelt? What did he do?

He did business.

Far be it from us to hold this against Mr Roosevelt. We can disregard the accusations made against United European Investors Ltd, of which Mr Roosevelt was the director and which is accused of recklessly lending to Deutsche Bank and Norddeutsche Bank and the systematic plundering of its shareholders. Let's assume that these accusations were made by political opponents: in business, it's never clear where honesty begins and ends. We know too little about the operations of the U.E.I. to pass judgement on Mr Roosevelt's management.

But what is far more interesting is the composition of the board of the company of which Mr Roosevelt became a director after the collapse of United European Investors Ltd. This company, the Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation, was a purely Jewish affair whose directors were the Jews

Steinam, S. Nowak, A.-J. Sack, J.-J. Schermack, A. Granat, S.-C. Steinhardt, F.-I. Lisman. On the Council, the aristocrat, the "old American", Roosevelt was the only Aryan.

He does not seem to have suffered from this promiscuity. In fact, it seems to have benefited him greatly, providing him with the springboard - so to speak - that enabled him to rise to the post of Governor of New York State in 1928. Mr Roosevelt may have railed against financiers and thus captured the votes of anti-capitalists, but the Hebrew bankers of Wall Street knew that they had nothing to fear from the director of the very Jewish Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation. They even knew that they had everything to gain from having such an 'enemy' 'against them'.

Roosevelt, Israel's protégé, more than justified all the hopes that had been placed in him. His accession to the White House marked the beginning of the Jewish era in the United States. Before that, the Jews had undoubtedly conquered quite a few citadels. But they did not yet wield political power in a "totalitarian" fashion. It was this power that Mr Roosevelt granted them.

The President's great skill, as we saw earlier, had been to present himself as the enemy of financiers. The people of Wall Street were hated as cordially and as legitimately as the two hundred families in France had been. And indeed, as soon as he was installed in the White House on 4 March 1933 (the election had taken place in November 1932), Mr Roosevelt hastened to take a number of spectacular measures that could create an illusion. At the same time as promising numerous benefits to the proletariat - whenever it comes to promises, Mr Roosevelt's generosity becomes prodigality - he suspended all banking operations and took legal action against a number of sharks who were a little too conspicuous.

Against Morgan Bank, for example.

Why Morgan Bank?

It is not our intention to defend this company, which has raised piracy to the level of an institution, which has made a speciality of robbing the average American with inimitable mastery, and which practices corruption in the corridors of Congress with astonishing audacity. The investigation ordered by Mr Roosevelt revealed some very instructive, if rather banal, things: in a democracy, venality is the common law. In particular, it revealed the names of the ministers, senators and deputies who had "touched". We suspected as much. In France, with Panama and Stavisky, we have seen many others.

But Morgan was not alone. There were - and still are - other banks using the same methods. And it is rather disturbing that the indignation of honest Americans should have been channelled, as it were, in a single direction, as if to divert popular fury from wider objectives. The Americans, wounded by the terrible debacle of 1929, hated finance people? Mr Roosevelt threw them the directors of Morgan's Bank, the only major bank in the United States that was more or less Aryan. Thanks to this, the others could be forgotten and continue their lucrative operations without danger.

In short, it's more or less the same kind of operation that was carried out here by the Judeo-Marxists against the de Wendel family. Haro on these gun merchants! On those scruffy, scabby people who are the source of all our evil! This allowed the activities of the Rothschilds, Louis-Louis Dreyfus, Bader, the Lazard bank and the Worms bank to be completely ignored in the reddest newspapers. In the heyday of the Front Popu, was there ever a procession of demonstrators between the Bastille and the Nation demanding the seizure of the Rothschild millions? No. Only the fortune of the de Wendels...

For there is capitalism and capitalism. Mr Roosevelt had temporarily (1) smashed the Morgan bank, but he had installed in his government the Jew Henry Morgenthau junior, of the Seligman bank, the man trusted by the Jew Lewisohn, king of copper, and the Warburgs of the Kuhn, Loeb and C° bank. Morgenthau, in turn, was quick to hand over the interesting posts to the tribe: to begin with, he placed his son at the head of the Treasury and the Exchange Stabilisation Fund, his friend Jacob Viner as an expert in the Treasury, David Stern (owner of the New York Post) and Goldenweiser on the Federal Reserve Board, etc., etc.

A certain type of finance was lowered. Another kind of finance triumphed. The most Jewish. That is what Mr Roosevelt's anti-capitalism boils down to.

As in every other country in the world, one of the first consequences of the Jewish seizure of power in the United States was the sudden and rapid development of communism. Why should we be surprised? Isn't Communism a Jewish doctrine and the USSR a Jewish creation? And what is more, a creation of American Jews.

The story has been told a hundred times how the Jew Trotsky and all his Jewish accomplices in the first Council of People's Commissars were heavily subsidised by the Jewish bankers Jacob and Mortimer Schiff, Guggenheim, Max Breitung, Kuhn, Loeb and C°, Félix Warburg, Otto Kahn, S.-H. Hanauer, and so

on. There's no point in revisiting this old story. However, let us remember the confession of the American Jewish newspaper American Hebrew, which wrote on 10 September 1920:

This success (that of Bolshevism in Russia), which will go down in history as the main consequence of the World War, was largely the result of Jewish thought, Jewish discontent and Jewish efforts to rebuild.

What Jewish idealism and Jewish discontent have so powerfully contributed to achieve in Russia, the same historical qualities of the Jewish heart and soul tend to achieve in other countries.

Will America, like the Russia of the Tsars, crush the Jew under the baseless accusation of being a destroyer and thus place him in the position of an irreconcilable enemy?

Or will America favour the Jewish genius as it favours the particular genius of all the other races?

That is the question the American people will have to answer.

By electing Mr Roosevelt and keeping him in power, the American people responded. And it immediately became clear that the Jewish plutocrats' conquest of money was not without its Jewish agitators' conquest of the masses.

The same dualism, the most perfect expression of which today is the alliance between Wall Street and the Kremlin.

Until the election of Mr Roosevelt, communism was practically non-existent in the United States. The party founded on 1 September 1919 was declared illegal in January 1920. In December 1921, it disguised itself as the Workers Party and languished until 1928, when it was allowed to call itself the Communist Party of the United States again. But by 1932, it had less than 10,000 members, a ridiculous number in a country of 125 million inhabitants.

As soon as Roosevelt entered the White House, his first concern was to recognise the Soviet government. The Jew Litvinov himself came to Washington to renew diplomatic relations and conclude trade agreements with the Jews of the brain trust. A family affair, so to speak.

From then on, Communism took on a respectable air and the number of party members rose from 10,000 to 50,000 in 1936 and to 100,000 in 1939. This figure may still seem rather meagre, but we know that the Communists have always scorned the idea of recruiting large masses of partisans, preferring to have tried and tested militants in hand to form the shock troops and, above all, the cadres of the revolution. What's more, they are masters in the art of infiltrating fringe associations. In the United States, they control 640 so-called "common front" organisations, the most important of which are the American Civil Liberties Union (led by the Jew Frankfurter, whom we'll talk about later), the American League for Peace and Democracy (which is the Yankee section of the Amsterdam-Pleyel association founded by Romain-Rolland and Barbusse), the League for Industrial Democracy, the American Student Union, etc. The United States, for example, has a large number of "common front" organisations.

According to a report by Mr Steele presented in 1938 to a congressional committee of enquiry, some 6 million 500,000 people are active in these organisations controlled by the Communist Party. This is a far cry from the 100,000 members officially registered.

It was an Aryan, Earl Browder - like Thorez in France or Thaelmann in Germany - who was the nominal leader of the CP. But in the United States, as elsewhere, it was Jews who actually ran the party: financial secretary William Weiner (president of the Jewish Committee against Fascism and Anti-Semitism), Gilbert Greenberg, head of the Jeunesses Communistes and delegate to the 7th Congress of the Comintern, Isaac Amter, Sol Nitzberg, Lloyd Lehmann (an agricultural technician), David Dubinski (who supervised John Lewis at the head of the I.O.C.), and so on.

Just as in 1936 the French Communists suddenly began to reach out to their Catholic brothers and glorify military servitude, so in the same year the American Communists adopted the most resolutely patriotic slogans: Communism, they proclaimed, was the Americanism of the twentieth century. Since then, they have been outspoken warmongers, fiercely in favour of the great anti-fascist crusade. Revenge against the Jews and defence of the USSR are one and the same thing.

Mr Roosevelt never missed an opportunity to show his sympathy for the Communists, either by entrusting them with high administrative posts or by giving his personal support to their organisations. Just before the war, the President sent the following message to the American Youth Congress, a

movement openly domesticated by the American CP, of which Mrs Roosevelt is a "protective member" and whose main speakers are Earl Browder and La Guardia:

The Congress proves that you have come together to examine your mutual problems and those of the country as a whole, to accept your responsibilities as citizens... I am pleased to send you my best wishes for the success of your Congress, which studies these problems without fear and seeks to resolve them with courage and determination. Yours sincerely...

Naturally, since the beginning of hostilities, since the USA combined its initials with those of the USSR, the influence of the Communists has grown even more. They have become official figures. Under the protection of the law and the smiles of Mr Roosevelt, they can prepare as they please the revolution which will ensure the definitive triumph of "Jewish idealism" in America.

Those who deny Roosevelt's subservience to Judaism insist a great deal on the fact that only one minister (Morgenthau) was Jewish (2) and that there were no more than a dozen Jews in Congress, which could be considered a fairly reasonable percentage (3). But once again we must distinguish between appearances and reality. The ministers are mere executors, and the real power is wielded by the famous "brain trust" that has caused so much ink to be spilled and is hardly mentioned any more, even though its power is intact. The brain trust is a strictly Jewish affair. Now that Professor Raymond Moley and General Johnson have been eliminated, only the old Hebrew guard of intimate advisers remain. It is they, and they alone, who dictate Roosevelt's speeches and decisions. They are the masters of America.

Let's take a closer look at these gentlemen.

The oldest - a repeat offender in a way, since he had already grown fat during the other war - was Bernard Baruch, whom the Jewish Examiner of 20 October 1933 affectionately called "the unofficial president". There is no need to dwell on his past activities: Baruch is the very type of unscrupulous plutocrat, the adventurer to whom economic liberalism authorises the most fruitful raids.

Before 1914, he had already amassed a colossal fortune speculating on Wall Street in tobacco, copper and rubber. As soon as war broke out, he joined the War Industries Committee, becoming a sort of economic dictator. No cannon merchant could obtain credit without his approval. He also decided how much equipment the allies would receive and how it would be distributed. The profits he makes from

other people's blood are beyond imagination. He admitted as much to a parliamentary committee of enquiry that questioned him - very timidly, as always - about his actions:

- I probably had more power than any other man during the last war," he said.

When the peace conference opened, Bernard Baruch appeared in Paris in Wilson's wake. He brought with him 117 Jewish collaborators who helped him consolidate his prodigious profits in the corridors of the conference.

This war profiteer, this man who made his extravagant fortune from the mass graves of Europe, is also a cynic. The Chicago Tribune quoted him as saying:

- Patriotism is a load of rubbish.

Patriotism may be "a load of rubbish", but when it comes to Jewish patriotism, guys like Baruch don't hesitate. They are ready to sacrifice the whole world for the salvation of their race.

This is the "unofficial president", the man Roosevelt sees almost every day and without whose advice no important decision can be taken. During my last trip to Washington, it was claimed that President Roosevelt's recognition of the Soviets by the United States, which was, as we know, his first act of foreign policy, was the personal work of Baruch. And it was only natural that the man who was a cannon merchant in 1914-1918, a friend of the Bolsheviks and a scorner of Aryan patriotism should become one of the most ardent supporters of the warmongering clan in Washington.

Another star of the 'brain trust' is Felix Frankfurter, the man who, according to General Johnson (Saturday Evening Post, 26 October 1935) has more influence than any other person in the United States. Frankfurter, who was born in Vienna in 1882 and only recently naturalised, owes his fame to the Mooney affair. Mooney, a communist activist accused of throwing a bomb at an official procession in 1916 and killing ten people, had the ingenious idea of taking on an obscure little Jew, Félix Frankfurter, as his lawyer. This initiative saved him from the death penalty because, like all his co-religionists, Frankfurter was very good at it. Frankfurter had a marvellous talent for arousing the "universal conscience".

Under Frankfurter's nimble fingers, the Mooney case became a sort of American Dreyfus affair (is he or is he not guilty?) and the astute lawyer was immediately launched, pushed to the forefront of the news. The hard-working cat-and-mouse was offered a chair at Harvard. Then, when Mr Roosevelt became President of the United States, he was given the task of giving legal structure to New Deal. He immediately took advantage of the opportunity to appoint a number of his brethren: Herbert Feiss as Secretary of State, Benjamin Cohen and Nathan Margold as financial advisers to the Ministry of the Interior, David-T. Lilienthal as head of the VAT department and Charles Wyzanski as technical adviser to the Ministry of Labour.

Félix Frankfurter never hid the fact that he was a Marxist. At a time when the Jewish Internationals were attacking patriotism in every country and when Socialists and Communists in France were refusing to vote for national defence credits, Frankfurter was campaigning in the United States against the American Legion, whose "chauvinism" he denounced. He called for an end to the practice of saluting the American flag and for the teaching of the American anthem in schools to be discontinued. As a member of all the major extremist associations, he openly advocated revolution and, in particular, encouraged the negroes of the southern states to rise up against the whites. In the end, such zeal was richly rewarded. In January 1939, Roosevelt appointed the Jewish immigrant Felix Frankfurter to the United States Supreme Court. In the meantime, it is true, Frankfurter had ceased, like all his racial brothers, to wither away at national defence. He had become an ardent warmonger. The destruction of Hitlerism demanded this about-turn. Wasn't the easiest way to enlist the Aryans in the great crusade of Jewish racism to tickle their patriotism? Long live patriotism! And too bad if there's any damage...

When the New Deal was being drawn up, Felix Frankfurter's main collaborator was another Supreme Court Justice, Louis Dembitz Brandeis. The New York Times wrote (28 January 1934): "The profound thought of the New Deal is the profound thought of Justice Brandeis. This little point of history is of little importance. It is enough for us to know that Justice Brandeis exerts an ever-growing influence over President Roosevelt and that he is, at the same time, a Jew of the "conscious and organized" type.

In his book *Zionism*, he wrote (page 113): "Let us recognise that we Jews constitute a distinct nationality of which every Jew is necessarily a part, whatever his country, his position or his opinions".

Judge Brandeis is not content with this profession of faith. His solidarity is active. His protégés are numerous, and he counts among his "clients" a number of prominent figures. It was he, it is said, who engineered the election of the Jew Lehmann to the post of Governor of the State of New York to replace Roosevelt. It was he who had the Jew Samuel Rosenmann appointed to the Supreme Court, whom

Roosevelt called his "right-hand man". His solicitude also extended to the lawyer Samuel Untermyer, Roosevelt's personal adviser and head of the organisation boycotting "racist" goods, whose Communist sympathies were well known, and to the Member of Parliament for New York, Samuel Dickstein, who went on the radio on 18 March 1934 to say: "We Americans must change our laws so that German Jews can come here right away".

The list goes on and on. Since Roosevelt came to power, the Jews have established themselves so firmly in all the administrations, in all the ministries, that one has the impression of a gigantic curse. Even when the minister responsible was not Jewish, his immediate subordinates were. This is the case at work where, under the screen of the Aryan Frances Perkins, we see Leo Wolman, Chairman of the Strikes Committee, Sidney Hillman, Adviser, W.-M. Leiserson (born in Russia), Secretary of the Labour Office, Isidor Lubin, Delegate to the S.D.N., Frances Jurkowitz, Assistant Secretary for Labour, Rose Schenederman (born in Russia), Adviser, etc., etc., etc., etc.

At Commerce, Foreign Affairs and the Interior, it's the same thing, the same frenetic colonisation. You only have to look back to 1936 and remember what happened in France, under Léon Blum, when the Jews rushed to the squares (all the squares and right away!) to imagine the atmosphere in Washington. The only difference is that it is an Aryan who is nominally at the head of the government. But no one was fooled, and Roosevelt never missed an opportunity to flaunt his militant philosemitism. Just as Mrs Roosevelt liked to be seen with Negroes who would not be received under any circumstances in the humblest of old American families, the President made it a point of honour to be photographed as often as possible in the company of Jews and to show them spectacular tenderness.

At the last Thanksgiving before the war, Roosevelt had a little Jew, Robert Rosenbaum, on his left as he solemnly carved up the traditional turkey under flashes of magnesium. We all know the importance of this festival, which is celebrated in the USA on the last Thursday in November to thank God for the blessings bestowed during the year. It's a religious holiday, inspired by the Puritans, whose customs date back to the pioneer days and which has retained as much of a family feel as the English Christmas. True Americans only invite their closest relatives to the Thanksgiving Day meal. Nevertheless, in 1938, Mr Roosevelt did not hesitate to invite a foreigner to sit at his table, on the pretext of receiving a 'sick boy' at the White House, and it seems impossible that he was chosen by chance. Young Rosenbaum had been invited because he was Jewish, and only because he was Jewish. It was a symbolic gesture that received enormous publicity in newspapers around the world and was understood by all anti-fascists as a challenge to the "evil" Hitlerites.

If we were tempted to forget that Roosevelt is the man of the Jews, the servile executor of their will, the instrument of their vengeance, their supreme hope, the Jews themselves would take it upon themselves to remind us of this.

As early as October 20, 1933, Rabbi Louis-D. Gross wrote in the Brooklyn Jewish Examiner:

The Roosevelt government gave the Jews more important positions than any other government in the history of the United States.

The following year, on 12 March 1934, another rabbi, S.-H. Goldenson, wrote in the Jewish Daily Bulletin :

The Jews must support President Roosevelt because his ideals are the same as those of the ancient Hebrew prophets.

Then, in 1935, the Jewish professor H.-J. Laski declared:

If the experiment for which Mr. Roosevelt assumes responsibility were to fail, as a result of the support given to it by a large number of prominent Jews, there would be an outburst of anti-Semitism in the United States the like of which Anglo-Saxon civilization would never have known.

On 6 March 1939, Roosevelt was awarded the Jewish Congress Gold Medal "for outstanding service to the cause of Israelites in the United States".

And in May 1939, the congress of B'nai B'rith, the all-powerful Jewish Masonic association, unanimously adopted a motion calling for Roosevelt to be re-elected President for the third time, in defiance of all American traditions.

Things were going rather badly. The famous Roosevelt experiment, which Professor Laski had so rightly predicted would unleash an unprecedented wave of anti-Semitism if it failed, could no longer be

concealed on the eve of war. The sluggish prosecution of Morgan's Bank had allowed the omnipotence of the trusts to persist. The New Deal had reduced unemployment only marginally. Eleven million unemployed continued to live on state subsidies without any benefit to the community. Social conflicts were multiplying daily and becoming increasingly violent. The whole of America was experiencing the pre-revolutionary climate of Spain in 1935 and France in 1936.

For abandoning itself to the Jewish alchemists, America was paying the ultimate price for its aberration. And if she understood - because in spite of everything she could decide to understand - her awakening would be terrible.

This is what the Jewish brains who think for Mr Roosevelt wanted to avoid. They were left with one last chance, an old trick that is fairly worn out but still appeals to bankrupt plutocrats: war.

The war that makes you forget all about "the failings of democracy".

The war that quenches the Hebrew warmongers' thirst for revenge.

The war that imposes a sacred union around the banners of Israel.

The Jewish War...

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 37-48.

(1) Mr Roosevelt has since made his peace with Morgan's Bank. It was thanks to Morgan, in particular, that in 1940 he succeeded in having the warmonger Willkie (his accomplice) nominated as the Republican Party candidate and in rigging the elections as had never been done before. Willkie, the man of the trusts, and Roosevelt, the man of the Jews, pretended to fight each other. In reality, they had already agreed on what was essential: the need to launch the country into war.

(2) Cordell Hull, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is married to a Jewish woman. Although he is not a Jew by race, there is no doubt that under the influence of his wife he has acquired the habit of thinking Jewish, which makes him all the more dangerous.

(3) Naturally, we find this percentage excessive.

6

The rebels

"If you ventured a word against the great Yutre invasion... all you newspapers would be strangled so cleanly that in a week the very name you bore would be forgotten... right down to the colour of your pages! Not one more ad! No more theatre! No more credit, no more licences, no more papers, and soon there would be no news, no more phone calls, just emptiness... "

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

Bagatelles pour un massacre

America's great misfortune is that it has not produced any good anti-Semites. Nothing like Drumont or Céline on the other side of the ocean. No thinker, no polemicist who has taken the trouble to clear away the brush of democracy and provide his country with a genuine nationalist doctrine, an anti-Semitism of reason that men of good will can recommend to themselves.

It is somewhat distressing to note that the "great ancestor" of American anti-Semitism is Mr Henry Ford. Mr Ford was a successful businessman who made a billion dollars from a simple idea: the mass-produced car, available to everyone, but it is doubtful that his name will leave any trace in the history of contemporary philosophy. Moreover, his anti-Semitism was no more than a momentary crisis, a sort of fit of rage that the Jews hastened to appease by the most extreme means.

Before launching his assault on the Jewish citadels, Henry Ford had already demonstrated, on at least one occasion, that when he believed he was serving the cause of the public good, he did not hesitate to pay with his life.

In 1916, he had chartered an ocean liner with his own money to go to Europe at the head of a pacifist delegation, to beg the belligerents to stop fighting. War seemed to him a monstrous idiocy. He, who was driven by a passion for building, couldn't fathom the reasons that drove men to destroy each other so

savagely. What an appalling waste of life and wealth!... So Ford naively imagined that all he had to do was appear and say to the combatants something reasonable: "Come on, you're mad, go home..." and the massacres would immediately cease.

Naturally, this expedition ended in rather pitiful failure. The belligerents refused to receive him and, in America itself, most of the newspapers ridiculed the pilgrim. But Ford had given proof of his goodwill.

The crusade against the Jews was no more successful. It was on 20 May 1920 that Ford's weekly Dearborn Independent published an article entitled "The International Jew, a World Problem" which reverberated across America like a thunderclap.

We dared to touch the Jews! We dared to broach this taboo subject, to defy the almighty gods of Wall Street and the White House! People looked at each other, petrified with horror. What was going to happen? Surely the sky was going to fall...

This first article was, however, rather banal, or rather it seems so to us who are familiar with the Jewish problem and who have seen the predictions (true or false, it doesn't matter) of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion fulfilled point by point. The anonymous author explained that there was a Jewish plot to secure world domination, that the Jews already controlled Russia thanks to the Bolsheviks and Western Europe thanks to the international financiers, that in the United States the Jews had already conquered New York and made it the most depraved city in the world, that they were in the process of taking over the whole country.

The Dearborn Independent's philippic was followed by this statement: Henry Ford takes responsibility for all articles published in the Independent, the newspaper being his personal property. The Jewish question, as every businessman knows, has worsened in the United States. And no one dared to discuss it because Jewish influence would have been powerful enough to destroy it...

How could Henry Ford, a man so uneducated, so uninterested in the things of the mind, confined to his factories and deliberately deprived of all contact with New York, have become so clearly aware of Jewish power? He had realised it on the famous 'peace boat' that took him to Europe in 1916, and he recounted it in a page of memories that Gringoire opportunely recalled on 13 February 1942:

On the ship were two considerable Jews. We had not gone two miles out to sea before they began to talk to me about the power of the Jewish race, to tell me how they controlled the world through gold and that the Jews alone and no-one else but the Jews could stop the war.

I resisted believing them and I told them. Then they went into great detail, telling me how the Jews were waging war... money... raw materials... so much so that they persuaded me.

They claimed and believed that the Jews had started the war, that they would continue it for as long as they liked and that it would not stop until the Jews decided to stop it.

So, having perceived the danger, Henry Ford decided to throw himself into the fray, with all his financial resources, which were immense, and his intellectual resources, which were, alas, much more limited. But he acted spontaneously, as a man of goodwill, with the sole aim of opening the eyes of his compatriots and doing them a favour.

The Dearborn Independent article was the first of many. At first, the Jews thought it best not to respond. They formed a vast conspiracy of silence around Ford's newspaper, the favourite method of the people of Israel whenever they are powerless to take direct reprisals against their enemies. However, sales of the Dearborn Independent continued to grow and the revelations made by its editors became more and more precise and alarming.

Then some Jews lost patience and one of them, Isaac Laudmann, editor of American Hebrew, challenged Ford to "prove" that there was a Jewish conspiracy. American Hebrew offered to pay the detectives. It was a crude trap, for it is quite obvious that it is impossible to take a stenographic record of the conciliabula of Jewish leaders or to photograph them "conspiring". But Ford, who, like all simpletons, had a weakness for detective stories, happily fell for it and set his own detectives on the trail of the plot. Then, what had to happen happened. The Dearborn Independent was flooded with forged documents fabricated by rogue policemen in the pay of the Jews. And the Jews used the opportunity to triumph loudly whenever Ford allowed himself to be mystified. The crude Detroit businessman was no match for the subtle and unscrupulous Talmudists of New York.

However, all this agitation alarmed the Jews. It is in their best interests that as little be said about them as possible; it is only under cover of ignorance that they can establish their domination, and total silence is better than the most brilliant press campaign in favour of the chosen race. For to defend them is to

point the finger at them, and they can only really act effectively when it is accepted once and for all that there is no Jewish question.

Ford was overwhelmed with stamped paper. Hundreds of Jews sued him or demanded the insertion of clarifications or denials. He was delighted: "We have provoked," wrote his newspaper, "a great outburst of chatter about the Jewish question in this country.

One fine day, on a mysterious order, all the Jews - which wasn't so serious - and all the Aryans enjuivés, controlled, domesticated and enslaved by the Jews - which was much more worrying - began boycotting Ford cars. No more money for the enemy of the Jews.

Ford was a billion dollars rich, but it was a fortune invested entirely in its factories, a fortune that supported hundreds of thousands of people, a fortune that was extremely vulnerable. If the sale stopped, the debacle would be vertical.

So Ford capitulated. In January 1922, the Bearborn Independent published an embarrassed note explaining that the paper should desist from its attacks, but urging all Goymys not to lose sight of the Jewish question.

The Jews had silenced the richest businessman in the United States.

* * *

Ford's failure was very similar to the collapse of the Ku Klux Klan in the aftermath of the Second World War. We know that this secret association originated in Georgia during the so-called 'reconstruction period' that followed the debacle of the southern armies in 1865. The K.K.K., whose ritual and carnival aspect seem laughable to us, as laughable as the masquerades of our Freemasons, was nevertheless, at the time, imperiously necessary. And necessary in its very form, with its bonnets, shrouds and flaming crosses. It could even be said that it was the K.K.K. that saved, along with the physical person of the whites, everything that could still be saved from southern civilisation. Under the protection of Northern bayonets, the negroes brutally emancipated by Lincoln had been given every right, and they were encouraged to use and abuse them, to take every revenge, to satisfy every instinct. Black raiding parties burned farms, massacred planters and raped white women. And if a Southern gentleman even hinted at

defending himself, he was automatically condemned by the Yankee courts-martial. On principle, the white man was always wrong, the Negro always right.

Unable to obtain justice, but determined not to be exterminated by their former slaves, the defeated Southerners came up with the Ku Klux Klan. It wasn't a bad idea. The association had to be secret in order to escape detection by the Northern police, and it had to be terrifying in order to stifle any hint of resistance among the Negroes. The Negroes were so superstitious that the bed sheets worn by Klan members to resemble ghosts had more effect on these primitive beings than the bloodiest punishment. At very little cost, by executing only the minimum number of negroes and merely frightening them, the Ku Klux Klan soon succeeded in restoring a little order to the anarchy of 'reconstruction' and, above all, in putting everyone in their place.

Then, when the occupying Northern troops withdrew and the Southern States returned to self-government, the K.K.K. gradually lost its *raison d'être* and slowly died out. In the aftermath of the 1914-1918 war, it was briefly resurrected. This time, however, it was no longer a question of bringing over-enterprising blacks to heel. The Klan's aims were more far-reaching. The new K.K.K., Southern-inspired like the first, set out to rid the United States of foreign influences, of everything that tarnished the American ideal. It professed a jealous nationalism, claiming to restore a taste for work, family, austerity and patriotism in the midst of all kinds of disorder following the war. It denounced the evils of capitalism and repudiated Marxism. In short, the Klan contained the seeds of true American National Socialism. Unfortunately, the men who headed it lacked the stature to popularise such noble ideals and sound principles. Instead, they persisted in maintaining the old-fashioned, buffoonish ritual of "reconstruction". But if the era of the coloured shirts had begun, the era of the ghosts was over. In 1920, with their sweat shirts, the Klan people no longer frightened anyone, and people didn't mind making fun of them.

However, despite the inadequacy of its leaders and the ridiculousness of its methods, the Klan was making quite astonishing progress, especially in the small towns of the West, among the middle classes, because the temptation of fascism - that evil of the century, as Robert Brasillach put it with such understanding sympathy - was great and only the Klan responded to this religious need for national renewal and purity. It is estimated that around four million people were members and sympathisers of the Klan in 1920.

Only, the new Klan was anti-Semitic. It had to be. The danger was no longer the slave revolt of 1865. The hoods of the "flaming cross", who also harboured rather naive prejudices against Catholics who were "subjects of a foreign sovereign", had understood very well that the real enemies of Americanism were

the Jews. Unfortunately, they were no match for such adversaries. Their doctrine was confused, their methods outdated, and when the Jews decided to do away with the Klan, the liquidation took place in a matter of months. To achieve this, the Jews, supported by all the Masonic associations, resorted to their favourite weapon: slander. Since the Jews controlled the main newspapers, it was easy for them to dishonour the leaders of the new Klan. Attacked on their probity, honour and morality, they were unable to defend themselves. At the same time, the entire institution was ridiculed - which was not very difficult - by emphasising its puerile ritual and likening its practices to the most odiously 'obscurantist' traditions of the Inquisition.

The post-war Klan had grown rapidly. It disappeared almost as quickly. Thus vanished the promise of American fascism.

For a while it looked as if Father Coughlin, the radio priest, was going to unite all the opponents of Judaism. This likeable clergyman had carved out an exceptional place for himself in American political life. Every week he harangued millions of listeners on all wavelengths. And what he said was not at all unreasonable. He denounced capitalism and Marxism with the ardour of a true fascist, he invoked the encyclical of Leo XIII to justify the building of a new state in which social justice would reign and, without openly attacking democracy, he suggested that he would be very happy to see it disappear.

At first, when Roosevelt could only be judged on his promises, Father Coughlin had supported the Democratic candidate with all his eloquence. But by 1934, the radio priest realised that the President was betraying the cause of the humble, that he was handing the country over to the Jews, that he was leading America into war. He broke with the White House and became head of the National League for Social Justice. In 1935, Father Coughlin denounced for the first time the actions of the "international bankers", the Baruchs, the Loebes, the Warburgs, the Rothschilds. The word "Jewish" was not mentioned, but the New York rabbis immediately stood up and accused Coughlin of promoting "race hatred". A classic method. As soon as you put your foot down on a Jewish malefactor, whether it be Dreyfus, Stavisky or Blum, all the Jews cry out in chorus that they are being unfairly attacked, and they immediately stand by the least defensible of them.

Then Father Coughlin became more and more precise in his accusations, and began to call things by their proper names. He saw war coming, and with great foresight he distinguished its causes. With ever-increasing energy he urged his countrymen not to let themselves slide into catastrophe.

I am more afraid of an army of ten million unemployed at home than an army of ten million enemies across the sea," he proclaimed on 8 January 1939. I fear more the consequences of the misery of twenty million people living below the American standard of living than the combined forces of the dictators of Europe... Like Wilson, Roosevelt is leading us into war, using the same methods, for the same reasons...

And on 29 January 1939, Father Coughlin gave full meaning to the frenzy of the warmongers:

Let the Jews take a stand against Communism! Let them dare to do so! It's the only way they can prove their sincerity! But they only attack the Nazis and the Fascists, on the pretext that these are "foreign" doctrines and that they are too "American" to accept them. On the other hand, they are careful not to touch Bolshevism, which is nonetheless - if words still have any meaning - a foreign doctrine... Better still, they are doing everything to ensure that American soldiers will one day be called upon to die alongside the Bolsheviks in the Jewish crusade against totalitarian countries...

Why did Father Coughlin, who had such a healthy view of things, not succeed better? For one thing, his Catholicism alienated most of the Protestants in the United States who still harbour the old anti-papist prejudices of the early Puritans.

And the man had his faults. There was something about this character overflowing with the best intentions in the world that prevented us from taking him too seriously: too many theatrical attitudes, too many fairground pirouettes, not enough consistency in his doctrine.

Moreover, the Jews did not give him time to push the experiment very far. As soon as he began to denounce the influence of Israel and to thunder that the Jews wanted war, one after another, as if by magic, the broadcasting stations took away their microphones. Dropped from the airwaves, Father Coughlin was unarmed. As soon as hostilities broke out, they dealt him the coup de grâce by charging him with high treason, accusing him of selling out to Germany. An old Jewish trick that always succeeds.

* * *

As for the other opponents of Judaism, they too were condemned to silence. It was true that many Americans deplored the Jewish dictatorship, and that clubs and even universities were slyly introducing a sort of numerus clausus. But as long as these initiatives were isolated, they hardly worried the tribe.

What could not be tolerated was the public expression of Aryan revolt. In *La Mystérieuse internationale juive*, Léon de Poncins quotes the text of a letter sent on 13 December 1933 by the Anti Defamation League of Chicago to the editors of American newspapers:

Scribners and Sons have just published a book by Madison Grant entitled *The Conquest of a Continent*. It is extremely hostile to Jewish interests.

It is in our interest to stifle the sale of this book. We believe we can best achieve this result by not allowing ourselves to be drawn into giving it publicity.

Any commentary or public review of a book of this kind attracts the attention of many people who would otherwise be unaware of its existence. The result is an increase in sales. The less the book is discussed, the lower its sales will be.

We therefore appeal to you to refrain from commenting on this book, which will sooner or later come to your attention. We are convinced that general obedience to this line of conduct will serve as a warning to publishers and prevent them from repeating such an adventure.

What can be done against such a marvellously organised conspiracy of silence? In a country where the smallest newspaper is printed on fifty pages, the anti-Semitic leader James True, founder of America First Incorporated, was reduced, before the war, to sending his supporters a weekly mimeographed bulletin that sweated misery. In September 1934, James True collected subscriptions from four hundred industrialists who pledged to pay him two hundred thousand dollars to found a newspaper. Mr Roosevelt got wind of the story and threatened to blacklist the subscribers. The money was withdrawn and James True was left to fend for himself, writing his newsletters in his bedroom and printing them using conspiratorial equipment. Not that this stopped the Jewish plutocrats from accusing James True of being a sell-out to Germany!

Thus, no opposition was possible. War-mongering propaganda, the monopoly of which Roosevelt and the big Jews had reserved for themselves, crushed any hint of resistance and silenced any dissenting voices. Lindbergh returned from Germany in 1938, convinced of the Reich's supremacy in the air. He was immediately expelled from the Lindbergh Air Line, which disappeared, and when, in 1939, the national hero resolutely took the lead in the anti-Bellicose crusade, he was showered with the most vile insults, and his courage, intelligence and probity were called into question. The victor of the Atlantic became

nothing more than a "sell-out", the leader of the "fifth column". Hard-working Jewish publicists just as vile as the gangsters who murdered his son are bent on dishonouring him. As we have seen, Lindbergh's efforts were in vain. In the United States, there is no level playing field between an Aryan hero and the Jewish clan.

* * *

Another less famous but equally sympathetic figure, General George van Horn Moseley, broke his back in the same venture. This soldier had been unwise enough to denounce the warmongering plot. He was immediately summoned to appear before the parliamentary committee of enquiry chaired by Congressman Dies, whose aim was to "shed light" on the activities of fascists and Nazis in the United States. There, on 29 September 1938, General Moseley transformed himself from accused to accuser and his indictment was deemed so convincing that the Committee refused to include it in its minutes. Moseley was obliged to print it at his own expense and send it to his few friends.

The General began by saying that at the beginning, when he refrained from speaking about the Jews, he was allowed to say whatever he wanted, but that on the very day that, in a speech, he alluded to the chosen race, he received an invitation from Louis-L. Strauss of the bank Kuhn, Loeb and C°, who asked him for a "friendly" meeting. Strauss assured him that they could easily "get along". Moseley refused outright. From then on, he was unable to publish a single article or give a single speech. He was blacklisted by the all-powerful Jewish censors.

And Moseley adds:

It is a great strategic error to insist on getting along with our distant neighbours neither on the Atlantic nor on the Pacific... America is seeking a dangerous quarrel with Germany... I have three sons. I don't want them to die to satisfy Mr Roosevelt's ideological passions.

On 11 March 1939, another general, General Butler (some American servicemen are really nice), wrote:

If we have to fight every twenty years for democracy, why on earth do we keep democracy?

Naturally, these two generals, who were opposed to the breakaway, were immediately expelled from the army.

On the eve of the war, the Jews had broken all resistance, they had made a vacuum in front of them. Admittedly, the Americans were not very keen on going to war, but while the warmongers were solidly organised and in control of the country, the peace party was decapitated, without a leader or doctrine, condemned to complete impotence.

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 49-56.

7

Fresh and cheerful

"It is in the United States that we can best observe and taste the panic of the Jew, the insane anguish that strangles him, camouflaged by arrogance, at the slightest mention of the possibility of a general, worldwide settlement of scores. They talk about it, they stupefy themselves with it, they fall back in terror as if on the execution chair. "War against Hitler! And right away! Rally, watchword, precipitating magic, evangelisation of the whole of American Jewry, fantastically democratic."

Louis-Ferdinand Céline

École des Cadavres.

The Americans have very bad memories of the war before last. Not that they suffered much: their losses amounted to seventy-five thousand men, which, in proportion to the size of their population, is insignificant. Not that they had anything to complain about from a material point of view: the destruction was reserved for Europe and, despite the shortcomings of the debtor states, the operation resulted in handsome profits, a vertiginous development of industry and the conquest of new markets stolen from the belligerents in South America and the Far East.

Yet the average American felt he had been duped. And, in fact, they were. Fooled by Wilson, who had promised peace in order to get elected and who declared war as soon as he had won the votes of his

compatriots. Fooled by the Allies, who refused to make peace "without annexation or indemnity" and then evaded paying their debts. Fooled by all the European nations, who were unable to soften up after the appalling experience and who, as soon as the Treaty of Versailles was signed, started fighting again.

No, these people (the Europeans) definitely didn't deserve to be looked after, to make sacrifices to ensure their happiness and to ensure that justice prevailed. Let them fend for themselves! Let them settle their sordid little quarrels of precedence and boundary markers on their own.

The war had served no purpose. It had only benefited bankers and gun merchants. In 1919, the man in the street in the United States swore that he would never do it again.

In 1921, when I was admitted to a school in New York, one of my first astonishments was how unpopular the Allies were. Within a few months Americans had forgotten that they had just fought Germany. There were no hard feelings. On the contrary, the defeated were pitied for having been subjected to the Treaty of Versailles, French 'imperialism' was denounced and the American Jew Otto Kahn was campaigning in the Forum for Austria and the Sudetenland provinces of Czechoslovakia to be attached to Germany.

By 1929, when I returned to the United States, this feeling had only grown. Sympathy was with Germany, and all the more so because the Reich was then a Jewish stronghold. The directors of conscience in the United States loved Weimar's Judenrepublik, just as they were to love Léon Blum's Jewish France a little later. But it was well understood that these sympathies could never manifest themselves in any tangible way. America was fiercely determined never again to intervene, whatever happened, in European affairs.

By 1935, American sympathies had changed focus. Or rather, although people had not begun to cherish France, Hitlerism was being decried and public opinion was being aroused against "racist barbarism". But American isolationism was intact. Although they were willing to encourage the combatants, they had no intention of going into battle. The prevailing feeling among those who could be mobilised was that the triumph of democracy in Europe was not worth the bones of an Oklahoma National Guardsman. This feeling was so strong that the most ardent Jewish polemicists dared not offend public opinion head-on by advocating American participation in the great anti-Hitler crusade, and that President Roosevelt himself was forced to repeat that he would keep the country out of all future conflicts.

Yet President Roosevelt was already the spiritual leader of the crusade, the secret but fanatical protagonist of the coming war, the pope of the warmongers.

By a significant coincidence, Chancellor Hitler and Mr Roosevelt came to power at roughly the same time, just a few weeks apart. On the one hand, the liberator of the Aryans. On the other, the champion of Jewry. Between these two men, between the values they symbolised, there was no possible compromise. The day Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich marked the beginning of the war that the Jews of the world declared on Germany. The physicist Einstein expressed with instructive naivety the sometimes hidden but profound feelings of people of his race. Before Hitler, he wrote: In the event of war, I shall refuse all direct or indirect military service and shall endeavour to persuade my friends to do the same, regardless of rights or wrongs as to the origin of the conflict.

As soon as Hitler came to power, the same Einstein crossed the border and immediately declared to the people who had welcomed him: If I were a Belgian, I would not refuse military service under the present circumstances, but I would accept it, on the contrary, with a clear conscience.

Note that Einstein has no more desire "after" than "before" to go personally to the rifle. But "before", he preached with his rifle butt in the air and "after", he sends the brave little Aryan boys of the enslaved countries to the slaughter with a light heart and a clear conscience.

In one fell swoop, like Einstein, Jews the world over have been transformed, with varying degrees of success, into recruiting sergeants. And Mr Roosevelt is too closely subservient to the Jews to have thought for a moment of thwarting their aspirations. On the contrary, he served as a moral guarantor for these aspirations, he disguised them as a humanitarian movement, he worked with vigilant tenacity to put as many trump cards as possible into Israel's hands, to set up as many adversaries as possible against Hitlerism, and above all to undermine and wear down American isolationism, to gradually make the people of the United States accept the idea that war is possible, that it is necessary, that it is inevitable.

This was a long-term task, which faced many more obstacles in America than in Europe. A European can always be persuaded, especially when launched into a war of aggression, that his existence is threatened, whereas it is just as difficult to persuade a farmer in the Middle West that he urgently needs to go and die somewhere in Flanders.

I remember a film, "Mr Everyman", which illustrated quite well the state of mind of Mr Roosevelt's constituents. "Mr Everyman" is an American, so wonderfully average at everything that an advertising firm hired him to act as its "best man". We can be sure that when he chooses a tie, it's the tie that appeals to almost all Americans, we know that the cocktail he prefers is the one that suits the majority of impaired Yankees, and that a torpedo spotted by him at the Motor Show will sell without difficulty. The tastes of 'Mr Everyman' are always ratified by the clientele, and it is enough to consult him to undertake mass production without risk.

"Mr Everyman is so infallible that one day we decide to find out how he feels about foreign policy. We wake him up in the middle of the night to tell him there's been a fascist attack. Leave me alone," replies Mr Everyman. And he goes back to sleep. An hour later, he is warned that democracy is dying in Europe. For God's sake, don't disturb my sleep. Finally he was informed that enemy planes were in the skies over New York. Well," says Mr Everyman, "in that case, I'm going to fight. And he got up to go and fight.

It was this "Mr Everyman", these countless "Mr Everymen" in the United States that President Roosevelt, the ideal embodiment of Jewish warmongering, launched into the war against the democracies.

The first thing to do was to eliminate the farsighted Americans who had uncovered the plot, who had understood the disasters that the President and his Jewish gang were leading the country into. We saw in the previous chapter how these people were silenced.

There was only one obstacle to Mr Roosevelt's plans, and it was, it must be said, a major one: the apathy of the American people, their firm resolve not to go to war. This people, drunk on Jewish propaganda, had embraced the ideas of their masters. They hated fascism. They loved democracy. But they did not want to fight. Hence the need to sweeten the pill, to gently, extremely gently, accustom them to the idea of war.

At first, the isolationist will of the American people was so great that Mr Roosevelt (like Wilson) was obliged, in order to maintain his popularity, to multiply his pacifist professions of faith. On 14 August 1936, in Chautauqua, he gave a speech that was, as they say in the Palace of Justice, a "spontaneous confession", the most merciless indictment ever made of the President's own warmongering:

If war were to break out on another continent, let us not conceal from ourselves that, driven by the lure of immediate profits, there would be thousands of Americans in the country who would try to get us out of neutrality. They will tell you - and unfortunately their views will meet with wide publicity - that if they could produce and export all the articles which the belligerents need, all the unemployed in America would find work. They will tell you that if they could open credits to the warring nations, these credits would be used in the United States to build houses and factories and to pay our debts. They will tell you that, once again, America would take over the world's trade.

It will be hard to resist this clamour. It will be hard, I fear, for many Americans to look beyond, to realise the inevitable returns that follow false prosperity. To resist the cries of this pack, if war came, we would have to mobilise the mass of peace-loving Americans. If we have to choose between profits and peace, the nation must and will answer: peace!

In 1937, the President gave his approval to the famous Neutrality Act, which prohibited the export of war material destined for belligerent countries.

This attitude does not contradict the plans of the members of the "brain trust". They were not primarily interested in going to war. They wanted us to wage war on Hitler, which was not quite the same thing.

Of course, in official statements and press articles, it is above all the dictatorship that is attacked, and we pretend that we are only doing this to defend democracy. But curiously enough, the dictator Stalin is almost never blamed, nor the dictators of South America, nor the Turkish dictator, nor Chiang Kai Chek. Hitler alone is to blame (and also, to a lesser degree, Mussolini, his ally). Because Hitler is anti-Semitic. And just because he is anti-Semitic, he must be shot.

Although Roosevelt was somewhat cautious in his invective, some of his immediate collaborators were much less hypocritical, much more outspoken. They were not afraid to name Jewish enemy number 1. For example, Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of State for the Interior, dubbed "the synthetic Jew" by American anti-Semites, increased his provocations and loudly proclaimed what his boss Roosevelt was insinuating.

On 26 April 1938, presiding over a banquet given in honour of Jewish scum who had taken refuge in the USA, he exclaimed:

The United States has been enriched by the flood of brilliant minds forced into exile by Nazi persecution. Our country salutes these exiles! Soon the rays of freedom will pierce the dark clouds, for the most powerful tyrant cannot kill the soul of man.

On 18 December 1938, speaking in Cleveland (Ohio), he was even more precise:

We insult the Middle Ages by comparing them with modern totalitarian countries... If we want to make a comparison, we have to go back to the age when there was no civilisation, just bestiality. Certain regions of Europe currently allow anthropologists to study prehistoric man without having to resort to a jawbone or a human tooth dating back to prehistoric times.

Never before in peacetime, in any country in the world, has a responsible minister more insolently defied a foreign nation with which there is no serious dispute. But the American Jews are so blinded by their racist fury that they have lost all modesty. They tremble with impatience. They want revenge, they want blood, they want corpses, and they want it as soon as possible.

On 3 June 1938, the American Hebrew faithfully reflected the passions of the masters of the United States:

Hitler is riding a wave, and he's going to sink into it. He has forgotten the example of Pharaoh, the fate of those who persecute the chosen people. This people always rises up to bite off the heels of those who would tread on it.

The forces of reaction were mobilised. A combination of England, France and Russia will sooner or later halt the triumphant march of the Führer, whose success is panicking him. Either by accident or by decision (?) a Jew has risen to a position of predominant importance in each of these three nations; in the hands of these non-Aryans lies the fate of millions of human lives.

Blum was no longer Prime Minister of France, but President Lebrun was only a figurehead and Daladier had only taken the reins for a while. Léon Blum is the predominant Jew, the one who counts. He could therefore be the Moses who, at the right moment, would lead the French nation.

The great Jew who sits on Stalin's right, that tin soldier of Communism, Litvinov, has grown in stature to the point of surpassing any comrade in the International, with the sole exception of the yellow-skinned leader of the Kremlin.

The shrewd and cultured Litvinov conceived and implemented the Franco-Russian pact. It was he who convinced President Roosevelt. He achieved the ultimate in diplomacy by keeping conservative England, led by Etonians in silk hats, on the friendliest terms with Red Russia.

And Hore Belisha! Suave, versatile, cunning, ambitious and competent, flamboyant and authoritarian, his star continues to rise. He would follow Disraeli's path to the residence at 10 Downing Street where the fate of all the King's subjects was decided. Bore Belisha's rise was sensational. He was a master in the wise use of propaganda, having gained his experience from Lord Beaverbrook. He manoeuvred to keep his name always in the spotlight. This aggressive young man has transformed the ragged, boorish, routine, worn-out old English army into a mechanised war machine that is on a war footing in a world that threatens to become mere dung (?) for dictators.

These three eminent sons of Israel will band together to send the daring dictator to the devil, where he will be lowered - not too gently - into a hole dug in the ground. And then the Jews will sing Alleluia. Europe will be crushed to pieces.

It is almost certain that these three nations will stand shoulder to shoulder in a virtual alliance against Hitler. When the smoke of battle has cleared, when the bugles have fallen silent and the shells have finished exploding, then the trio of non-Aryans will intone a Requiem that sounds curiously like a mixture of the Marseillaise, the Dildo save the King and the Internationale, ending in an aggressive, proud and militant grand finale that will be the Jewish anthem: Eili! Eili!

In the light of this article, American policy in recent years becomes crystal clear: everything for war, doing everything to aggravate European quarrels, to encourage the Russian-French-British alliance to forge ahead, the best encouragement being to let them believe that, in the event of conflict, America would rush to their rescue. Hence the extremely subtle game played by Mr Roosevelt, who sought on the one hand to reassure public opinion (don't worry, we won't budge!) and on the other to excite the warmongering democrats of Europe (go ahead, we're with you!).

It was no coincidence that Roosevelt's first ambassador to Paris was the Jew Jesse Strauss (owner of New York's Macy's department stores) and that his successor was the half-Jew William Bullitt, son of the Jew Louisa Gross Horwitz and married to the widow of the American Communist leader John Reed. Bullitt has just arrived from Moscow, where he had been a tumultuous sympathiser with Stalin and where he had given up his position to another Jew, Steinhardt. The mission of these fellows is precise. They have to set things alight.

The Czech crisis has all the Jews of America on tenterhooks. This is the opportunity we have been hoping and waiting for. Mr Pittmann, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, dismisses any attempt at compromise in advance: Czechoslovakia, he said, had the right to expect and demand the protection of the governments responsible for its creation and which had undertaken to protect it. Bernard Baruch, after spending the whole afternoon with President Roosevelt, telephones Sir John Simon: Don't give in, we support you. But the English felt that war would be premature and the Munich agreement was greeted with consternation in America. The Jewish press, horribly disappointed, raged against France: So what? Are we chickening out? Give up? No longer willing to be the "Christ of the Nations"? Have the French got nothing left in the belly?

On his return from a trip to the United States, Dr Goldman, one of the leaders of the "World Jewish Congress", summed up this disappointment quite well in an interview that L'Ordre (15 January 1939) piously recorded:

The Jews of America have understood that the humanitarian era is gone forever, that the Jewish problem is no longer a matter for philanthropy, that to save the mutilated body of the Jewish people we need not just charitable plasters, but comprehensive, precise, energetic, radical action.

Allow me to say a few more words about the saddened astonishment felt in various quarters (the American warmongers) at the fact that France is absent from the decisive battle being waged in the world today over the rights of the individual.

For his part, Roosevelt understood that one of the reasons the democracies had been held back was that they were uncertain about the nature of American support (4) and that, if they really wanted to fight, it was necessary to give them more spectacular encouragement without, of course, making any specific commitments. The assassination of Councillor von Rath by the wretched Grynspan provided the opportunity. It was the first shot fired in the world war, something quite similar to the 'exploit' of the Jew Princip in Sarajevo. But the virtuous Mr Roosevelt had not a word to pity the victim, and as soon as

the Reich decided on reprisals against the Jewish community, he showed solidarity with the murderer: in a theatrical gesture, he recalled his ambassador to Berlin. Then, in a speech at the beginning of January 1939, he launched into a violent diatribe against racism. Our warmongers were just waiting for this to make them sit up and take notice.

Here is a new hope, a new encouragement coming to us from the other side of the Atlantic," wrote Pierre Brossolette in *Le Populaire* (5 January 1939). Such words certainly deserve applause. But they do more than that. They impose duties on us.

President Roosevelt was neither a Munich man, nor a coward, nor an accomplice," added Gabriel Péri in *L'Humanité*, "he was a clear-sighted and courageous statesman.

And Albert Bayet, who never misses a beat, wrote in *La Lumière*: President Roosevelt has once again made himself the eloquent interpreter of the human conscience.

In France, Roosevelt has become the conscience director of the sword-swallowers. And when French newspapers - as was the case with *Je suis Partout* and *Gringoire* - timidly point out that although the President's fine harangues urge us to war, they do not bring us any military aid, these voices are immediately covered by the furious clamour of the warmongers. Roosevelt is sacred, Roosevelt is taboo. No criticism whatsoever of the pope of the anti-fascist crusade. No attempt to understand.

For a moment, we would be told that we must fight because peace would be too painful for the good President and that we must not cause him any pain, however slight.

The "well-informed" spread the "certainty" that the United States was ready to march, and Ambassador Bullitt supported these rumours with all his authority. In February 1939, it was announced that at a press conference, Mr Roosevelt had declared that the United States' frontier was on the Rhine. Congressman E.-V. Isaac, who represented California and was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, confirmed this rumour before Parliament and loudly declared his approval of the President's remarks.

However, Roosevelt was obliged to deny it (because all the referendums - and this was not taken into account - gave 90% of the votes to the opponents of participation in the crusade) but in Paris, the

warmongers refused to accept the denial, they took the joke attributed to the President as a solemn commitment. This frenzied determination on the part of our anti-fascists to be more Rooseveltian than Roosevelt is the other aspect, the Parisian aspect of the plot against peace.

- We only take the trouble to deny things that are true," writes Kérillis.

- Mr Roosevelt denies one sentence, notes Paris-soir. This is not to say that he subscribes to the opposite idea.

- Mr Roosevelt's clarification," says the clairvoyant Geneviève Tabouis in L'OEuvre, "changes nothing in the substance of the very clear policy repeatedly affirmed by the President of the United States.

- Yesterday's denial," adds the Order, "does not diminish the joy we felt at the outset. What counts is the spirit, not the letter.

- Gabriel Péri's clarification in L'Humanité did not substantially alter the spirit of these remarks.

And finally, Léon Blum, always infallible, explains under the heading "A clarification that confirms":

- President Roosevelt did not use the exact language that was attributed to him, but let no one now dare to attribute to him a thought contrary to that which his language expressed.

So, in Paris, in the warmongering gang, a fierce desire to believe in the American mirage, to take vague promises, even if they are obviously false, even if they are denied, as formal commitments. - And what if I like being a cuckold? - and to take advantage of this to launch France, strengthened by the American "alliance", into the wildest adventures.

Léon Blum's brother, René Blum, who was in charge of an artistic mission (sic) in the United States in 1939, was, like so many others, a champion of illusionism:

We lost ground after Munich," he told the press. But recent events (the Franco-German tension) have boosted our ratings. America is a country that France can count on!

The jobards accept this Jewish cajolery without question. More and more, the man in the street here is incorporating American power into the anti-fascist coalition. And the ministers of the "great democracies" are no less credulous, or they pretend to be. This makes the task of Mr. Roosevelt's emissaries much easier.

We know that in Paris, Bullitt multiplied, that he laid siege to our statesmen, that he went from one to the other, lavishing advice of "firmness", hinting at miraculous help and getting red in the face when he thought he saw a certain softening in the French warmongers.

The excitement of Bullitt has left no material trace with us. Only written promises! But if there were any doubt about the role played by this singular diplomat, it would suffice to refer to a report sent to his government by Mr Jerzy Potocki, the Polish ambassador in Washington. Mr Potocki gives an account of a long conversation he had with Bullitt, during which Mr Roosevelt's envoy said :

The President's formal opinion is that France and England must put an end to any policy of compromise with totalitarian states. They must not engage with them in any discussions aimed at territorial changes of any kind.

Mr Bullitt gave a moral assurance (sic) that the United States was renouncing its policy of isolation and was ready, in the event of war, to intervene actively (?) alongside England and France.

The Polish diplomat added:

Bullitt made it clear that France should not enter into any kind of agreement with Mussolini.

In London, the same pressure was brought to bear. Roosevelt informed Chamberlain, after the occupation of Prague, that if England did not renounce its Munich policy, he would denounce the Anglo-American trade treaty. It was a veritable ultimatum.

We know what the outcome of this diplomatic action was: the war of September 1939. It is not my intention to find extenuating circumstances for the wretches who plunged France into this appalling adventure, but it should be noted that they were pushed into it, to a large extent, by the American government. The Jews of New York and Washington had achieved their goal, they had launched the French army against Hitler.

Things did not turn out exactly as they had hoped. The French army was crushed (without America even deigning to respond to Reynaud's signs of distress). And instead of a victory for Jewish democracy, Hitlerism triumphed.

A terrible disappointment. Roosevelt realised that he had to go even further and pay with his own life, or more precisely with the corpses of Yankee soldiers and sailors offered as holocausts to Jewish vengeance. He decided that the United States should enter the war itself. Article by article, he began to nibble away at his own law of neutrality in order to be able to supply England, the last Jewish stronghold in Western Europe, which until now had only been able to hold out thanks to American shipments of food and equipment (sent at a high price, incidentally).

In September 1940, Roosevelt gave England fifty old destroyers in exchange for naval bases taken from the British Empire, and then obtained authorisation from Congress to lend money to the London government. At the same time, American sailors were ordered to pass on to the British fleet any information they could gather on the movements of Axis ships.

Roosevelt sent the notorious Colonel Donovan, known as "the savage Bill", to the Balkans. Working closely with the Intelligence Service, he was charged with undermining German influence by every means possible, subsidising terrorists and saboteurs, and provoking insurrections against governments tempted to come to terms with the Axis powers.

In March 1941, Roosevelt ordered the seizure of all German and Italian ships that had taken refuge in US ports.

As soon as Colonel Simovich's anti-fascist putsch broke out in Belgrade, Roosevelt, who had more or less financed the plot, rushed to give his "guarantee" to the new masters of Yugoslavia. The latter, backed by American "support", provoked the Reich and the matter was settled militarily in ten days, much to the confusion of the "protectors".

On 14 June 1941, Roosevelt seized all German assets frozen in the United States.

On 19 June, an American destroyer bombed a German submarine.

On 7 July, American troops occupied Iceland, a Danish possession.

On 10 July, the American fleet received an order to fire on sight at Axis ships, and on 4 September, a US destroyer carried out this order.

On 11 September, Roosevelt publicly confirmed that he had indeed ordered the German and Italian ships to be fired upon.

On 17 October, another act of war by the American fleet.

On 6 November, a German steamer was captured on the high seas by Yankee torpedo boats. In addition, British convoys were now escorted by American warships.

Thus, although war had not been declared, although a state of peace theoretically existed between the Axis powers and the USA, the Americans continued to multiply their acts of hostility. All this, of course, without the American people being consulted, by the sole will of Mr Roosevelt and his Jewish advisers. In the United States opposition to the war remained strong, despite the frenzied excitements of Hebrew pamphleteers, and Colonel Lindbergh, symbol of the American masses' desire for peace and leader of the powerful anti-interventionist league America First, retained enough influence over the majority of his compatriots to forbid Roosevelt to legally cross the Rubicon.

Roosevelt obtained from Congress everything he wanted, all the credits and all the equipment necessary to support England, but it was still impossible for him to obtain a formal declaration of war... That was why, using the powers conferred on him by the Constitution, which made him supreme commander of the army and navy, he sought the "clash", the incident that would precipitate the irreparable, that would allow him to subdue his opposition, under the pretext of sacred union, and mobilise all the forces of the country for the anti-fascist crusade.

But Roosevelt's real war was fought on terrain he had not chosen, against an adversary whose power he had underestimated. At the same time as encouraging resistance from the enemies of the new Europe, Roosevelt was pursuing subtle intrigues in the Pacific and trying to intimidate Japan by organising its economic strangulation. The same illusion of the liberal plutocrats for whom all political problems can be reduced to statistics on raw materials and industrial balance sheets, an illusion which the New York World Telegram expressed in these terms:

The nation that controls trade and credit controls the world, and the nation that manoeuvres the cannons matters little.

On paper, Japan, a poor country, is doomed. Distinguished economists are already performing a furious scalp dance over its corpse. Admiral Stirling is already making a point of settling the score within six weeks. Already the New York Herald Tribune is writing in its editorial of 20 October 1941:

This is a particularly good time to correct the Japanese once and for all.

And then, suddenly, in one fell swoop, Japan broke the Anglo-Saxon embrace. The congenital inferiority of the American colossus was revealed. In a few hours the Pacific fleet was put out of action, and in a few weeks the Yankees were driven from their Far Eastern possessions. We realised - but we had known it for a long time - that the United States was a rotten nation, horribly impotent, incapable of planning ahead, of organising itself, of winning, that it was, in a word, a democracy, a true democracy.

It is not with impunity that a country abandons itself to the Jews and plays with "immortal principles". The same microbes cause the same organic disorders in all latitudes, and what almost killed France could not make America a healthy nation.

The Yankees will realise - probably too late - the harm the Jews have done them. They will realise how enslaved and degraded they have become. They will understand that their masters have coldly launched them into a mad war for no other reason than the desire to satisfy a racial vengeance, to ensure the worldwide triumph of a foreign race, profoundly foreign, which for two thousand years has brought with it nothing but ruin, shame, corruption and war wherever it has succeeded in dominating.

So on that day, when the Americans really understand, there will be a pretty good pogrom in the shadow of the skyscrapers.

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, *L'Amérique juive*, Les Éditions de France, 1942, p. 57-67.

(4) In December 1938, the New York Times wrote: Of course, France and England have to be cautious, but why should we?

BERSERKER

BOOKS

