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During World War II, Dr. Oliver was Director of Research in a highly secret agency of the War Department, and was cited for outstanding service to his country.

One of the very few academicians who has been outspoken in his opposition to the progressive

defacement of our civilization, Dr. Oliver has long insisted that the fate of his countrymen hangs on their willingness to subordinate their doctrinal differences to the tough but idealistic solidarity which is the prerequisite of a Majority resurgence.

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On the 18th Amendment (Prohibition): "Very few Americans were sufficiently sane to perceive that they had repudiated the American conception of government and had replaced it with the legal principle of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' which was the theoretical justification of the Jews' revolution in Russia."

On Race: "We must further understand that all races naturally regard themselves as superior to all others. We think Congoids unintelligent, but they feel only contempt for a race so stupid or craven that it fawns on them, gives them votes, lavishly subsidizes them with its own earnings, and even oppresses its own people to curry their favor. We are a race as are the others. If we attribute to ourselves a superiority, intellectual, moral, or other, in terms of our own standards, we are simply indulging in a tautology. The only objective criterion of superiority, among human races as among all other species, is biological: the strong survive, the weak perish. The superior race of mankind today is the one that will emerge victorious—whether by its technology or its fecundity—from the proximate struggle for life on an overcrowded planet."

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IS THERE INTELLIGENT LIFE ON EARTH

REVILO P. OLIVER

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IS THERE INTELLIGENT LIFE ON EARTH?

by Revilo P. Oliver

Early in 1983, fifty-five years after it was perpetrated, Margaret Mead's great anthropological hoax was at last definitively exposed by the publication of Professor Derek Freeman's Margaret Mead and Samoa. See Ray Hill's review of that book in the May issue of The Liberty Bell and the subjoined editorial note, which pointed out that the Mead woman's hoax should never have fooled anyone who had a modicum of common sense and used it. Her touted "discovery," which provided a theoretical basis for most of the systematic sabotage of children's minds and characters in the public schools, was intrinsically incredible.

Articles about the great fraud appeared in other "right-wing" periodicals. It was concisely treated in the latest issue of the British Heritage & Destiny. In the June issue of National Vanguard, Ted O'Keefe, utilizing the work of Professor George W. Stocking, Jr., demonstrated the function of Mrs. Mead in the intrigues by which Jews infiltrated and subverted the science of anthropology and converted it into an arm of the Judaeo-Communist revolution, by which the American people are now held captive.

None of these articles, however, mentioned the most horrible fact of all.

Remember, please, that there are only two alternatives, and it does not really matter which you choose. Either (a) the Mead woman was a conscious fraud, a brazen liar, a willing tool in the hands of the implacable enemies of our race and civilization; or (b) she was stupid, utterly incompetent to conduct any investigation or do any work more demanding than washing dishes in the kitchen she abandoned to become a Ph.D., a



Margaret Meac' with a Samoan woman, whose language she could not understand. Mrs. Mead is the one on the left.

frustrated female driven by certain sexual obsessions she wanted to impose on her sane and normal contemporaries. And the fictions that she called "research" were of precisely the kind that Hume, two centuries ago, used as an example of tales that are in themselves proof that they are told by a liar.

Now perpend the painful fact that Margaret Mead received the highest honors that the American Association for the Advancement of Science could bestow. She was elected President of that august body in 1975, and became Chairman of the Board thereafter. She was also Curator of the American Museum of Natural History from 1926 until she died in 1978. It took three inches of small type in American Men of Science to list the colleges and universities that showered honorary doctorates (including Litterarum Humaniorum Doctor!) on the great Professor Mead or competed for her prestigious presence to enhance their reputations as citadels of pure science. But all the toadying by college presidents on the make is a mere trifle in comparison with the action of the oldest, largest, and most highly respected body of scientists in the United States.¹

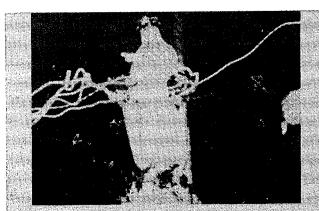
That highly competent physicists, chemists, astronomers, and biologists should have bestowed their highest honors on the perpetrator of fraud that contravened common sense is simply appalling, no matter what scabrous Yiddish intrigues were used to promote her candidacy. And it is terrifying when we remember that our chances to survive depend entirely on the power and integrity of scientific research.

Our entire future depends on the tiny minority of men who represent not only our race's highest intellectual accomplishment but also our highest morality (for, to the Aryan mind, nothing can be more sacred than ascertained facts and no ethical obligation can be more imperative than recognition of truth). So we must most anxiously ask ourselves what can have made our best minds so gullible or feckless.

1. Corruption always breeds corruption. Margaret Mead used her prestige to install in the American Association for the Advancement of Science the new "science" of "parapsychology," which studies such miraculous phenomena as "psychokinesis" (i.e., the art of bending spoons when no one is looking) and "extra-sensory perception" (i.e., the art of guessing cards by the techniques long used by professional gamblers or by the operation of chance that makes it possible for some men to win in a game of faro). And it was almost ten years before the honor of the Association was championed by a distinguished physicist, Professor John Wheeler of the University of Texas, who asked the Association to end its patronage of the hokum. The parlous state of scientific thought in the United States is shown by the resulting civil war within the Association—and that even Professor Wheeler felt obliged to refer to "our late and beloved Margaret Mead." See Martin Gardner, Science, Good, Bad, and Bogus (Buffalo, New York, 1982; paperback, Avon, 1983), Chapter 17.

Our problem, of course, has nothing to do with the infinite credulity and irredeemable ignorance of the masses. Even in our race (which alone concerns us) scores of suckers are born every minute and will continue to be born in every minute of the foreseeable future. In the great majority, such powers of ratiocination as they may possess will always be submerged by an overwhelming yen to believe the unbelievable. One could list a thousand proofs of that dolorous fact.

Full-page advertisements in various newspapers (and a half-page in the most widely circulated 'right-wing' weekly) recently informed us that the "American Lourdes" is in operation and that its cash-registers are clicking merrily. The proof of its miraculous power was a photograph taken at night and showing a statue of the Virgin Mary before which God evidently dashed by, gesticulating with a pen-sized flashlight that recorded a wildly irregular streak on the film. At one point, the often retroflected and contorted line vaguely resembles the letter G in handwriting; this, we are told, God intended as his signature! That proves that he has learned some English—at least the generic name for supernatural beings in that language.



Mirsculous photo taken Feb. 10, 1973, on the Shrine Grounds. On the extreme left of picture, in a Rosary bead pattern, can be seen a capital "G" in writing, which stands for God. The coming Warning and the Chastisement of the ball of fire will come directly from God. Notice the letters forming "BY SKY" at the base of the statue on the left. The Warning as explained to Veronica will begin as an explosion in the sky. On the right side of the picture numerous bourgissess are visible, which symbolizes that time is running out, that God will soon pour the cup (chalice) of His fierce wrath upon humanity. All lines with beads represent the many Rosaries being said.

Here is God's signature, together with the explanation of the miracle, reproduced exactly from the original advertisement.

In Stockton. California, some prankster made an image of the fabulous Virgin seem to move of its own accord, and he squirted a few drops of oil on the plaster face to represent tears. The miracle started an epidemic of brain-fever in the congregation, but the trick was too crude for even the professional holy men, much as they would have liked a plausible manifestation of their elusive deity, and they denounced it as a hoax. To the delirious half-wits, that merely proved that their priests had become "possessed of the devil."

It was mere chance that the examples that came first to my mind pertain to a cult that is no worse than a hundred others. The Jewish con man whose doings in India were mentioned in *The Liberty Bell* in March 1981 has now moved his holy whore house to Oregon and has teams of rich imbeciles jumping up and down and yelling "Hoo, hoo, hoo!" so that they can copulate hard enough to "find God by experiencing cosmic orgasm."

We laugh at such nitwits, until we remember that they and millions like them can and do vote. Then cold shivers run up and down our spines.

If a nation overburdened with such masses of human détritus survives, that will be a miracle greater than any imagined by our dervishes, and the only hope of it lies in rigorously scientific thinking by the few men who have the intellect to sustain our civilization. Hence the urgency of our inquiry.

SCIENTIFIC SUCKERS

It is true that quite a few men who attained competence, and some who attained distinction, in some one of the sciences have evinced remarkable gullibility, but that was almost always a susceptibility to some superstition about the supernatural that promised survival after death. That was a potent incentive. All mammals instinctively fear death, and our species of mammals, having the power to perceive how inexorable are the forces of nature, fears it most of all.

On pain of death, let no man name death to me:

It is a word infinitely terrible.

Christianity for so many centuries promised immortality to our people that the hope of perdurance after death is the dulcet illusion that it is most difficult, most painful to surrender. And as Nietzsche saw, it is the noblest and most active minds that are least content to become nothingness:

Doch alle Lust will Ewigkeit, Will tiefe, tiefe Ewigkeit.

And he himself was consoled and even exalted by his revival and elaboration of Aristotle's theory that in a closed universe the nexus of cause and effect must, in infinite time, produce a cyclical and endless recurrence (*Ewige Wiederkehr*) of all physical phenomena (including himself).

We feel a certain compassion, even sympathy, for the able men who, though otherwise rational, had a weakness that made them sitting ducks for the sleight-of-hand and sleight-of-tongue of even third-rate conjurors. Everyone knows the pathetic story of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, an ophthalmologist who wrote two excellent historical novels and created the perennially fascinating Sherlock Holmes, and who eventually became so silly that a pair of adolescent girls in a mischievious mood doubtless astonished themselves by convincing him that they consorted with fairies and gnomes. Sir Oliver Lodge, justly honored for his work on electrons and the nature of light and electro-mechanical waves, had retained from his boyhood an incurable itch to meet ghosts and be assured he could still become one. Sin William Crookes, who discovered thallium, invented the Crookes tube, identified the cathode rays it made visible, and did some of the basic work on radioactivity, seems



One of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's fairies, here shown dancing before the nose of one of the two girls who took the photographs that proved the existence of fairies and gnomes.

to have been a sucker for "psychic research," although we have recently been offered an explanation more creditable to Sir William's intelligence, though not to his morality as a man of science (the morality that really counts): the beauteous young spookraiser, Florence Cook. whom he so lavishly preconized, was in fact the aging man's mistress and her nonpsychic charms may have induced him to bolster her psychic glamor by lending prestige to the whole spiritualistic business, even when practiced by less amiable and pulchritudinous 'mediums.'' (That also helped to keep wifev unsuspicious while she stayed home with her numerous brood. Victorian gentlemen of modest means often were sorely tried when "society's propriety became a damned satiety.") Whatever the truth about Sir William's worldly and other-worldly infatuations, there were many less famous examples of yearning for endless life. for which see the new book by Ruth Brandon, The Spiritualists, the Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth (London, 1983).²



and Twentieth Century famous invention, the Crookes Tube.

2. This book is the first comprehensive inquiry into the motivation of

If, as I prefer to do, we give Sir William the benefit of the doubt and assume that he was the dupe, rather than the accomplice, of his luscious young lady, we can sympathize with all the Victorian men of science who were fooled by clever conjurors and (especially) conjuresses. Sir Oliver Lodge's beaming satisfaction, when he learned that his dead son was supplied with the best cigars in the spirit world and had regrown the tooth he lost here below, arouses only pity. We smile tolerantly at the gallant Sir William Crooke's naive pleasure when his dear mistress (who must have been above the besetting vice of female jealousy—and there's a real miracle for you!) summoned from the realm of spirits sweet young ghosts who materialized themselves long enough to be enfolded in Sir William's eager arms and to kiss his whiskered lips.

In the Eighteenth Century, educated men had to discard the Biblical myths, but they replaced the three-headed Jesus with a more acceptable and admirable god, the one mentioned in our Declaration of Independence, the Stoics' animus mundi, who was imminent in nature and discoverable by reason and observation of such things as the mathematical precision of planetary and stellar movements and the supposed generic difference between his choice creation, human beings, and other mammals. Men could still revere a personal god and hope that He would not suffer a human mind to perish as perish the midges that swarm for an hour above a stagnant pool. In the Nineteenth Century, however, the increase of scientific knowledge sent the Deists' succedaneous Creator away to join Zeus, Marduk, Osiris, Yahweh and all the motley multitude of divinities that men have created and discarded throughout history. That left a deep and agonizing void in the human spirit as men found themselves alone on a speck of planetary dust in an infinite and infinitely terrible universe—alone for their too

presumably honest "psychic researchers," as disclosed by a study of their biographies. Many readers of J. W. Dunne's An Experiment with Time (London, 1927; third edition, 1934; reprinted 1937, 1958, 1960, 1964, and doubtless subsequently) have been impressed by the author's seeming candor and objectivity; Ruth Brandon leaves us only with the question whether Dunne perpetrated a hoax or was a victim of his own delusions. Incidentally, I trust that I need not remark that the word 'prestige' is appropriately derived from praestigia ('a trick, deceit, illusion') and, like 'glamor,' denotes an influence based on appearances that are deceptive, not necessarily, entirely fallacious, but at least great exaggerations of the underlying reality.

They could, furthermore, assure themselves that they were not irrational, they were not credulous rustics who believe the tales told by old wives and clergymen. They relied, as all rational men must do, on the evidence of their own experience. Had they not witnessed with their own eyes ectoplasm, the very stuff of spirits, become phosporescently luminous as it issued from the mouth of an unconscious 'medium'? Had they not themselves beheld pretty spooks make themselves visible and even palpable for fleeting moments in the darkness of a séance? Had they not heard spirits rap on tables and ring bells that were beyond the reach of human hands? Had they not ascertained by experiment that invisible phantoms could read messages secretly written on cards and sealed in envelopes that remained unopened? Had they not seen the authentic signatures of Napoleon and von Moltke and Edgar Allen Poe that those disembodied gentlemen obligingly inscribed on the inner surfaces of slates that were securely glued together so that no mortal could conceivably have touched those surfaces-slates, moreover, that were always under the vigilant eye of the scientific investigator? Had they not seen a ten-year-old girl. highly charged with psychic powers, read and spell correctly words arbitrarily selected on a page of a book they held in their own hands on the opposite side of a large room? Had they not heard musical ghosts play lively tunes on an accordion that had been wired shut before it was enclosed in a locked box? Who could doubt such empirical proofs of immortality? Must not the most hard-headed sceptic be convinced? So, Glory be! When we "pass on," we can spend eternity unravelling the mysteries of the cosmos and chatting with the great men who have "gone before"—and perhaps (who knows?) we can enjoy forever the comforts of choice Havana perfectos and complaisant damsels.

But that was a hundred years ago, and by this time we should have ceased to mourn our lost illusions. The masses, no doubt, will always want and perhaps need a Big Daddy up in the stratosphere who will keep his paternal eye on them and encourage them to hope that he may do something for them someday, if they catch his fancy. But strong minds should have learned something in a century. All the Victorian scientists who so zealously conducted "psychical research" were hoaxed by clever conjurors and conjuresses.³ The methods of some of the spook-raisers were so crude they succeeded only because their dupes had so strong a conscious or subconscious yen to believe. A few seem to have invented tricks that had not yet been used by professional magicians on the stage.⁴ The most expert among them were not able to produce "psychic phenomena" that could not be duplicated and improved by a professional, such as Houdini, or even an amateur magician, such as Joseph Rinn. The great 'spiritualist' swindle, which began when the little Fox girls, resenting an enforced stay in bed, scared the daylights out of their silly mama, was thoroughly exposed and

3. For a good description of the technical aspects of "psychic phenomena," see Joseph F. Rinn, Sixty Years of Psychical Research (1950, and still available from the publisher, The Truth Seeker, P.O. Box 2832, San Diego, California). Many of the hoaxes were exposed by the famous magician. Harry Houdini (Weiss), whose memory every rational man should honor. From the biography by Raymund FitzSimons, Death and the Magician (New York, 1980), you will learn that the death of Houdini was really caused by a Bible-believing nitwit who went berserk and attacked him. You will also learn that professional hokum-peddlers are such knaves that after his death they tried to impose on the credulity of his widow by forgery and jugglery, and that there are numerous crackpots who, to this day, whine that Houdini must have had "psychic powers" to perform his magic. You will also learn that Mr. FitzSimons or his publishers had an eye so fixed on the market that instead of ridiculing the dolts, his book pretends that there is a "mystery" about Houdini's feats: could they have been accomplished by physical means? Who can tell? The answer to that question is, Any man whose common sense hasn't been amputated.

4. It is possible, so far as I know, that the enterprising Dr. Henry Rogers may have invented the mechanism whereby an untended typewriter may be operated electro-magnetically from a remote typewriter. Such devices are commonplace now, but they seem to have been unheard of when Dr. Rogers, a pious holy man eager to rescue mankind from the slough of materialism, exhibited in broad daylight a typewriter on which the unseen spirits of the dead, having acquired stenographic skills in the next world and having been summoned by the strains of "Nearer, My God, to Thee" or "One More River to Cross," typed out loving messages for their dear kinfolk in this world, telling them how jolly it was to be dead and immortal. By a neat irony of life, Rogers' stunt quickened the religious hankerings of the inventor of one of the first successful typewriters, George Yost, whom Rogers fleeced of two million dollars and whose brains Rogers so addled that when the poor old man died in penury, he still believed that Rogers had shown him the way to Heaven.

collapsed like a punctured balloon. And the end of that epidemic of delusions should have taught thinking men a conclusive lesson.

Every story about praeternatural beings and supernatural events, whether written by an exuberantly imaginative Hindu (e.g., Gunadhya) or a Jewish forger or a competent literary artist, such as Bulwer-Lytton or Montague James or Edgar Allen Poe or J. R. R. Tolkien, is fiction. Every person who claims to have himself witnessed or experienced "psychic phenomena" is either a liar or the dupe of rogues (including priests) or the victim of his own hallucinations, induced by drugs or auto-hypnosis or mental disorders. Every observed miracle that is said to prove the existence of praeternatural forces or beings is prestigious, a trick, an illusion produced by sleight-of-hand or sleight-of-tongue or some hidden mechanical or electrical device. There never has been, and never will be, a violation of the known and immutable laws of nature. That may make tender minds, long addicted to their spiritual dope, howl with pain or rage, but that is what the uniform experience of mankind has shown throughout recorded history, and it is time that minds strong enough to confront reality accept the facts and close the books on miraculous claptrap and psychic hokum.

There should be no need to digress at this point, but it may be well to avert possible misunderstanding by reiterating with emphasis what was said in the foregoing paragraph. If we, as rational men, try to understand the real world and to act in it in some way for our own benefit, we must take account *only* of facts that have been empirically verified and necessary deductions therefrom, excluding everything that is supernatural (now often called 'paranormal,' by a meeching synonym) or hypothetical.

It goes without saying that there are many facts that have not yet been ascertained, but we can act only on the basis of what we know now. There are epistemological speculations which cannot be disproved because their very premises make verification impossible, and which, no matter how improbable, therefore cannot be categorically rejected as hypothetical possibilities, beginning with solipsism, which is probably as good as any. They are, at best, the amusements of an idle hour. We must rely only on our common sense and logic, for if they be illusory, our species is only a biological error that nature will soon correct. Admittedly, our senses do not perceive all of reality, for there are phenomena that are imperceptible to our

organs but are perceived by other mammals. It may be that our causality does not operate in subatomic phenomena or that the almost infinitesimal constituents of matter respond to a force of which we have no conception. But all of these things, if they exist, are irrelevant to the reality with which we must deal in our world. And every effort to distract us from a coldly objective appraisal of this world must be regarded with strong suspicion as probably hostile.

If it pleases any to believe that they are reincarnations of princes/princesses who lived on Atlantis, or that Jesus loves them, or that they have souls that will continue to exist afterthe earth has become no longer habitable for our species, we have no wish to deny them such consolations, so long as they do not demand that we commit the folly of ignoring reality. There is now, for example, what seems to be an alarming prevalence of abortions, and the great pickpockets in the Salvation-racket have excited a din of squawking that abortion is wrong because Jesus said, "Mustn't do or Papa spank." That is not only silly; it is pernicious. The problem must be considered exclusively in terms of our racial and national survival, and that means (a) that we must inhibit by all possible means the breeding and multiplication of our domestic parasites and enemies, and (b) that men and women of sound racial stock and intelligence must be made to desire progeny who will not be condemned to Hell on earth that our present masters are preparing to impose on our people. Until that is done, yelling for legislation is imbecile, and when it is done (assuming that it can be), legislation about abortions will be unnecessary. No one can even estimate how many potentially valuable or even great members of our race are never conceived or are aborted because their parents are sufficiently intelligent to see the direction in which the nation is now being driven at a constantly accelerated rate, and are too humane to expose children whom they would love to the degradation and horrors that lie ahead.

So long as they do not endanger our dwindling chances of survival, one does not argue with the *aficionados* of transcendental mysteries and celestial patrons. Argument with emotional fixations is likely to be futile, and when it is not, it is cruel, for the withdrawal symptoms are always painful. Gentlemen will be particularly tender toward women, whose sex gives them an emotional need for a succedaneous father, and will especially honor women who have surmounted a natural

weakness.5

I cannot here consider the extremely complex and obscure. question whether or not George Washington and many others were right in believing that the morality indispensable in an organized society cannot be maintained without a generally accepted religion. I have touched on that point in The Uses of Religion and several earlier publications, but I do not know the answer. Still less can I surmise what religion would be feasible, assuming that one is requisite, except that it must be one consonant with our racial instincts and directly conducive to our race's confidence in its own superiority. Those interested in the problem should consider carefully the phenomenal success of the Jews, which has largely been made possible by the cohesive force of a religion in which many of them do not believe, but which authorizes their faith in the generic superiority of their race over all others and justifies all means of attaining the dominion to which that superiority gives them an indefeasible right.

OUR SPOONERS

When I was in college (long ago, when it was still possible to get an education in some of them) I knew a number of men of considerable accomplishment in the genuine sciences. They would no more have wasted three minutes of their time investigating the performances of a Jew-boy⁶ who claimed to bend spoons by thinking about them than they would have bought a talking dog from a ventriloquist or tried to dance on the point of a pin.

- 5. Physiologists assure me that the differences between the sexes are genetic and cannot be abolished by a Constitutional amendment—or even by the surgery it would logically require. For a neat illustration of a fundamental psychic difference, see note 66 below.
- 6. Uri Geller's race is by no means irrelevant, although it would be hard to measure its precise influence. Christians have always stood in awe of the great race to which Yahweh, by a special contract, gave a perpetual lease on the whole world, and although they claimed that Yahweh had rescinded the contract, they never doubted but that Jews were on terms of special intimacy with either their god or their anti-god. The three Judaic religions filled the whole horizon of the Middle Ages, as is evident from the story of the "three rings," which Boccaccio inserted in his Decameron, and from the famous and now lost work De tribus impostoribus, in which the three impostors were Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. The whole

A scant decade ago, a whole passel of academically-certified scientists in the Electronic and Bioengineering Laboratory of the famous Stanford Research Institute focused their massive brains on a Jew-boy who said he could bend spoons by thinking about them, and they solemnly assembled the ponderous panoply of scientific apparatus to make "searching scientific tests" of the psychic whizz-kid's powers. And after "exhaustive investigation" in their lavishly-endowed laboratory, they, on their scientific honor, asseverated that the wonder boy could

of Mediaeval magic and sorcery was derived from the Kabbalah and its congeners, and even today you would have to use its hocus-pocus, if you wanted favors from the Princes of the Air (cf. note 20 infra). His race lent prestige to Michel de Nostre-Dame (Nostradamus), who peddled astrological and mantic quackery that still excites credulous persons, while his brother, Jean, was forging a history of Provençal poetry and spurious genealogies he could sell to French aristocrats who felt a need for more distinguished ancestors. The mystic mish-mash of the Rosicrucian hoax (cf. note 22 infra), Masonry, and the various sects of Illuminati were all based on Jewish superstitions and myths, as were less obvious derivatives, e.g., Godfrey Higgins' Anacalypsis, that monument of disordered learning. Even deists and atheists commonly granted to Jews a spiritual superiority because they had discovered the "lofty morality" they had taken from the Babylonians and Egyptians. All our prevalent superstitions were Judaic until the orthodox religions of India became known in the Nineteenth Century and provided theosophical cults for persons who were in the market for more transcendental mysteries. All this gave to the Jews a quasi-religious prestige, which still persists, and they are often credited with access to supernatural powers by the very persons who hate them most vehemently.

It is, furthermore, a pusillanimous hypocrisy not to note the race of Jews in matters in which they participate. Einstein justly observed that "There will be anti-Semitism [what he meant by that nonsense word, of course, was antipathy toward Jews] in the sense of a psychological phenomenon as long as Jews come into contact with non-Jews," (See Ronald Clark, The Life and Times of Albert Einstein, New York, 1971). That was in 1930, before our race was taught by the Suicide of Europe to cringe before Yahweh's Master Race, and the tension that Einstein noted has been multiplied a thousand times by the amazing racial solidarity that Jews now ostentatiously display and the arrogance with which they demand that the lower animals profess to believe even such preposterous tales as the physically impossible Holohoax. No gov can now behave toward a Jew as he would toward a member of his own race; whether his attitude is defensive or he cringes in slavish eagerness to please or salaams and stores up in his own mind a secret but implacable resentment, the tension is there and necessarily affects all relations between the two. And it may take many forms. A foreign correspondent assures me that a competent scientist who was a sucker for "psychokinesis" was really incited by a wish to prove that even lowly Aryans could bend spoons, too.

'indeed bend spoons whithout touching them and had indeed done so again and again under the unwinking scrutiny of their lynx-eyes, reënforced by all the instruments of their laboratory. They not only guaranteed Uri Geller's powers but evangelically proclaimed them to the whole world, which was left to infer that if the Wunderkind really turned his mind to it, he could make a pretzel out of a railroad rail with a flash from his high-voltage psyche.

The great Stanford Research Institute, having appointed itself the Voice of Science, brayed out the glad tidings to the whole world until a professional magician, James Randi, quietly made jackasses out of them by showing how Geller performed his tricks. Randi explained the technique of spoon-bending in a book published in 1976 and now in its second edition, under the title, *The Truth About Uri Geller* (Prometheus Books, Buffalo, New York).

Now the appalling thing about all this, it seemed to me, was not that the "scientists" at the Stanford Research Institute had been such chumps as to be deluded by clever sleight-of hand. It was that they had been such ninnies as to investigate a claim so patently absurd—a claim that could not have imposed for an instant on anyone who has a modicum of common sense and is willing to use it.

As it is, we must be grateful for Mr. Randi's prompt intervention. The assembled scientific brains of the Stanford Research Institute did not have time to proceed to "searching scientific tests" of the explanation of Uri Geller's powers given by his trainer, a wizard who calls himself Andrija Puharich. According to Puharich, Geller constantly receives (on a tape recorder that erases itself) communications from master minds that live (of course) on an oversized spacecraft that is hovering in interstellar space at precisely 53,059 "light ages" from the earth. To keep Geller informed of current events, these remarkable beings utilize "the skin [!] of the envelope [!] of cosmic rays." Now the sage Puharich does not tell us how many of our earth-bound years there are in one of his "ages." He does not even tell us whether he means historical ages or geological ages or the kalpas of Hindu cosmology, but surely an "age" cannot be less than a century; whence it follows that, unless the skin of cosmic rays travels faster than what it encloses, the astronautical sages must have started their directional broadcasts to Geller's brain at least 5,306,870 years before the nativity of the embryo messiah in Judaea. (Geller

says he is an Israeli, so I assume he had the foresight to be born in the region most highly charged with divine mana).

But for Mr. Randi's opportune intervention, the vast resources of modern Science might now be marshalled in the Stanford Research Institute to reënforce microtomes with which its distinguished scientists try to skin cosmic rays.

Now we must sadly reject the comforting hypothesis that the boys in the Stanford Research Institute spike their beer with peyotl or laudanum. Their asininity was merely a symptom of what has happened to the modern mind.

THE GAWKING SCIENTISTS IN THE STICKS

The Scientific American is an old and highly respected periodical. It tries to report discoveries and significant developments in all of the major sciences, and although its pages are occasionally adulterated with "sociological" buncombe, its articles deal chiefly with physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, and biology. Its authors try to write perspicuously, but most of its articles would be quite unintelligible to persons who do not have some grounding in the exact sciences and some knowledge of the relevant mathematics. It does not provide reading matter for moppets, and has never been recommended by the gurus of Scientology, Theosophy, Christian Science, Ananda Marga, the World Council of Churches, the International Council of Churches, Cosmic Awareness, Transcendental Meditation, Chant-O-Matics, the (Moon-struck) Unification Church, Hare Krishna, the Church of Wicca, the Children of God, etc., etc., ad nauseam. On the contrary, the aforesaid miracle-mongers, if they had heard of The Scientific American. had probably identified it as the work of the Devil or whatever substitute for him they severally have in their cults, and had warned their True Believers to flee its deadly contamination. It is safe to say that the subscribers to the magazine must consist, almost exclusively, of persons who have had some training in at least one of the exact sciences and must have some acquaintance with the scientific method. Bear that in mind.

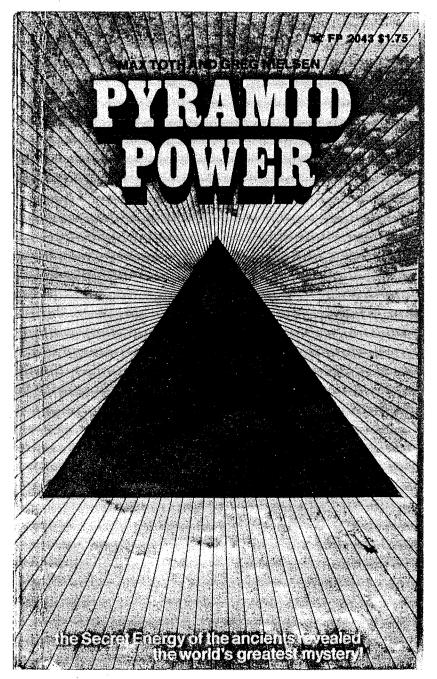
Until recently, *The Scientific American* published each month a "department" by Dr. Martin Gardner, usually devoted to mathematical and logical puzzles and paradoxes. In June 1974, however, the ingenious mathematician tried his hand at broad humor.

With tongue securely wedged in his cheek, Dr. Gardner

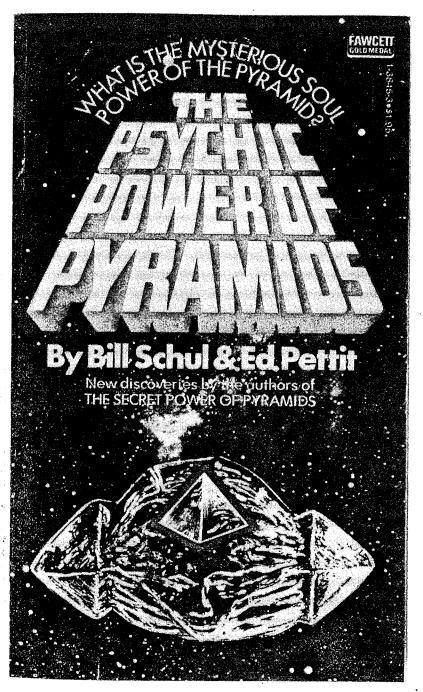
reported that he had interviewed a certain Dr. Matrix at the latter's great factory and laboratory, an exact copy of the famous pyramid of Cheops, on the shore of Pyramid Lake, north of Reno, Nevada. That great numerologist [sic] had discovered that the roughly pyramidal monadnock from which the lake takes its name attracted and concentrated "psi-org" power from outer space, thus turning blue the waters of the lake. Gardner proceeded to relate the amazing accomplishments of Dr. Matrix, his daughter, and his one assistant, a one-toothed Indian from the neighboring reservation. Written in the style of Baron Munchausen, the narrative rose to its climax, the exciting escape of Dr. Matrix and his daughter from Federal agents: they simply turned on the full power of their minds and instantaneously teleported themselves to Tibet, leaving the old Indian to confront the baffled revenue agents.

Immediately following publication of that issue of *The Scientific American*, expensive automobiles appeared on the winding, partly black-topped, and pitted roadway that runs along the shore of Pyramid Lake. Speeding and bouncing northward to Pyramid, they bore persons inspired with a desire to consult the absent Dr. Matrix in the place where he wasn't. At their destination, the eager searchers for truth tried to find the magical pyramid or at least have a chat with a one-toothed Indian, who proved equally hard to find. More prudent intellectuals hastened to offer Dr. Gardner, by telephone or mail, handsome honoraria for lectures on the miracles wrought by "psi-org" power. It is a fair inference that most of those excited zetetics must have been readers of The Scientific American.

That is the important point, at which you may begin to meditate on the effects of scientific training in the United States today. To complete the story, I will mention its sequel, although it is only what one would expect. Dr. Gardner's exercise in the manner of Lucian came into the hands of one of the largest publishers in New York City, who at once wrote Dr. Gardner, flourishing a cheque for \$15,000 as an advance on royalties from a book on "pyramid power." Dr. Gardner explained patiently that he had intended it all as a joke. "What of that?" the publisher replied in substance, "you write the book under a pseudonym and we take the suckers for lots of bucks, no?" Dr. Gardner refused the proffered shekels. The astounded publisher, doubtless concluding that he must be lame in the head, found brighter penmen and soon the stands in drug



Here is one of the many revelations that flooded the newsstands for a season.



Another volume of sucker-bait.

stores, hotels, and airports were spotted with brightly-bound bundles of drivel about "pyramid power." And for a season thereafter, if you looked and could stand it, you could have seen persons, presumably literate, squatting in their living rooms under four expensive sticks, joined at the top to outline the shape of a pyramid; they were letting "pyramid power" from outer space flow into their minds and invigorate their whole bodies. And there they squatted until some enterprising practitioner of democracy dangled before them a fresh worm on a new hook.

To return from the commonplace to what is important, let us notice a recent book by James Randi, Flim-Flam: The Truth About Unicorns, Parapsychology, and other Delusions (New York, Lippincott, 1980). The book's principal target is named in the title, but the "other delusions" are numerous and instructive. Among them are such lucrative diddles as Eckanbar, Transcendental Meditation, Scientology, and Synanon. There are two points to be pondered.

When we hear of such outrages to common sense, we are inclined to shrug our shoulders. Scores of suckers are born every minute, and we are apt to assume that the promoters of such hoaxes could make the apology that was made to me years ago by the proprietor of an ostensibly patriotic organization: "If I didn't get their money, someone else would." If the suckers weren't fleeced by Eckanbar, they would mail their cheques to the Reverend Mr. Jerry Falwell, the Reverend Mr. Oral Roberts, the Reverend Mr. Herbert Armstrong, the Reverend Mynheer Cornelius Vanderbreggen, Jr., or some other Bible-banging jabberwocky. If a maharishi didn't have his hand in their pockets, an astrologer would. As long as there are herring in the sea, there will be sharks to eat them. But, as Mr. Randi points out, these religious cults are more than comic.

Many of these modern voodoo-cults are formed by their shamans into tight organizations that not only capture half-wits but subject them to menticidal disciplines, based on the techniques developed by Pavlov, that destroy not only such rationality as they possess but also their self-respect and human instincts, reducing them to zombies that are entirely under the control of the witch-doctors. Of the power of such cults, we recently had a spectacular demonstration in a slum called Jonestown in Guiana, where more than nine hundred creatures, some of them White, who had migrated thither from the United States, drank themselves stiff on cyanide cocktails at the behest

of their guru, a scabrous mongrel that called itself the Reverend Jim Jones. Well, what of that? *Vile damnum*, as Tiberius said with one of his rare smiles. Good riddance of biological garbage. Noteworthy improvement of our environment. But that is to miss the important aspect of the squalid and dirty business. However contemptible the creatures were, they were biologically human, and they had been so trained that the deepest of all mammalian instincts, the fear of death, had been effaced in them.⁷

Mr. Randi compares the mind-destroying cults that are now epidemic. Of the hordes of zombies controlled by the sleazy and enormously wealthy messiah from Korea, he asks, "Would they, too, drink cyanide if Moon commanded them to?" Of the victims of Synanon, "Would its members drink poison if told to do so?" Of the crazed devotion of the Scientologists to their cynical master: "Is it enough to drive the believers to suicide?" Of the Children of God, Eckankar, and Transcendental Meditation, "When is the next poison party to be held?"

If we are less soft-hearted than Mr. Randi, we may again shrug our shoulders. Let the cyanide flow freely and joy be unconfined! Every decrease of pollution of our environment is a net gain. Even so, of course, we cannot avoid compassion for the innocent and sane individuals who would be made to suffer by that ecological improvement.⁸ But that is insignificant in

^{7.} This, to be sure, is an effect that has been sought by religions since the dawn of history. Five thousand years ago, a procession of soldiers and men-at-arms, chariot-drivers with their chariots, high-born ladies of the court, household servants, girl musicians with their heavy harps, and a chorus of maidens marched down a ramp into a deep pit, where they lay down and each drank from his own small cup a lethal narcotic. The harpists played and the maidens sang until they died-doubtless hymns about immortal souls and the beautiful world into which they were going gladly to rejoin Queen Shub-ab, whose body lay on the bier but whose soul had flown to the life everlasting. There is a deep pathos in that scene. which we know from the excavations of Sir Leonard Wolley at Ur. But that was in the dawn of civilization, and the self-sacrifice, however mistaken, had a dignity, even a nobility, that makes us esteem the Sumerians. They were White men and we hope they were Aryans. There was nothing of the squalor and stench of the human cesspool at Jonestown.

^{8.} This is a facet of the subject irrelevant here. Mr. Randi alludes to incidents that must excite commiseration, and most of us, no doubt, could adduce observations of our own.—A physician of my acquaintance had a sixteen-year-old son who, having had his mind addled in a public school,

comparison with the dire fact that, so long as they do not guzzle cyanide, the multitudinous zombies can and do vote and so directly influence our future in our great ochlocracy. And that is not all.

We are uneasily aware that the Moon's lunatics have made him so wealthy that he is buying up slices of our country and is the only person, it seems, who has the resources to found and support a new daily newspaper, which, by the way, he cunningly made "conservative" for business reasons. But zombies may do more than subsidize our enemies. Mr. Randi's data include proof that, for example, the Scientologists resort to the most despicable and vicious tricks to suppress exposure of the absurdity of the hoax in which they believe, and are officially instructed to commit crimes to protect the racket in which they have faith. He should have asked whether their devotion to their master is enough to drive the believers to murder.

As everyone knows, at Jonestown a Congressman, Leo J. Ryan, who had gone down to the slum to investigate, and two journalists were murdered by the Faithful to prevent them from telling what they had seen. The piety of *guédés* becomes murderous at a word from their *papa-loi*. And there was an impressive sequel. Shortly after the murder of her father,

went off on a quest for transcendence and was eventually located by the police in a nest of drug-addicts in the basement of a Christian church on the west coast. The father was distressed, but, a rational man, he simply cut his losses, and did not cry over spilled milk or try to salvage it. Our pity must go to the mother, who was biologically incapable of such objectivity, and if we feel for her, we should ask questions about a society which sends its children to be demoralized by expert "educators" to promote "equality."-A cultivated lady whom I met years ago lost both of her children, in their early twenties, to a cult similar to the ones James Randi describes. She was not allowed to enter the grounds of the cult, but her son, who was laboring on some building for the community, came to the fence, gaunt and stern with righteousness, and he treated her with the cruelty the Jesus of the "New Testament" is said to have shown his own mother: "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" With the mother, I saw the daughter, a trained nurse who remained employed in the hospital so that she could contribute to the salvation of the world; she could listen to us without hearing what was said. I noticed the dilation of the pupils in the hard eyes and drew the obvious inference, but did not have the heart to tell the mother. What weakness in us makes us suggest hope where there is none?

9. These terms come from the low jargon of the creatures that infest. Haiti. Some of the words are corruptions of the French that was spoken

Congressman Ryan's daughter, having been graduated from the University of California (Davis) with an up-to-date education, lost her mind (or what was left of it after the social scientists at the University of California and the John F. Kennedy University got through with her) to the filthiest and most reptilian guru of them all. She hied herself over the seas to India, where the venomous Savior (bhagwan) was then operating, to join the enthusiastic zombies who are routed out at six in the morning to start jumping up and down and yelling "Hoo, hoo, hoo!" and get their "sex centers" zipping before breakfast and the day's stint of intensive copulation. The Ryan girl was reported in the press as having assured reporters that her fellows' devotion to their malodorous god (a reincarnation of Jesus or the Buddha or Mohammed or all three) was such that "If Bhagwan asked them to kill someone, they would do it." She added regretfully that her own Faith might not yet be perfect: "I don't know if my trust in him is that total. I would like it to be." When interviewed, she was going back to India to yell "Hoo, hoo, hoo!" some more and, no doubt, perfect her piety; today, she would have only to go to Oregon to enjoy God and his manifold blessings.

The Pavlovian techniques of menticide, which is often called 'brainwashing' from a Chinese euphemism, are applied, with only variations in detail, by up-to-date salvation-peddlers and also by many outfits, such as Synanon, that pretend not to be religious and are therefore even more pernicious. It is the sama kritica that is used to mould Communists, and is given many seemingly innocuous names by our enemies when they use it to snare victims and destroy their minds: "Affective Education," "Awareness," "Community Relations," "Group Dynamics," "Human Relations Training," "Interpersonal Relations," "Self-

before that part of Hispaniola reverted to savagery under the guidance of French Jacobins and English Missionaries. The euphemistic term for 'zombi' is obviously a corruption of the French guidé. The voodoo-cults are relevant to our subject. The effect of Pavlovian techniques on members of our race is to paralyze a large part of the neocortex of the brain and make the individual regress to the animal consciousness of the lembal system, with the retention of only the parts of the neocortex that are needed for speech and similar activities. The great virtue of these techniques in the eyes of "Liberals" is that they eliminate "racism" by making the victims regress to the lowest forms of human life and the animal consciousness that is needed for "one world" of mindless mongrels.

Awareness," and "Sensitivity Training," to mention only a few of many verbal disguises listed by Ed Dieckmann, Jr., in his fundamental work on the subject, *The Secret of Jonestown*. ¹⁰ Of these terms, "Sensitivity Training" is most often used when it is administered by coercion to make our police officers imbecile. ¹¹

For a description and analysis of the techniques of menticide, I refer you to Mr. Dieckmann's book. The "social scientists" who inject the poison into our society know very well what they are doing, and so fall outside the scope of this article.

What does concern us is that among the practitioners and victims of the many highly contagious delusions Mr. Randi discusses, he mentions numerous individuals who hold credentials in the exact sciences and use them to lend authority to their promotion or endorsement of intrinsically preposterous claims. There is, for example, Dr. Robert Rabinoff, evidently the son or descendant of a rabbi who resided in Russia. He holds a degree of *Philosophiae Doctor* in physics from some university, and, as everyone knows, if you aren't a Ph.D. in the austere science of physics, you have no right to talk back to an expert. On the basis of his scientific training, Dr. Rabinoff avers that the hokum of Transcendental Meditation is the Voice of Science, as he can attest empirically, since his practice of the hocus-pocus has made him omniscient (yes, omniscient!) as well

10. Torrance, California, Noontide Press, 1981. This edition was far from satisfactory to the author, and I understand that a corrected edition will be published in the near future by Liberty Bell Publications.

11. The zeal of unthinking do-gooders in promoting-a social poison of which they know only the innocuous name is almost unbelievable. On 21 March 1983 the Associated Press reported a significant manifestation of contemporary American culture in New Bedford, Massachusetts. A young White woman entered a tavern to purchase a package of cigarettes. A pack of mongrels, imported from Portugal, seized her, held her down on a table, and gang raped her for two hours, while the patrons of the establishment applauded the floor show as enthusiastically as though they were in the television business. Now there were people in New Bedford, probably wicked "racists," who disapproved of such egalitarian jollification in our great "Melting Pot," and at least some of the mongrels were arrested. There is in New Bedford a Coalition Against Sexist Violence, and its crusading women were made indignant by the event. If you logically infer that they demanded the immediate application of pesticide to the anthropoid vermin, you are mistaken. They demanded "sensitivity training for police officers"! I know you can't believe that, but see the Associated Press despatch by Fred Bayles in many daily newspapers for 21 March.

as saturating him with "pure bliss." What is more, if you become expert in Transcendental Meditation (introductory course, only \$3000; tuition fees for advanced courses unstated), you will not only be soaked in blissful transcendence but will be able to rev up your mind and generate so much psychic energy that you can float in the air and soar with the birds (and just think how much that will save you in air fares, to say nothing of the harassment to which passengers are subjected at airports). 12

Kind readers will forgive me: I can't avoid levity when discussing levitation. What is serious indeed is that Mr. Randi mentions quite a number of professors of exact sciences in highly reputed universities and heads of well known laboratories who, for example, went on record as vouching for spoon-bending by talented youths. We may mention particularly Dr. Charles Crussard, a scientist who must be blessed with a truly Brobdingnagian brain, for he is head and director of a vast laboratory that employs three thousand "research personnel," doubtless one of the "ergastula of science" of which Norbert

12. If you are interested in becoming an aërobat, you may be able to do better, if you shop around. In the 1940s there was a great organization to promote world peace and the rest of that nonsense, Mankind United, which had a membership of 176,000,000, not counting its allies, the little men with metal heads down below, who cause earthquakes, whenever they feel like shaking things up. Its president thought his name was Arthur Lowber Bell (he swore he had so many names and was simultaneously present in so many parts of the globe in which his society had business that he couldn't be sure). Being impatient one day, he took off from a liner in mid-Atlantic and made it to his office in San Francisco in just seven minutes flat, taking his luggage with him. Note that Transcendental Meditation does not promise such high velocity aloft and makes no provision for baggage. For further wonders wrought by Mr. Bell, see the Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California for 1943, pp. 353-382 and the references there given to earlier testimony by Mr. Bell. The Committee was able to locate only a few of the 176,000,000 members, but they did include college professors, and that will show you the advantages of higher education.

Levitation is, of course, an old art. Apollonius of Tyana, according to the romance by Philostratus which suggested several details of some of the Jesus-stories, travelled to India and there saw the gymnosophistae (probably Jainas) floating in the air over the mountain peaks on which they resided. They, however, must have practiced transcendental meditation more assiduously than their modern successors, for they also used their minds to provide a cloud that would float above them to shed the rain, when necessary, and prevent sunburn, which would have been painful on their naked bodies. Perhaps Robert Rabinoff, Ph. D., will extend his researches to provide these additional comforts for his pupils when they become graduates (if their money holds out).

Wiener spoke when he foresaw a decline of scientific accomptlishment as a consequence of governmental financing and corruption. Now sapient Dr. Crussard found a wonder-boy of his own whose high-powered psyche could bend aluminium bars under the most exacting laboratory conditions, and, to cut the sad story short, when it was found that the wonder-boy couldn't perform while Mr. Randi was watching him, Dr. Crussard's vast scientific knowledge knew why: Mr. Randi was high-voltage psychic, too, and had maliciously focused his mind to neutralize the spoon-bending power emanating from the other brain. Dr. Crussard, I repeat, is a man of such colossal eminence in physics and chemistry that he is lord over three thousand "research workers," but if I ever need to find out whether an iron bar will float in water, I shall not ask Dr. Crussard's laboratory to undertake the research that would doubtless be necessary.

Dr. Crussard is more than an oddity: he is a symptom—an alarming symptom, like a fever of 104°F. A few years ago. Ronald Duncan and Miranda Watson-Smith undertook a survey of the present state of the various sciences, which was published under the provocative title, The Encyclopaedia of Ignorance. 13 It consists of fifty-one articles, each written by the most highly esteemed authority in his field that the editors could engage to set forth what he regarded as the most crucial unsolved problem in that field. Ted Bastin, from King's College of Cambridge University, undertook an examination of the relation between quantum mechanics and the concept of time and space in physical theory, certainly a fundamental problem that is still unsolved, but since he himself had "experimented with psychokinesis" by witnessing some tricks performed by Uri Geller and a female "sensitive" who also knew how to think bends into spoons, poor Bastin was convinced that "psychokinetic effects show an effect of 'thought forms' directly on matter." So the mighty mind from Cambridge, on the basis of the credulity that made him take seriously feats of sleight-of-hand by clever prestidigitators, employs his phenomenal lack of common sense to decide how the science of physics must be revised to take account of the scientific proof that "an interaction [between the

THE PIP-SQUEAK EFFECT

In America's Decline I quoted, from a journal that I kept in my youth, an entry made in 1934, when I tried to analyse the probable shape of the coming World War at a time when our "intellectuals" were blabbering about "world peace" and similar niaiseries. I quoted it to show that I did not then even suspect the decisive power of the alien race that had infiltrated our nations. In the same year, I devoted two lines of sarcasm to what seemed to me a particularly silly book that was, thanks to intensive publicity, starting a fad that I expected to be the usual nine days' wonder. It wasn't a fad; it was a craze that is still going strong, half a century later.

The evil that dupes do lives after them. When Sir Arthur Conan Doyle was gravely telling ghost stories to enraptured audiences in the early 1920s, one of his auditors was a man nearly thirty who had started out to purvey salvation from a pulpit, thought better of it, and taken a respectable degree in botany. He had not rid himself, however, of his thirst for eternal life and psychic mysteries. Learning to his own

^{13.} Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1977. Despite the publisher's blurb, this is not a popularization. A general knowledge of the several sciences is taken for granted, and you need a fair competence in mathematics to get through some of the articles.

^{14.} Bastin's article is not the only cause for alarm in this book. E. W. F. Tomlin, C.B.E., endeavors to put Teleology back into circulation in an article on "Fallacies in Evolutionary Theory." Before "creation scientists" start rushing for this book with their tongues hanging out, they should be warned that atoms and molecules are every bit as alive and full of purpose as they—and they may not like that. Hylozoism appears in Western thought in the seventh century B.C.; a very crude kind of it, found among the lower forms of human life, is called animism.

^{15.} According to Ruth Brandon, whose new book I cited above, Dr. Rhine was also inspired by a desire to crush the Communist conspiracy with "spiritual armament" and put God back in business on a scientific basis by proving the existence of telepathy and other forms of clairvoyance. He presumably had the Christians' god in mind, and it is hard to see logic in his thinking. Belief in all sorts of wonderful supernatural

statement, he was inspired by the "exhilarating thoughts" of "transcendental importance" in Sir Arthur's weird tales. A few years later, the exhilarated Dr. Joseph Banks Rhine, ensconced in Duke University, got an opportunity to make big noise about "extra-sensory perception" and set agog with "psi power" and "parapsychology" the many persons who yearned to be exhilarated by old hokum put into new words.

The botanist who turned into a parapsychologist may be acquitted of conscious fraud on the strength of the dazzling naïveté with which he described his methodology in his first book (1934). As the eminent D. H. Rawcliffe remarked in his Psychology of the Occult (1952; reprinted by Dover under the title Occult and Supernatural Phenomena, but now oddly out-of-print), "That Dr. Rhine should have published the results of such experiments in the first instance as evidence of telepathy or clairvoyance is almost incredible. Nothing can dispel the impression of carelessness thus created." Dr. Rhine's "discovery" was indeed wonderful, but what was wonderful about it was the sheer désinvolture of a self-styled scientist who considered success at guessing cards a little more often than chance as proof of "extra-sensory perception" and failure to guess them as often as chance as proof of "negative ESP"! For the details of the methods and the results thus obtained, I refer you to Dr. Rawcliffe and to Dr. Martin Gardner's Fads and

powers need not involve belief in any god, as is obvious from the atheistic school of Hindu Yoga (Niriśvara-Sāmkhya). And supernatural psychic powers have been vouched for as proof of the existence of all of the innumerable gods that men have created since the dawn of history. Moreover, as early as 1929 Dr. Rhine exultantly reported the discovery and scientific verification of the telepathic powers of a remarkable horse. Now the horse is an animal for which Aryans have a distinctive fondness, but which was hated by the Jewish authors of Christianity, who have always preferred asses (both quadruped and biped). It would therefore have been more reasonable for Dr. Rhine to turn his piety toward Poseidon, the Celtic Epona, or some other Aryan deity who has shown our racial appreciation of the equine species. I do not mean, of course, that Christianity is necessarily inimical to horses. I often wished that I could introduce Dr. Rhine's mind-reading horse to an amiable grey mare of my acquaintance, who was a Doctor of Divinity and a Minister of the Gospel, licensed to perform marriages in several mid-Western states; she had, framed above her stall, a diploma from an authentic Bible College and state certificates to prove her sacred learning and powers. The two spiritual equines would have had much in common, although the sex of Dr. Rhine's psychic horse would have precluded hope of a race of transcendental Überpferde on which indolent pietists could gallop to the next world.

Fallacies in the Name of Science (1952; reprinted by Dover; still in print).

It was, as Mr. Rawcliffe said, "almost incredible" that Dr. Rhine should have taken seriously such patently flimsy data, but we all know that overheated brains develop psychic powers of self-deception. What stuns us is what should be unbelievable, the appalling fact that men of accomplisment in the exact sciences took those absurdities seriously and did not merely laugh at "parapsychology" as another foolish fad, comparable to flag-pole sitting and marathon dancing. Now let us understand clearly why they should have guffawed and turned their minds to something serious, such as a cross-word puzzle.

There was nothing per se preposterous in a suggestion that telepathic communication was possible. The human brain, as is well known, emits electrical waves that can be detected by an electroencephalograph, which will, for example, invariably show that the alpha-rhythm supervenes in your own brain whenever you close your eyes firmly for more than an instant. It is conceivable, therefore, that a brain that emits such waves could detect them when emitted by others. And although there never has been a verifiable instance of telepathic communication, an extraordinary genetic combination or even mutation might conceivably produce a person with an extremely high sensitivity to such waves, comparable, perhaps, to the phenomenal development of the tactile sense in some blind women, who identify colors in some woollen fabrics by slight changes in the "feel" of the strands produced by the different dyes used. 16

It is certain, moreover, that there are senses which we do not possess—except, just possibly, in some very rudimentary form of which we are not conscious. We do not even know to what stimuli the senses we do not possess respond, although there are good conjectures that the earth's magnetic lines of force may be one of them. We simply do not know what curlews, geese, tarn, and other birds must perceive in their annual

^{16.} I report this from Rawcliffe, op. cit., p. 391. He relies on reports of the physiological phenomenon called hyperaphia that he considers reliable. In the present state of scientific morality, we can only hope that he was not taken in by a scientifically accredited faker. I do not doubt the report, but I take this occasion of pointing out how complete is our dependence on the integrity of the men to whom we entrust scientific determinations. Our lives really depend on them, and deliberate treason on their part deserves, not a rebuke, but a firing squad. If that seems drastic to you, think it over.

migration half-way around the globe, so that they can, for example, fly unerringly from a swamp in Africa to a tiny island in the North Sea and there find the precise spot on which they nested before. We do not know how salmon find their way through hundreds of miles of ocean and rivers and their tributaries to the exact point that is the individual's spawning ground. Nearer to us are the baboons, who have a social organization (and possibly even a belief in the supernatural 17) that deserves the attention of the few sociologists who are interested in studying society rather than in manufacturing propaganda to change it. Reliable observers report that a baboon can identify a human friend at a distance at which the human eye sees only a black figure on the horizon. They report that if a baboon is transported in a closed vehicle over a route that is roughly triangular, from one extremity of the base up to the apex and then down to the other end of the base, he will, when released, return home by the direct route across the base, perceiving the direction of his home by some sense that responds to stimuli we cannot detect with our senses or any instruments we have devised. Now it is as unlikely that a human being should be born with the peculiar intelligence of curlews, salmon, or baboons as it is that he should be born with wings. But perhaps such a lusus naturae could be conceivable at the very limit.

It is not the extreme improbability of the phenomena that Dr. Rhine undertook to discover that merits our wonder—yes, and scorn. What is simply astounding is that men with scientific training wasted as much as ten minutes on consideration of the results obtained and reported by Dr. Rhine himself, since he appears not to have indulged in the deliberate fakery to which so many of his "scientific" endorsers and assistants (e.g., that great "authority on parapsychology," Dr. Walter J. Levy, Jr.) resorted. We all have some conception of what is likely, and a scientist should, by definition, have a knowledge of the laws of

17. Eugène Marais, in his popular work, published before his death, My Friends, the Baboons (London, 1939), reports an instance in which a band of baboons, who had acquired confidence in him as a friendly being of vastly superior powers, evidently hoped that he would resurrect their children, who had just died from a sudden epidemic of a highly contagious disease. So far as I know, no other observer has reported so striking an instance of religiosity in baboons, so we may doubt the accuracy of Marais' observations in that instance, but it is not by any means implausible. One remembers Anatole France's description of dogs as religious animals of exemplary piety.

probability of single events and the probability of series, or, in other words, distinction between physical probability and statistical probability, remembering that the latter, calculated by extending the familiar binomial formula

$$(p+q)^{n} = p^{n} + p^{n-1}q + \frac{n(n-1)}{2!}p^{n-1}q^{n} \cdot \frac{n(n-1) \cdot (n-r+1)}{r!}p^{n-r}q^{r} \cdot q^{n} \cdot q^{n}$$

$$\cdot \cdot + q^{n} \cdot q^{n}$$

applies only to very large numbers.

Everyone knows that if he tosses a penny into the air, the chances are one out of two that it will come down heads. If heads turn up on three successive throws, you may be mildly surprised. If they turn up four times in succession, you may think it odd, but although your achievement is as stupendous as any of Dr. Rhine's, you will not conclude that your mighty mind governed the fall of the penny or that some deity broke a record by intervening in the affairs of this world. Unless you have thought about it, however, you may not have it firmly in your mind that the chances that heads will again turn up on the fifth throw are precisely one out of two. And if you toss the penny twenty-five times and obtain heads each time, you will have witnessed a quite unusual event, although not one without precedent, as they will tell you at Monte Carlo, where a phenomenal sequence of red on the roulette wheel is still remembered. It will be unusual and even extraordinary, comparable to your experience of venturing into the concrete jungle of New Jerusalem-on-the-Hudson and meeting on Broadway a Texan whom you knew in college, but let not the result you obtain from the binomial formula convince you that you are endowed with a high-voltage psyche. And remember that by physical probability the chances that heads will turn up on a twenty-sixth throw are still one out of two, despite the statistical improbability of so long a series.

The basis of all scientific, and indeed of all rational, thought, is the fact—indubitable unless we are living in a cosmic madhouse run by an insane god, as Flaubert once suggested—that the forces of nature operate uniformly and without variation. Under the same circumstances, the same forces exerted on the same object always and invariably produce the same result. Now what Dr. Rhine's experiments produced were positive or negative "runs" that yielded a piddling percentage according to the binomial formula. That was in itself sufficient to show that his conclusions were illusory and disproven by his own reports.

Experiments have shown that if you capture albatross on Midway Island, transport them in closed containers 3120 miles to Puget Sound and there release them, they will return home, across the open ocean and in spite of storms, in ten to twelve days. And, so far as we know, they will do this, not 0.9% above chance, but 100%, provided, of course, they are not the victims of birds of prey or shotguns en route. Now if there are "psychically endowed" persons who, like albatross, have faculties we do not have, they must, by the uniformity of nature, be able to make almost as good use of those faculties. What Dr. Rhine proved was that if such highly improbable persons did exist, they neglected to call on him.

As soon as this canard was given publicity by journalists eager to set agog the boobs who read their drivel, it was only natural that a horde of charlatans should turn from the stale old tricks of tipping tables and exhibiting phosphorescently painted gauze in dark rooms to a superficially novel racket and become "parapsychologists" instead of "spiritual mediums." But what is inexplicable is that men who had evinced a knowledge of scientific methods should have so far taken leave of their common sense as to waste more than a chuckle on anything so patently absurd. But the grim and terrible fact is that they did and lent such credence to the nonsense that I know not how many laboratories were endowed and how many earnest and presumably honest wights with scientific credentials from respected universities were laboring to find scientific evidence of the unbelievable and were, of course, suckers for any moderately clever swindler who could give them the desired results.

This epidemic of scientific unreason became so contagious that it was finally necessary for Mr. Randi to send two young conjurors into the great laboratories and show the self-styled scientists that they were chumps and should be grateful to Fate that no one had offered them a chance to buy the Brooklyn Bridge for twenty-five dollars. They couldn't have resisted that offer—not, at least, if the vendor mentioned the binomial theorem and added a bit about non-Euclidean geometry.

Mr. Randi is publishing a detailed report of these adventures of his young protégés in the great laboratories in which professed scientists anxiously search for Santa Claus. The first installment was published in the Summer 1983 issue of the

ANYTHING GOES!

The Skeptical Inquirer, a quarterly published in Buffalo, New York, and now completing its seventh year, is a praiseworthy periodical. I have read it with interest since its first issue. I admire the men who write for it and divert time and energy from their own research to deal exhaustively with topics that can have no interest for them, other than their altruistic wish to instruct our contemporaries. But it is also a publication that makes me profoundly uneasy. I can whole-heartedly praise the exertion and devotion of the firemen in a town in which arson is rife, but I can't help feeling at the same time that the need for them to work so hard is something to worry about.

Get a file of the *Skeptical Inquirer* and read through it. It will turn your mind. It will also probably make you wish that you knew of another habitable planet and how to get to it.

Some individual who has been accorded scientific standing does "research" in biographical directories and discovers that, as you and I would think quite likely, the number of successful professional athletes born under the "sign" of some one planet, as defined in the astrological hocus-pocus, is somewhat greater than the number born when some other planet is "ascendent." And when the lucky planet happens to be Mars and the excess of births under his benign influence yields a piddling percentage by application of the hoary old binomial formula to a total number too small to admit of that application, the great "scientist" becomes as excited as an evangelist who has just composed a really hot gospel and starts shouting urbi et orbi. And rational men have to sit down and laboriously demonstrate, with scientific precision, that the piffle is piffle!

The old hoax of Velikovsky, who, in the manner of theologians, tried to accumulate enough learned footnotes and irrelevant data to confuse his readers until they were willing to

^{18.} The devastating exposure of the whole hocus-pocus called parapsychology has naturally caused consternation in some richly endowed circles. I am amused by an article in the New Scientist (London), 30 June 1983, that anxiously inquires under what conditions magicians should be permitted in laboratories. The author refrains from raising the more urgent question whether we should permit expensively equipped laboratories in which earnest scientists labor hard for months and years to ascertain how frogs are turned into princesses.

believe that Yahweh played a pin-ball game with the planets to keep the sun shining on one spot in Palestine long enough for a probably mythical Jew to slaughter more Semites whose country Yahweh's barbarous pets wanted to steal—that old hoax seemed extinct, but there were embers under the ashes, and such is the infinite credulity of the ignorant that the blaze flared up again and the pompiers of the Skeptical Inquirer rushed to extinguish it.

A passel of professed scientists—perhaps itching to see their names in newspapers, perhaps scenting fast bucks from grateful fakirs and their flocks, perhaps only high on transcendental hootch—spend years abusing everything from spectrographs to computers to prove the "authenticity" of the painted rag called the Holy Shroud, and sober men have to waste their time and effort to prove that an obvious hoax is a hoax.

Packs of laboratory technicians with a few of their supervisors court the beaming adulation of incurably sentimental women and professional rabble-rousers by setting themselves up as "creation scientists," nitpicking about some details, which they usually misstate, in the theory of biological evolution, and inviting us to admire the cleverness of old Yahweh as he polished up a typhoid bacillus and sicked it on the improved ape that was the best handiwork of which the old bungler was capable. It would seem odd, if we didn't look at the state of the market today, that the precious "creation scientists" are always peddling old Yahweh, when dozens of more reasonable and more moral creators are available in any manual of mythology, but they know what god will start the yokels to dancing sarabands around legislatures and gesticulating with ballots. And reasonable men must rush to another blaze of folly and pump fact and logic on it.

A True Believer, full of Christian righteousness and veracity, carves a fair imitation of human footprints in cretacious limestone to prove that careless old Yahweh manufactured anthropoid giants at the time he was making dinosaurs—nothing surely can be more godly than fraud to put that wicked old Darwin in his place—and the weary staff of the *Skeptical-Inquirer* must send someone to photograph the footprint and show that it is a hoax.

And so it goes, on and on and on. At the very time that the "flying saucer" business is going bankrupt, a respected astronomer, enraptured by an opportunity to exhibit his unlovely mug to the millions who stare at their boob-tubes every night,

sets himself up as the pontiff of U.F.O.'s and misrepresents the facts about some supposed sightings of the devilishly elusive machines. Hysterical housewives, who have read all about the horrible Big Foots who lurk in the wilds of Montana and British Columbia, see one in Buena Park, California, right outside their apartment buildings. The saurian, left over from the Mesozoic, continues to paddle around in Loch Ness. A wily Japanese thinks pictures onto film in cameras. The Xerox Corporation, which markets second-rate copying machines and second-rate typewriters, magnanimously furthers the enlightenment of all mankind by providing drivel about haunted houses, jaunts aboard

19. I shall return to this exciting topic later. Here it will suffice to note that so long as it seemed that our solar system contained two planets, Venus and Mars, that seemed similar to the earth, one could not exclude a priori the possibility that they were inhabited by intelligent beings whose accumulated scientific knowledge exceeded our own. Now that we have photographs taken on the surface of both planets, we know, beyond peradventure of doubt, that the earth is the only planet in our solar system on which organic life is possible. If you dream of "advanced civilizations" on the planets which may or may not revolve about other stars in our galaxy, take pencil and paper and compute the velocity of the rocket that will reach Uranus next year and then the time that it would take a machine travelling at that velocity to cover the more than four light-years that separate us from the nearest star. Then put all the shelves of trash about space-craft from outer space in the trash basket. O, I know, you can imagine those super-beings with space-craft that will travel at the speed of light and with such praeternatural patience they will sit in one for four years or more to play hide-and-seek with earthlings, but if you think of doing that, just believe in angels: they are easier to understand. Professor J. Allen Hynek and his cohorts have just one escape hatch left open to them. It is still barely possible that there have been a few authentic sightings of a secret weapon on test flights or in experiments to test its utility for psychological warfare. As everyone knows, the rocketry that has enabled us to send men to the moon and unmanned space craft to other planets was developed by German scientists before the catastrophe of 1945; there are claims, supported by purportedly authentic drawings of projected machines that strikingly resemble most of the U.F.O.'s described in the reports of sightings, that the Germans were developing such craft. The drawings are reproduced in a speculative book by Mattern, UFO's unbekanntes Flugobjekt? Letzte Geheimwaffe des Dritten Reiches? There is a considerably revised English version, UFO's, Nazi Secret Weapon? Both books are published without dates by Samisdat, Toronto, Canada. The drawings are impressive, but there is no explanation of the source of the power needed for such craft, if their range was to be greater than that of the well known "hover craft" now in use over bodies of relatively quiet water. Some means of counteracting gravity would have been needed-and there's the rub! But Professor J. Allen Hynek could find some comforting suggestions and perhaps inspiration in Mattern's books.

"flying saucers," "Bermuda Triangles," and similar slop for the edification of children in high schools—perhaps in the hope that with minds so primed with scientific learning they'll be ready to buy a Xerox when they get out of school. On an arid plateau in Peru some persons resident there a thousand years ago scratched huge designs on the ground, obviously for the guidance of "astronauts" in space-craft from superior civilizations only a few light-years away from us. But I can't go on. Read through the files yourself: your stomach is probably better than mine.

It is still widely believed by the uninformed public that college professors are, ex officio, educated and rational. The Sheptical Inquirer, Fall 1980, reported the results of an investigation to determine how many of these wise men believed the hokum about "Extra-Sensory Perception" to be established with a high degree of probability or absolute certainty. Here are the percentages of believers found in the several areas of study. Humanities, arts, and education, 73-79%. Social sciences, 66%, Natural sciences, 55%. Psychology, 34%. How many college professors carry garlic in their pockets as a protection against vampires has not yet been determined.

What worries me is that common sense seems to be dwindling to the point of extinction. The minds of men whom our contemporaries consider educated are regressing to the level of the most ignorant peasant on a Mediaeval manor. There is something terrifying in the spectacle of men who hold degrees in the genuine sciences and assemble vast arrays of elaborate scientific equipment to "prove" the authenticity of a "Holy Shroud," and thus make it necessary to assemble more equipment and conduct long and painstaking research to prove what any half-way educated and rational man would have known from the very first. And the same sotie is performed whenever some prestidigitator claims that he can bend spoons by thinking about them. Is there any limit to the gullibility of "highly qualified scientists"?

I sometimes have a vision of scores of great scientists and tons of elaborate and very expensive laboratory equipment assembled about a pond into which they drop horsehairs, to determine whether the percentage that turn into tadpoles is significant by the binomial formula. If hairs from Standard-breeds don't work, get some from Appaloosas. Then try Percherons and Arabians: their hairs may make tadpoles better. And no one can say that the hairs of horses do not turn into tadpoles until you have made exhaustive scientific tests of hairs

from every known breed of horses—and then someone will turn up to prove that the negative results are all wrong, because tadpoles come from the hairs of horses who eat the variety of four-leaved clover that grows in a hidden valley in Afghanistan, so the assembled scientists and their equipment will start all over.

That vision of mine may be just a nightmare, of course, but perhaps I have a dynamic psyche with powers of precognition so that it can see through a time-warp into the next decade.

We are living in a time in which a large part of the "scientific community" is willing to believe that *anything* is possible and then try to prove it by "exhaustive tests."

The hard-headed scientists of my youth are gone, like the mammoth (which, oddly enough, hasn't been seen recently in Montana or Buena Park, California). Common sense and logic have become as obsolete as halberds and bustles.

I don't know how this happened, but I think I can identify some contributory factors.

THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Early in 1969, while looking over the ordure on a newsstand, I noticed a paperback, *The Teachings of Don Juan: a Yaqui Way of Knowledge*, by Carlos Castaneda, and I squandered \$1.25 on it. It purported to record the investigations of a graduate student in anthropology in the University of California in Los Angeles, who had spent five years with the Yaqui Indians studying their culture, chiefly by drugging himself with massive doses of peyotl and absorbing true wisdom from a squalid medicine-man named (of all things!) Don Juan. I read it through and said "hogwash."

I could not judge the author's decriptions of the hallucinations he claimed to have experienced. They differed greatly from the ones described to me years before by a young anthropologist who had visited an Indian tribe in Oklahoma and drugged himself on peyotl (with disastrous results to himself a few years later), but hallucinatory drugs create illusions from what is already in the mind of the individual, so anything is possible. I could not judge the accuracy of the occasional references to the customs and daily life of the Yaquis, for I had seen them neither in their native habitat in Sonora nor in the clutches formed by the ones who hopped across the border into Arizona; I only knew that they had been more savage than the Apaches and had exhibited both cunning and obstinacy in

their raids on the Mexicans, with whom they still considered themselves to be at war. And I did not think it worthwhile to look up one of the few books about them.

I did know, however, that no illiterate and filthy Indian sorcerer had read volumes of the sociological trash now fashionable, and I recognized the purpose of the fiction writer, who was vending a slightly novel form of the hokum about the "paranormal." Writing with some of Defoe's realism surcharged with masses of pseudo-philosophical verbiage, he portrayed the wonders of a "nonordinary reality," accessible through peyotl and every bit as good as our dull and stupid "ordinary reality"—in fact, much better, since it is "completely beyond the scope of the concepts of Western civilization." In the "nonordinary reality," revealed by pevotl as elucidated by the profound mind of the sorcerer, "space does not conform to Euclidian geometry, time does not form a continuous unidirectional flow, causation does not conform to Aristotelian logic, man is not differentiated from non-man or life from death, as in our world." This, of course, is simply a formula of insanity, but the book was written too cleverly to be the work of an insane man. It was, therefore, a hoax and just another piece of wonderful garbage for the dolts who will believe anything, provided that it is not true.

I did not take the trouble to ascertain whether the purported authors of the glowing blurbs with which the publishers had surrounded the text really existed. I tossed the book into a bin in which I collect such symptomatic rubbish, certain that the fiction would soon have a sequel on the newsstands. It did—a whole series of them. The creator of Don Juan, like the creator of Sherlock Holmes, had found an unflagging market.

It was from the second issue of the Skeptical Inquirer (then called the Zetetic) in 1977 that I learned that the hogwash had been the "research" for which the five ranking Professors of Anthropolgy in the University of California in Los Angeles had proudly bestowed the degree of Ph.D. on their most brilliant pupil. I found that sapient Professors of Anthropolgy in other universities had hailed the revelation, saying they "could not adequately convey the excitement" of their "thrilling experience" when they discovered that "our own world is a cultural construct," no more valid or real than a great many others, such as the one you enter when you are three sheets to the wind on peyotl and have an Indian medicine-man talking wisdom into your ear. And one of these burbling behemoths of the intellect had even written a book with the modest title, Reading

Castaneda: A Prologue to the Social Sciences. Yes, Castaneda's fiction was to be taken as the "epistemological foundation" of all the "social sciences"—a disparate assortment of disciplines, from history and genuine psychology to slighty disguised propaganda of the Marxist cult, put together for the convenience of the managers of the various factories in the diploma business.

I shouldn't have been surprised. After all, reputedly great "anthropologists" had joyously believed—or at least endorsed—Margaret Mead's balderdash. It is now accepted that, as the writer in the Zetetic said, Castaneda's Don Juan is just an audacious hoax, of which the author had not even taken the trouble to inform himself about the actual customs and quotidian life of the Yaquis, as reported by men who had really observed those savages. And quite a few academic cheeks, if not protected by beards, are probably blushing red now. It would be nice if the gullible "anthropologists" in the University of California and half a dozen other once-respected universities had learned something from Castaneda after all—but I dare not hope.

Perhaps we can learn something, if we inquire why all those supposedly erudite men, safely lodged on university payrolls, not only walked the plank, but danced out on it to dive overboard. The obvious answer is not, I think, adequate.

One can be almost certain that all of the slap-happy professors are "cultural anthropologists," evangelists of the gospel by which Boas and his trained housewives (with unlimited financing and the deafening applause of all our domestic enemies) subverted the science of anthropology. "Cultural anthropologists" know that all differences between individuals are caused by environment. They know that it is streng verboten to see the innate differences. They know how to turn frogs into princesses: you just put the frog in a bed with silk sheets, feed her pâté de fois gras, hire maids to comb her tresses, and equip her with a splendid wardrobe and diamond rings: presto! a beautiful princess. So it is obviously the fault of Society that princesses are in short supply.

The True Believers of the egalitarian gospel are bound by their premises, as are the apostles of the Flat Earth Research Society. I have not studied the lucubrations of the latter, but I know how they guard their Faith: if you see evidence that the earth is not flat, that proves Satan's got you by the neck. Likewise, if you see evidence of hereditary differences between

individuals and genetic differences between races, you's a wicked "Fascist," maybe even a diabolical "Nazi." So shut up before you're burned at the stake.

It is easy to conclude that persons who swallowed Margaret * Mead's camel were ready to gulp down Castaneda's zebu. But that does not explain everything. I think that what captivated them was their discontent with Euclidean geometry and "unidirectional" time. Science has exasperatingly failed to show how Alice got behind the looking glass without breaking it, and it is consoling to know that that is because our research has been hide-bound by that nasty old "cultural construct of Western civilization." Now in an equally real world in which Euclidean geometry has been repealed and time goes in spurts and in as many directions as the squibs from a St. Catherine's wheel, falling off a log wouldn't be any easier than getting through a looking glass to hob-nob with that great philologist, Humpty Dumpty, and dine with the very archetype of a "Liberal intellectual," the White Queen, who can believe six impossible things before breakfast any day.

As the statistics about "E.S.P." I quoted above show, the practitioners of legitimate sciences were only a little less likely to have been taken in by Castaneda's tale. The scientific achievement of the past century seems to have resulted in an etiolation of common sense, even—or particularly—among persons with scientific training. We seem to have come to the point that the Hindus reached centuries ago and without effort, the belief that anything is possible, i.e., that the world we perceive about us is just Mahā Māyā, the Great Illusion.

Common sense deals with the world in which we must live. It does not argue with the hylologists who assure us—correctly, so far as I know—that matter does not exist, that there is only emptiness with widely scattered and almost infinitely small vacuoles of energy here and there. Common sense merely reminds the nuclear physicists that if they will bang their heads against a brick wall a dozen times, they will be convinced that matter is solid enough for all practical purposes. Common sense does not quarrel with the mathematician who proves that there may be as many dimensions as you can shake a stick at, and it does not dispute the Lorentz contractions or the sacred equations of Relativity. It merely insists that we put men on the moon without sending them through a fourth dimension, and that we did it by Newtonian (not Einstinian) physics. Gödel has conclusively proved that arithmetical relationships, are not

mathematically demonstrable, but common sense will go right on believing that two and two make four—not just sometimes, but all of the time—and to Hell with Gödel's Proof! And when someone squeaks that that attitude is "anti-intellectual," common sense invites him to be intellectual in some other world than ours.

The trouble is that the "intellectuals" have taken over, and it is common sense that is being exiled.

AIN'T SCIENCE WONDERFUL?

Unfortunately, for our race (I am not interested in others) common sense is not enough. Despite our race's characteristic recognition of the supreme authority of ascertained facts, it has a psychic need to escape now and then from the trammels of reality into a world of the imagination, where we may find the beauty, the romance, and the perfection that the real world denies us. This world is so grievously defective by every aesthetic and moral standard to which we give instinctive allegiance! The "creation scientists" are routed by the need to postulate a Creator so incompetent or malicious that he made this sorry scheme of things entire. This terrible universe would be unbearable, could we not, now and then, remould it nearer to our heart's desire. Rational men satisfy the soul's need rationally, with debauches of poetry or fantastic fiction, from which they sober up before confronting reality again.

It may be that a recent change of fashion in fantastic fiction has had grave consequences. Until recently, men satisfied their craving for transmundane beauty and ideality with the lovely mythology of Greece and with selected and racially acceptable elements of Christianity (e.g., the *Chansons de geste*, Ariosto, and Tennyson in poetry, and in prose, innumerable tales of magic and theurgy). Now all of these beautiful or stirring excursions into fantasy are in themselves innocuous. No man expects to ride a hippogriff, meet a mermaid, or marry an Undine.

There are, of course, many forms of literature which merely gild some aspects of quotidian life, but it will suffice here to observe that the traditional form of fantasy is always religious and depends on belief (while one is reading) in the praeternatural and supernatural. In our literature, the religious assumptions underlying the narratives are usually of the type made familiar by Western Christianity, that is to say, the doctrines of early Christianity as modified to make them acceptable to our

race. Recent writers of some excellence in this kind of writing avoid overt use of specifically Christian myths, but they retain the basic ideological structure, as may be seen, for example, from the short stories of H. P. Lovecraft, Clark Ashton Smith, and Robert E. Howard, whose tales about Conan and Atlantis now enjoy a great vogue and are instructive in this connection, for although their principal charm lies in the human heroism that our race instinctively admires, they do not dispense with the supernatural.

Consider, for example, the great masterpiece of J. R. R. Tolkien, whose trilogy, The Lord of the Rings, is certainly one of the most widely read works of contemporary literature, and forms part of a pentalogy, completed by the Silmarillion, that is really a grandiose religion, markedly superior to all religions now practiced, and could, if it survives the new Dark Ages that may be ahead of us, become the holy book of a new Faith, more humane than any of its predecessors in mankind's yearning for superhuman masters. It is now, of course, only a majestic fantasy, recognized as imaginative literature, the fictitious history of a world created by Tolkien. Attentive readers will not have failed to notice that the underlying structure is familiar to us: in the beginning, there was a cosmic god, who is even called Iluvater (cf. Alfadir!), and history is really begun by the revolt of one of his own creations, Melkor, later known as Morgoth, the counterpart of Lucifer. The underlying structure is obviously that common to a fairly large number of religions, including the various kinds of Christianity, which were viable cults until their priests killed off Satan and his spiritual legions.

The supernatural world, however imagined, oddly but inevitably has natural laws of its own. From the earliest tribes that can be called human to the present, the shamans always accumulate a body of lore about supernatural forces and the ways to placate or coerce them, and in literate societies, this becomes an enormous aggregation of theological erudition that can be managed only by a form of scholarship. If 'science' means, as it still does in French, any body of systematized knowledge, then theology, together with such subdivisions as soterology, angelology, demonology, and necromancy, are 'sciences.' And this supposition naturally underlies literary fantasies. One has to draw the right pentacle (misnamed, for it is usually the Jewish Solomon's Seal, also called the Star of David) to summon spirits from the vasty deep, and one has to

know the secret names and esoteric rites that will compel archangels or the princes of Hell to do one's bidding. There is a magic power in words: if you incautiously read aloud the words written on some musty parchment you have chanced to find, they may be an arcane incantation, and anything may happen.²⁰ There was a time when rational men could actually believe that the visible world was full of unseen spirits of good or evil, and by "poetic suspension of doubt" we can recapture their awe while we read fantasies that enable us to escape for an hour from the horrible reality in which we must live.

If we consider the broad spectrum of Mediaeval superstitions, we can (as men of the Middle Ages could not) see a clear dichotomy between theology and its theurgic subdivisions on the one hand and, on the other, alchemy, which was a spurious precursor of chemistry, and astrology, which, at that time, was not irrational and was even as valid a scientific hypothesis then as is today the commonly accepted "Big Bang" theory of the origin of the universe. ²¹

- 20. If you want to try your hand at obtaining supernatural assistance and are tired of praying, you will find a compendious list of the more active demons, together with the proper rites and incantations for invoking them, in Arthur Edward Waite's, Book of Ceremonial Magic (London, 1911; reprinted, New Hyde Park, New York, 1961 and perhaps subsequently). This is really the Jewish Kabbalah, simplified and systematized for the use of goyim. Although the theologians of the Protestant sects were greatly influenced by the divine secrets that God's People disclosed in their Kabbalah, those holy men never communicated to their followers the learning that might have fostered a do-it-yourself religion.
- 21. I have repeatedly pointed out that, so long as the science of genetics was unavailable, thinking men were confronted by the indubitable fact that human beings seem not to "breed true," since the offspring of a given man and woman, in circumstances which preclude a supposition of adultery, differ widely in their physical and psychic characteristics, and in no family are the children really alike, unless they are identical twins. In almost all instances, nurture, education, and environment can be excluded as causes, since all children have been equally exposed to them. The differences are therefore innate, and differences in stature, complexion, physical vigor and the like, though often striking, are less remarkable than the differences in temperament, talents, and general intelligence. When the laws of genetics were unknown and even unsuspected, the inborn psychic differences had to be explained by the operation of some external variable at the time of conception and/or birth. Observation soon excluded such simple factors as the weather, time of day, season of the year, and even the phase of the moon that governed the fertility cycles of females. There remained only four possible explanations:
 - (1) Creation. Some god with an artistic temperament manufactured souls

The great flaw of superstition was that it never worked when you wanted something beyond the power of sleight-of-hand artists to produce. No matter how earnestly you implored Jesus to keep the Vikings from your coasts (a furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine!), they kept right on coming, and theologians had to invent an explanation for Jesus's sloth. No matter how carefully you constructed your pentacle and used the formulae of invocation when you, like Théophile and Faust, wanted to put your soul on the market, the demons spurned the bargain you offered them and never came to shop. But the gradually accumulating body of knowledge about the real world made possible actual achievements that began to rival some of the work that the imaginary spirits failed to perform. First made apparent by ingenious mechanical contrivances, the real power gradually detached itself from the suppositious ones.²² In the Eighteenth Century, the dichotomy between what was real and what was illusory became evident to all but

in enormous quantities, but, like an artist fashioning figurines, made no two of his products exactly alike. Having accumulated a supply of his creations, he was Johnny-on-the-Spot whenever a woman conceived or whenever she gave birth, and he stuck into her womb a soul that he either took from a grabbag or perhaps selected from the stock in his warehouse.

(2) Metempsychosis. All living bodies are animated by immaterial but imperishable entities called souls, which, when one body dies, pass in some way into another that is being born. Thus each new-born child is an incarnation of an individual soul that has a character formed by its own peculiar experiences in many former lives, which it has conveniently forgotten.

(3) Astrology. Although judicial astrology and catarchic astrology as practised by professionals—in other words, the astrology that is still peddled to suckers and dispensed by most newspapers—was seen to be fallacious long before it was thoroughly demolished by the New Academy, even the Academics had to admit that astral influences might mould or determine the innate character of an individual; see especially Cicero, De divinatione, II.43.90, for a precise definition of this limited validity of astrology. In the absence of other explanations of innate qualities, it was the most reasonable and scientific, involving no recourse to the ingerence of supernatural beings.

(4) Some unknown cause. This, of course, was correct, for the cause was eventually ascertained by the science of genetics, but until that happened, astrology, as defined above, was precisely in the same position as the "Big Bang" theory: it was accepted because no better explanation of observed phenomena seemed available. That is a point no one should forget.

22. There were many combinations that seem bizarre to us now. The

This was certain to affect, sooner or later, the practice of literary fantasy. To simplify matters, we may credit the innovation to Mary Wollstonecraft (Godwin) Shelley. She imagined and vividly portrayed a Frankenstein who created a monster, not by some potent spell or theurgic miracle, but by a magic that was explained (vaguely) as scientific, based on the elaboration of known principles of physiology and relevant subjects by scientific research. Her explanation was crude, even for 1818, but at least the imaginary marvels that the progress of scientific knowledge might make possible some day replaced the imaginary marvels of religion, which, even if they had once taken place in some remote place and time, had become impossible in the modern world. There was a loss of some aesthetic and poetic power, but Frankenstein was more convincing than the famous work of her contemporary and friend. Matthew Gregory Lewis.²³

The new type of fantasy was cultivated by a few writers thereafter, most of whom are now forgotten. Jules Verne wrote tales about marvels of engineering in a style that fascinates boys. No real talent appeared until H. G. Wells, who has to his credit many pseudo-scientific fantasies written with great verisimilitude, and a brilliant parable, *The Island of Dr. Moreau*. In the Edwardian period he had quite a few imitators, ²⁴ but the traditional type of fantasy continued to attract the most

court of Frederick V, Elector Palatine (1610-1623) and "Winter King" of Bohemia (1619), was the foremost center of both mechanical ingenuity and the Rosicrucian hoax until the destruction of Heidelberg in 1623. See Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972).

^{23.} It is not generally known that the great scandal excited by the first edition of Ambrosio, or The Monk was triggered, not by the horror of the story or the supernatural episodes, but by Lewis's remarks obiter on the folly of exposing children to such immoral and corrupting reading as the Bible, filled with tales of revolting crimes, fiendish massacres, and morbid sexuality, all presumably approved and abetted by the Christians' god. If children were to read such stuff, they should at least be given an expurgated version. Those injudicious remarks naturally sent the pious into a tizzy, and the publishers hurriedly replaced the first edition with a censored version of the book, for which there was an enormous demand from readers eager to have their blood curdled.

^{24.} For a very superficial survey with excerpts and summaries of a few stories, see Hilary and Dik Evans, Beyond the Gaslight, Science in Popular Fiction, 1895-1905 (London, 1976).

literarily accomplished writers. When the center of gravity shifted, it happened rather suddenly.

When I was a lad of twelve or so, I subscribed to a monthly periodical, the Electric Experimenter, of which the editor, a Hugo Gernsback, soon sought to increase circulation by cramming the pages with pictures and diagrams and changing the name to Science & Invention. Gernsback published in each issue of his magazine a short story of the pseudo-scientific type; I remember a reprinting of H. G. Wells's The Star and one or two others, a few original tales worth reading (I remember some by a man named England), and a great deal of tedious trash²⁵—presumably Gernsback could buy nothing better. He announced, however, an intention to found a monthly magazine that would be entirely devoted to fiction of that type. I subscribed at once, and after six or eight months my money was returned with an explanation that Gernsback had found there was so little interest in such fiction that it would not be feasible to try to promote a magazine devoted to it.

Something happened suddenly. A few years later magazines and books of "science fiction" began to multiply as rapidly as niggers on "Welfare." By the end of the 1920s, it was crowding the traditional type of fantasy out of the market. Some revolution in readers' interests had taken place within a very few years. One can form conjectures about the cause, but I abstain from them here. Some talented professional writers turned to the new market, and there are pseudo-scientific fantasies that are worthy of comparison with the best of the traditional type. But the new fashion was cursed from its early vogue with a blight, the itch to make subversive propaganda. Tons of paper were dirtied with silly stories about "Inter-Galactic Federations," the old "one world" writ large, socialistic propaganda of the kind with which H. G. Wells spoiled many of his stories, and monotonously refurbished episodes in

25. The promoters of "science fiction" for a long time harped on the theme that such tales were only anticipations of what Science would shortly make possible: Jules Verne "predicted" the submarine, etc. I am amused by a recollection that one piece of trash in the *Electrical Experimenter* was an "anticipation" of the cable television now being vended in many localities. In the story, an inventor established a "cable phonograph" system: the subscriber could dial a number and thus have his phonograph play any phonographic recording ever made, all of which were in the central office and any of which could be made to play by an adaptation of the mechanism of dial telephones.

which multigalactic "democracy" was rescued from wicked "Fascists." Ray Bradbury and Robert A. Heinlein and a writer named Hamilton became sufficiently well established to sell some stories with reasonable political implications, but the mass of pot-boiling tripe published as "science fiction" is even worse than the mass of low-grade tales of the supernatural that were spewed out in the Nineteenth Century in cheap magazines and chapbooks ("penny dreadfuls"). ²⁶

Much of the boom in "science fiction" (I cannot bring myself to use that catachrestic term without quotation marks) was probably a belated effect of the exciting conjecture that was first fully exploited by H. G. Wells in *The War of the Worlds* (1898).²⁷ Two eminent astronomers, Giovanni Schiaparelli (in 1877) and Percival Lowell (c. 1895), believed that the relatively straight lines visible on the surface of Mars through the best telescopes were in fact rectilinear; they must therefore be artificial, and were most readily explained as canals that distributed water from what seemed to be a polar ice cap. Since men were still incapable of engineering works of such magnitude, that indicated the existence of an "advanced civilization"

26. What is far from being the worst of the chapbooks, Varney the Vampire, or The Feast of Blood (1847), was recently reprinted in two volumes by Dover (1972), with an introduction by E. F. Bleiler that gives some details of the way in which the chapbooks were produced. Chapbooks were issued weekly, each containing an installment of a story that could be prolonged as long as the market was brisk. When I was a child, I was told that this species of writing for the masses had survived the competition of the cinema; housewives purchased each week another installment of a romance that was protracted to tedious length, and when it was finally concluded, they received a set of tableware for which, of course, they had paid many times over.

27. Of course, the idea of life on other spheres is a very old one. Democritus deduced from his atomic theory that the universe must be full of worlds like ours, similarly inhabited, I do not know when the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis was expanded to include the detail that rishis who have become too holy for earth are reincarnated on the moon and dwell in splendid cities on the lunar plains. The idea that there may be other inhabited worlds appears now and then, often in satirical writings, in the old literatures, but was first popularized by Fontenelle in his famous Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes (1686), in which he assured the scientifically minded Marquise that all planets probably supported intelligent life, and that all the stars in the sky were suns which, like ours, were surrounded by such planets. Improvements in telescopic observations soon moderated such fancies, but they were enormously stimulated by the supposed discovery of canals on Mars.

on a relatively near planet which, like Venus, was apparently similar to the earth, so that it was a reasonable inference that there were three planets in the solar system, Venus, Earth, and Mars, that were capable of developing and supporting organic life and hence human life. It was easy to imagine that the superior minds in the "more advanced civilization" on one or both of our planetary neighbors had now reached the stage at which they could produce machines capable of traversing the comparatively short distances of interplanetary space (26,000,000 miles from Venus at an inferior conjunction, and 35,000,000 miles from Mars when it is in opposition near its perihelion). Alternatively, one could imagine an advance in terrestrial science that would permit a visit to one of our planetary neighbors.

I shall not try to guess how many ambitious authors cudgeled their brains to invent ships suited to interplanetary voyages and to adorn with new wonders the civilizations that flourished on Mars and Venus. Until recently there was nothing demonstrably impossible or even implausible in a supposition that the two planets were as infested with organic life as the earth and could have produced intelligent life superior to ours (which should not have been hard to do). Hence all the dreams and hopes of communicating with the inhabitants of other worlds, which have now become absurd, but which sentimentalists and purveyors of marvels to the proletariat are reluctant to abandon.²⁸

After the Suicide of Europe in 1945, the dream of fraternization with Martians and Venusians became more poignant and inspired the great vogue of "flying saucers," which were later called Unidentified Flying Objects with some loss of plausibility.²⁹ There was an epidemic of reported sightings of such wonderful machines, many of them caused by glimpses of planets, bright stars, sounding balloons, the navigational lights

28. Cf. note 19, supra.

29. The saucer shape, most commonly attributed to the space-machines and obligingly shown in the many photographs of automobile hub-caps and similar objects thrown into the air, was one of the best arguments for the validity of the phenomena, since it obviously connected them with the sightings of *clipei ardentes* reported by the elder Pliny, Seneca, and other Romans as behaving in a similar manner. The *clipeus/clupeus* is a round shield uniformly curved toward the boss and therefore having the shape of a saucer.

of aircraft, or, just possibly, rare atmospheric phenomena not vet adequately explained, 30 magnified by excited imaginations that had been stimulated by "science fiction." And as soon as journalists, who are in the business of sensationalism, made the mystery fashionable, the excitement was augmented, as anyone could have predicted with absolute certainty, by persons whose overheated imaginations reached the fervor of autohypnosis and by the usual proliferation of liars, usually obscure individuals eager to attract attention. The Skeptical Inquirer reports that we now have approximately two hundred men and women who swear that they were kidnapped by marvellous beings from outer space and taken for jaunts on marvellous space-machines. An analysis of their reports of their experiences would doubtless permit identification of the "science fiction" on which each individual had nurtured his or her imagination, and a psychological investigation would yield highly important scientific data, showing the relative importance of hallucination and mendacity as causes of such claims. 31

30. Dr. Brian Brady of the U. S. Bureau of Mines believes that some authentic sightings of supposed U.F.O.'s were reports of light balls created by the fissuring of quartz-bearing rocks under seismic stresses, and noted their frequency over major faults in the earth's crust. The electromagnetic charge thus induced on ionized air would be confined in what he calls 'magnetic bottles,' which, I gather, are similar to the ball lightning that is not infrequently observed. The explanation is plausible, so far as I know, since small, erratically moving points of luminescence are produced by the fracturing of quartz in laboratory experiments. When Dr. Brady announced his theoretical explanation, he brought on himself furious telephone calls from indignant individuals, according to the Sunday Times (London), 29 March 1981, which quotes him as remarking, "It seems that people just don't want you to take away the chance that there's some Big Daddy out there in the sky." Believers in "democracy" should take note of what everyone has known for a long, long time.

31. I wish I could hope that such research will be undertaken, for I cannot stress too strongly the almost unique opportunity for psychologists to obtain data crucial for an understanding of human society. Tales about joy rides on "flying saucers" differ significantly from comparable reports: when one considers reports of what individuals claim to have experienced in haunted houses or with *Poltergeister*, one has first to determine whether or not they actually saw what they claim to have seen, i.e., whether they were the victims of hoaxes by pranksters or by believers in spiritual things; and that is frequently very difficult. With the tellers of tales about joy rides on "flying saucers," the only alternatives are hallucination and calculated mendacity, since it should be easy to indentify and exclude possible instances of illusions implanted by competent hypnotists.

Now that we know that there are no Martians or Venusians and that there can be no visitors from other orbs, persons who cannot bear the terror of finding ourselves (for all practical purposes, at least) alone, utterly alone in the cosmos, find their escape-hatch already opened for them by the professional story-tellers. Of course, the desired visitors from "advanced civilizations" reach us by passing through a "time-warp" or dropping through the points at which three-dimensional space is bent back upon itself according to the seductive analogy of a two-dimensional world imagined by expounders of Relativity and popularized by E. A. Abbott's Flatland. There are other wonders of the "hyperspace" invented by ingenious mathematicians, but if one is really desperate, one can at least hope for results from the research that is now actually being carried on at enormous expense by persons with scientific training who yearn to hear radio signals from distant stars or galaxies. After all, one can not only read "science fiction" until one's eyes refuse to go on, but one can pep up a flagging imagination with such absurd cinemas as Star Wars, which Hollywood grinds out as readily as it manufactures "documentaries" to support the Jews' great Holohoax.

There is a crucial difference between the traditional type of fantasy and the new model. Readers of poetry have always known what they were reading, and no one ever supposed that the events narrated by, e.g., Dante or Ariosto, had ever occurred or could occur. And when fantastic tales in prose became common, readers capable of discrimination (which, of course, is "un-American") were never taken in. In the Eighteenth Century, no one who read, e.g., Defoe's Gulliver's Travels or Walpole's Castle of Otranto believed in the possibility of Lilliputians or of gigantic apparitions in sable armor; and today, no reader of Tolkien's masterpiece believes that elves, wizards, "seeing stones," and the like ever existed or could exist. Readers of such fantasies know well that they are indulging a psychic need, as inherent in us as the need for sexual satisfaction, and that they are temporarily indulging in what Walpole described as the "wisdom of exchanging what is called the realities of life for dreams." Readers of adroitly written "science fiction," on the other hand, seem to believe that any marvel that can be described in pseudo-scientific terms is quite possible and will probably be realized in a few years-if not sooner. And I am constantly amazed when I discover that the favorite reading of many scientists today is "science fiction" and that they seem to be almost as strongly influenced by it as the uneducated. In further witness whereof, note the frequency with which uninhibited men of standing in their own field of science communicate to the press the wildest speculations. 32

To a generation raised on a diet of "science fiction," anything is possible, if it is called scientific. No one is impressed when an amateur bends spoons without appearing to touch them as a parlor trick, but call it "psychokinesis" and the suckers will get a faith induced by their yearning to believe in "scientific" wonders.³³

32. I have already suggested perusal of the files of the Skeptical Inquirer. Nothing of which I have heard surpasses the brainstorm of Dr. Mikhail Vasin and Dr. Alexander Shcherbakov, both, according to the press, "senior scientists" in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. They believe that the moon is a "spaceship," a hollow shell covered with armor-plate twenty miles thick; the hollow interior contains the machinery of an "advanced technology," including "special devices" that controlled the spaceship automatically and kept it in orbit about the earth after it was abandoned by the astronauts who brought it near the earth, and who both came and departed in a mysterious way, their wonders to perform. This, of course, is sheer lunacy. See the official Russian publication in English, Sputnik, July 1970. Then call for a double Scotch in a hurry.

33. "Psychokinesis" has, of course, the added lure of the occult, but the itch to believe can be very strong, even when the supernatural is specifically excluded. The history of the "automaton" manufactured by Wolfgang von Kempelen in 1770 is traced by Charles Michael Camoll in The Great Chess Automaton (New York, Dover, 1975), who shows the strength of the lust to believe that a machine could play chess: "half-a-dozen times in its career the Turk's secret [i.e., that there was a chess-player concealed in the machine] was decisively revealed to all who could see and reason; but they refused to look or think, and went on with their desire to believe . . . De nobis fabula narrabitur." - The adulteration of "science fiction" with transcendental vaporings is common enough; a good example is the novel by Frederick Oliver, A Dweller on Two Planets (1894; reprinted, Health Research, Mokelumne Hill, California), from which we learn that there was, on the lost continent of Atlantis, an "advanced civilization," complete with wireless telegraphy, atomic power plants, and yachts which contained machinery to neutralize gravity and zipped through the welkin at high speeds; the Wenusians are even better equipped, having television, transmuting matter by thought-controlled electricity, and enjoying a machine which will read printed books aloud, giving the proper elocutionary emphasis, for example, to each of the speeches by the various characters in Shakespeare. But all these wonders Doat in a gooey syrup of talk about The Way, Tibetan sages roosting on snow-capped mountains, reincarnation, karma, what Jesus said, spiritual thutths, and the rest of the chocolate sauce for female palates, and the novel was reprinted several times and vended as transcendental pablum. (It

There was recently published a best-selling gob of hokum entitled Algeny, by one Jeremy Rifkin, whose typewriter had hysterics over the very moderate success of laboratory experiments in recombining nucleotides in strands of deoxyribonucleic acid to reproduce some cellular organisms, and foresaw the imminent 'cloning' of human beings, manufactured with the uniformity and rapidity of castings turned out by a high-speed stamping machine. Such encroachment on the perquisites of a god (presumably the Yahweh with whom Rifkin may have an hereditary relationship) excited apocalyptic horrors in readers (including some men of standing in a science) who apprehended either divine tantrums, such as are described in the Bible, or the social peril of a society that could dispense with misfits and degenerates. Actually, of course, the 'cloning' of human beings is about as likely as the coming of visitors who have dropped in through a hole in time or space. The New Scientist (16 June 1983) had an editorial explanation of the credulity that is so profitable to Rifkin and his publishers: "The public that eats up Algeny has been raised on science fiction." True, but the editors could have said more than that. I remember having seen, some years ago, two wonder-stories in which human beings were 'cloned' and manufactured on a production line by the ingenious members of an "advanced civilization" that blooms somewhere far out in outer space, but, unfortunately, I did not think it worthwhile to make a note of the authorship and publication of such dizzy fantasies.34 But I'll bet that Rifkin read those tales or imitations of them.

is said to have been a boy's story, polished up and first published pseudonymously as a leg-pull by his father, then a practicing physician of some prominence in California.) I especially commend this book to addicts of U.F.O's who refuse to surrender: the Venusians, being formed of a higher order of matter, are invisible to the purblind eyes of earthlings, so that explains why our photographs of the surface of Venus show nothing—and also why you cannot see the visitor from Venus who may be watching you right now. That's your loss, because she is (as you should guess from her nationality) a beauteous damsel, far more luscious than anything you ever saw in the pages of *Penthouse* and similar publications.

34. One of those fantasies struck a note of ultimate horror: the prototype that the innocent extra-terrestials had selected for their cloning was Senator Joseph McCarthy, who, as all "Liberal intellectuals" know, was an incarnation of Satan, so evil that he thought the United States worth preserving.

Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." It is human nature that is meant in the familiar Horatian tag, naturam expelles furcā, tamen usque recurret. The illiterate Mediaeval peasant believed that "with God, all things are possible." His semi-literate modern successor believes that with Science, all things are possible.

"Knowledge is power," the power that our race desires above all things, the power that not only enables us to subjugate other peoples to our will and partially control our environment, but also fulfills the most profound spiritual need of our Faustian civilization. But what kind of knowledge gives power?

The very title of Lynn Thorndike's fundamental work, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (3 vols., New York, 1923-1934), reminds us that it was only very late in our history that there was a clear dichotomy between unverifiable tales and theories on the one hand, and on the other, empirically ascertained and universally verifiable facts and rigorously logical deductions made from them. But the distinction was vaguely felt early in our culture. Daedalus is a mythical character, of course, but it was not by invoking gods or unseen powers, but by his skill as an engineer that he made Talus, that wonderful automaton, which guarded the coasts of Crete 35; made wings with which he and his son could fly; and even made statues of gods that seemed to move of their own accord and thus mightily impressed the customers of the holy men who kept the temples. 36 The myth, which implies a contrast between human

35. Myths about prominent figures are elaborated and revised by so many that they become a welter of confusion, as, of course, students of Christianity well know. The creation of the wonderful automaton was more commonly ascribed to a god, Hephaestus, and the connection with Daedalus explained by supposing that Talus was not only the name of the automaton but also the name of a son whom Daedalus had in addition to Icarus. Other tales, however, attribute to Haphaestus a copying of an invention made by the mortal, Daedalus. Others credit Daedalus with such simple and primitive inventions as the saw and sails for a ship. I assume that the legend of Daedalus as a cunning mechanic was an old one, but I cannot here enter into the question of whether it was known to Homer. Cf. the following note.

^{36.} I infer the use of the statues in religion, but that seems obvious. Our only clue to the artifice by which Daedalus was said to have given the

ingenuity and supernatural powers, could be taken to presage the well-known innovation of Greek philosophy, the emancipation of the human mind from slavery to superstition.

I believe that the point I am trying to make here is more clearly illustrated by the literature of India, where, in a teeming jungle of endless stories about gods, myriads of other supernatural beings, and theurgic magic, we find the tradition of the Vidyadharas, which probably goes back to the interval between the waning of the old Vedic religion and the outbreak of a second religiosity. In the basic conception, $vidy\bar{a}dharas$ are men who have acquired scientific and technological knowledge, not superhuman beings or sorcerers, and even in such works as the Kathasaritsagara in which the basic conception has been almost effaced, it is not incongruous that the parents of a boy hope that he may become a vidyadhara. To qualify as one, you must first have the surgical skill necessary to deliver a child by Caesarian section without harm to the mother. And you may look forward to becoming so technically proficient that you can build a puspaka, an aërial car that will take you anywhere in the world in a few minutes. 37

appearance of life to the statues, so far as I know, is the passing allusion in Aristotle, De anima, 406b.18 (=I.3.9.), whence it appears that mercury was placed inside a hollow statue of wood; the weight of the fluid mercury would, of course, have made it possible to simulate movement, especially of the eyes. The original story was elaborated until Daedalus was credited with making the statues simulate life so completely that they had to be chained to prevent them from walking away! Robert S. Brumbaugh, Ancient Greek Gadgets and Machines (New York, 1966) thinks that automata as elaborate as those that were actually constructed by competent mechanics in the fourth century B.C. were meant. One could not imagine an automaton more elaborate than Talus, of course, and with all our electronics and computers, we couldn't duplicate Talus today!

37. Such aëronautical devices are frequently mentioned in the literature, and when they are thought of as simply magical, they are commonly said to have been the work of Kuvera, the Regent of the North and dispenser of wealth. In the Rāmāyana, it is Kuvera's half-brother, Rāvana, who abducts Sītā and carries her off in a puspaka. Now Kuvera is a god, and, odd as the genealogy may seem, Rāvana is King of the Rākṣasas, an extremely powerful and malevolent race of demons. The Vidyādharas are human beings who owe their power to the knowledge they have acquired (their name is derived from the verb vid, 'to learn (especially by experience), to know'), and that is a very important difference. — An amusing vulgarization of the whole concept of knowledge is represented by the word vidyālābha, which designates the wealth that one acquires by expert knowledge, and reminds one of the squalor of our contemporary

This is a myth, of course, but obviously based on some actual skills that were essentially scientific, such as surgery. There are two things that are significant in the development of the myth.

(1) Although we begin with the conception of men who have by their technical knowledge acquired a certain power over nature, the religiosity that took complete possession of the Indian mind soon credited the technicians with supernatural powers and made them almost indistinguishable from the several races of demons and other supernatural beings who possess miraculous powers. Superstition absorbed science.

(2) Since their technical abilities gave them a power that made them superior to other men, the Vidyādharas, although honored by kings and beneficent to countries that honor them, are a distinct class and therefore many of them seceded from the societies of the multitudes and used their power to found a kingdom of their own, in the Himalayas or over the sea on the island on which they built the Golden City. This further suggests the attitude that the West has generally taken toward its scientists, and the parallel extends even to stories which suppose a secession of the scientists to a realm they have created for themselves by their technology, as, for example, in H. G. Wells' The Shape of Things to Come or (mutatis mutandis) Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged.

Science has been almost hypostatized in the public's attitude toward the results of scientific inquiry, and could be written with a capital letter. The average victim of the public schools today is apt to think that the word designates some kind of single entity instead of a wide gamut that runs from ascertained facts to tenuous speculations.

When we say that "science has proved..." we should mean only that systematic observation by a large number of competent observers, supplemented by empirical verification wherever possible, has made it certain that... Certainty is, of course, subject to the epistemological problem, for which Hume has given us the only possible answer, and the belief that logic—Aristotelian logic—yields valid conclusions. (If it does not, then our species is a biological error that will soon be corrected, and the best thing to do is to stop thinking.)

We can say that science has proved, for example, that the

universities, in which both the salesmen and their customers rate knowledge according to the income which it will supposedly produce.

earth is a spheroid that revolves about the sun, etc., that there are slight but ascertained differences in the force of gravity at various points on the earth's surface, and that cyanide of potassium will end all your worries. This is something quite different from a theory that is generally accepted, but has not been empirically verified, and there is, of course, a vast difference between theories.

Strictly speaking, biological evolution must still be described as a theory, because, for obvious reasons, it is impossible both to reproduce the evolution of a species in a laboratory and to observe it as it occurs. It has, however, been possible to reproduce some of the processes postulated in the theory, notably, the production of biological mutations by radiation and certain chemicals. Some details of the evolutionary process remain obscure; some unessential elements have had to be modified by, e.g., the need to calibrate determinations of date made from the isotope of carbon; and there was a minor deflection of theory caused by an extremely clever hoax, the "Piltdown man," of which, however, the net result was beneficial. 38 The theory is supported by a vast amount of evidence that seems susceptible of no other explanation, ranging from fossils and related geological determinations to extant species that are before everyone's eyes. We are all familiar, for example, with dogs, coyotes, and wolves, which are so related anatomically that they must belong to a single genus and have evolved from a common ancestor, and yet, although capable of interbreeding, have great innate differences, even within subspecies. (All "Liberal intellectuals" know that there are no such differences, and that it is only vile prejudice and the ultimate sin of discrimination that denies Pekinese employment to herd sheep and prevents ladies from holding Great Danes on their laps, but have you ever tried to adopt a wolf, an admirable animal in his way, as a household pet?)

Although it must be classified as a theory, biological evolution has an extremely high degree of probability, since it is the only way to account reasonably for the development of organic life, all alternative hypotheses that have been thus far

38. For a good account of the hoax, see J. S. Weiner, *The Piltdown Forgery*, Oxford, 1955; reprinted, Dover, 1980. This is an emphatic lesson in the need for absolute integrity in scientific work, but the forgery, although it misled some distinguished anthropologists who trusted the learned perpetrator, did much to smooth the way for the genuine skulls that were discovered later.

suggested having been disproven, since they could not be reconciled with the vast mass of indisputable data. For all their quibbling and distortion of evidence, the "creation scientists" can support their predilection only by postulating not only the existence of a god (for which there is no valid evidence) but of a god who is both omnipotent and malevolent, engaged in the sorry business of deluding us. There have been efforts to produce some sort of compromise, sometimes by persons who seem to hold impressive credentials as technicians of a high order.

Maurice Chatelain says that he designed and supervised the extremely complicated means whereby the various "Apollo" craft that were sent to the moon were controlled and communication was maintained with the ones that were manned. 39 He also says that some of the men who made the round trip to the moon saw "flying saucers" that were keeping them under observation or felt the impact of thought waves from the wonderful "extraterrestrials." 40 That is far from certain, but let us not quarrel with a man's first chapter. Mr. Chatelain and his faithful computer had a high old time as they analysed the mensuration of early civilizations that have left monuments and decipherable records, and used the mathematical factors he thus obtained to interpret a vast welter of archaeological evidence, ranging from the certain to the enigmatic and including a few hoaxes. A candid reader of the first part of his book will wonder whether the fatras of purported evidence produced by Mr. Chatelain and his

^{39.} Our Ancestors Came from Outer Space, translated by Orest Berlings; New York, Doubleday, 1977; paperback, Dell, 1979 and later.

^{40.} The statements allegedly made over the radio by the crews of manned capsules are disputed; they are said to have been suppressed by the executive of the Space Agency, but there was no apparent motive. When the Jews failed to kill all the Americans on the Liberty, they naturally ordered the U.S. Navy to suppress news of their attack, which they thought might disturb the insouciance of their goyim, and the Navy, of course, obeyed its master's masters. (See Jim Taylor, Pearl Harbor II, Washington, D.C., Mideast, 1980). It is hard to see why the Jews would wish to suppress news of high jinks around the moon, and it appears improbable that a lesser authority would have been obeyed. As for the psychic sensations experienced by some men on the capsules and the religiosity some are said to have developed on their return, a psychological study of the mental effects of the great loss of weight they experienced (and perhaps their close confinement most of the time) is certainly in order.

hard-working computer may not contain data of value in elucidating the highly obscure problem of the early movements of the several races of mankind over this planet, although, of course, he will refuse to be bewildered into the conclusion that "astronauts from outer space first landed about 65,000 years ago to foster a new race of earthlings" by producing us hybrids; they inseminated Neanderthal females and thus engendered the Cro-Magnons and hence our race.

Now no one could be more pleased than I by the racial implication of the conclusion for which Mr. Chatelain, according to his publisher, has provided "undeniable proof." In the language of co-eds, I should love to believe it, and I should be glad to assume that it was only by oversight that the "NASA scientist," so thoroughly versed in all the problems of travelling in space, forgot the question of how my uranobatic ancestors, whencesoever they came, were able to travel faster than light or find a convenient time-warp through which to drop in our vicinity. But the great scientist's cloak does not cover his cloven hoof. He tells us that his astronauts came "from another world, just as the Bible tells us," but he does not give us a specific reference to that wonderful story-book and I am willing to bet that if you read through it, you won't find a word about the astronauts, unless they were the "sons of God" who seduced maidens and engendered giants (Nephtlim)41,—and, dear me! I must cover up that blot on my family's escutcheon. And this isn't even the worst of it, for we are invited to believe that the "extraterrestrials" are still with us, since they must have been slipping secrets to that old hokum-peddler, Edgar Cayce.

I have wasted your time and mine on the great scientist from the Space Agency because his is the best modification of the

41. This is the common vocalization of the Hebrew word, NFYLYM, which appears in Genesis, 6.4. For the names of the eleven chief Egregori who conspired to seduce mortal women and commit miscegenation, see the Book of Enoch, which, although dear to many Fathers of the Church and quoted in the "New Testament," was overlooked or excluded when that collection was made. Only fragments of the Greek and Latin versions are now extant, but a complete translation into Ethiopic was found in 1775, and an English translation of it appears in the second volume of R. H. Charles's Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. You should remember that apocrypha are, strictly speaking, esoteric writings, and the word does not mean 'spurious,' except by a secondary sense given it by theologians who were embarrassed by some of the works. The Book of Enoch should not be confused with the Secrets of Enoch, a shorter work preserved in old Slavonic.

theory of biological evolution that I have seen-although I should add that I have little leisure for reading low-grade fiction and may have missed some corkers. I shall not detain you long with the inevitable improvement offered by Marc Dem. 42 The chief astronaut was, of course, our old friend, Yahweh, who was a "master of space travel, a military expert, and...an excellent geneticist." Magnanimously wishing to help Aryans and other low hominids, he produced a masterpiece, a male Jew, but although male Jews should have found Aryan bitches as attractive then as now, Yahweh saw that wouldn't do, and he did a spot of surgery and manufactured a Jewess so his Master Race could breed pure. It is true that some of us lower animals are so wicked as to be disobedient to our divinely appointed supervisors, even though Yahweh in 1917 sent a satellite to Fatima, a little village in Portugal, to warn us. (He couldn't find London, Paris, or Berlin-or perhaps he just missed his aim.) Well, we'll get it in the neck for our perversity, and it seems that Jesus is on his way right now in a "flying saucer," estimated time of arrival unstated.

Concluding our survey of "creation science," which we mentioned only to delimit the theory of biological evolution and emphasize its high probability, we find an instructive contrast in the theory of quarks, which are all the rage nowadays and even come in "colors" and "flavors." You have doubtless encountered, in up-to-date writers, references to quarks as though they are as certain as the appearance of the sun over the horizon tomorrow morning. Any hylologist, if he has a sense of humor, will adapt the well-known jingle and tell you, "I've never seen a quark; I never hope to see one." Quarks are as imaginary as fairies, but with the difference that they were imagined by some rational man who felt that he would start screaming when the next discovery of a subatomic particle was announced. (The total was well over a hundred when I last noticed, and it was sure to increase the next time someone got busy with a cloud chamber and sorted through ten or twenty thousand photographs to find one that showed a streak that mathematically shouldn't have been there.) It was obvious that something was wrong, and that hylologists were in the position of the man who anchored his yacht in a tidal estuary, saw the

^{42.} The Lost Tribes from Outer Space, translated by Lowell Bair; New York, Bantam, 1977 and later. If you decide to read the book, keep a fifth of Chivas Regal at hand; it will help preserve your sanity.

moon set through the porthole of his cabin, and awoke in the morning to see through the porthole the sun rising in the west. Quarks were imagined as a hypothetical possibility to simplify an absurd complexity, but it is discouraging to see that the theorists are finding mathematical reasons for multiplying them, so that they now come in assorted "colors" and "flavors" (mere nonce-words to designate differences between them). I can't tell you whether quarks exist or not, but I have an uninformed suspicion that they will soon have to be simplified theoretically to something more fundamental and bipolar. At all events, it is well to remember that quarks are merely speculative, but will at least warn you to keep your fingers crossed when you try to follow debates about the ultimate structure of the atom as imagined by various theorists. You can't blame the physicists: they are, I am sure, doing their best-but remember that whether quarks are or aren't will not in the least affect the bang of a hydrogen bomb when it is detonated or the advisability of being elsewhere (if you can).

In every field of legitimate scientific investigation, there are ascertained facts, which are indubitable (unless we want to suppose that instead of being sane we are really drunk and attending a Hallowe'en party in a madhouse). And there is a wide spectrum of accepted theories, which range from fairly close approximations of certainty to speculations that are no more substantial than cobwebs, however fashionable they may be for the nonce. Each, unfortunately, must be judged on its own merits, and certainly not in terms of what may be said about it in the weekly bundles of tripe that housewives innocently buy in the proletarian emporia that have replaced grocery stores.

The hypostatized Science does not exist: there is no such entity. There is only the scientific method, which is uniform, whatever its application. It is applied, with greater or less rigor and success, in many legitimate sciences, which are fields of inquiry into the natural laws that govern the real world, and between which there is a certain interrelation and often interdependence. We may properly hope and even expect that continued application of the scientific method will further augment our knowledge of the real world and increase our control over the forces of nature and perhaps yield spectacular demonstration of that control, such as atomic power, by which the public, not improperly, judges the efficacy of research. But there are many things which are clearly impossible. No appli-

cation of the scientific method will ever raise the dead, reverse the direction of time, or make politicians honest.

At the present time, the likelihood of major advances in scientific knowledge is steadily diminishing. The causes of that decline are many, chiefly political and social in their origin, and so complex that any examination of them would take us far beyond the limits of this essay, but a little reflection will identify at least some of them. It is one of history's ironies that diminution of what we may expect in the future accompanies an increasing tendency to expect the impossible—to assimilate the scientific method to witchcraft, a magical means of transforming reality.

I find a poignant pathos in several communications from young men that I have seen in various "right wing" journals. Inspired by a legitimate pride in the scientific accomplishments of our race's Faustian civilization, and by our subjugation and colonization of all continents before our race succumbed to a cunningly induced narcosis—at least we may hope it's narcosis and not death-throes—they enthusiastically propose an Aryan colonization of other planets, of which they have read in "science fiction," so that we may abandon this too polluted spheroid to our enemies!

METAPHYSICS

It is easy to account for the sudden vogue of "science fiction" in the later 1920s. As we have already remarked, it was a novel form of fantasy, refreshing to palates weary of the traditional forms, which had been cultivated almost to exhaustion. But it was really fostered for political purposes. It was an ideal vehicle for revolutionary propaganda, which could be subtly and almost covertly injected into the reader's mind by tales in which Marx's earthly paradise was described as scientifically inevitable.

That sugar-coated propaganda dated from Victorian times. An American writer, Edward Bellamy, after producing a series of quite pedestrian novels that reworked worn-out plots with little success, hit the publishing jackpot with two rather silly books, *Looking Backward*, (1888) and *Equality* (1897).⁴³ The

43. One could think of these as merely modern versions of the old tales about journeys to an earthly paradise, with the future replacing the geographically remote. One could cite, as really comparable, the Christian

most effective propagandist, intellectually far superior to the mediocre Bellamy, was H. G. Wells, who always had the good sense to eschew Bellamy's grinning optimism. His *Time Machine* contains elements of political satire but is essentially a brilliant tale of pseudo-scientific adventure. His *Story of Days to Come* and *When the Sleeper Wakes*, both dating from 1899 and still in print as "prophetic science fiction novels," are extremely adroit. Their glowing pictures of the socialistic world of the future that Science has made inevitable do not entirely omit its horrors, but leave the average reader with the feeling that there must be some way to eat the cake and have it, too.

The propaganda that became so large a part of the "science fiction" during the past half-century was cruder and on a much lower literary level, but nevertheless effective, and there can be no doubt but that the great vogue of this kind of fantasy was partly fostered for revolutionary purposes. That, however, is only marginal to our present subject.

There was a concurrent and drastic revolution in scientific thinking. I have no thought of attempting anything so absurd as to try to adjudicate the strictly scientific questions involved, and I must not be understood as pronouncing on the accuracy of any of the scientific theories I shall mention. My purpose is only to call attention to their drastic and ominous consequences.

It is fair to say that in 1920 the world-view of scientific thought was in complete harmony with common sense and that by 1930 that harmony had been disastrously destroyed. In 1920, one thought of the entire physical world, from the infinite to the infinitesimal, as obeying a uniform law of causality and differing only in the scale on which the various phenomena took place. The early model of Bohr's atom could still be understood as a miniature world subject to the Newtonian laws.⁴⁴ The Lorentz contractions ("transform-

rifacimento of the wonder tale of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Alexandri Magni iter ad Paradisum (first edited in 1858), and even the common legend, dating from the end of the Seventh Century, of the three sainted monks, Theophilus, Sergius, and Hyginus, who travelled far into the mysterious East, seeking a land in which men are happy—a tale which, for all its crudity and absurdities, has a deeply human pathos, the perennial and unrealizable aspirations of our unhappy species. A simple form of the tale is to be found in the standard collections of lives of the saints; a more elaborate form may be found in the first volume of Zambrini's Miscellanea di opuscoli inediti o rari (Torino, 1861).

The first spark of revolution came from the solar eclipse on 29 May 1919, which yielded observations that seemed to provide for the first time confirmation of Einstein's General Theory. Relativity smouldered for a time and then burst into a conflagration. Astronomers and psysicists alike underwent an almost spiritual conversion and accepted as real Lorentz's fantastic world in which time and space are no longer separate and absolute in themselves but have become merely reciprocally interdependent appearances that are relative to the mind of the observer. Strictly speaking, there is only one absolute, light, and it really does not move through a given space in a given time, but is what measures space and time and makes them merely aspects ("dimensions") of the same thing. Physics, in other words, became a kind of mathematical metaphysics.

I cannot tell you whether Relativity is right or wrong, and I shall draw no inferences from the fact that it has become in scientific thought a dogma to which many men are as passionately attached as Christians once clung to the doctrine of transsubstantiation. It is still a theory, a speculative theory, deduced from premises that are still uncertain, many of them beyond the scope of experimental verification. The most cogent bits of observed evidence that support it, the precession of the orbit of Mercury and the deflection of light from distant stars about the sun, are both susceptible of other explanations. The theory is not compatible with quantum mechanics, so that one or the other (or both!) must be wrong, although it is now as much of a faux pas to mention that as it would have been to discuss sexual intercourse in a Victorian drawing room. Evidence that the velocity of light, Einstein's famous C, is not an absolute seems to be accumulating, and is becoming more difficult to explain away. 45 If the sun is not the uniform sphere

^{44.} It is no great over-simplification to say that electrons revolved about their proton as planets circle their sun. Inevitably, of course, the agile imaginations of early writers of "science fiction" immediately peopled electrons with advanced civilizations or, conversely, thought of our solar system as an atom in a super-cosmos.

^{45.} For one ingenious theory to explain away inconvenient observations, see the *Scientific American*, June 1982. The grapevine reports that we shall soon be given an Einstinian explanation of the recent demonstration

supposed in the Einstinian calculations, its internal structure could adequately explain the precession of the orbit of Mercury, and evidence to that effect was presented last year by Dr. Henry A. Hill, but he had to go to Dublin to have an opportunity to present that evidence, which, it is alarming to note, excited *indignation*.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, I cannot assure you on my own responsibility that Relativity is a fraud, although that is precisely the conclusion that is reached by distinguished and very courageous scientists, Dr. Dean Turner, Dr. E. E. Butterfield, Dr. Herbert Dingle, the late Dr. Herbert Ives, and other contributors to The Einstein Myth and the Ives Papers (New York, Devin-Adair, 1981). But I can assure you, without hesitation, that something is infernally rotten—and in a place much nearer than Denmark—when scientists resort to the vapid argument that those who blaspheme against their Savior are, if Russian, nasty Communists, and, if Americans, vile "anti-Semites," using a nonsense term that can be employed only by the completely thoughtless or the utterly cynical.⁴⁷ Whatever the truth of Relativity, it has

by Alain Aspect and his associates in Paris that photons are subject to some force that moves faster than the sacrosanct velocity of light. We can only wait and see.

46. Dr. Hill was confirming earlier work. As long ago as 1961, C. Bruns and R. H. Dicke pointed out that the structure of the sun, so far as it could be determined, might well account for the perturbation of Mercury, and, as a matter of fact, subsequent measurements of the oblateness of the solar sphere gave both the exact amount required to cause the precession of the orbit and indicated that the core of the sun rotates more rapidly than the photosphere, for which Hill presented additional evidence. But the work of Bruns and Dicke was swept under the rug, and the textbooks went on proclaiming that the precession of Mercury's orbit had proved that Mercury contracted in size as its velocity increased as it approached perihelion and therefore proved Relativity. That kind of thinking is theological, not scientific.

47. What makes the term "anti-Semitic," which began as a joke in France, so disgusting is its sheer absurditity, since the Semitic race seems always to have been the object of the Jews' most intense racial hatred. According to the tales in their Holy Book, they began by exterminating (with the help, of course, of their Big Pirate in the clouds) the Semitic population of a large part of Palestine, and when they appear in history, they have obtained, by whatever means, possession of that territory, enslaved its native population, and even appropriated their language, since Hebrew seems to be a dialect of Canaanite (Old Phoenician), much as Yiddish is

obviously become a religion, ⁴⁸ and that alone suffices to make one take pleasure in Dr. Turner's succinct characterization of godly Einstein as "the high priest of Recondite Moronity."

However that may be, it was Einstein's Relativity that dynamited the dam and soon the sciences were awash in a flood of mathematical metaphysics. When I first heard of Einstein's theories, I was assured that there were in the whole wide world only twelve other men (the proper number of apostles for a Savior, of course) who had big enough brains to understand it, but in a few years everyone who was Somebody in the sciences was understanding it. and there was a jungle growth of theories equally metaphysical about almost everything that was very large or very small. We soon came to the Principle of Indeterminacy, not as a limitation inherent in the means of observation (as seems to have been originally intended) but as a physical reality in a kind of infinitesimal fairy land in which there was no longer a necessary connection between cause and effect.

It would be both tedious and profitless to enumerate the progeny of Relativity, but I cannot refrain from just mentioning the "Big Bang," which is all the rage these days. Since, by the Doppler Effect, light from distant stars and galaxies is uniform-

essentially a corruption of German, And today, financed by the cringing peasants of their American colony, they are subjugating and, when convenient, exterminating the largely Semitic peoples of Asia Minor and direct their most intense hatred at Saudi Arabia, the nation which contains the largest percentage of pure Semitic stock, and which the Americans are scheduled to deliver into their hands after enough killing and destruction to appease the Jews' hatred momentarily. The American serfs have just despatched 11,000 troops to help Begin, and will soon send many more, although Israel is the mightiest military power in the world, if one believes the American Congressman who recently assured his supporters that they must pay Israel a tribute of seven million dollars a day because "Israel is our only protection against the Soviet." The Jews are, in fact, the most anti-Semitic people in the world, and opposition to them can be called "anti-Semitic" only in the world of 1984, where "war is peace" and "all are equal except that some are more equal than others." Humpty Dumpty was a piker in linguistics!

48. This is obviously true, even if one explains much of the scientists' piety by invoking the "principle of inverse irreversibility" sardonically formulated by Ralph Estling in the New Scientist (30 September 1982), according to which a little evidence against an accepted scientific theory "will cause agonies of doubt," but irrefutable proof of its untenability "will cause the scientist to cling to it with the tenacity and singlemindedness of a barnacle."

ly shifted toward the red, and therefore shows a corresponding velocity of recession, strictly proportional to the distance of the object, so that the farther the object is from us, the faster it is moving away from us, and since Einstein said that nothing can change the speed of light, it is believed that the entire cosmos is exploding, like the blast from a stick of dynamite that has been detonated. It follows that all the matter in the universe, including the most remote galaxies now known and the even more remote ones that will soon be discovered, was originally concentrated in just one ball of infinitely dense matter, and that we can thus calculate back to the date on which that ball exploded (and, logically, time began!). Now although it is known that interstellar space is not a vacuum, but is filled with extremely tenuous gas, refraction, such as is seen in any sunset, is thought to be excluded, and, what is strange, although the force of gravity in a "black hole" is said to be so great as to prevent the escape of light from it, it is assumed that the gravity of celestial bodies, which could have a cumulative effect proportional to the distance traversed, could not retard a ray of light (decrease its frequency) to produce the shift toward the red.

Now I don't really care, but I just know that tomorrow or the next day some holy man will yell "hosanna!" and proudly announce that the Truth of the Bible has at last been vindicated, because Science has conclusively proved that, ten or twenty billion years ago, the three-in-one Jesus laid an egg, and that when the divine egg, charged, of course, with concentrated mana, was hatched by the Holy Ghost $(r\overline{u}dh)$, just as it says in Genesis 1), it blew up into the $t\overline{o}h\overline{u}$ $w\overline{a}$ $b\overline{o}h\overline{u}$. (just as it says ibidem) out of which came the universe and all its marvels—and where would you be without it? So give to Jesus until it hurts and mail your cheque today.

As I have said several times already, it is not our concern to determine the truth or falsity of Relativity. Let it be superlatively true, it is still of (relatively!) little importance, except to metaphysicians, and we can only wonder why it seems to obtrude itself into every scientific discourse as persistently as King Charles's head got into Mr. Dick's memorial. It is, in its way, similar to the older demonstration of the fourth dimension, which has long been a mathematical truism. By just moving a tennis ball into the fourth dimension, you can turn it inside out without breaking its surface, and, by the same procedure, you can move a cube of sugar at right angles to all of

its faces. True, no doubt—who can deny it?—but until some mathematician thus turns a tennis ball or moves a cube, there is no ocassion for excitement.⁴⁹

If the universe is indeed exploding as claimed, there is no cause for alarm: it will last our time—I mean the time of our species. If it be true that Mercury undergoes the Lorentz contraction as it moves toward perihelion, Newtonian physics are all you need to hit it right on the nose with a rocket, if you so desire. And if it be true that subatomic particles move without cause in a way that somehow depends on the observer, you need not lie awake o' nights trying to figure out what the mirror in your bathroom looks like when it isn't reflecting you. 50 You have other things to worry about.

In short, if Relativity is true, it is comparable to the fact, doubtless mentioned by one of your teachers in school, that every time you go upstairs in your house, you alter the orbit of Jupiter. We can adapt the legal aphorism and say, *De minimis non curat homo*. Relativity, be it ever so true, is of infinitesimal relevance to the sciences on which our lives depend. But it has spawned a metaphysics that has so bewildered men of some scientific reputation that they find in quantum mechanics a proof of the hokum about "extra-sensory perception"!

It will be understood that I do not in the slightest deprecate research into the nature of "black holes" and quasars; I do object to the expenditure of billions of dollars in an effort to overhear chit-chat that supermen in some neighboring galaxy might have beamed at the earth a few million years ago. I applaud hunting the quark (who is proving more various and elusive than the snark), but I want "science fiction" kept out of

^{49.} As one would expect, a Russian fakir, P. D. Ouspensky, produced a book, Tertium Organum, modestly designed to supplant the famous work by Lord Bacon; when translated into English in the 1920s, it sold like popcorn at a circus, since it proved that you must have a soul (sizzling with Love, of course) in the very place into which you insert a tennis ball when you turn it inside out without breaking its surface. Such profundity leaves intellectuals agape. When I reviewed Ouspensky's last book, The Fourth Way (New York, 1957), Iremarked that while it was permissible to doubt that "everything that dies feeds the moon" and that "the air we breathe is hydrogen 192," the book contained one irrefragable statement: "people are becoming less and less sane." Ouspensky proved that to the hilt.

^{50.} Some delightful verses on this problem by J. A. Lindon are printed in a footnote by Gardner, op. cit., p. 186.

the laboratory.

I will own frankly that I am profoundly disturbed by the drastic change in the climate of scientific work that I have witnessed in my own lifetime. When I was a youngster in college and had first to read Einstein closely, I was not able to cope with his mathematics, but I thought, perhaps wrongly, that Relativity was subversive of the work that Bohr had thus far done, and, in an essay I wrote at that time, I predicted, with juvenile rashness, that a general acceptance of Relativity would destroy our faith in the scientific method. Einstein, it was true, had expressed a hope that Newtonian physics, that is to say, a conception of physical reality as determined by a strict causality, could be restored, but it seemed to me that the whole tendency of scientific thought that was based on Relativity was tending, especially in subatomic physics, to abandon the very concept of causality and to have begun a regression of which the ultimate terminus was the lawless and animistic nature perceived by the dim consciousness of Australian aborigines. I assumed that a repudiation of causality would spread, like an infection, from one scientific discipline to another. I still hope I was wrong.

In the Golden Age, the gods still frequented the earth, but as mankind degenerated, they left in disgust. The last to leave was the fair daughter of Zeus, Astraea, the Virgin, who lingered longest, hoping that men would not entirely repudiate the concept of Justice, which she represented; but at last she, too, departed, and now we can only glimpse her on starlit nights, far, far away in the heavens, where she dwells in the Zodiac, with the diamond fire of Spica gleaming on her virginial breast. I do not want to see common sense follow her into exile.

IS THERE ANY HOPE?

In the Eighteenth Century, as Voltaire tells us, two extraterrestrials, Micromégas, a native of Sirius, and his friend, a Saturnian academician, stopped by the earth and discovered, somewhat to their astonishment, that there was life on it. Their scientific curiosity then led them to try to ascertain whether any form of life on the tiny planet was intelligent, but they could find only slight and ambiguous evidence of that.⁵¹

51. They are convinced, however, when one of the animalcules on this tiny planet is able to measure by triangulation the height of the Saturnian, whose stature is, of course, proportional to the size of his planet. The

More than two decades ago, reviewing some bundle of piffle about "flying saucers," I suggested that speculation about the inhabitants of Venus or Mars would be premature so long as we did not have more cogent evidence that intelligent life had developed on our own planet.

The crucial question has at last been asked, and I have taken the title of this essay from a new book by Jack Catran, *Is There Intelligent Life on Earth?* ⁵² It is refreshingly forthright, lucidly written—and ominous.

The subtitle is, "We are ALONE in the universe." I expected the book to begin with a demonstration that, as was succinctly stated by Sir John Eccles, "the chances of rational beings existing elsewhere in the universe are so remote as to be out of the question." Mr. Catran takes that more or less for granted, although he mentions a few of the pertinent data when he reviews, with restrained satire, some of the wilder "science fiction" that has been solemnly proposed as legitimate scientific theory. He ridicules the unceasing babble about possible communication with beings from a more advanced civilization on some other planet, supermen who coyly play hide-and-seek about the earth on "flying saucers" or visited it as "astronauts" in the past or aimed radio waves at us from somewhere in this or other galaxies for our edification.

Such exciting drivel is naturally purveyed by scribblers like Von Däniken and journalists, whose business it is to keep the boobs in a dither, but Mr. Catran shares my alarm that it is also peddled by men who are professors in highly reputed universities and are accredited in legitimate sciences.

It is small consolation that many of the performing scientists probably do not mean what they say. Mr. Catran suggests that the initials of the much-touted and extremely expensive project called Search for Extra-Terrestrial Intelligence would more properly stand for "Search for Extended Tax-free Income." I cannot forget the scientist who complacently said that such things as "creation science" merely prove the value of scientific training: it produces clever fellows with lucrative talents, and "You can hire a scientist to prove anything." And it was

Saturnian was more than twice as tall as Jesus, who was measured in the same way by the Reverend Mr. Oral Roberts.

^{52.} Lidiraven Books, P. O. Box 5567, Sherman Oaks, California; \$12.95 postpaid.

another scientist who explained to me years ago the principles of his research: "Where the bucks are, there go I." He could have made the parody a little closer ("Where the politician sucks, there suck I"), but you can see his point. One can suggest, however, other motives for some of the performers: an irrestible yen to exhibit one's visage on the boob-tube; a high-minded urge, common in all religions, to perpetrate forgeries and hoaxes to influence the populace to behave as one wishes; and, as a distinguished student of such phenomena reminds me, just the fact that scientists are human and therefore members of species that commonly permit their glands to overrule their reason. And one must not forget the ambience of a society in which natural ignorance is augmented by the ignorance inculcated in the public schools, and anything goes and the wilder the caper, the more it will be applauded. But Mr. Catran is probably right in tracing most of the pseudo-scientific jigging to an appetite for fast bucks. 53

53. The author could have gone on to consider what is even more alarming, the ever increasing incidence of downright fraud in "research" that is accepted as eternal truth by honest but gullible scientists throughout the world. One naturally expects corruption and crime in anything that emerges from the Dismal Swamp that is commonly called Washington, D.C. One thinks, for example, of the two great scientists who, as part of the Food and Drug Administration's assault on the most eminent member of the College of Medicine at the University of Illinois. forged a spectroscopic analysis that was advertised to the public in Life (4 Oct. 1963), then one of the most widely circulated magazines in the nation. When an independent laboratory made its own spectroscopic analysis and exposed the hoax, the Administration's natural response was to send out agents to threaten with reprisals corporations that used the services of the independent laboratory. All of that is not really a contrast to the same Food and Drug Administration's savage reprisals in July 1976 against the director of one of its own branches, who, although employed by the Federal government, doubtless through some blunder, was an honest man. Dr. Anthony Morris was given three days to get out of the building and all his records and even his laboratory were as thoroughly destroyed as could have been done by a horde of Huns. His great offense was to disclose to the public data that ruined the great scheme to innoculate everyone against the largely fictitious "swine flu," which could have had-and may well have been planned to have-a result that would have duplicated the famous epidemic of a deadly influenza in 1918, with large numbers of Americans dying everywhere and bureaucrats and "experts" in all their glory rushing all over the landscape, making big noises, and sucking ever more blood from an affrighted populace.

The most heinous of all forms of crime is becoming increasingly common in the guise of "scientific research." In a recent book, Betrayers

One can endorse, almost without qualification, all that Mr. Catran has to say about the physical sciences—he is justly sceptical about the "Big Bang," for example—and one can only praise his repeated emphasis on the basic fact that, for all practical purposes, we are alone in the entire universe and that all the palaver about civilizations elsewhere is equivalent to spook-raising and probably just as fraudulent.

If you have ever wandered through the more lonely regions of the south-west, you have probably followed an old Indian trail or one left by prospectors until you came suddenly to a point when the trail ended in a drop into an arroyo or recently formed gulch or subsidence of a limestone cavern. When you read this book, you will also come to a sudden drop and step into it, if you aren't watching. Mr. Catran starts talking about an intelligent society on this planet, and he has been reading "science fiction"—lots of it. And not the best, either.

There are some stories he could have read with profit. He could have read Olaf Stapledon's Sirius. The hero, who is appropriately named for the dog star, is a dog who, as is possible when Science can do anything, is born with potentiality of a man's intelligence and is given an education to develop it. But he discovers that his mind cannot alter his innate limitations. He can read, but he cannot write: his paws will not grip a pen or fit the keys of a typewriter. He can speak and reason, but he cannot disregard the instincts that are inherent in a canine body. The end, of course, is tragic. The story, which

of the Truth (New York, 1983), William J. Broad and Nicholas Wade list a few examples of forged data in very important areas of scientific investigation that happened to be detected, and they estimate that for every exposed fraud a hundred thousand more may "lie concealed in the marshy wastes of scientific literature." That, no doubt, is gross hyperbole, but if the total is only 1% of that figure, a thousand sets of forged data now generally accepted as valid in matters of any importance should be enough to send cold shivers down your spine. The authors give fairly numerous examples, but they almost constantly keep their eyes pudically averted from Margaret Mead's "anthropology," the prevalent "sociology," and their adjuncts, fields in which the fabrication of spurious evidence has long been a way of life. An anonymous writer in Instauration offered an explanation of the authors' conspicuous discretion: "both work for the New York Times, which happens to be the granddaddy hoaxer of them all in the nature/nurture pseudo-debate." It would be easy to compile a more inclusive and damning book, which could properly be entitled, "Treason to Western Civilization." But that is another subject, far beyond the scope of the present article.

THE GOSPEL

could also be taken as an allegory, might have reminded Mr. Catran that all organisms have limitations inherent in their biological structure. It is true that he does mention a "genetic inheritance" twice, but only to forget about it immediately.

It soon becomes apparent that Mr. Catran was nurtured on Technocracy, of which the adepts, it seems, are still plodding along, as persistent as other creationists. A few years before the United States was mobilized for the Crusade to Save the Soviet, I heard two lectures by, and even conversed briefly with; Howard Scott, who was then seeking recruits for his grey-shirted army of engineers, who were going to help him do what Jesus, Marx, and other Jewish revolutionaries promised to do, create a New World. It was the same old panacea with a new label on the bottle. Scott talked about the wonders of technology, and his sales-pitch inflated the egos of engineers so ignorant of human nature that they could believe that nations can be built in the same way as suspension bridges. Plenty of horse-power and kilowatts will work miracles.

And now, almost half a century later, that age-old boob bait, slightly disguised with new verbiage, acted on Mr. Catran like a dose of lysergic acid diethylamide. I should have felt much better, if he had started waving his arms, not in the wild oratory of an evangelist, but in an effort to fly up and roost on the boughs of a convenient tree, as some who have ingested the hallucinatory drug try to do.

The man who writes so judiciously about the physical sciences and what is impossible in the real world as we know it, suddenly turns in an epoptic rapture and assures us over and over that "with science everything is possible." The man whom I admired for his rational ridicule of talk about "astronauts" begins to foam at the mouth and promise that "Space travel will come, we will know the surfaces of other planets and eventually other solar systems and galaxies." And with a messianic glare in his eyes he even proclaims that "man can become a god through manipulation of the controls." Oh, yes. Eritis sicut dii—that was the bait with which the world's first con man hooked the first sucker, according to the well-known myth in Genesis, 3.5.

I will tell you frankly that I read on through this book with despair in my heart. I was going to end this article right here with an observation that Jack Catran had answered his own question with an emphatic negative. But it may be worthwhile to review briefly his hallucinations.

Fashions constantly change, of course, and con men are always coining new words, but if you look to the essentials, you will see that with Jack Catran we have gone back to Edward Bellamy, and that means the revelations of Messiah Marx, whence a clear spoor leads back to primitive Christianity. And with Marx, we have left even "science fiction" behind and entered the magical world of religion.

As everyone who has read the Marxists critically has not failed to see, and as Mr. Bannerman most recently reminded us in the July issue of *The Liberty Bell*, the gospel of St. Marx is just the old Judaeo-Christian mythology with the supernatural sanctions left out, thus making the cult the most implausible and unreasonable of all the Christian heresies. It is true that there is reciprocal hostility between Marxists and the other Christian cults, but that is merely normal. Christian sects began persecuting each other even before one of them attained political power in the decaying Roman Empire, and everyone remembers the fearful Wars of Religion that convulsed and almost ruined Europe. The Gospel of Love invariably incites the most savage and blood-thirsty hatreds.

Marxist cults are both a culmination of the evolution of Christianity and a most impressive instance of the historical and social phenomenon that is best called *the cultural residue*. ⁵⁴ Throughout all history, customs survive the conditions that occasioned them, and all religions inculcate beliefs that come to be taken for granted and so survive the doctrines from which they were originally derived.

54. I have discussed the law of cultural residues briefly in America's Decline, pp. 360 f., and elsewhere. The perdurance of what Bacon, with a somewhat unfortunate choice of terms, called the idola theatri among a peasantry is notorious and often mentioned by "intellectuals," who have overlooked the larger beam in their own eyes. The cheat is often concealed by the coining of nonce words and the perversion of the old, of which we see flagrant examples in the press every day. The word 'Christian' is a notoriously lubricious word. Theologians like to twist it to include only themselves as real 'Christians,' stigmatizing others as 'Gnostics,' 'Arians,' 'Manichees,' 'Shakers,' 'Mormons,' etc. because they differ on some point of doctrine that is regarded as crucial. Many clergymen today peddle Marx's hokum, which they call the "social gospel," and claim to be Christians although they admit they cannot believe the mythology; the Communists peddle the same garbage under other names and profess to be anti-Christian. Both are clearly derived from the proletarian agitation

We cannot here discuss the long and ironical evolution of Christianity after the Jews inflicted it on the already mongrelized Roman Empire. ⁵⁵ As everyone knows, out of the welter of competing sects and the various adaptations of their propaganda to make it less offensive to the Aryan mind, there emerged a generally accepted dogma that Jesus, who was supposedly a third of his father and had more or less taken over from the old man, had ordained such things as "brotherhood" and "equality" and "human rights." Now so long as one believed in the existence and super-natural power of Jesus and in the veracity of the theologians who claimed to know what he had commanded, one had to accept those strange and unnatural notions as divinely sanctioned and therefore to be enforced, even in open violation of the facts of human nature.

In the Eighteenth Century, men who found the wild tales in the Bible simply unbelievable had to reject the childish myths, but they turned back to the purer source from which the Christians had taken the odd notion of "all mankind," the Stoicism of the Graeco-Roman world, and became deists,

carried on by the earliest Christian sects, and so the term 'Christian' should be impartially applied to both or to neither.

55. What makes the evolution so ironic and even paradoxial is the fact that, according to the tales in the "Old Testament," which Christians claim to believe, their god (Yahweh, Jesus & Co., Inc.), for the greater part of time, decreed "human rights" only for his pet bandits and regarded all other races as having no more rights than swine; he notoriously afflicted the Egyptians with every torment he could think of to entertain his ferocious pets before they ran away with the gullible Egyptians' portable property, and he helped his chosen marauders slaughter the Semites and other cattle in Palestine and steal a country for themselves. It is true that Christians believe their god reformed and became less savage after the Jews crucified a third of his divine corporation, and he then ordained "human rights" for the former biped cattle, except pagans and heretics. He did not really extend "human rights" to all loquacious species of anthropoids until he had to compete with the revived Stoicism of the deists, whose Nature's God had decreed it for reasons best known to himself. The Jews, who have refused to take stock in christs who went bankrupt and were killed, have held fast to their "Old Testament's" conception of Yahweh as a Celestial Jew who naturally regards all races but his own as cattle, to be domesticated or butchered. They are more logical as well as historically correct. What Arvans need, if they are unwilling to be cattle, is a god of their own, and it is a great pity that since belief in supernatural beings has become impossible for educated men, that recourse is closed to our race.

believing in Nature's God, who was so often mentioned at the time of the American Revolution. This god, whose existence and wishes his votaries deduced from what they knew of the physical world and of the beliefs that the Christians had taken from the Stoics, was believed to have ordained the social dogmas that Christianity had already imposed on Europe, "human rights," "brotherhood," etc.

Marx concocted his heresy in a time in which greatly increased knowledge of nature had, as we remarked earlier, sent Nature's God into the limbo of dead gods. He therefore dispensed with supernatural sanctions altogether, but retained the old dogmas about "human rights" and "equality" and the rest of the social doctrine that Jesus had supposedly commanded men to follow.

Marx was driven, of course, by the lust for destruction that his race has shown throughout its history, but he could count on the law of the cultural residue to prevent most of his contemporaries from seeing that the doctrine that was generally accepted as desirable and right became absurd as soon as one dispensed with a divinity who commanded what was contrary to nature. Without a god to enforce them, "human rights" are merely meaningless noises produced by vocal cords. There are no "rights" in nature, where the only law is the survival of the fittest, i.e., force, the power of muscle or mind. An unarmed man alone in a jungle has no "right" not to be eaten by lions. An American colonist had no "right" not to be tortured to death for the amusement of the Indians who had captured him. There can be no "rights" without the power to enforce them. Only an organized society can create rights, which it bestows by general consensus on its members to regulate their conduct and prevent an anarchical dissolution of the society. A society can bestow rights only on its citizens, to the exclusion of aliens and of other mammals, although it may wish to treat them kindly.

Organized societies may, of course, think it expedient to adopt norms of conduct between themselves, and where the nations are of the same race and have the same instinctive standards, such agreements may bestow rights that can be enforced so long as the concord is maintained. Thus, for example, a German in France may have rights, so long as the two nations are not at war. And among Aryans before their civilization was rotted by alien races (who were naturally intent on their own advantage), there was even a consensus that was supposed to bestow certain shadowy rights in wars between

Aryan nations, since the racial instinct forbade certain atrocities. For example, many German soldiers who surrendered to American, Canadian, or British forces during the Jewish War Against the West thought they had a right not to be tortured and murdered; they were mistaken, for the Jews' stooges had repudiated the standards that had been accepted by civilized nations, and so the Germans, as they soon discovered, had no rights.

The set of illusions, of which "human rights" is a key example, are the real essence of the religion, and it is not at all remarkable that, as we have so often seen in our contemporaries, individuals flop back and forth between the more orthodox Christian sects and Marxism, often executing several such floppings in the course of their lives. Basically, they remain Christians, as did the Lutherans, who repudiated the Papacy, and the Calvinists, who repudiated Luther, too, and all the many other warring sects. The important difference is that so many "Liberals" and the like do not see that the Marxists, having eliminated their god, also eliminated all basis for the social superstitions he supposedly ordained, so that their talk about "all humanity" and "equality" has become mere childish drivel about Santa Claus, his reindeer, and the toys he will bestow when he arrives.

Mr. Catran is just an up-to-date version of Swedenborg, another engineer who thought he had revelations. All that he has really done is put Science in place of Jesus as a miracle-worker, with a great loss in credibility. He will probably have a fit when he discovers that he has really remained a Christian in his heart and his fantasies.

THE ANATOMY OF REVOLUTION

New Worlds have always been the shining bait dangled before simpletons by revolutionaries, who can never deliver what they promise. The famous Jesus is reported in the various gospels to have made all sorts of glowing promises, but Christianity nevertheless was a successful revolution against the Roman Empire and triumphed over the blackened ruins of civilization. The gospel of Marx is a revolution against the civilization that our race precariously erected on the ruins of the old, and it has already been so successful that only rare individuals today can see how revolutionary it was, for the populace has been made to take its most deadly myths for granted as "social truth." So

does Mr. Catran, who is preaching his own translation of Marx. He eschews such dated terms as 'intelligentsia' and 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'

Mr. Catran's revolution is to be carried out by "the scientists," but he does not explain how those gifted beings are going to pull it off. He could have imagined a secession of the modern Vidyādharas to a realm of their own in the Himalayas or elsewhere, as was done by H. G. Wells, Ayn Rand, and others, but he does not. Perhaps he was restrained by some recollection of the scientists whom he had just castigated for their credulity, venality, and irresponsibility. But the "scientists" are going to do it just the same, because it is inevitable. It is inevitable because Mr. Catran foresees, as does everyone who thinks about it for three minutes, the collapse of what he calls the "money system." He does not see that there is almost no real money in it, only stacks of the intrinsically worthless paper that is being printed in ever increasing quantities by the great counterfeiting ring in Washington, D.C., but he does see that there is an inevitable end to the technique of avoiding hangovers by drinking some more alcohol.

I need scarcely remark that the core of Mr. Catran's magic is the old Christian hokum about making everybody equal.⁵⁶ He is going to do it, however, because human beings are merely "complex machines"—so we are back with La Mettrie in 1748, polished up a little by Skinner's now fading doctrine of Behaviorism. The glorious world of tomorrow will begin when all infants are kidnapped from their mothers and raised in collective pens by "behavioral scientists," who will apply the Pavlovian "principles of behavior modification," producing, of course, although Mr. Catran doesn't see it or doesn't quite dare to say so, animals that will respond automatically and mindlessly to whatever stimulus their masters give them.

One wonders whether the "social animals and energy-consuming machines" that the aforesaid "behavioral scientists" are going to manufacture will really appreciate a paradise in which "every person will receive the same income in goods and services" and "all people will possess unlimited credit." In fact, only a passing and almost furtive mention of an unexplained "population control" differentiates Mr. Catran's ideal from the

^{56.} The Christian ideal is most clearly stated by Jesus in the gospel that I cited in a review, reprinted in America's Decline, pp. 360 f., q.v.

glorious future that is envisioned as inevitable by Seidenberg, a paradise in which billions and billions of biped cockroaches will crawl mindlessly over a manure heap eight thousand miles in diameter.⁵⁷

It is quite true that the techniques of "behavior modification" do work. They are obviously very effective in "sensitivity training" and all the other work of scientific Draculas that is described in the book by Mr. Dieckmann to which I referred above. And some of its principles are applied much more surreptitiously in the public schools and in the other psychological weapons that are being used in an all-out offensive against our already stultified race.

There is one question, which I am sure Jack Catran would deride as a vestige of an outmoded past. Let us assume that the "behavioral scientists" do succeed in converting the abducted infants into perfectly conditioned and adjusted "energy-consuming machines," but let us consider for a moment the infants whom the mad scientists carry off to their behavioral pens. It is true that when the children grow up, they will never know they could have become something else. But what if they could have known? Are we not back to the old ethical problem that Glanville formulated in his Lux Orientalis (1682)? Of certain beings supposedly created by his god, he justly observed that "Certainly, could they have been put to their choice whether they would have come into being on such terms, they would rather have been nothing for ever." Might not—would not that also be true of the scientists' creations?

Is it likely that the "energy-consuming" machines of our future will revel in the awareness that they all have the same income? They will have work (i.e., a purposeful occupation) only three or four hours a week—and even those hours may be dull, because computers will do all their thinking for them. After they are thirty-five, they won't have even those three or four hours a week to give them a respite from ennui. And, except for the bit of work when they are young, the hapless wretches of our future will have to amuse themselves the rest of

57. I paid my respects to Mr. Seidenberg in 1963; see America's Decline, pp. 236-246. An American who claims to have investigated in Doylestown, where Seidenberg was said to reside, tells me that "Seidenberg" is the pseudonym of a Jew who is one of the most prominent of our present rulers and is believed to have the job of manipulating the presidents in the Punch-and-Judy shows in the White House, but my informant claims to rely on sources he may not disclose.

the time. How will they-how can they do it? They will have all sorts of gadgets, including—believe it or not—an "extrapolatory computer" which will tell them precisely what is going to happen in the future. But what will they have to live for? They will presumably copulate ad libitum, but—unless Science does something about it-the hours that can be spent in that exhilarating exercise are sadly limited. Mr. Catran assures us that the "energy-consuming machines" will rejoice in "a world more poetic [sic], more beautiful [!], than there are words in our present language to describe." But he is understandably vague. Thanks to electronic marvels, each can converse with any other of the billions of "energy-consuming machines" on the planet, but we are not told what they will have to talk about. 58 They will have forests in which they can walk and "enjoy nature," and they can read literature, including poetry, and listen to great music. But will they have left any capacity to enjoy such things? 59

Mr. Catran tells us several times that you can make an automobile into a machine that will fly, but it will no longer be an automobile. Well, you can make an infant into an "energy-

- 58. I am reminded of a blob of "science fiction" that I read years ago but thought not worth recording in my notes. In our blissfully workless future, the world will swarm with millions of Socrateses (yes, I know the correct plural is 'Socratae,' but forgive my pun). And all of them, clad in snowwhite and freshly laundered himatia (just like Socrates), will walk in fair meadows, day after day, incessantly gabbling about the "good life"—which, presumably, is what they already have. I predict that before lunch time on the second or third day some of them will start punching others on the nose, just to have something interesting to do.
- 59. Review in your mind, if you please, all the great poetry you have enjoyed-even all the poetry you have ever read. Can you call to mind a single example that does not depend on one or another of the supposed imperfections of human life that will have been eliminated and be unknown to the hapless "energy-consuming machines" of Jack's dire future? They will be like blind men in the Sistine Chapel and not even know they are blind. Dr. Samuel Johnson justly observed that men in a state of equality could know only animal pleasures. Even Catran cannot entirely suppress an awareness that his "energy-consuming machines" will not be able to perceive any of the things that make life worth while for us, and in an epoptic frenzy he predicts at one point that human beings will be replaced by "cyborgs," which he defines as "cybernated organisms." They will be no more capable of happiness, and probably no more capable of thought, than the adding machine on your desk. Well, if the future the great Technocrat predicts is inevitable, we can at least hope that the sun will soon become a nova.

consuming machine," but it will no longer be a human being.

Have we not already gone quite far in the dehumanization of our race? Are we not already within a measurable distance of the Behaviorists' paradise? I could not but wonder when I read the book by Mr. Dieckmann I cited above, and came to the account of what was done to the victims of a cosmetic-peddling swindle invented by the late William Penn Patrick. The future "executives," whom Patrick was to make millionaires when they peddled his rouge and lipstick, were assembled for a "leadership training" course, which they must have undergone voluntarily, since it was held in the Hyatt House in Palo Alto, a fairly luxurious motor inn, which cannot have been as secure as the dungeons of the Inquisition. "Leadership training" turned out to be just an intensive form of "sensitivity training," administered by the Leadership Dynamics Institute, there represented by its president, a "behavioral scientist" appropriately named Ben Gay. Now I shall not give the details of the "sensitivity training" the embryo "leaders" received: an account of it would be both harrowing and disgusting, and, besides, I don't want to give anyone an excuse for saying that The Liberty Bell is an obscene and pornographic publication. I could not help but note, however, that of the forty-four victims, more than half were classified as male. I do not question the anatomical classification, but I am quite sure that if there had been men in the group, Mr. Ben Gay would early have been removed in a basket.

That is not all. During the training, William Penn Patrick appeared in person and watched it with evident satisfaction. I shall not repeat my observation about the basket, but I was especially interested because years ago I had a slight acquaintance with that wonder-boy of finance, the far-seeing conservative statesman, and "future president of the United States." I was supposed to be flattered, but I judged Mr. Patrick (who was well-mannered and Aryan, so far as I could tell) to be a ruthlessly ambitious, thoroughly unscrupulous, and utterly untrustworthy man—but still a man. But now I see that I was mistaken. According to Mr. Dieckmann's book, Patrick watched with pleasure the "leadership training" of the males and females whom he had swindled. He wasn't even human.

There is something terrifying about the inhuman submissiveness of Patrick's victims. Mr. Dieckmann suggests one explanation: they had paid a thousand dollars for the course and Patrick had taken most or all of the rest of their money for the

boxes and boxes of cosmetics stacked up in their basements. which they were going to sell for immense profits when they learned how to be "leaders." And Americans in general are so greedy that a prospect of quick and easy profits acts on them as a keg of fire-water acts on an Indian. 60 But that will not do. Thousands and thousands of Americans not in a financial bind have undergone and are undergoing some form of "group dynamics" and no casualties among the "behavioral scientists" have been reported. 61 I think we must turn to Mr. Dieckmann's second explanation, the 'life adjustment' or 'social adjustment" that has been the chief work of the public schools since they were taken over by the gang of revolutionists headed by John Dewey, who produced volumes of turgid and ungrammatical double-talk to cover a scheme to destroy self-respect and rationality in children who are imprisoned by their parents and state laws in our enormously expensive boob-hatcheries. And, incidentally, the young victims will be prepared to huzza

60. This is an important factor in American life today, A judicious friend of mine attended a day-long meeting of several dozen young men and women who were being recruited for another scheme of "get-rich-quick" salesmanship. There was nothing of the almost incredible physical and psychic degradation imposed on Patrick's victims, but a team of expert con men harangued the victims for hours with preposterous promises of quick profits and further contributed to their mental exhaustion by behavior suited to a madhouse, yelling like wild Indians, jumping up on chairs, and exhibiting such gross vulgarity that any normal man, not detained by curiosity about the techniques, would have walked out in ten minutes. The prospective purchasers of "franchises," having been thus thoroughly bewildered and confused, tired and hungry after six hours, were finally served an abundant and excellent dinner, after which the boss financial evangelist told them again of the wonderful profits they were going to make and advised them about the best models of the Cadillacs they might as well order in the morning. My friend reports that the whole roomful of prospects went insane, writing out cheques on paper napkins and jumping on their chairs to yell in chorus, "Get the cheque! Get the cheque!" Needless to say, they were all petitioners in bankruptcy a few weeks or months later. The explosion of madness was so impressive that my friend wondered whether some drug had been placed in the food or, possibly, some gas introduced through the ventilating system. I wish I could think so, but I fear that the explanation is that all of the young persons had been made permanently feeble-minded in high schools.

61. No encouraging casualties, I mean. There are rare exceptions to the submissiveness, of course. I know of a young policeman who was ordered to undergo the usual course in "sensitivity training," which sounded innocuous to him. When he found out what it was, he gave the behavioral scientist a right to the jaw and stepped over him to walk out and resign

for Jack Catran, for they have already been shown the chief glories of his paradise on earth.

A QUESTION OF TAXONOMY

The reader will have noticed what was illogical and literally untrue in the foregoing section, and will have made allowance for the vagaries of our language, but the point deserves comment.

On the basis of the report in Mr. Dieckmann's book, I made a statement that Mr. Patrick was not human. Now, although I said so, I could not have meant that he did not belong to the species that biologists sarcastically call *Homo sapiens*, and, so far as I know, he may have belonged to the subspecies that Vacher de Lapouge called *Homo Europaeus* and Günther and Coon prefer to call *Nordicus*. What was worse, I implied that he was a beast, and that was wholesale slander of all other mammals.

As a matter of fact, we belong to the only species of animal that takes pleasure in witnessing and inflicting pain and in making its victims suffer. The tiger-a magnificent animal, as the learned Savitri Devi remarks in her Impeachment of Man-kills only when he is hungry, and indeed kills in the most efficient way within his power, never making his victims suffer unnecessarily. You may remember from Robert Ardrey's Social Contract the piteous cries of the wart-hog that had been run down by a pack of lycaones, commonly called African hunting dogs, but Ardrey also points out that the killers had no means of killing more expeditiously, no way of making their prey suffer less. Cats, it is true, play with mice, and we suppose that the mouse suffers fear, as we would, but the cat is merely exercising herself, and certainly does not consider the mouse's putative emotions. The genus Homo includes all the animals that derive a psychic satisfaction from the agonies of others, whether of their own or other genera.

That distinctively human trait may be only natural. In every region in which wild life has not yet been exterminated, you would hear rifles cracking every day in the year, if some efforts to protect free animals were not being made. Other mammals kill because they must, to eat or to avoid being eaten; men kill

because they enjoy it. In one of his well-known essays, Mark Twain commented on a British Earl, who had gone hunting on our western plains and had happily slaughtered a whole herd of bison. He contrasted the earl's conduct with the habits of a python, and concluded that the earl must have descended from the python—descended a long way.

Mark Twain's indignation is understandable, but we should

Mark Twain's indignation is understandable, but we should note that the British huntsman, however regrettable his venatic enthusiasm, killed the buffalo cleanly with accurately-aimed bullets, and did not merely wound them in order to gloat over their death agonies.

What I meant when I said Patrick was not human was only that he evidently did not have the sentiments that are more or less instinctive in our race and are regarded as foolish or incomprehensible by others. We all know that it is only natural for innately savage races, especially Congoids and the American Indians, to take a great (and, for them, hilarious) delight in both torturing their captives and watching them suffer-not only White men, for whom they have a racial hatred, but even their own kind—and the females seem even more vicious than the males. What does astonish us at first is that the Mongolians, who have created a civilization of their own, seem quite without compassion for human beings as such; the Chinese invented the most atrocious form of execution, ling ch'ih, the 'lingering death," often called the "death of a thousand slices," inflicted with such skill that the victim is kept conscious for hours as he is slowly dissected before a fascinated audience; and we are repelled by the common practice (witnessed, for example, and well described by Frank Harris in his Undreamed-of Shores) of punishing a clerk who has embezzled a few cents by crushing his foot in the court room and letting him crawl away until he dies of gangrene. The cruelty of Semites is proverbial and among their innovations we especially remember the practice of burying a man to his neck in the ground and smearing his face with honey to attract hungry ants. The cruelty of Jews seems somewhat different as it is exemplified by their gloating over the atrocities their ferocious god supposedly inflicted on the Egyptians, or by their ingenuity in torturing the hated Aryans to death during the great Jewish Conspiracy of A.D. 117, for those examples seem to show an affirmation of their vast racial superiority over lower animals, rather than mere enjoyment of a spectacle of agony for its own sake—although their ingenuity in crucifying their own dissidents makes one wonder.

from the police force. Unfortunately, a prompt administration of cold water prevented that light of Behavioral Science from being opportunely extinguished.

Our own race's record is not exemplary. One may think, of course, of the dungeons of the Inquisition and the practice of burning witches (such as Jeanne d'Arc) alive, but there we have the influence of Christianity at work, and even so, the Puritans of New England, although God-fearing, mercifully hanged their witches. Such things as breaking on the wheel and drawing-andquartering (before death) for particularly heinous crimes are hard to forgive, but, generally speaking, the normal modes of execution are hanging and beheading, which produce death speedily and with a minimum of suffering, and it is noteworthy that even the blood-thirsty egalitarians of the French Revolution used the guillotine and made it famous. Recently, we have decided that cyanide gas is even less painful and have adopted it, although the administration of it requires a rather complicated procedure, of which the Jews did not trouble to inform themselves when they decided to substitute cyanide gas for mass electrocutions in their fiction about a "Holocaust" of God's Own People.

Although Aryans have been capable of monstrous excesses, especially when excited by religion or personal grief, our peculiar racial instinct is normally revolted by the infliction of unnecessary pain on even condemned criminals. And we view the foul physical degradation inflicted in Communist "re-education" ⁶² and American "sensitivity training" as equally repulsive. We seem to have, as did the Greeks, a deep and innate feeling that violating the integrity of a fellow human being (of our race and usually of other races also) is *hybris*, an offense against nature, a wanton transgression of the limits within which men are confined by being human. Hybris is the crime of a man who has forgotten his own humanity—it is inhuman.

That essentially Aryan idea (which, of course, has nothing to do with Christianity) is the source of the meaning we often attach to 'inhuman,' but it reached us through the somewhat illogical Roman amplification of it, which has introduced into our vocabulary an even more confusing use of words derived from the same root. That deserves some explanation.

In the writings of Cicero, which have so profoundly moulded our own culture, *humanitas*, which etymologically should designate what is generally found among human beings or at least in all or almost all of the members of our race, took on the

meaning of the highest culture to which a select minority of our race could attain, the quality that marks an intellectual aristocracy. Such a use of the word by Cicero and his contemporaries sprang from the idea that such a quality was potentially inherent in all Greeks and Romans, but consider, for example. Cicero's definition of a cultured man in the Tusculanae, V.23.66: qui cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium: 'A man who has a certain familiarity with the Muses (all nine, from Calliope and Euterpe to Clio and Urania, from epic and lyric poetry to history and astronomy), that is to say, a man who has such familiarity with humanitas and philosophical thinking.' A cultured man, thus defined, Cicero goes on to say, esteems Archimedes, the Syracusan mathematician, far above Dionysis I, the celebrated tyrant of Syracuse, who attained adroitly the virtually absolute power that he held prosperously until his death (and, incidentally, seems to have enjoyed the loyalty of his subjects, the disgruntled Plato notwithstanding).

We have, of course, come fantastically far from the notion of a quality that is actually possessed by human beings in general. Whatever may be their theoretical potential, in practice humanitas has been restricted to a comparatively small number of human beings who have a high degree of innate intelligence and have been able to enjoy the comparatively long and arduous education requisite to develop it. But that is still one of the meanings we commonly associate with words denoting the quality of being human.

Since the Renaissance identified Greek and Latin literature as the studia humanitatis, the 'Humanities' are Greek and Latin, although cheap substitutes are now on sale in every diploma-mill. 'Humanism,' strictly speaking, was succinctly defined by the late Ernest H. Wilkins, President of Oberlin College, as "a scholarly and initially reactive enthusiasm for classic culture, accompanied by creative writing in Latin on classic lines." The Professor of Humanity in a Scottish university is the ranking professor of the Classics. A cultivated man, according to Cicero's definition, his mind and perceptions enhanced by humanitas, will naturally abhor the vulgar cruelty that we improperly call 'brutal.' So since the studia humanitatis are also termed 'humane learning,' a 'humane man' is not one who is merely kind, but properly speaking, one whose enlightened kindness is associated with a certain culture. All of this, however, has merely added to the general confusion, and it

^{62.} Described, with the omission of certain sexual details, by D. Bacu in *The Anti-Humans* (1971, available from Liberty Bell Publications).

must be more than a decade ago that I saw a learned journal defaced with an article by an ostensibly educated professor, who cited an English writer of the Seventeenth Century as having called King James I cruel, whereas all that the writer said was that King James was a poor Latinist (he had "but little humanity").

This highly specialized use of the word has to some extent colored even our more reasonable use of 'humane' and 'human' to designate the kind of character that our race would like to see in all of its members (as it has little chance of ever doing!). In this extremely common sense of the word, 'inhuman' simply means 'un-Aryan,' i.e., not what we like to think of as characteristic of Aryans. And when we call an individual 'inhuman' or 'brutal,' what we mean in biological fact is that he is all too human. I think some perception of this enters into our feeling for the beauty of 'unspoiled nature and of landscapes

Where every prospect pleases

And only man is vile.

When we speak of submissiveness as 'inhuman' or 'animallike,' we are on somewhat firmer ground. Our great cunning enables us to dominate most other mammals, and in circuses one commonly sees a tiger leap through a burning hoop at the command of a man whom the tiger could eviscerate with one sweep of his claws. By the techniques of circuration, we have domesticated species especially useful to us. The docility of cows (though not of bulls) is proverbial, and thousands of herds daily yield their milk to their human parasites. Horses may pose a special problem in mammalian psychology, for Elwyn Hartley Edwards 63 believes that some quirk in the equine mind makes a horse accept man as the surrogate of the stallion who would lead and govern a small herd. Our wool is taken from sheep, who are notoriously the most stupid of all mammals and were accordingly taken as their mental models by the Christians, who want to be thoughtless sheep herded by their pastors (pastores!) or by bishops whose symbol of authority is the shepherd's crook.

This Christian yearning reappears, I need not say, in the "Liberal"-Marxist-Technocrat dream of reducing mankind to billions of fat sheep, who will graze forever in green pastures,

eating and copulating, with never a moment's need to think or fight.

It is much too late to reform our language, but when we draw the spurious antithesis "human:bestial," let us remember what we really mean.

THE FLY IN THE OINTMENT

It is high time we returned from our excursus to Mr. Catran and took notice of one nugget of wisdom he offers us, an injunction that we must never study history. History, you see, would tell us what human beings are by nature, and prophets of a New World must eschew that, just as an engineer, such as Mr. Catran, I suppose, would avoid learning anything about the properties of steel before he designed a dream bridge. It would be awfully inhibiting to know the limitations of the material with which one proposes to work!

I have often been impressed, however, by the unwillingness of some scientists to learn what they are talking about, once they have strayed outside their own narrow fields of specialization. One thinks of the "atomic scientists" who had their egos so vastly inflated, in a manner that reminded one of the Aesopic fable about the frog who wanted to be as big as a cow,64 when Oppenheimer decided that it would be advantageous for his race to prevent the Americans from developing a hydrogen bomb before the Soviets had one. Nor was that a new aberration. I remember how startled I was around 1947 when I read in an official publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (of which I was then a member) that some highly esteemed association of chemists had published a resolution that all atomic weapons be delivered to the Soviet Union, "which will use them to ensure world peace." Had the chemists wanted the atomic weapons delivered to the pixies, that would not have been overtly unreasonable: no one has ever seen a pixie, so we may imagine them as benevolent as we wish.

^{64.} The well-known form of the fable first occurs in Phaedrus (I.24), who, incidentally, has another (IV.15-16) that is the most reasonable of all creation stories. Prometheus fashioned men and women out of clay, as sculptors make their models, but he did much of his work by night, after returning from a drinking party on Olympus, and his unsteady eyes and wavering hands made all the blunders that are reproduced in human anatomy.

^{63.} In The Encyclopaedia of the Horse (London, Octopus Books, 1977; frequently reprinted).

But by 1947, even ignorant individuals, who read nothing but newspapers, had enough information about the consequences of the Jewish capture of the Russian Empire thirty years before to know precisely what the consequences would be, if the Americans, who still had an opportunity to remain a first-rate military power and even to regain their independence, were made helpless as the aliens and traitors in Washington were then in the process of making them. I wondered why the chemists did not stay within their own field and recommend cyanide of potassium as an infallible means of ensuring perpetual peace for all who really want it. It was not until later that I saw why those chemists chose to ignore facts of which they must have known. They, no doubt, thought of themselves as hard-headed men of science, but they had Christian sediment in their minds.

Without knowing it, those chemists, like Mr. Catran and so many others, had got religion, probably the religion of Marx, which is sometimes called "the religion of humanity" by "Liberals" when a mention of Marx would not be tactful. And when one has got religion, common sense and facts no longer count. One reverts to the mentality of young children, who cannot distinguish between fact and fancy, and are often punished for insisting that they actually saw what they only imagined. And persons who can make the distinction often become so puffed up with righteousness that they lie to prove that what they have imagined is real. That is why it is so often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to be sure of the motives of witnesses of supernatural events.

We mentioned much earlier the pair of adolescent girls who made poor old Sir Arthur Conan Doyle believe in fairies. They are very old women now and admit, of course, that they faked the photographs of themselves consorting with fairies and gnomes, but they insist that they actually did see fairies in the garden and forged the pictures to make others believe what they just *knew* to be true. We cannot now tell whether they, through some quirk of female adolescence, really did have hallucinations in which they thought they played with fairies, or they are now pathetically trying to justify the adolescent *espièglerie* with which they light-heartedly perpetrated a hoax that made them famous and set so many theosophical minds aquiver with transcendental thoughts.

We now feel certain that when Joseph Smith forged the Book of Mormon and its pendant gospels (Book of Moses, Book of Abraham), he did so as a clever rogue who had perfected a

technique for gaining power over simpletons and their purses, but we do so only because we have records of his earlier career as a confidence man. Without those records, we should have to consider the possibility that he might have imagined he was promoting a theology that would be beneficial.

We now think it likely that when the Reverend Mr. William Dennis Mahon in the 1880s became convinced that there was no historical evidence to support belief in Christianity, ⁶⁵ he produced his celebrated series of forgeries to prove the truth of a faith that was dear to his glands and in the belief that he was righteously lying for the Lord. But we grant him sincerity largely because he was such an awkward old duffer that he seems not to have had the cunning of a practiced rogue.

When we patiently read through the vast masses of early Christian gospels, all of them anonymous or pseudonymous or under meaningless names, we know nothing about authors whom we cannot identify and of whom there is no historical record, we can rely only on conjectures and our own imaginations as we try to sort out the hallucinés, the gullible believers of tall tales, the conscious forgers for sweet Jesus's sake, and the professional shamans, who exploited the credulity of the masses. When we come to Fathers of the Church and other theologians whom we can more or less positively identify, we can usually believe that they were indulging in the common practice of Lying for the Lord to propagate a belief to which they were emotionally attached. When Jerome composed short stories about martyrs, he thought the fact that they were fiction was irrelevant, since they would help spread piety. Chrysostom praises the efficacy of deceit in implanting Faith and frankly says that lies are not "untruthfull" when they edify suckers and strengthen the faith of True Believers. Augustine was one of the few early Fathers who said that it was wrong to lie for a pious purpose, and it was he who proudly assured his congregation that he had preached the gospel to a tribe in Africa that had only one eye, which was in the middle of their foreheads, and had told the glad tidings about Christ to another tribe that had . no heads at all, having eyes in place of nipples in their chests.

^{65.} He admits as much in the introduction to his sheaf of forgeries in the edition of 1887 and doubtless other editions of that oft-reprinted hoax: "I have as much reason for believing the genuineness of the contents of this book [i.e., his crude forgeries] as I have to believe the genuineness of the Scriptures, looking at the question from a human standpoint."

He must either have changed his mind about Lying for the Lord or have lied when he claimed to disapprove of holy lying. Such is the normal effect of religion on veracity. And this fact has a highly important corollary which we can only mention here. The votaries of the Marxist religion are no exception to the rule. They can and do lie cheerfully to spread their gospel. They are estopped from sporting with fairies and from interviewing ghosts, but they can forge pseudo-historical records and they can forge pseudo-scientific data and do it proudly, probably telling themselves that they are resorting to fraud to promote "world peace" and "human rights" and "brotherhood," which a conscientious god would have ordained, had he existed. In earlier pages we have commented on the absurdities that are invented or endorsed by professed scientists and in a footnote (53) we barely alluded to the horrifying prevalence of conscious fraud in what purports to be scientific research. Now we have to ask the terrible question, How much of what now passes for accepted and generally endorsed scientific theory is actually based on hoaxes contrived to propagate the Christian-Marxist doctrines that are driving our race to insanity and suicide? The possibilities are so frightening that we dare not estimate them. Before that abyss, the affrighted spirit recoils aghast.

BYE-BYE, JACK

You can guess what revelations Catran received in his bout of messianic fever, but we may as well glance at the high points. Although slightly disguised by talk about "unlimited sources of energy," "unlimited credit for everyone," and "extrapolatory computers," the essence of his gospel is, as one would expect, merely the old and hackneyed "Liberal"-Marxist myths. Mr. Catran, without a hint of a grin, tells us that "sexual discrimination" is "caused by the money system." I feel certain that Mr. Catran himself conducted experiments that gave empirical proof of differences between men and women, differences both anatomical and psychic. ⁶⁶ And I am equally

66. There is one fundamental difference, relevant to our subject here, which will, I think, be obvious to anyone who has observed the society about him, although no psychologist, so far as I know, has ventured on a study that would be so unfashionable at present. There is a great difference in the incidence of religiosity in men and women and a correspondingly great difference in the sexes' attitudes toward their deity, when both recognize the same one. In *The Uses of Religion*, pp. 34 f., I

sure that Mr. Catran discriminates between the sexes—although he may do so with a bad conscience, if true to his principles. The "money system" is also the cause of "racial discrimination," because all human beings are absolutely the same. except for "slight differences in pigmentation, etc." And, as proudly as a dog that has retrieved a thrown stick, our Jack brings us the old "Liberal" chestnut about Beethoven. I know you have heard it a hundred times, but I must ask you to endure it just once more. If someone had taken the infant Ludwig, fresh from his mother's breast, and deposited him in an African jungle, and he had been raised in the hut of niggers who, for some reason, did not eat him, would he have composed the Third Symphony? You will not argue about that, but you will want to ask another question. If someone had put a pickaninny in young Ludwig's cradle, and if Beethoven's parents had been so feeble-minded as to adopt it and give it Beethoven's nurture and education, would it have written the

mentioned the opinion of a venerable bishop whose observations had convinced him that "in every congregation there are always two religions, since the two sexes have in their inner consciousness conceptions of their deity so different as to be reciprocally unintelligible or, at least, unacceptable." Furthermore, I am sure everyone has observed that almost invariably in our society males who show a strong emotional attachment to a god have grown up under predominantly feminine influence, whereas women who have emancipated themselves from superstition have been strongly influenced by a man to whom they were emotionally attached, usually a father, but often a lover or husband. And when a husband and wife are both strongly religious, there is a very marked difference in their credulity. Of this a perfect illustration is provided by Elizabeth (Barrett) and Robert Browning. Both attended a seance with a rather clever confidence man named Home, who exhibited to them his 'spiritualistic' tricks accompanied by his best patter about immortal souls, divine purposes, and the rest of the then fashionable hokum. The lady, although a poetess of some distinction and a highly intelligent woman, was completely taken in, revered the ghost-raising wizard, and looked forward to the glorious time when she could start hovering invisibly and impalpably in drawing rooms, rap tables on her own, and send silly messages to her survivors. Robert Browning, although himself given to sprees on metaphysics and warmly religious speculations, saw that the charlatan was merely performing parlor tricks in the dark with rather crude apparatus. Browning registered his opinion of Home in his well-known poem, "Mr. Sludge, the Medium." This difference of opinion lasted throughout the rest of the Brownings' life together, tempered by a forbearance enforced by their devotion to each other, and since both were essentially religious persons, they provide a neat example of the innate difference between the feminine and the masculine mind.

Third Symphony? Of course, you never get a chance to finish that question. All the "intellectuals" will be screeching that it ain't fair and besides, you'se a "Nazi," and although everybody is equal, you are a Hell of a lot less equal than others.

What the hypothetical experiment with infant Ludwig proved, I need not say, is that we have got to have what our Jack calls an "homogenized humanity," with all human beings of all races dumped into a vast garbage-shredder and reduced to a uniform and stinking mass of coffee-colored mongrels reeking with sub-human equality. Now if Mr. Catran imagines that God's Master Race, which has decreed mongrelization as the best means of exterminating Aryans, will not maintain its own racial purity and rule the "homogenized" mongrels for its own profit or fun, he really is delirious. And, come to think of it, the Aryans, their minds rotted with fifteen centuries of obeying the Big Jew up in the stratosphere, are the only race that has become so witless and craven that it wants to disappear in a mass of mongrels. The niggers, who justly contemn the Aryan curs who cringe before them, have no intention of repudiating their own race. And the subtle minds of the Mongolians, who have an old and elaborate civilization of their own, are learning again to despise the barbarous White Devils, whose power they respected until they saw that our race was suffering from a progressive softening of the brain and becoming imbecile. Their power waxes as ours wanes, and they have no slightest intention of liquidating their race to please the Jews. They never believed in Yahweh.

But Mr. Catran dreams of an "homogenized humanity," perhaps because the prospect is so dear to sick Aryans. And there, my friends, we have reached the zenith of his wisdom. It's a shame he stopped believing in "flying saucers."

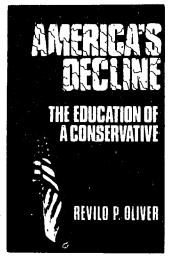
Before we bid Mr. Catran a long good-bye, however, we should just notice the underpinnings of his Faith. What his behavioral scientists will give us, presumably before we are shoved into the homogenizing garbage-shredder, is a "fellowship with all peoples" and they will ram into children's defenceless minds a "kinship with all humanity." Why not a kinship with all mammals? The mongrelized Hindus, for that matter, carry this genealogical theorem to its logical conclusion, a kinship with all organic life, including, of course, their own body lice. But patriotic Marx did not go to India for his religion.

I shall only tell you that Jack Catran promises us that his behavioral scientists will inculcate (his word!) into a child "the

highest form of love," which is "love for his fellow man." And—I shall quote verbatim—"through applied love we can become holy." Yes, holy. Jesus Christ!

I have devoted some pages to this book, but not merely because its title asks the crucial question. It is also portentous. It contains, as I have said, much sound common sense about the present status and trends in the real sciences. But when we step on what appears to be a massive and solid rock, we suddenly find ourselves sitting in the middle of the "New Testament" with a dazed expression on our faces.

I need not have taken this book as an example. I could have written about a thousand books that have rolled from the presses this year, if I had the time to look at them. I fear, I gravely fear, that the chances of intelligent life on earth are becoming increasingly remote.



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During World War II, Dr. Oliver was Director of Research in a highly secret agency of the War Department, and was cited for outstanding service to his country.

One of the very few academicians who has been outspoken in his opposition to the progressive

defacement of our civilization, Dr. Oliver has long insisted that the fate of his countrymen hangs on their willingness to subordinate their doctrinal differences to the tough but idealistic solidarity which is the prerequisite of a racial resurgence.

SOME QUOTABLE QUOTES FROM "AMERICA'S DECLINE"

On the 18th Amendment (Prohibition): "Very few Americans were sufficiently sane to perceive that they had repudiated the American conception of government and had replaced it with the legal principle of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' which was the theoretical justification of the Jews' revolution in Russia."

On Race: "We must further understand that all races naturally regard themselves as superior to all others. We think Congoids unintelligent, but they feel only contempt for a race so stupid or craven that it fawns on them, gives them votes, lavishly subsidizes them with its own earnings, and even oppresses its own people to curry their favor. We are a race as are the others. If we attribute to ourselves a superiority, intellectual, moral, or other, in terms of our own standards, we are simply indulging in a tautology. The only objective criterion of superiority, among human races as among all other species, is biological: the strong survive, the weak perish. The superior race of mankind today is the one that will emerge victorious—whether by its technology or its fecundity—from the proximate struggle for life on an overcrowded planet."

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

The following article was taken from Volume III (1938) of the very important series. Forschungen zur Judenfrage (Studies on the Jewish Problem), the first six volumes of which were published by the Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt in Hamburg during 1937 to 1941. The nearly fifty articles in these six volumes represent the thinking on the Jewish question by some of the best German minds of that time. The authors of the articles were specialists, in some cases internationally known specialists, in a variety of fields, including anthropology, demography, genealogy, genetics, history, law, literary scholarship, musicology, philosophy and theology. The earlier articles in the series were given as lectures before meetings of the Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands, Forschungsabteilung Judenfrage (National Institute for the History of the New Germany, Research Division for the Jewish Problem). It is not at all difficult to imagine that the research efforts which went into these articles cost the erstwhile German government hundreds of thousands, if not millions of Reichsmark.

Although the research was subsidized by the National Socialist government, the tone of the articles is by no means generally and uniformly hostile to Jews. Baron von Verschuer's article, for example, is nearly free of value judgments and it concedes in a number of passages that Jews have special strengths characteristic of their race.

By 1936 a number of circumstances had converged which made possible the publishing of this large body of research by non-Jews on the Jewish question. Such a constellation is highly unlikely ever to appear in the sky again, certainly not in our lifetime, and that is a fact which in itself gives these volumes a unique position and value in the serious study of the Jewish question. One circumstance was the importance which the German government attached at that time to the Jewish question and its willingness to allocate considerable economic resources to the study of the question in an attempt to find a constructive solution to it. This circumstance was combined with the willingness and ability of German scientists and scholars to come to grips with the Jewish problem as far as their areas of expertise were concerned. Perhaps most important, however, was the circumstance that there were individuals who

had the vision and ability to organize such efforts. Especially noteworthy was Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller (1882-1964), who was a history professor at the University of Munich from 1917 to 1945 and who also became President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Not only did he publish a number of notable books between 1923 and 1949, but he also published the Historische Zeitschrift during the years 1933-1945. His student, Walter Frank (1905-1945), became President of the above-mentioned Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands. We encounter Frank's vivid and interesting exposition of the objectives of the Forschungsabteilung at the beginning of the first volume of the series. One need only read Frank's sixteen-page address to understand the attitude toward the Jewish problem held by many middle class Europeans in its historical perspective.

It would be difficult to imagine that the present generation of effete, career-oriented, intimidated American academic types could ever produce a series similar to the Forschungen zur Judenfrage. The American academic establishment has been far too seriously corrupted by funds from Washington and Jewish donors. Fortunately, not all American scholars kowtow. There are individual Americans in academic life who have shown the courage, vision, ability and integrity necessary to challenge some of the historical and anthropological myths which have been used with cynically evil calculation to manipulate American public opinion. Such scholars have been harassed and in some cases even dismissed from their hard-earned positions which required many years of professional preparation.

Even the most philo-Semitic of readers will have to concede the historical value, if nothing else, of the Forschungen zur Judenfrage because they throw penetrating light on the European attitudes toward Jews during the 1920s and 1930s and how they came about. Many Jews, but not all of them, would have us believe that they were just the convenient victims of a scapegoat mentality, prevalent especially in the defeated nations of Europe after 1918. However, this is a grossly oversimplified, self-serving explanation that disregards a number of strong historical forces, such as the great and justifiable fear which the European middle classes had of the barbarically cruel Communist government which had been installed over the former Russian Empire and which was correctly sensed as an essentially Jewish government.

As a result of the energetic book burning and intellectual

intimidation on the part of officials of the powers which occupied Germany beginning in 1945 after the tragic, unnecessary and fratricidal Second World War, these volumes are especially scarce. The number of known copies in the United States could very well be less than a dozen. I have learned that they are in strong demand and are being sold at high prices in the German book trade.

The first article I have chosen for translation is certainly one of the most important in the series and perhaps one of the most interesting ones for the American reader concerned with the Jewish question. It deals with genetically determined characteristics which, in their totality, differentiate Jews from other races. Many Jews, but by no means all of them, have energetically sought to deny that such genetically determined differences exist, or at least they have sought to deny to non-Jews the existence of such differences, even if they themselves are consciously or subconsciously aware of them. Here we need only think of Franz Boas (1858-1942) and his all too influential school of anthropology. (See *The Liberty Bell*, June, 1983, pp. 1-5.)

The author of this incisive article, Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer (1896-1969), had a distinguished career in the study of human genetics. From 1927 to 1935 he was a division chief of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Genetics and Eugenics in Berlin and during 1942 to 1945 he was its director. He published studies of tuberculosis in twins in 1933. His Eugenik was published in 1966, Baron von Verschuer also held professorial posts in Frankfurt am Main, Berlin and Münster. The second edition of his layman's manual on hereditary diseases and eugenic measures, Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene, was published in 1944.

When reading von Verschuer's Rassenbiologie der Juden we must bear in mind that it was written nearly a half century ago. I have not chosen to modernize his vocabulary or use such fashionable euphemisms as "mental retardation" for "feeble-mindedness" (Schwachsinn).

Lest it be thought that von Verschuer was simply summarizing his own subjective observations or was exclusively dependent on materials published after 1933, we need only note that nearly all of the literature cited in the valuable bibliography at the end of the article originated before 1933 and that many of its authors would seem to be Jewish.

Since the center of gravity of the Jewish problem has passed

from Europe to North America, especially during the course of the twentieth century, it is now high time that some of the best non-Jewish research ever done on the Jewish problem be made available to English-speaking readers. Even just the titles and the names of the authors make exciting reading for those who wish to acquire a deeper knowledge of the roots of one of the gravest and most pressing of American national problems. In order to convey a hint of the breadth and depth of the articles in the Forschungen zur Judenfrage, we shall list the original titles and their English equivalents after the conclusion of the article by Baron von Verschuer.

Finally let me recommend to Jews themselves that they read and reflect on the Forschungen zur Judenfrage, for these studies contain many astute observations and much valuable historical information as seen through the eyes of outstanding non-Jewish scholars. The Jews' persistence in blind hatred of their host populations, their insensitivity to or even total disregard of the sufferings of their victims, their ruthless use of the media which they now largely control, their insidious but shortsighted attempts to destroy the mores of their host populations, their disregard of the lessons of history and their arrogant presumption of their own moral superiority can only render impossible a constructive, nonviolent solution to the Jewish Problem.

RACIAL BIOLOGY OF THE JEWS

by Baron Otmar von Verschuer

"Jewry was and is a religion—but never a race" is the final conclusion at which the Jew M. Fishberg arrives in his book, Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden (The Racial Characteristics of Jews), Munich, 1913. A large number of similar opinions of Jewish authors could be quoted additionally. Among the opinions of Jewish authors, however, there are also opposing ones. Thus, we find in the book by F.A. Theilhaber, Der Untergang der deutschen Juden (The Decline of German Jews), Munich, 1911, the remarkable passage: "Inbreeding guarantees the only objective Jewish identification and maintains the racial nature of Jews, while the adherence to the Jewish religion represents the subjective aspect of belonging to the Jewish group." Thus, within the Jews' own ranks there is not only to be found denial but also recognition of the racial aspect as their own identification and differentiation from their host populations.

Much confusion has been caused by the improper formulation of the question, "Are Jews a race?" The term "race," a systemic race [Systemrasse], as it has been established by scientific anthropology, cannot immediately be applied to Jews. As we heard in the lecture by Professor Fischer ["Rassenent-stehung und älteste Rassengeschichte der Hebräer" (Racial Origin and Earliest Racial History of the Hebrews), Forschungen zur Judenfrage, Volume III, pp. 121-136], the Jews have developed from various racial roots. They consist of a number of races which are contrasted as a foreign element to the races of our nation. By means of this simple formulation we have not yet sufficiently grasped the racial-biological problem of the Jews as we encounter it today. The racial history of the Jews

during the past 2,000 years must be taken into consideration. The inherently astonishing phenomenon that an ethnic group could preserve itself so long without a territory (the Teutons lost their ethnic identity in southeastern Europe and northern Africa within centuries¹) has been explained too unilaterally simply by the racial characteristics of Jews and their genetic isolation. The communality of religion, the special education through the Talmud and the idea of being a chosen people have maintained themselves with such force that during the course of history individuals and even groups of people could be absorbed into Jewry by marriage and conversion without their being any change in the characteristics of Jews. Taken as a whole, the Jews have remained racially isolated within the other nations.

Quite contradictory conclusions have been drawn from the history of the Jews for the judging of the racial question: Some emphasize the preservation of the original racial character while others speak of an "adaptation" of the Jews to the racial characteristics of their host populations. The attempt is made to substantiate this by individual pictures of "Nordic," "Ethiopian," "Indian" or even "Mongolian" Jews. Even the strictest laws cannot erect any absolute barriers between human beings when they live together, "Border crossings" cannot be avoided forever and the occurance of persons of mixed race is the result.²

In order not to encumber the investigation of the racial biology of modern Jews with any hypotheses, I shall first give a description of the Jews simply confined to those living in central Europe. The purpose of this description shall be to separate the genetic from the non-genetic characteristics in order to reach the objective of recognizing the genetic differences between Germans³ and Jews. From this position of hereditary biological makeup, which has its foundation in laws of nature that are generally recognized today, it will be easier to

1. The Nordic racial admixture which the Teutons imparted to those countries can be noticed even today.

2. I am grateful to Karl Georg Kuhn for pointing out that in some cases it also could be a matter of missionized Jews.

3. I.e., persons of German extraction—"of German or racially redlated heritage." [Translator's note: The phrase "deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes" is a formulation taken from the German racial laws of 1935].

arrive at a clear insight into the racial-biological problem of the Jewish question.

If two groups of human beings are compared with one another, it must first be observed that every characteristic within a group has a certain more or less wide-ranging variational latitude. A distinguishing difference in a characteristic is then present if the variational latitude of the one group does not overlap with that of the other group, i.e., characteristics of the one group do not occur in the other group. The observation of such a characteristic then clearly establishes the membership of a human being. Such characteristics that are absolutely typical of a race are, for example, the black skin color of the Negro races, the "fil-fil" or peppercorn hair of the Bushmen and the slanting upper eyelid fold of the Mongolians. These characteristics do not occur among persons of German extraction. By such characteristics one would immediately be able to recognize the strain of a foreign race. Such an individual characteristic by which a Jew could be recognized with absolute certainty is not known.

All individual characteristics of the German racial groups are also found in individual Jews and characteristics typical of Jews do not prove with certainty a Jewish strain in the ancestry of a person of German extraction when they occur isolated in him. The racial characteristics of the Jews (preponderantly Near Eastern-Oriental) can also have come to us through non-Jews in individual cases. Obviously, those are rare exceptions; as a rule we are correct in our racial diagnosis, which, however, is always based on the observation of typical combinations of characteristics.

Between a group of Germans and a group of Jews the differences can easily be observed because the distribution curve in many characteristics is a clearly different one. The mean values are different as well as characteristic types which occur with greatest frequency. Nevertheless the curves of distribution of characteristics overlap. It is thus a question of gradual differences as they are, in most cases, expressed in frequency differences. A decision from the characteristic as to the membership in one group or the other can then be made only with greater or lesser probability.

After these general preliminary remarks, we are going to discuss the characteristics, one by one, by which the Jews are differentiated from the persons of German extraction. As the first group of characteristics we shall observe the normal physical

features, the racial characteristics in the narrower sense of the word. Thereafter the sicknesses and the psychological characteristics will undergo a discussion.

As the medium height of the Jews, values between 161 cm and 164 cm [2.54 cm=1 inch] are found for the male sex. If we compare this measurement with the anthropological data which are recorded in *Deutsche Rassenkunde* ("German Anthropology"), published by Eugen Fischer and now comprising 16 volumes, we find that all German comparative groups have a higher average height, between 166 cm and 173 cm. Height of the body is, aside from certain environmental variations, a preponderantly genetically determined characteristic.

During the course of growth, differences occur by virtue of the fact that rather generally sexual maturity begins earlier in the case of the Jews. The beginning of menstruation in the case of Jewesses occurs ½ to 1 year earlier than in groups in comparable climatic and social circumstances. Even if the onset of puberty is changed by external influences such as climate, urban life and occupational activity, racial differences manifest themselves. The early maturity of Jewish children is manifested in the physical as well as psychological areas.

In the growth ratios of the body the Jew is characterized as follows: In relation to the length of the torso the length of the legs is not as great, frequently resulting in the impression of a squat build. The arms are also relatively short. Hands and feet are often narrow. On the legs, which are frequently crooked, a weak calf musculature is often quite noticeable. The musculature and connective tissue exhibit a flabbiness which is caused in part by a lack of use and bodily exercise, but also in part by a hereditary tendency. As a result of these factors, one often observes a flat chest, a round back, a limp posture and the so frequent tendency to flat feet. According to Salaman, among the enlisted men of the English army during the war flat feet were found in a frequency of 1 to 40 in the English soldiers and in a frequency of 1 to 6 in the Jewish soldiers. Of course, these body ratios have an effect on the gait, which is described as soft or slinking, or as groping, dragging or shuffling.

The head of the Jew is of medium size. In the majority of cases it is short to medium. The comparable German groups show in part larger measurements, and some groups also narrower heads in the length-breadth ratio without the differences being particularly noticeable.

Pronounced differences can be seen in the soft parts of the

face. In the case of Jews, to some extent (more commonly in the case of young people and the female sex), the "almond eye" characteristic of the oriental race is found. The inner corner of the eye is inclined to be round, while the outer corner is inclined to be pointed and turned up toward the outside. The upper lid is often described as thickened and of a heavy appearance.

In most cases the lips are somewhat fleshy, often puffed up, and above all the outward-hanging lower lip is noticeable, which is in conjunction with the high position of the furrow of the lower chin lip.

The "Jewish nose" has been described rather often. It is characterized by the fact that the tip of the nose is hook-shaped and bent downward and the sides of the nose are drawn upward. Viewed from the side, the shape of a "6" thus results with a stroke extended upwards. The sides of the nose are characterized by a special fleshiness, the cartilage of the tip of the nose is rather thick and the nasal septum sags downwards. Only- a minority of Jews have this nasal form, which, for example, is not only characteristic of Jews but also the Near Eastern race. In addition to the course, thick and hooked "Jewish nose" there is also found the narrow, gently curved nose of the oriental race.

The ear is often described as especially "fleshy," relatively large and jughandle-like.

The skin of the Jews is often lacking in a ruddy color and of a light yellow, dull color, which often appears especially light in contrast to the dark color of the hair.

According to more recent investigations, the various human races, are differentiated in the patterns of the skin lines of the finger tips, and probably also of the surfaces of the hands and feet. From a table compiled by Fischer it is to be observed that the Jews occupy a special position among the European groups; they have more of the whorl pattern and less of the loop pattern. The pattern formation of the skin lines is essentially determined by special hereditary factors, it is completed after the first two to three months of the development of the embryo and it is not alterable by later environmental influences. Thus, a new proof of the distinct racial position of the Jews is to be seen in this observed difference from the European nations, which is greatest in contrast to the predominantly Nordic nations.

The color of the hair and of the eyes is darker on the average

than in our case. Hair colors between brown and black and brown eyes are encountered most frequently. For many Jewish groups, a relatively large portion of red-haired persons is alleged (between 3% and 6% according to Martin), while in the case of Virchow's investigation of school children only 0.5% of Jewish children were observed to be red-haired. Redness of hair is often associated with strikingly white skin and an increased formation of freckles. Blond hair and blue eyes are not a rarity amongst Jews, however. In the case of the investigation of school children during the years 1874-1877 initiated by Virchow, amongst all school children in the German Empire, including the Jewish children, there were found 31.8% with light skin, blond hair and blue eyes, and amongst the Jewish children alone p.141 there were 11.17%. Altogether, children with dark skin, dark hair and dark eyes were found at a ratio of 14.35%, while the ratio was 42% amongst the Jewish school children.

The question does not have to be discussed here in detail as to whether the blond people and the people with light eyes were to be found with a similar frequency amongst the Jews even of ancient times or whether they were absorbed by the Jews at a later time. I concur with Günther's view that a strain of the Nordic race must not be seen as a primary factor in the light pigments amongst the Jews, but that it is mostly a matter of strains of the East Baltic race. Fischer also thinks of a mutational new origin of the hereditary makeup.

The form of the head hair in the case of Jews is less frequently straight and more frequently twisted in a spiral manner than is the case with German ethnic groups. The black head hair, which is twisted in a closely spiral manner and which is still occasionally encountered amongst Jews, is viewed as a result of an earlier Negroid admixture.

The body hair cover and the beard growth are often especially strong amongst Jews. Occasionally the border of the head hair ends in a downward point over the middle of the forehead.

The differences in characteristics of movement and gestures are more difficult to set forth in an objective, scientific manner than the differences in morphological characteristics, although the former, in particular, are especially strongly noticeable as a pure impression and are also striking to the layman. The fact that the Jews are different from us in typical movements and gestures is not doubted by Jews themselves. I quote two statements by Walther Rathenau: "A strange vision! In the

midst of German life a separate, foreign kind of human beings. brilliantly and strikingly attired, with a hot-blooded, mobile behavior! An Asiatic horde on the sand of the March [i.e., Brandenburg]!" In another passage he says of the Jew: "It is difficult for him to find the happy mean between tail-wagging subordination and nasty arrogance." We have already spoken of the general lax body stance. Günther describes [the following] as characteristic: "The movements of the head often have a rocking aspect, just as the movements of the shoulder area. which gives the impression of something padded in the case of many Jews. In the case of many Jews the head appears pushed forward along with the neck, so that the collar is at some distance from the neck." "The arm movements of many Jews are characterized by the fact that the upper arm is closer to the thorax down to the elbow, while the lower arm gives a lively accompaniment to speaking with its movements." An alert observer will recognize the Jew amongst people on the street by his gait and by movements, even in the case of actors. The fact that in the kind of movement of a human being there is much which is hereditary, and thus of racial origin, has been demonstrated by observations of families and twins as well as comparative racial studies.

It is difficult to answer the question as to what extent the peculiar manner of speaking of many Jews, the "jabbering," must be viewed as an hereditary tendency or as something which has originated through education and other environmental influences.

It has also been claimed by various sources that the Jews are characterized by a particular "racial scent." It is difficult to judge what is attributable in this regard to environmental influences, such as living quarters, clothing, occupational activity, cleaning of the body and the composition of food; one need only think of the consumption of garlic, which the Jews like. The secretion of odorous substances takes place through the so-called apocrine glands, which form part of the sweat glands and are differentiated from the sweat glands by several features. They are to be found only at particular places on the body. They are supposed to be present to a greater extent among the colored races and the Jews, especially of the female sex (Leven, according to Schubert).

It has thus far been impossible to distinguish between Jews and non-Jews on the basis of the characteristics of their blood. In 1925 Manoiloff published an article, according to which he

believes he can distinguish between the blood of Jews and that of Russians on the basis of a different coloration with cresyl violet. Further data on the process have not been published. Subsequent investigations appear to have been without success. The investigation of blood groups, which was all the rage for a while, has not furnished us with any new method for differentiating human races. Only the proportion of the blood group hereditary characteristics is different in the racial groups. In this incidence the Jews occupy a position between Near Eastern and oriental groups, which is quite in keeping with our conception of the racial origin of Jews. The Jews are differentiated from the German population only by a somewhat higher proportion of blood group B.

On the whole, from the comparison of physical racial characteristics it is clear that the Jews living in Germany are quite distinct from the German population. Since it is a question of characteristics which are quite essentially genetically determined, the observed difference cannot be caused by external influences of any kind; the difference can only be explained by the different racial origin of the Germans on the one hand and of the Jews on the other hand. The characteristics which are considered typical of the present-day Jew and by which we can recognize him in his outward appearance, point to the Near Eastern and oriental-Mediterranean races. Hence, the results of research on racial history and those of the racial-biological examination of the Jews of the present time are in keeping with each other. The racial types of the Near Eastern and oriental races, known as Ashkenazim and Sephardim are still found today amongst the European Jews. The Ashkenazic type is the predominant one amongst the Jews in Germany.

Obviously, it must not be expected that every Jew can be classified as one of these types; this is possible only for a minority of them. Quite incorrectly there has been a tendency to see in this circumstance an "adaptation" to the environment or the host populations!

The distribution of racial characteristics and the divergence from typical combinations of characteristics in the present-day populations is a rather general phenomenon. Let us simply consider our own nation: How many exhibit in their physical appearance, for example (not to mention at all the psychological characteristics), the "pure" type of the Nordic race, which, p.143 after all, forms the basic component of our entire nation? If a group of people of another race is absorbed in another

population (let us assume of an originally uniform race) and if finally a state of being completely mixed comes about, then the correlation between the characteristics of the two races is dissolved, that is, for example, the characteristic of blue eyes of the first race as well as the characteristics of dolichocephalism and smooth hair of the first race can be combined just as with the characteristics of brachycelphalism and wavy hair of the second race. The frequency with which such "harmonic" or "unharmonic" combinations occur is then determined only by the frequency of the characteristics. In the case of the individual person, then, (in a state of being completely mixed) the presence of other characteristics of this race cannot be ascertained off hand from the one characteristic. For this reason the heritage of the Nordic race must not be sought in special "purity" only in those persons who conform to the racial pattern in the characteristics of the external physical type. Someone can display "defects" in comparison with this racial pattern (such as a round head or brown eyes) and still be quite preponderantly of the Nordic race; and vice versa a good Nordic type can exhibit in one instance a complete lack of Nordic characteristics in his psychological behavior.

On the basis of these general racial-biological investigations we understand the lack of uniformity in the physical racial pattern of the Jews. Various racial springs have flowed together in them. For that reason "pure" types of the Near Eastern race or oriental race are now only seldom to be found amongst them. Most Jews can indeed be recognized as to their racial origin and type by several physical characteristics. However, there are also Jews who cannot be recognized as such by their external appearance. Mind you, those are not, for instance, especially well "adapted" and especially slightly "Jewish" Jews! They are types of combinations which have simply remained free of the physical characteristics by which we recognize the Jew externally. There are not any indications of the other Jewish characteristics, especially the psychological ones, which can be inferred from them. It is therefore of little consequence whether prominent persons of intellectual Jewry can be

^{1.} Being a member of a foreign race cannot be circumvented by "assimilation." For that reason Jews who favor assimilation [Assimilations inden] are especially inclined to admit the possibility of the change of racial characteristics by the environment.

recognized as Jews also in their purely physical characteristics or not.1

We cannot cover the racial-biological problem of the Jews completely until we have examined the sicknesses and the normal psychological characteristics of Jews.

The different ways in which two human races are afflicted by diseases can be caused by three different groups of factors:

1. Pathological racial traits. Just as there are normal traits which characterize a race and differentiate it from the other human races, a racial difference can also be defined in terms of pathological hereditary traits. Up to the present there is no pathological hereditary trait known which occurs only in one race and in no other races. For that reason all differences of pathological racial traits can only be expressed in the different frequency of pathological hereditary traits.

2. Racial predisposition. A human race is characterized by the common possession of hereditary characteristics by which it differentiates itself from other races. A certain constitution of the whole body as well as of individual organs is necessarily concommitant with a particular susceptibility or, also, resistence in the presence of certain pathogenic influences. As a result of this the statistics give a varied frequency of diseases; the course of the disease and the kind of clinical picture can also bear a particular stamp in accordance with the racial predisposition.

3. Externally caused differences. Differences of two races in contracting illnesses can also be only apparently racially caused: Makeup of the soil, climatic conditions, exposure to infection, habitation, clothing, nutrition and occupational activity are seldom the same in the case of two races. However, in the evaluation of racial-pathological data they require extremely great attention.

In the following section only such observations are listed which have been confirmed by repeated investigations and which cannot find their explanation in various environmental influences.

The special need for physicians and the fear of disease on the part of Jews is confirmed by nearly all observers. Weissenburg speaks of nosophilia and nosophobia of Jews. Psychopathic and

1. There are rare cases of Jews by religion who are not Jews by race; under those circumstances, however, the conversion of the parents or grandparents, illegitimate origin or, if not those, adoption must be proved.

nervous persons go to their physicians more frequently, even on account of imagined illnesses, and, on the other hand, just the fear of sickness rather frequently leads to actually becoming sick. There is thus a close, alternating relationship of cause and effect. The especially strong sensitivity to pain on the part of Jews has also been noted.

The average life expectancy is a somewhat longer one in the case of Jews and correspondingly the mortality rate is lower, From this circumstance, we cannot conclude that Jews have a greater vitality, for instance. The statistical averages are strongly influenced by the mortality rates of infants and small children, which are lower in the case of Jews. However, this is essentially concommitant with the social milieu and the lower numbers of children of the Jews. Quite generally there exists a close connection between the number of children and the mortality ratios of infants and small children. A comparison of the age distribution, however, also shows a somewhat greater proportion of the highest age groups amongst the Jews. The cause of this must probably be seen in the fact that the Jews go to their physicians more frequently and sooner. Furthermore, they are afflicted by occupational injuries to a smaller extent.

The lower frequency of various infectious diseases amongst Jews must be explained as a result of the same factors, with the exception of tuberculosis, in the case of which a more profound cause is to be assumed. According to consistent statistical data concerning the occurrence of tubercolosis in Jews and non-Jews in various countries with various non-Jewish populations, and also taking into account the given social conditions, the results p.145 are consistent: In the case of Jews, the mortality from tuberculosis is a lower one, the course of the disease is slower and more favorable, less frequently do there come about exsudative decomposition processess and more frequently there are found benign forms contained by the formation of connective tissue. It is well known that for the contracting of tuberculosis in a human being, and in particular for the course of the disease, an hereditary predisposition is of significantly contributing importance. On the basis of general epidemiological experiences, tuberculosis exhibits the character of an acute epidemic with a preponderantly rapid and grave course in the case of ethnic groups which come in contact with it for the first time. During the course of generations the sickness takes on more and more the character of a chronic, insidious ethnic epidemic. Those who are predisposed are killed off by the

disease with an increased incidence, in large part before the end of their reproductive age. For that reason the number of those who are resistant increases more and more in the population. There comes about that which is called a selective resistance. The Jews are now the race which has been exposed longest of all the races to the conditions of urban life. For that reason this race has been subjected longest to the selection process just described. The result is a genuine racial characteristic.

From the field of internal illnesses the frequency of diabetes in Jews is best known. For that reason diabetes has even been designated as the "Jewish disease." Having diabetes and dying from it are about four times as frequent in the case of Jews as in non-Jews. Nutritional factors are of significance in the occurence of diabetes. The decline of the disease during the famine years of the war and the postwar period is well known. A sufficient explanation for the difference between Jews and non-Jews is not furnished by that circumstance. The greater frequency of marriage of related persons in the case of Jews has been pointed out, by which recessive hereditary diseases appear more frequently. There is no doubt about the fact that bearers of rare recessive hereditary diseases are especially frequently the products of marriages between related persons. In this connection, however, diabetes is not a rare hereditary disease. In addition to the recessive hereditary process there is also the dominant one. For that reason I am inclined to assume that the hereditary tendency to diabetes occurs more frequently amongst Jews than amongst non-Jews.

Two further grave metabolic diseases, Gaucher's disease and Niemann-Pick's disease, in the case of which the metabolism of fatty substances is impaired, occur with greater frequency in Jews. A special form of grave feeble-mindedness, amaurotic idiocy, also belongs in the group of disturbances of the lipoid metabolism. The infantile form of this disease occurs predominantly in Jews from the East.

Diseases of the blood vessels, especially arteriosclerosis, are said to occur more frequently in Jews. As a result of the arteriosclerosis of certain leg vessels there occurs a disease which is known as intermittent limping. It has been observed especially frequently in Jews. Spontaneous gangrene, a gangrene of the limbs resulting from disturbances of the vessels, is also especially common in Jews.

The problem of race and cancer has frequently been worked on. A number of things which were originally viewed as racial difference have been explained differently when subjected to critical examination. Thus, much which was reported about differences between Jews and non-Jews should not be considered. No differences exist in the frequency of cancer. On the other hand, the places attacked by it are perhaps not the same in the case of individual races. There are consistent reports from numerous observers concerning the low frequency of cancer of the uterus in Jewesses.

In the national census of handicapped people of 1925 more blind and deaf-mute persons were enumerated amongst Jews than in the rest of the population. This difference is to be attributed principally to a greater frequency of hereditary blindness and deafness amongst Jews. A more exact differentiation on the basis of the particular causative hereditary diseases is not yet possible. The only certain observation is the more frequent occurence of glaucoma in Jews. Astigmatism is also reputed to be more frequent in Jews.

All investigators agree on a greater frequency of nervous and mental diseases in the case of the Jews. The organic nervous diseases are quite scarce and a statistical comparison is difficult for that reason. According to various reports Parkinson's disease (paralysis agitans) is especially common in Jews, while hereditary St. Vitus' dance is supposed to occur less commonly. Organic tics and bilateral athetoses, as well as hemicranic and neuralgic diseases, appear more frequently in Jews. Special investigations have been concerned with the shaping of the clinical picture of paralysis. During these it was noticed that in the case of the Jews the cheerfully excited, manic conditions occured more commonly. More frequent were also sensory delusions, hypochondric imaginations and symptoms of a sexual-erotic nature (Gutmann).

Schizophrenia is strikingly more frequent among Jews. According to statistics from Polish insane asylums, among insane Jews schizophrenia is twice as common as among insane Poles (Becker). Atypical patterns are quite frequently found amongst the Jewish schizophrenics. Several observers have found hysterical reactions in schizophrenics. According to another observation the schizophrenic form of the disease is supposed to be more common amongst Jews. Since it is a matter of a hereditary disease in the case of schizophrenia which comes about rather independently of external influences, the more frequent occurence of the disease in Jews must be viewed as a racial characteristic.

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Manic-depressive insanity is also found to be more frequent amongst Jews, but the difference between Jews and non-Jews is not as great as in the case of schizophrenia. Here, too, atypical clinical pictures with hysterical admixtures are more frequent. From the Munich clinic, Lange reports that the disease occurs more frequently in Jews before the twentieth year of life and that it takes a graver course. In the case of the melancholy disorders, hypochondriac illusions are of great importance, a grumbling, gross and dissatisfied behavior is more frequent and ideas of persecution and impoverishment play a considerable rôle, while guilt complexes play a lesser rôle. Frequent were p.147 self-reproaches about the family, the business and personal assets; ideas of religious shortcomings were completely lacking. In the case of the manic disorders, which relatively frequently occur amongst Jews, the disturbance of thinking very often went as far as a case of disintegration. There was often lacking the actually happy phase, in place of which there occurred vexed, gross dissatisfaction, with slander, quarreling, arrogant behavior and frequent paranoid ideas. Lange sees in his observations a relation to the normal dispositional characteristics of Jews: Their need for medical attention, anxiety, insufficient physical skill, preoccupation with profit, their lack of imagination (monotony of the clinical pictures), their critical attitude toward everything, the preference for extremes, the exaggerated expressive movements and, with regard to the lack of guilt complexes, the fact that the Jews are either orthodox or indifferent with regard to religion.

From numerous statistics there are consistent reports about the scarcity of epilepsy amongst the European Jews. The attempt has been made to explain this fact by the likewise seldom occurence of alcoholism in Jews. It was believed that alcoholism was an important factor in epilepsy. Today we view the connections between alcoholism and epilepsy differently inasmuch as we know that the most important cause of true epilepsy is a pathological hereditary predisposition. In most cases, too, serious and chronic alcoholism comes about on the basis of a hereditary psychopathic constitution. The concomitance of alcoholism and epilepsy in one family must therefore be sought, essentially, in an at least partial, equal or similar pathological hereditary predisposition. Hence, there appears to me to exist a connection between the less frequent occurrence of epilepsy and alcoholism in Jews. The causative pathological hereditary tendencies appear to be scarcer amongst them.

A comparison of the incidence of feeble-mindedness in two groups of human beings involves great difficulties. Very careful investigations were necessary in order to obtain usable statistics for the German ethnic groups. Various observers assume a greater frequency of congenital feeble-mindedness in the case of Jews in comparison with non-Jews. In particular, grave forms of feeble-mindedness appear to be more frequent in Jews. It is possibly a question of particular hereditary types (Schottky).

In general there are reports concerning the special frequency of psychopathy and neurasthenia in Jews. Buschan is of the opinion that the majority of Jews are neurasthenics and Ziemssen is of the opinion that "there is a neurotic character through the whole Jewish ethnic group" (according to Schottky). It is certainly no coincidence, but rather a result of a racial characteristic that psychoanalysis originates, in essence, with Jewish authors and that Freud has made sexuality, and Adler has made the drive for prestige and power the central aspect of their doctrines on neuroses. Hysterical phenomena are also supposed to be especially common in Jews.

Even if we observed a lower proportion of Jews amongst alcoholics, addiction to morphine and cocaine is found more frequently amongst them than in the case of non-Jews. In choice of the narcotic the psychological makeup is of considerable importance and its inheritability is quite characteristic: In families of acoholics only alcoholism, and in the families of morphine addicts only morphinism is found to be clustered.

From 1849 to 1907 the frequency of suicide in Jews increased by sevenfold. While suicides were formerly less frequent amongst Jews than non-Jews, they are more frequent today. There has been an inclination to make emancipation, with its decline of religious restrictions, responsible for that fact. However, only persons with psychopathic and neurotic tendencies will react in such a manner to such a change in their external condition.

A typical difference betweens Jews and non-Jews is manifested in the kinds of criminal behavior. According to earlier statistics, the Jews in Germany were less frequently involved in punishable acts than the remaining population. Lenz views in this circumstance a confirmation of the rule that intelligence prevents a person from transgressions to a certain extent. He adds "that it keeps a person from getting caught to an even greater extent." A considerably lower indicidence of crime is found amongst Jews in the case of bodily injury and larceny but they

are sentenced far more than average for slander, fraud and forgery. In addition to social position and occupation, racial psychological differences are certainly of considerable importance here.

The characteristics which have just been discussed already lie on the border between the pathological and normal. In themselves, they throw light on the problem of intellectual traits and traits of character of Jews. If I were to give a detailed discussion of this topic I would be going beyond the limits of this paper. I am able to forego this all the more inasmuch as the intellectual nature of Jews, especially as it is manifested in outstanding representatives of Jewry, is the theme and content of numerous papers which were given at our working meetings and are published in the two volumes [I and II] of the Forschungen zur Judenfrage (Studies on the Jewish Problem). I also refer to the exposition by Lenz in Menschliche Erblehre (Human Genetics) by Baur, Fischer and Lenz (4th edition, 1936, pp. 746 ff.).

This general and basic observation can be made: The Jews have preserved a rather high degree of uniformity, particularly in their intellectual traits and traits of character, and have not only kept a distance from their host populations at all times, but have accented their differences. The fact that they have maintained themselves as an ethnic group without a country and as a community in spite of dispersion throughout the world through two millenia must be ascribed to their psychological nature in particular. The attempt has been made to portray the psychological characteristics of the Jews as a result of the milieu in which they live, grow up and are educated. Numerous Jewish authors are especially energetic in trying to deny the connection between race and culture. The basic resolution of this question has been made on the basis of modern genetic research on man: It can no longer be contested that the psychological characteristics in man, just as the physical ones, are essentially determined in their development by hereditary tendencies. The results of research on twins in particular have had in this case an · elucidating and clarifying effect. The psychological differences between Germans and Jews are caused by a different hereditary makeup, i.e., by a different racial origin.

The racial characteristics (physical and mental) of the Jews of the present day are probably explainable to a considerable extent on the basis of the origin of the Jews from the geographical area of the Near Eastern and Oriental races. However, the present-day Jews are different from the ethnic groups now living in this area. The profound contrast between Arabs and Jews in Palestine also has a racial root! Jewry possesses a distinct racial nature which is found in no other groups of people and which therefore appears to justify our speaking of Jews as a race. Of course, we must keep clearly in mind that the Jews are not one of the races which we designate as "systemic races" because they form a group in the genetic system of mankind. Humanity, however, is in a constant state of development which leads to the formation of new races, i.e., to reproductive groups which are differentiated from other people by the common possession of certain genetic traits.

The Jews have "bred" their race themselves. This particular objective might have been a conscious one only amongst a few of their leaders. We can forego the discussion of that here. However, it is a fact that in most cases the Jews have reproduced themselves by strong inbreeding. The absorption of rather large groups of people of other races into Jewry has been a rare occurrence. Individual conversions to Judaism, for example as a result of marriage, have certainly occured more frequently than is generally supposed. The absorption of individuals into Judaism did not take place haphazardly but were guided by a selective process. One need only think, for example, of how the choice of a marital partner was determined by social and occupational objectives in the peasantry, nobility and middle class and how the formation of groups of people is determined as a result of intellectual objectives by which people of a certain makeup are attracted. The occupational types are the best example of this. As a result, I believe that only people of a certain type feel attracted by Judaism and could decide on conversion to it, people in particular who felt related to Judaism on the basis of their intellectual and psychological makeup. (It may only seldom have been physical reasons.) in this sense, the element which was absorbed into

^{1.} This, however, could not prevent a series of Jewish speakers at the last international congress for demographics in Paris in 1937 from ignoring these research results in order to stay in line with the prejudiced hypothesis of the environmental causation of all cultural achievements. The manner of delivery which characterized the German and Jewish

speakers gave the best demonstration of the subject of "race and culture" to every attentive and objective observer!

Jewry was not "foreign."

In addition to this selection of admissions into Jewry, there are selective processes, perhaps even more important ones, to which Jewry has been subject for more than 2,000 years. The following environmental circumstances appear to me to be of special importance in the determining of the direction of the selective process:

1. for over 2,000 years Jews have been living far from the natural attachments to a certain region. Perhaps there were specific racial traits which led the Jews into the diaspora even in ancient times and caused them to live in cities. Even at that time the Jews must have been especially well adapted to urban life; otherwise he would not have been able to preserve himself and increase his numbers. Other races perish in the city, they cannot live without a close attachment to nature and they need a home, a piece of soil to which they feel attached.

2. The Jews prefer to be active in the commercial occupations, not as a result of an external compulsion but as a result of an inner nature; that has frequently been demonstrated. By the selection of marital partners and the selective process involving life and reproduction tied in with occupation selection, an "enrichment" of such traits comes about and thus a stronger emphasis of the original character.

3. As a result of their Talmudic education, the Jews were kept at a purely formal, logical intellectual activity. A certain direction of education not only leaves its stamp on people because certain attributes develop while others are repressed, but it also influences the choice of an occupation and the social stratification. The kind of person who corresponds to the educational ideal is the more successful in life. With this, in turn, there is a reproductive selection.

4. A specific religious-ethnic idea of being a chosen people has constantly given Jewry an intellectual exclusivity, which reinforced the isolation from other peoples and favored the preservation of their own racial peculiarity.

By means of such selection processes, the intellectual type of the Jew in particular has been preserved and constantly shaped anew, while the physical type has remained less uniform. The effect of these selective processes has also become clear through the investigation of the sicknesses of the Jews: The selective resistance of the Jews to tuberculosis is a result of urban life, likewise the pathological hereditary tendencies to metabolic disturbances, blindness, deaf-muteness and above all nervous

and mental diseases, since such hereditary tendencies are more frequently eradicated under the conditions of a natural rural life. The specific mentality of Jews has as its result the concentration of hereditary traits which, in turn, lead to the more frequent manifestation of psychopathic and neuropathic conditions and endogenous psychoses.

The Jew is the specific type of the urban human being, that is, of a human being who no longer has an inner connection with the natural foundations of life and who no longer lives from instinct or the subconscious, but rather only believes and views as his world that which he can grasp with his reason. In such a despiritualized world there is no room for faith, for genuine, unselfish, devoted love and for respect. There are also urban people of other races. However, do we not readily sense them as "Jewish?" It is not a coincidence that the people who have entered into marriages with Jews are quite preponderantly urban people.

The danger which Jewry meant for the German population was a double one:

- the character of our people was threatened. The complete racial separation of Germans and Jews was an absolute necessity for that reason.
 - 2. The excessive intellectually Jewish foreign influence sought to introduce principles of living and selection which were favorable for the preservation of Jewry, but would have meant the decline of our people. For that reason the racial separation of Germans and Jews has the national separation as a requisite.

[Translator's note: The original bibliography is reproduced below for those who wish to pursue von Verschuer's sources in greater detail. There follow then English equivalents only of the titles of the works listed so that a ready overview of the nature of the sources may be obtained by the reader who does not readily comprehend the meaning of the original German titles.]

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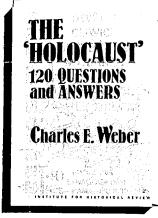
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British Public Opinon and the Wars of German Unification: 1864-1871

Peter H. Peel



The International Research Institute for Political Science Box 199, College Park, Maryland 20740 The following article is taken from chapter one of

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PREFACE

One does not usually begin the preface to another man's book with a brief intellectual autobiography; but in this case I can think of no other way to start, and perhaps my story will not be uninteresting. I will come to Dr. Peel's very readable book in due time...

Like most Americans my age, I was brought up on an unremitting diet of hatred for all things German and Japanese. Too young to be in military service, I was old enough (and because both parents were involved in civilian war work, I had time enough) to go to movies and listen to the radio; and although my home was reasonably intellectual and we did read books, I could not fail to absorb the general attitudes of the time.

In brief, we were told that the fate of mankind was at stake: that could we kill enough Germans and Japs a kind of Marxian transformation of quantity into quality would take place, and the day sufficient Germans and Japanese had been exterminated would shine upon an eternally beautiful world.

Of course that was not so, and a few years later I found myself in military training, destined for a place I had not before heard of: Korea.

Much of our military training consisted of films, nearly all made during World War II. The propaganda in those films was so outrageous that our training officers felt compelled to (1) apologize for the extreme hatred projected, and (2) remind us that Germany and Japan were now our allies against a new and far more dangerous enemy. It seemed to me at the time that there was a lesson in that; but we were shortly given more pressing problems to fash us, and I gave little thought to the deeper historical lessons.

Moreover, an accident of the remainder market brought into my hands Ebenstein's German Record (Rinehart, 1945), a purportedly scholarly work "proving" beyond doubt that the German people were corrupt to the core, and that "the guilt of the German people, apart from an incredibly small minority, for the organization of

crime and mass murder is beyond any dispute..."

In due course Korea ground to a stalemate, and courtesy of the GI Bill I attended university, where I was fortunate enough to experience a brief but highly stimulating association with Professor George Mosse. Dr. Mosse, being Jewish, certainly had no brief for the German regime of 1933-1945; but he was an historian and an honest man, and encouraged in those of us close to him the development of what he called an historical sense — defined loosely as an appreciation of how the modern world is the child of the past and cannot be understood without knowing something of the past.

But science, not history, was my primary field, and once again I failed to take the opportunity to reform my mental furniture into something more consistent with the real world.

Like many apprentices to the sciences I have always been fascinated by science fiction; indeed I find the progression from science fiction to a career in the sciences so common that I recommend it as a fertile source of dissertation topics. And like most science fiction readers I was greatly influenced by the thoughts and assumptions of science fiction writers. For example: whatever their political views (and science fiction writers ranged in political philosophy from unadorned Marxism to fairly profound conservatism) nearly all, in the heady days of the Forties and Fifties, had great faith in science; nearly all accepted the inevitable development of a science of mental health, and nearly all were convinced that only in science lay the salvation of the world.

On my university campus there was a remarkable man, George Lundberg, the Swedish professor of sociology, whose book Can Science Save us? was heady wine indeed to one my age. I set out to meet him, and in due course was given a copy of another book to which he had contributed: Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes. This work introduced me to "revisionist" history, and led inevitably to my study of some of the earlier revisionist works concerned with World War I. In particular I recall the study by Walter Millis, another by Beard, and finally an astounding essay by Lord Bryce — an apologia for lending his name and scholarship to an infamous report on German atrocities of 1914 when he knew at the time of publication that the "Bryce Report" was falsified.

And at long last I found myself compelled to rethink my views on twentieth century history.

The result has not been anything like agreement with all the

views presented in this book. Although I can thoroughly accept the proposition that World Wars I and II are best regarded as civil wars within western civilization, I also remain convinced that, given the events in Germany after 1933, both national interest and moral imperative demanded United States intervention in the affairs of Germany: that we had no choice but to bring down and replace the National Socialist regime; and that it is highly unlikely that we could have done so except through use of military power.

But given that, need we have done more? For what we actually did was disastrous. If there be any rational reasons for war — and those who believe as I do that removing Hitler from power was a rational objective must agree that there are — then it seems to me the criterion for entering war must simply be that you will be better off when the war is ended than you were when it began.

On that criterion the United States and the West lost World War II.

Consider: before World War II, Germany and Japan were Great Powers, as were England and France. The Soviet Union, while powerful, had little influence outside the borders of what had been Tsarist Russia. China was dismembered, self-balkanized, with the major factions allied with the West. The Balkan nations and most of the states successor to the Austrian Empire were self-governing and their citizens enjoyed greater or lesser degrees of individual liberty. Poland, the Baltic Republics, and Finland were independent nations, again with varying degrees of individual liberty — but in the worst case their citizens retained far more "human rights" than they have now.

Came World War II, came the victory parades and the celebrations; but when the victory parties were over, the policy-makers sobered, and from 1947 onward the major policy goals of the United States and the West in general have been to reverse our "victory." We seek to make China an ally; to make Japan self-sufficient and capable of self-defense; to erect Germany (well, "our" Germany at least) into a nation strong enough to serve as a barrier to Soviet expansion. We cheer when Poles, or Czechs, or Slovaks, or Ruthenians, or Letts, or Esthonians, or Finns are granted even a modicum of liberty. We cheer, but no longer seek their independence, not because we do not find it desirable, but because we find the task hopeless.

In other words, we want very much but are unable to restructure the world as it stood in 1938 with the only exception being somewhat different regimes in Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Which is to say that we lost the war.

And that, at last, brings us to the value of Dr. Peel's very readable book; for he shows how military victory can become national defeat.

It is a truism that those who will not study history are doomed to repeat it. It is also a truism that the study of history is not easy, and not made easier by the dry dusty style of most historians. Fortunately this book is an exception to the latter truism. It is history; but it is far from dull.

The history of British — which is also to say American, since the primary source of our attitudes toward Europe has since the time of Daniel Webster been England — public opinion toward the German people is a record of the very skillful manipulation of a people. It is a story of a highly successful propaganda effort.

Moreover, although Dr. Peel has chosen to begin with a fairly obscure incident — who can today become excited about the Schleswig-Holstein affair? — the developing story remains modern and applicable to our times. The era that began in 1860 and continues today brought into being something new and unprecedented: mass media. (Certainly a case may be made for the "electronic village" views of James Burnam, which argues that the media have in one sense reduplicated the past by making it possible for orators to project charismatic appeals to an entire people; but in my judgment the differences in scale between Demonsthenes addressing the Pnyand Roosevelt's fireside chats make them cases of qualitatively different phenomena.)

If we are to have policies of reason rather than passion we have no choice but to understand the media and their effect on democracy.

And that is the signal contribution of the present work. Dr. Peel has prepared a remarkable case history, and whether one agrees with his views or violently rejects them, one's intellectual furniture cannot but be improved by reflecting on what is presented here.

In closing, I repeat: I do not agree with all the conclusions of this book. I have enjoyed many stimulating discussions with Dr. Peel, and certainly some of them have become fairly heated arguments. In that sense I cannot, as those who contribute forwards often do, "endorse" this book. However —

I can and do strongly recommend it for both enjoyment and enlightenment.

I have known Dr. Peel for many years, and I have always found his scholarship impeccable. His references are real, his quotes are fair

and in context. Being a man of strong opinions, he obviously makes his case as strong as possible, and it would be asking more than flesh can achieve to demand that he make his opponents' case as well as he does his own; but in my judgment Dr. Peel is very often a great deal fairer to his intellectual adversaries than they are. Besides, the anti-German case has hardly been left unstated. Those who wish to know "the other side" will have no difficulty beyond selecting from a nearly infinite pool of such works.

Moreover, I can and do defend Dr. Peel's injection of himself into what is, at bottom, a thoroughly scholarly book. Many of the best-known historians such as Gibbon and Macaulay have done so, and thereby made their works readable; and readable this book is. When I was first invited to examine it I did so with some trepidation. What, after all, was British public opinion in 1860 to me? But I found myself seduced, first by Peel's style, then by the story itself; and far from resenting this book's intrusion on my time, I am grateful for the opportunity of reading it. If you have an interest in understanding today's world you will find this book invaluable.

Jerry Pournelle Hollywood, 1980

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The work which follows is the outcome and perhaps the culmination of nearly half a century of dedication to the cause of Anglo-German amity. It has been made possible by the kindness and generosity of many people. Definitive acknowledgments of the author's indebtedness to all those whose guidance and support have sustained him is an impossible ambition. As with history itself, there is no point in time, except an arbitrary one, at which to make a beginning. Certainly the earliest influences of one's family and family friends (the "lost generation" of World War I), of patient and enlightened schoolmasters, of a multitude of life experiences including service throughout the Second World War, have all played their contributory parts.

I shall confine myself, therefore, to expressing my very special thanks to Dr. Daniel Crecelius of California State University at Los Angeles who so enthusiastically advanced the cause of a middle-aged candidate for a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship; to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation itself; and to the University of Southern California which extended generous grants in the years of graduate study, including one which made possible a visit to England throughout the spring of 1974 to conduct essential research.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

"Cities and Thrones and Powers
Stand in Time's eye
Almost as long as flowers,
Which daily die:..."

Puck of Pook's Hill

"Lo, all our pomp of yesterday Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!"

Recessional

"Was ich wollte, liegt zerschlagen, Nun aber gib auch Kraft zu tragen Was ich nicht will."

Von Deutsche Seele

The British Empire — or what is sometimes called the Second British Empire on the grounds that 1776 signalled the demise of a "First" British Empire — was a relatively short-lived phenomenon in comparison, say, to the Roman Empire. The German Reich was even more ephemeral. Not the First Reich, of course; that strange, rich, variegated Reich of the Hohenstaufens and Hapsburgs lasted as a going concern for about five centuries and, as a by no means insubstantial "ghost," for another three. But that First Reich was not

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

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Germany, though its heart and nucleus was the multitude of Germanspeaking duchies and baronies and Imperial Knights' fiefs and Free Cities. Its boundaries, shifting and changing, embraced at times Flemings and Hollanders, Italians and Bohemian Czechs and excluded the feudalities of the Teutonic Knights in the frontier lands to the northeast. It was an organic, evolving, irrational entity in the Burkean sense, not a rational, centralized state and certainly not a nation. "Nation," in fact, seldom meant anything other than the sense in which it was used to group the students at the great mediaeval universities. German nationhood began, perhaps, in a literary and linguistic sense with Luther. But not until the era of ascendent Romanticism - which began with Rousseau and ended on the barricades in 1848/49 — did a passionate and idealistic commitment to conscious nationhood arise. In 1871, the yearnings and longings were fulfilled with the birth of the Second Reich. It was the kleindeutsch solution which, by excluding in 1866 the Danubian monarchy, with its macedoine of races, also excluded the Germans of Austria. But if a flawed miracle, it was miracle enough, and brought about by the will and genius of the Jovian figure of Bismarck (usefully seconded in the military field by Helmuth von Moltke, the greatest strategist since Napoleon). It was accomplished in the face, not only of foreign hostility but, at times universally (and to some extent always) in the face of the hostility and opposition of lesser men and some "impossible" women in Prussia itself. A British historian of high repute, who has generally been unfriendly to Germany, writes thus of Bismarck's near painless extraction of Austria from Germany:

Bismarck's achievement in the summer of 1866 in the face of a hostile parliament and nation, a King who understood neither events abroad nor events at home, and a suspicious and disapproving Europe, is the most remarkable even in his career, and showed what transformation a giant could effect when confronted by a race of pygmies.1

Conventionally, Bismarck's Second Reich lasted a mere forty-seven years - until November 1918 - and was succeeded by the Weimar Republic and then by the twelve brief years of the Third Reich. One can, however, view the febrile and deliquescent Weimar Republic as a

1. R.W. Seton-Watson, Britain in Europe, 1789-1945: A Survey of Foreign Policy (New York: Macmillan Company, 1937), p. 473.

strange and culturally-alien lacuna in the development of Germany.2 In this light the so-called Third Reich is primarily the resumption with some changes - of the life of the Second Reich and the period in which the final unification of Germany is effected. Austria becomes, as she had wanted to do after the First World War, an integral part of Germany; East Prussia, Memel, and the old Hanse city of Danzig are rejoined to the main body of the nation; and, with the recovery of Posen and West Prussia, the infamous "Corridor" is eliminated. With the dissolution of Czechoslovakia (that mėsalliance of mutually hostile Czechs, Poles, Germans, Magyars, Slovaks and Ruthenians which was tacked together by the victors after World War I), Bohemia became, as it had been for so many centuries, part of the Reich. What has all this to do with the period of our subject? Only this: that the same lack of understanding and historical empathy which involved Britain in two world wars against Germany and has resulted in the multiple partition of Germany, in the disappearance of the British Empire, and in the end of European hegemony in the world, had its early manifestations and roots in the years between 1864 and 1871.

Taking the long perspective of the whole last millennium, this Anglo-German hostility seems a strange aberration. Since the Norman Conquest, England has fought three brief wars against Holland. stumbled (behind France) into a short localized one against Russia, and for the last two decades of the Tudor dynasty defended herself rather splendidly on the seas against the power of Spain. But England's greatest and most enduring enemy was always France. As early as the reign of King John there was considerable fighting between England and France and an actual French invasion. Edward I conducted a lengthy war against France (1293-1303). Then came the (first) Hundred Years War - a series of wars between 1337 and 1453. For English schoolboys, the victories over the French at Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415) are, or were, glorious and thrilling chapters in the nation's history. They ranked with, or above, Marlborough's great victories over Louis XIV between 1704 and 1709 at Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Agin-

^{2.} So many historians of Germany appear nowadays to be emigre's of the Thirties with easily intelligible affection for the Weimar Republic. But for a detached view of the period by a reputable scholar innocent of any ulterior motives, see Sir Arthur Bryant, Unfinished Victory (London: Macmillan & Com-Pany, Ltd., 1940).

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court, in fact, probably ranks in the national mythos with Trafalgar and Waterloo. The series of wars with France between 1689 and 1815 is sometimes called the Second Hundred Years War. The First and Second, in fact, add up to about 242 years; though, of course, the warfare was not continuous. Nevertheless, Germany, by contrast, has never declared war on Britain nor initiated any attack on her. And in the Seven Years War (1756-63), Prussia was the ally which shouldered most of the burden of fighting on the Continent and which, but for the fortuitous death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, would have found herself left in the lurch when Britain made peace with France. Prussia was again Britain's ally against Napoleon I. If the Duke of Wellington was correct in calling the outcome of the Battle of Waterloo "a damned close-run thing," it follows that the arrival of Blücher's Prussians on the field, though rather late on that noble day, must have been decisive. Yet the years immediately preceding the First World War brought waves of anti-German hysteria whipped up and inflamed by the Harmsworth Press (the Daily Mail), John Bull, and other popular journals. A national atmosphere prevailed in which Admiral "Jacky" Fisher, the First Sea Lord, could make a serious suggestion in peacetime that the Royal Navy should "Copenhagen" the German fleet in its home ports. This is not the place to argue in detail the course of events leading up to the outbreak of war in 1914. But what might have been localized as little more than a necessary punitive expedition by Austria against the ceaseless provocations of her half-savage little neighbor, became the monstrous precipice over which tumbled empires and dynasties, moralities and faiths, leaving a shattered, impoverished, cynical and embittered Europe in which even the victorious Powers had now only a precarious and loosening hold on their empires and were well on the road to yielding preeminence to the extra-European super-Powers.

Germania and Bellona

We may as well meet head-on and as early as possible the myth of a special and peculiar bellicosity and martial ardor in the Germans. And since "Germany" before 1871 was largely a "geographical expression," I am willing to challenge the myth even in the name of the supposed extreme example, Prussia.

The despoliation of a wretched and helpless Germany by the

armies of Spain, Austria, Sweden and France during the Thirty Years War had evoked, in Toynbeean terms, various "responses" to the "challenge." In Brandenburg-Prussia, the Great Elector (1640-88) and more especially the Unteroffizier König, Frederick William I (1713-40), built a superb army on a small and impecunious demographic basis. It served with immortal glory in the desperate fight for the survival of Prussia during the Seven Years War (1756-63). After that, and especially after the death of Frederick the Great, it deteriorated and ossified. It was quickly thrashed by the French Revolutionary armies in 1792. It tried its luck again in 1806, and though it fought with great courage and resolution it was no match for Napoleon.3 After the decisive defeats of Jena and Auerstadt in October 1806, further scattered resistance was quickly crushed.⁴ At the Peace of Tilsit (1807), Prussia was stripped of half her national territories (reduced from 89,120 square miles to 46,032). An indemnity was imposed on her of Fr.140,000,000, and the shrunken State required to furnish support for 150,000 French troops. Her own army was limited to 42,000 men.

In the years between Tilsit and the general German rising against Napoleon — the Volkskrieg, or War of Liberation (1813-15) — a group of bright young military reformers (Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Clausewitz, Boyen and others) did much to restore and improve the quality of the tiny regular army. After the defeat of Napoleon, however, the Prussian army again deteriorated and became generally regarded in European chancelleries as too old-fashioned and hide-bound to be of much use. With the exception of the Austrian army, the armies of the other States of the post-1815 German Confederation were little more than toys for their dynasts to display on ceremonial occasions. The armies of Saxony and Bavaria may possibly deserve a little better than that, but even they were still markedly inferior to the poorly-regarded Prussian army. Thus it was that when the Federal Diet at Frankfurt ordered an "Execution"

^{3.} Who is said to have remarked to his officers as they stood grouped around the tomb of Frederick the Great at Potsdam, "Gentlemen, if he were still alive we should not be here."

^{4.} An exception was the prolonged and heroic resistance of the city of Kolberg (under Gneisenau), which became the subject for a stirring German movie made in 1944. This was a spectacular color film which employed two divisions of Wehrmacht troops as extras. A Junkers 88 dropped the canned reels to the Danzigers when their city was under siege by the Russians in 1945.

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(which meant nothing more sinister than that one of its directives should be executed and military force applied as necessary), it was the Prussian army which was expected to play the major role. In 1848 (March 24) the Estates of Schleswig and Holstein appealed to the Confederation (of which Holstein was a member) for aid in dissolving their connection with Denmark - a personal union under the Danish king.⁵ Prussian troops were ordered in in April and by May had cleared the Danes out of the Duchies and entered the Jutish peninsula. The moral disapproval of Tsar Nicholas⁶ and pressure from the other Powers enforced the humiliating (to Prussia) Armistice of Malmö (August 26). In March 1849, the Danes denounced the Armistice and resumed hostilities. This led, under threats from Russia and Britain, to a second and even more humiliating armistice on July 10, 1849. A peace treaty was concluded the following year on July 2, 1850. Not only was Prussia clearly shown to be one of the five "Great Powers" only by courtesy, but the circumstances which initiated her action will hardly admit the charge of brutal aggression to be laid at her door.

Between 1850 and 1914, sixty-four years, Prussia-Germany was involved in three more wars whose total duration amounted to about one year. In the first war, whatever arrières pensées are alleged, she again acted in the name of the Confederation. This was the war of Austria and Prussia against Denmark in 1864. The second war, usually called the "Seven Weeks War" though active hostilities scarcely exceeded ten days, was the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 in which an unkind critic might have said that Prussia played Fafnir to Austria's Fasolt.7 The third war is the Franco-German War which lasted a little over six months, from July 1870 through January 1871. In this last case, France declared war on Prussia and even though Teutonophobes have long tried to make a case that Bismarck provoked, and Von Moltke at least welcomed, the war, there is no question but that it was forced on Prussia by a France maddened with pride, rage and vanity. That single year of warfare out of sixtyfour argues an extraordinarily pacific record.8

5. The precise issues will be dealt with in the appropriate chapter.

6. So says A.J.P. Taylor, The Struggle for Mastery in Europe: 1848-1918 (1954; reprint; Oxford: University Press, 1971), p. 15.

7. Or might have, had Richard Wagner been born a generation earlier.

8. It is true that in 1914 Germany declared war on Russia and France, but the Russian orders to mobilize against her and her ally, Austria, were the equiv-

How does this stand up beside the records of the other Powers? After listing a number of wars fought by Britain or France (or both) between 1815 and 1863, Russell Grenfell summarizes:

Thus in the first 48 years after Waterloo we find the British involved in six foreign wars, one Colonial conquest, and the suppression of one major mutiny; France involved in four foreign wars, and two Colonial conquests; Russia involved in five foreign wars, without mentioning her eastern expansion in Asia and the suppression of revolts in Poland (1830 and 1863) and elsewhere; and Austria involved in two foreign wars and the suppression of various revolts.

The same point is made, even more thoroughly and tellingly (Grenfell omitted to list some of the wars) by Byron Farwell's Queen Victoria's Little Wars¹⁰ which demonstrates that British Forces were in action somewhere in the world — and sometimes in several different places simultaneously — every single year of the great Queen's long reign (1837-1901). Nor is the author constrained to rely on mere brushes with a handful of savages to make his claim but such serious business as the two Sikh Wars, two (of the three) Afghan Wars, the two Boer Wars, the Zulu War, the Matabele War, the two wars with China, the three Burma Wars, the Crimean War, the Maori Wars, the Ashanti War, the Indian Mutiny, naval action against Japan, and many others. It was an English Victorian music hall ballad (not a German song) which gave the word "Jingo" to the world — the vulgar manifestation of sentiments of which Palmerston's Civis Romanus Sum speech of 1850 is, perhaps, the sublime.

alent of a declaration of war, and the Franco-Russian alliance, in addition to the reply given by Paris to Berlin when asked if she would remain neutral, made it quite clear that a war with Russia meant also a war with France. In 1939, Chamberlain having given an unredeemable pledge of support to the stiffnecked Poles on the matter of the negotiations about the Corridor, Germany sought a limited military solution in the East — as Austria had sought a limited military solution in the Balkans in 1914 — and was attacked by Britain and France.

9. Capt. Russell Grenfell, R.N., Unconditional Hatred (New York: Devon-Adair, 1953), pp. 32-33.

10. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), passim.

11. It must not be supposed that the present writer is in any way critical of Imperialism — quite the contrary — he is critical only of cant. Interestingly, there is no German word for cant and when Bismarck needed to express the concept he had to fall back on the English word. Even the French derived "tartufferie" is not quite the same thing. The closest German approximation is Scheinheiligkeit, which carries connotations of non-verbal posturings.

* * *

For an English boy growing up in the 1920s, nearly all the adult men with whom he would come into contact, from schoolmasters to family friends, would have served in what was then called "the Great War." A small minority of these would be diehard Hunhaters - the type of Siegfried Sassoon's "scarlet Majors at the base." By contrast, the men who had served in the trenches would often speak with a tolerant kindness of "Jerry" and with an admiration that almost bordered on a kind of affection. Their late allies, the French, they did not like and they would usually have some disdainful tale of the grasping parsimony of the French peasants and the unsteadiness of the French soldiers. 12 One might place as much, or as little, objective weight on such opinions as one cares to; the point is, as it will usually be throughout this study, not the objective truth (that noble nonsense of "wie es eigentlich gewesen") but what men thought was the truth. It was a truism, often observed, that hatred for the enemy increased in direct proportion to the distance from the front. There is not much doubt, for example, that Lloyd George at Versailles was to some extent the unwilling victim of the excesses of the war propaganda and the inflamed mood of the general public just after the war. But, for most, the bitter and vengeful hatred seemed fairly soon to have evaporated. There was much mention in those days, with approval and agreement, of John Maynard Keynes' The Economic Consequences of the Peace. Keynes' book had less to do with economics than with an expression of revulsion at the "Carthaginian" Peace of Versailles. It was first published in 1920, and was rapidly followed by a number of other "revisionist" books. In 1923, the brutal French invasion and occupation of the Ruhr, with its coldly deliberate policy of inflicting as much cruelty and humiliation on the Germans as possible, 13 aroused a good deal of sympathy for the helpless victims and disgust with the former allies. By the late 'Twenties one heard wryly amused recollections of gullibility, not only about atrocity stories ("Belgian babies on bayonets" — presumably a Hunnish variety of shishkebab), but about 1914 illusions ("Home by Christmas"), about comforting evidences of Divine Intervention ("the Angels of Mons"), 14 or about unclassifiable absurdities ("Russian soldiers have landed — you can tell from the snow on their boots."). 15

Yet this new enlightenment and good-will vanished within weeks — almost within days — of January 30, 1933. The British press kept up thereafter an unrelieved barrage of anti-German hate propaganda. It was ably seconded by the film industry, both domestic and Hollywood. The German Chancellor became the favorite subject of cartoonists — with Reichsmarschall Goering probably second. And the cartoons were universally hostile and bitterly derisory. The effect on the British public seemed instantaneous. The national mood rapidly became as extravagantly anti-German as the Press. This may well have cost Sir Oswald Mosley, perhaps the ablest and most clear-sighted politician in Britain, his chance to reverse the steady decline of British power, wealth and prestige. 16

Stories of unspeakably cruel and brutal persecution of Jews were retailed. They were being deprived, if not yet of life itself, of all their possessions and were herded into concentration camps. Some prominent men whose political lives had drifted into backwaters and shallows began to sniff the air and to sense that a war with Germany might restore them to national leadership; thus, perhaps, the philippics of Winston Churchill and the venomous Lord Vansittart.

The Press would occasionally slip up; but this did not seem to make any impression except on those who were already sceptical.

^{12.} The French army had mutinied in 1917 and for a time, although the German High Command never realized it, the line was virtually held by the British alone. Though the mutiny was dealt with with laudable severity (pour encourager les autres) and order restored, the French army was never thereafter much use in offensive action.

^{13.} Including the calculated use of black Senegalese occupation forces to terrorize, with virtual impunity, the women and girls of the Rhineland.

^{14.} That sort of thing was supposed to have gone out with the Trojan War.

^{15.} The gullibility quotient had not noticeably shrunk by the Second World War. I recall an article in the Daily Mirror, purported to have been written by Ribbentrop's dog (which was inadvertently left behind in the enforced haste of the German Ambassador's departure). This literary dog explained how, when anyone else was present, his master took care to treat him with great kindness, but that when no one else was present, he was tortured. No one, I imagine, was expected to believe that a dog actually wrote the article, but I met a surprising number of people who thought the circumstances described were true because they had seen it in the paper and were quite unaware of the obvious logical absurdity.

^{16.} The Daily Mail did, for a short time, support Mosley's Blackshirt Movement, but soon dropped this under pressure from powerful special interests.

The Times of November 10, 1938, described the events of "Kristall Nacht" (the previous night) when rioting against Jews took place in Berlin after the murder of a German diplomat by an emigré Jew in Paris. The big Jewish department stores on the Kurfürstendam had all had their windows smashed, said the Times. Few seemed to see any anomaly in the fact that after nearly six years of alleged plunder and persecution, there were still "big Jewish department stores." These years, as well as the war years that followed, witnessed the enormous and growing power of the Press (and the Cinema) — although, today, television has probably superseded both.¹⁷

If Britain had not declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, there can be little doubt that the Central Powers would have won within two years. Certainly, if Britain had not been involved neither would the United States; and it follows that there would have been no Second World War. Possibly Romanovs, Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns might still afford the modern world some spectacles of grace and splendor; British Burra Sahibs be invited to bring their Memsahibs for tiffin at Viceregal Lodge; blacksheep younger sons enlist in the Legion at Sidi bel Abbas; and a certain amount of deferential forelock-tugging still be seen in rural England.

Gentlemen who read Ph.D. dissertations in history may be reasonably supposed to be men of rare and lofty intelligence and scholarship. They will, presumably, choose to associate with their peers or near-peers. They will read learned journals and select their newspapers from among those with a reputation for seriousness, integrity, and literary merit. If one has generally lived on Olympus

17. Already, in 1918, Oswald Spengler had written: "The idealist of the early democracy regarded popular education, without arrière pensée as enlightenment pure and simple, and even today one finds here and there weak heads that become enthusiastic on the Freedom of the Press — but it is precisely this that smooths the path for the coming Caesars of the world-press. Those who have learnt to read succumb to their power, and the visionary self-determination of Late democracy becomes a thoroughgoing determination of the people by the powers whom the printed word obeys. No tamer has his animals more under his power. Unleash the people as reader-mass and it will storm through the streets,..; a hint to the press-staff and it will become quiet and go home" (The Decline of the West, abridg. ed. by Helmut Werner, English abridg. ed. prepared by Arthur Helps from transl. by Charles Francis Atkinson [New York: The Modern Library, 1965], p. 395). Nietzsche had said it in Also Sprach Zarathustra with characteristic succinctness: "...sie erbrechen ihre Galle und nennen es — 'Zeitung'" ["...they spew their gall and call it 'newspaper'"].

from one's early young manhood, it must be very easy to forget the abysmally primitive level of the thought processes of ordinary men. These are aggravated, of course, by the general human tendency to avoid recognizing or believing truths if to do so will make one anxious or will invite social disapproval.¹⁸ Bertrand Russell once remarked that most men would rather die than think - and, therefore, frequently do. When, despite the prophetic warnings of disaster by the so-called "Adullamites," the 1867 Reform Bill was passed which enfranchised the urban working classes, Robert Lowe said, "We shall now have to educate our masters." But lest anyone imagine that the passage of the Forster Education Act (1870) or all the subsequent Acts designed to spread the blessings of popular education have noticeably elevated the style, tone, content or mode of expression of popular thought and of the journals which are both its substructure and its epiphenomena, I append some prize examples culled from the pages of Doris Langley Moore's painfully bitter but brilliant study, The Vulgar Heart: An Enquiry into the Sentimental Tendencies of Public Opinion. 19

When we feel friendly [as in 1905 and 1914-18] 'the gallant little Jap' is depicted as a sturdy warrior contending with some monster usually larger than himself; when unfriendly we represent him as a species of yellow devil.

...I well remember how, in my childhood, the cruel and arrogant figure of the Kaiser, the rat-like countenance of the Crown Prince (known then as Little Willie), the brutal bulk of Hindenburg, as interpreted by cartoonists who had never seen any of them, embodied Germany for me, playing much the same roles as are now allotted to Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering — Hitler, of course, predominating just as the Kaiser did in his time. Those old enough to recall the last war [1914-18] who protest that, after all, no one ever thought the Kaiser quite as bad as Hitler, seem to me to be infatuated in the same manner, though not in the same direction, as lovers who retain no memory of earlier passions when they claim to be really in love at last. 20

^{18.} With their usual gift for the Triumphant Revelation of the Absolutely Obvious, the psychologists have drawn attention to this behavior and call it, in their jargon, "cognitive dissonance."

^{19. (}London: Cassell, 1945).

^{20.} Moore, The Vulgar Heart, p. 84.

Miss Moore, after expressing some disgust at the then current fashion of misusing the word "hero" to describe any conscript who had seen a little action, quotes an item in the Sunday Chronicle (June 1940; the exact date is not given). Beverly Nichols, a gushing but popular gossip columnist and author of slightly epicene articles and novels, was writing of the British retreat to the French coast, "An hour in the life of a single one of those men at Calais seems so much more important than the lives of all the men of letters who ever lived." By the mass readership of the Sunday Chronicle, such sentiments were probably regarded as only common sense. And if the prose of Beverly Nichols himself were the yardstick, who could

really demur?

In the same summer, the Reverend C.W. Whipp (real name), Church of England vicar of a parish in Leicestershire, graced the pages of his parish magazine with some noble Christian sentiments. On September 4, the Daily Mail discussed the clerical gentleman's article with obvious approval under the headline, WIPE OUT ALL GERMANS. The vicar had written:

"There should be no R.A.F. pilot returning home because he cannot find a military objective for his bombs. The orders ought to be 'Wipe them Out'... All I hope is that the R.A.F. will grow stronger and stronger and go over and smash Germany to smithereens... I say frankly that, if I could, I would wipe Germany off the map."²²

When we come to look, as we shall, at the rodomontades and gasconades, the journalistic imbecilities and the reports of bestial cruelties in the Franco-German War, we may sometimes be tempted to feel that, after all, we are a lot more rational and restrained and generally sophisticated today. For this reason, I ask the forbearance of the reader if I quote two or three more items from the *The Vulgar Heart* in order to demolish, once and for all, any such illusions of superiority.

"If the Parachutes Come I WANT TO FIGHT" says Shelagh Howarth

"With rifle — or a rolling pin — I'd fight like fury any overladen sky devil who touched a blade of grass on my lawn...I read with understanding the report that Belgian women had lynched a parachutist. I felt for them and would do as they did if given the chance.

"A women's corps of "Parashooters" would prove invaluable to civil defence, and I feel that the privilege of dealing with sky murderers should not be entirely reserved for men....There will be no stopping the women of Britain if Hitler chooses to send his suicide troops over here with their sub-machine guns and bicycles....Surely our men do not want to think of us slinking through woods like animals from a hunter. Rather give us a gun and a chance."²³

Here is a letter from the Sunday Express, of January 30, 1944. Its suggestion is not, perhaps, quite as monstrous as the Morgenthau Plan; on the other hand, the writer is not a member of an allied Cabinet nor a Presidential crony.

"When the war is won we should distribute all German children between three and fourteen throughout the British Commonwealth, compelling every childless couple to bring up at least one child....All the expenses would be borne by the German nation.

"We would thus do more to ensure everlasting peace in Europe than has ever been done before. By the time these children were 25 they would have acquired British qualities, and could be allowed to return to Germany taking that influence with them."²⁴

Professor Gilbert Murray, the Greek scholar, is generally supposed to have been the real-life prototype of Shaw's gentle, impractical Professor Adolphus Cusins in *Major Barbara*, yet he wrote in a pamphlet during World War I of his "desperate disappointment" that a report of the death of 20,000 German sailors turned out later to have been only 2,000.

About the same time, Sir Arthur Quiller Couch gave an address at Cambridge entitled "The Huns and Literature." It contained such intellectual gems as the following:

"The Germans are congenitally unfit to read our poetry; the very structure of their organs forbids it....The German who can write even passable English is yet to be found....For them the great body of our literature was only the dead possession of a

^{21.} Quoted, ibid., p. 134,

^{22.} Quoted in Moore, The Vulgar Heart, p. 213.

^{23.} Quoted in Moore, The Vulgar Heart, pp. 269-70 (from the Yorkshire Evening News, May 22, 1940).

^{24.} Quoted, ibid., p. 282.

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decadent race....There can only be one way of exorcising this menace of dusty historicism — the sword in the hand of the young, who will see to it that the tumour is cleanly lanced."²⁵

The examples that have been offered should help the reader decide if the language and sentiments of 1870 are more, or less, barbarous and crude than those of 1914 or 1940. I would add only that no one in 1871 contemplated hanging Ollivier, Gramont or even Gambetta. As for Napoleon himself, he was kept in some style and state at the castle of Wilhelmshöhe until he could be freed to join his family in England. It is almost equally improbable that the French, if they had won, would have hanged William or Bismarck. In 1918, there was much talk of hanging the Kaiser but no very serious efforts were made to compel the Dutch to hand him over to any Allied tribunal. None of the statesmen or generals of the defeated Powers were hanged. And when the people of the victorious Powers approved the post-armistice extension of the blockade, few of them actually saw the starving children of Germany and Austria. By 1945, however, the "Advance to Barbarism"26 had progressed to a point at which it could fairly claim to be worthy of the Old Testament.

People (and peoples) generally are Christian, Moslem or Hindu; Liberal, Conservative or Communist; pro-Graustark or anti-Ruritania, on the basis of what they are most frequently and persuasively told. This is particularly true of the last example. The overwhelming majority in any country has never been to Graustark or Ruritania and has met, at most, one or two people of Graustarkian (or Ruritanian) origin. This is true today and becomes steadily more true the further back one goes in time. A century ago, most people never left the vicinity of their own small town or village. Only soldiers, sailors and the wealthy travelled. Yet a general concert of anti-Graustark propaganda in the Ruritanian newspapers would soon have the Ruritanians crying for war against the fiendish and diabolical Graustarkians.²⁷ A century ago, most people went to church every

25. Quoted in Moore, The Vulgar Heart, pp. 285-86.

Sunday for a few hours, and this, bolstered by family prayers and pious instruction, sufficed not only to confirm people in a particular sect but to set the general standards of morality in the entire nation. Today, I suspect, the current orthodoxies are even more firmly implanted by hours of television watching every day.

But the question will still be asked: Is the attitude of the Press of a nation necessarily to be equated with "public opinion"? And as a supplementary question: If the Press is a legitimate source for assessing public opinion, are there not also other important sources which deserve consideration?

The answer to the first question must be, I think, an unequivocal "Yes"; at least, this is true in the case of foreign affairs. In foreign affairs it is self-evident that the public as a whole has no other source for forming opinions than the Press. In modern times we can subsume under "Press" the broadcasting media and probably the movie industry. In the nineteenth century there were no such ancillary sources. I hesitate to belabor the obvious, but it is still possible for a diehard critic to object that the public, after all, does not necessarily believe what the Press says even if it has no other sources of information. One might as well argue that the next generation of Saudi Arabians will not necessarily be Moslem, the next generation of Italians not necessarily Catholic, or - perhaps more pertinently the next generation of Russians not necessarily Marxist. But if, in our period, there existed no other medium than the printed word in newspapers and influential journals to mold public opinion (and reflect it), there are, nevertheless, some additional and useful sources to indicate trends. The poets Browning and Swinburne, for example, if hardly the "unacknowledged legislators of the world," yet had somewhat to say on the subject of the Franco-German War. And I have made some use of the opinions and comments of eloquently persuasive people or of those who may be presumed to be influential by reason of exalted rank. These are to be found in collections of letters; in biographies; in diaries and personal journals. It is impossible to assess accurately how much influence the expressed views of Queen Victoria had (or the generally contrary views of her eldest son), or of men of affairs such as Robert Morier. What is certain is

including our own — which have evolved for sound genetic reasons. Bitter hostility, however, between two nations whose citizens are not in any kind of mutual contact (by and large) and which are in any case of the same sub-special variety, cannot be ascribed to biological causes and must be acquired.

^{26.} This is the title of a closely-reasoned and generally excellent book by the eminent British jurist, F.J.P. Veale, who was a first-hand observer of the victors' "justice" in post-World War II Germany. His book is a powerful indictment of the Nuremberg kangaroo court.

^{27.} This is not to suggest that all hostile feelings between different peoples are a result of propaganda. That would be to fall into the democratic-environmentalist trap built first by John Locke. There may well be spontaneous, biologically-determined antipathies among various breeds of the same species—

that they had some effect and one must just make the best, informed "guesstimates" one can. And, as with newspapers and journals, there is an equally useful opposite side to the coin: not only is an effect created but the views, even of exalted individuals, are seldom so totally idiosyncratic as to constitute minorities of one. They usually, in fact, can also be taken to reflect (broadly) a particular school of thought — at the very least in the social milieu of the utterers of those views.

We must now discuss, in general terms, the ambience and miseen-scène of our period of study. In order to do so we must say something about the prevailing orthodoxies in mid-Victorian England and something about the factors determining British foreign policy. We shall find ourselves taking a rather new and unusual look at the effect of North American developments on British policies in Europe, and the demonstration of this hypothesis will necessitate our looking at the consistent nature of that effect considerably fore and aft of our period. And though our main subject is British, it may be profitable to cast a glance at some of the emotional, philosophical, and political elements in contemporary Germany and France and at some of the major figures involved. This will, it is to be hoped, help to explain in the case of Anglo-German relations, why any real meeting of minds was so difficult - why the "noise" level occasioned by different goals and different historically-derived world views made for irritation and incomprehension. In the case of France, it may suggest reasons why a mixture of frivolity and boredom under the Second Empire, bitter resentment about a fading gloire, and the character of the "Sphinx of the Tuileries" 28 and his wife, combined in an explosion of unappeasable rage and lust for war in July 1870.

It must also be taken as read (or this study will become impossibly clumsy syntactically) that whenever we say that the British thought this, the Germans felt that, the French argued thus, we and the reader tacitly agree that there were always dissident unorthodox and maverick minorities. When, like the Positivists and English Radical Republicans, they constituted an element noisy enough at least to get considerable attention, we shall report on them in the appropriate place.

History, it has been said, is a seamless web. It is a striking image, but perhaps a little too flattering to the baggage. We need not quibble about the more obvious runs, rips and tears in the fabric — the

total extinction, for example, after half a millennium of the oncesubstantial Viking colony in Greenland — but surely a more accurate, if irreverent, image would be a Brobdingnagian rats' nest of old bits of string, thread and yarn, horribly knotted and defying almost any attempt to find definite beginnings and endings. Worse than that, the strings are imbued with a sort of pseudo-life, wriggling and reentangling themselves constantly as hosts of mutually jealous historians keep diving into the mess and coming up with a length in their hands, crying "Eureka!"

To change the metaphor, the unknown future slips continually over that mysterious edge of no duration which we call the "present" and plunges into an invisible and untouchable "past." We select, from a near infinitude of data, some facts (presuming to know what we mean by a "fact") for study and intelligible arrangement. But all our knowledge is essentially memory — ours or other people's — or the imaginative extrapolation of relics and artifacts, from dinosaur bones to diaries.

Some civilizations (notably Egypt and China) appear to be static — if we stand far enough back and take a very grand, panoramic view indeed. Or at least sufficiently static for useful generalizations to be made about quite lengthy periods of time. With Western civilization, especially in the last two or three centuries, Whirl is King and change is so rapid that attempts to describe, in general terms, the European scene at a specific point in time, is a very artificial exercise and the result is necessarily somewhat false. It is the application of quantum theory to history. The observer cannot know the velocity and the position of the electron at the same time, and the historian cannot simultaneously make a picture of a particular moment in history and give a fully valid interpretation of historical dynamics.

With that caveat in mind, let us take a look at Britain, France, and Germany in the mid-nineteenth century, with such temporal extrapolations as may help explain the inner logic of the historical process.

The first thing to note about England is what a very old nation she is. Not only in obvious comparison to the countries of the New World but (as is seldom realized) in comparison with almost all the nations of the Old World, too. Only China, Japan, Egypt and Iran can claim greater antiquity of national identity.²⁹ In Europe until

^{28.} Bismarck called him "A sphinx without a riddle."

^{29.} Hungary has, perhaps, a claim to approximately equal antiquity with England.

the nineteenth century, the Balkans, including Greece, was a mere congeries of territories, themes, banats, and so forth, first under the Byzantines and later under the Ottomans. Italy was only the hinterland of the City-State of Rome and never a nation, even in Classical times. After Rome fell, and until national unity was achieved (1860-70), "Italy" was the name for a peninsula of which, at various times, part belonged to the Holy Roman Emperors and, later, to Austria; part was Spanish; part was the domain of the Pope. There were citystates like Florence; the thalassocratic and oligarchic Republic of Venice; and an assortment of independent or quasi-independent duchies. In the eighth century, the Visigothic kingdoms of Iberia were pushed back by the Moors until they occupied only a precarious toehold across the extreme north. In the eleventh century, much of Portugal was reconquered; but Portugal would disappear, absorbed into Spain, from 1580 to 1640. Spain, itself, only really became a nation after the death of Isabella of Castile in 1504, when Ferdinand of Aragon was able to unite both provinces under his control (in the name of his insane daughter).30

The Netherlands broke away from the Spanish Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century. Belgium was the product of a rebellion of the southern provinces against the Dutch king in 1830. Between 1014 and 1905, the three Scandinavian kingdoms went through almost every possible permutation of union and dissolution - all united, all separate; Denmark-Norway; and Norway-Sweden. Switzerland grew by accretion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although her formal independence was not established until 1648. The tiny Grand Duchy of Moscow similarly grew by slow and steady accretion from the fourteenth century to become the immense Russia of Peter, Catherine, and Stalin. Poland disappeared from the European map in 1795 and did not reappear (except for the Napoleonic "Grand Duchy of Warsaw") until 1919. In 1945, the whole national territory shifted bodily westward a couple of hundred miles. Poland had once been united with Lithuania and extended its aegis as far as Kiev. Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece are creations of the nineteenth century; Albania was born in 1912, and Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in 1919. Germany has already been discussed in this connection: it was never a nation until unification was achieved at the same time as that of Italy. Characteristically, Germany achieved unity after a

series of brilliant victories; Italy after a series of disgraceful defeats. What of France? Under the early Capetians, the western third of

France was part of the English (Angevin) Empire. East of the Rhone and Meuse the area was still Germanic and a part of the Holy Roman Empire. The remainder of France consisted of great feudal provinces, often at war with each other or with the kings. Not until the expulsion of the English in the middle of the fifteenth century does a true nation begin to emerge.31 And not until then does France, be it noted, begin those long centuries of depredations and annexations in the Germanic east, of which the seizure of Metz, Toul and Verdun in 1552 is perhaps the beginning, and the occupation of the Ruhr and the Saar after World War I the end. But we shall let Thomas Carlyle speak to these matters in due course - at least, up to 1870. The question of whether we think of two small provinces as Alsace and Lorraine or Elsass and Lothringen will, other prejudices aside, depend on whether we think in terms of historical continuity, like Burke and De Maistre, or in the immediate "present" and the special reality of an existing generation and its wishes, like Liberals from Gladstone to Woodrow Wilson. But Shaw's useful insights notwithstanding, nationalism in France throughout the Ancien Régime was still modified and accompanied by provincialism and some vestiges of feudalism. Thus it is that in the years of the first French Revolution we hear so much about the "nation-in-arms," "la Patrie en danger," or the superb (in both its old and current meaning) "Allons enfants de la patrie – le jour de gloire est arrivé." The idea of the nation was a new and unutterably exciting one. Not the Bour-Bon lilies but the tricolore of the whole nation is what young men lying wounded on the hot, dry plains of La Mancha and grizzled

31. In George Bernard Shaw's Saint Joan there is a dialogue between the Earl of Warwick and an English chaplain. The chaplain remarks disdainfully of the Bastard of Orleans that he is "only a Frenchman":

The Nobleman (Warwick): A Frenchman! Where did you pick up that expression? Are these Burgundians and Bretons and Picards and Gascons beginning to call themselves Frenchmen, just as our fellows are beginning to call themselves Englishmen? They actually talk of France and England as their countries. Theirs, if you please! What is to become of me and you if that way of thinking comes into fashion?

The Chaplain: Why, my lord? Can it hurt us?

The Nobleman: Men cannot serve two masters. If this cant of serving their country once takes hold of them, goodbye to the authority of their feudal lords, and goodbye to the authority of the Church. That is, goodbye to you and me.

^{30.} There have been strong Basque and Catalonian separatist movements even in this century.

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veterans expiring in the snows of Smolensk reached for with palsied hands to kiss before they died. For all that, the French never really grasped the profound German concept of the Volk. The nearest they came to it was embodied in Rousseau's "General Will." And, after all, Rousseau was really Swiss.³² Nevertheless, whether we date French nationalism from the end of the first Hundred Years War or only in a pure form from the end of the Ancien Régime (when itquickly gave place to Imperialism), it was not an issue in the nineteenth century. Thus it is that in that "Year of Revolutions," 1848, whereas almost everywhere else liberalism and nationalism were conjoined as vectors of the dynamic, in France the issue was simply liberalism; and for all Lamartine's expressions of sympathy for Polish nationalism, he took care to inform Palmerston as soon as possible that the revolution in France was not for export.³³ It was in Italy, in Hungary, in Bohemia, in Schleswig-Holstein, in Rumania, and in the German states, that nationalism was as important and, in the event, usually more so than liberalism. Even the ridiculous little emeute in Ireland - an affair of forty-seven policemen, three hundred assorted ruffians (armed with guns, pikes and pitchforks) and the siege of Widow McCormick's pig-farm - was a matter of nationalism. But the violence of Irish nationalism which flared in the Fenian outrages in the 'Sixties and the shocking Phoenix Park murders in 1882 was not the whole story. Much of the Irish peasantry lived far

32. In England, Romanticism was stronger and more enduring than in France. The English Romantic poets have no equals in world literature in that particular genre. The neo-Gothic style persisted for a very long time in architecture. The "gothic novel" was born. Wordsworth and Shelley offered their own versions of Pantheism, and Coleridge introduced the English to German philosophy. But not even the English really grasped the Volkisch sense of the brotherhood of all members of the nation in a mystical community. Brotherhood was not a word heard much in England except in Low Church evangelical circles, perhaps; Brüderschaft, per contra, continually crops up in German songs and poems. In the England of mid-century, the Romantic era was over. England was run by sensible, practical men of business and of Liberal politics. They had little patience with all that misty German nonsense. It was a shock they never quite got over when they found those rather ridiculous "professors" with their dreamy notions and meerschaum pipes and cuckoo clocks could win battles and wars against the most respected professional armies in Europe.

33. Some small, and usually rather futile, expeditions were launched from French territory by emigre groups resident in France; rather like the Fenian expeditions against Canada from the United States nearly twenty years later (vide infra, p. 45), which President Andrew Johnson would wink at.

too close to a bare subsistence level to be involved in rebellious activities. There was a pro-Union Protestant minority even in the southern counties. Irishmen in large numbers were gallant and wholly loyal members of Her Majesty's Armies - from privates to generals. In the tiny principality of Wales a sparse population of halfbarbaric sheep-farmers tended their flocks in the remote valleys and on the mountainsides - mostly apolitical, deeply religious (Baptist) and unconcerned with the rest of the world; though in Cardiff, Swansea and in the Rhonddha Valley, coalmining and the tinplate industry were beginning to produce an embryonic political labor movement.

Scotland, like Ireland, was a poor country of small peasant crofts, except in the industrializing Central Valley. The bettereducated Scots became ships' engineers or moved south into England. If they stayed in Scotland (unless they were great lairds) they practiced or taught medicine in Edinburgh or were in the publishing trade in that city. In neither Scotland nor Wales, and only in certain circles in Ireland, was there any nationalist or separatist sentiment. Thus the use, imprecise and incorrect though it was, of "Britain," "the United Kingdom," and "England" interchangeably by newspapers and politicians (often including Scotsmen) seldom provoked comment.

As for England herself, so much richer and more populous than her three Celtic appendages put together, it had been more than a thousand years since the days of the Heptarchy. And if unification was shaky under the later Anglo-Saxons and the three Danish kings, after 1066 there was never any question of the permanent unity and national integrity of England. Thus it is, I believe, that nineteenthcentury Englishmen - with a very few enlightened and imaginative exceptions - could never really understand the force, fervor and idealism of nationalist yearnings. In the late 'Seventies, there began a rapidly waxing Imperial ideal; but it is none too soon to stress that nationalism, imperialism (and racialism) are not necessarily the same thing and are sometimes contradictory or mutually exclusive. They may, on the other hand, sometimes blend with and reinforce each other; and all three, as well as dynasticism and feudalism, may be sources of loyalty, even of a kind of patriotism (or a reasonable facsimile thereof).34 Not that the mid-century Englishman was

^{34.} In the case of feudalism, this is most true when sub-infeudation is kept at a minimum and the monarchy is powerful as was that of William the Conqueror.

impervious to the temptations of national pride. The superiority of English ideas, English justice, English laisser-faire economics and Free Trade, the English moral character, and the manly and energetic fist of John Bull (when justified by foreign insolence or bad be havior) was palpable and beyond dispute by any reasonable man And because nations, like individuals, tend to be taken — for a long time, at least — at their own evaluation, it is a source of continual amazement to the historian how so much of the rest of the world for so long a time accepted most of these English views of themselves as quite true — even if regrettably so. The point is that this kind of thing is not nationalism; or if it is, it is a very different kind of nationalism from the kind we have been discussing — as different as post-coital euphoria from the burning frenzy of passion and desire.

Satire, particularly successful and popular satire, can provide excellent clues to the attitudes, manners and assumptions of a period. It is apodictic that satire cannot be directed against targets which are merely imaginary. On the other hand, satire directed against the popular myths and beliefs of its own time will only appeal to a small, highly sophisticated audience, while satire directed at the manners and beliefs of a time too far in the past will be pointless and "old hat."35 William Schwenk Gilbert's satire (and who knows but that the exotic implications of his middle name may not have had a lot to do with his ability to slide his stiletto into English ribs and tickle the English while doing it?) was successful in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It mocked, brilliantly, English attitudes which were already somewhat demode in the educated classes. Ralph Rackstraw's song in H.M.S. Pinafore, which begins, "A British tar is a soaring soul," is an example of Gilbertian satire on English views of themselves. Better yet is the superb song, "He is an Englishman," from the same comic opera:

And it's greatly to his credit That he is an Englishman!

For he might have been a Roosian,
A French, or Turk or Proosian,
Or perhaps Itali-an!
Or perhaps Itali-an!

But in spite of all temptations To belong to other nations, He remains an Englishman!

But the best example of all, in the opinion of this writer, is Richard Dauntless' song from *Ruddigore*, which is, perhaps, worth quoting in full here:

I shipped, d'ye see, in a Revenue sloop And off Cape Finisterre,

A merchantman we see, A Frenchman, going free
So we made for the bold Mounseer,
D've see?

We made for the bold Mounseer.

But she proved to be a Frigate — and she ups with her ports,

And fires a thirty-two!
It come uncommon near,
But we answered with a cheer,

Which paralysed the poor Parly-voo!
D've see?

Which paralysed the poor Parly-voo. Then our Captain he up and he says, says he,

"That chap we need not fear —

We can take her, if we like, She is sartin for to strike.

For she's only a darned Mounseer!"

D'ye see?

She's only a darned Mounseer!

But to fight a French fal-lal — it's like

Hittin' of a gal -

It's a lubberly thing for to do; For we, with all our faults, Why, we're sturdy British salts.

While she's only a poor Parly-voo, D've see?

While she only a poor Parly-voo.

So we up with our helm, and we scuds before the breeze,

As we gives a compassionating cheer; Froggee answers with a shout as he sees us go about.

Which was grateful of the poor Mounseer, D'ye see?

Which was grateful of the poor Mounseer! And I'll wager in their joy they kissed each

other's cheek

(Which is what them furriners do), And they blessed their lucky stars We were hardy British tars

Who had pity on a poor Parly-voo

D'ye see?

Who had pity on a poor Parly-voo!

We may take note here (for future reference) of the line, "But to fight a French fal-lal — it's like hittin' of a gal —." We shall find, in the period of the Franco-German War that the image — the reification — of France is always feminine; thus tending to gain more easy forgiveness, tolerance and sympathy than Germany, whose image is always male. ("Germania" rarely appears in cartoons; usually William I, Bismarck or the Prussian Crown Prince symbolizes Germany. They are often clad in early mediaeval armor.) Britain is represented fairly often by "Britannia," but most frequently by the stout, muscular, masculine figure of "John Bull." In poetry, too, France is a beautiful (if sometimes fallen) woman — a composite of Ste. Genevieve and Marianne. The subliminal propaganda effect upon Victorian men, with their strongly protective attitudes towards the so-called "weaker" sex, can only be guessed at.

* * *

After Waterloo there existed only three Powers in the world whose military potential Great Britain might have reason to view with some anxiety if a serious diplomatic breach occurred. Not until the unification of Germany did the number increase to four. Those three Powers were France, Russia, and the United States. No one ever took Italy very seriously in a military sense — even after unification — though for a long time Englishmen went through a phase of infatuation and idolization of things Italian. As for the remaining Great Power, Austria, Palmerston loathed her (on behalf of Italy) and the Court generally sympathized with her. After the Crimean

36. But never, be it noted, is she represented by the ferocious harridans of 1789 (the "Madame Defarge" type) — or the real-life Louise Michel and Hortense David of the 1871 Commune.

War, both sides, Russia and the Allies, scorned her for her rather equivocal role. In any case, geopolitical considerations ruled out any conceivable advantage to be gained by either side in a war between Britain and Austria.

British foreign policy with regard to Russia was fairly simple and consistent. Whenever there seemed to be a serious threat by Russia to seize Constantinople or control of the Straits, or even to promote the further disintegration of the "Sick Man of Europe" and his Empire, British policy opposed Russia. A strong Russian presence in the Eastern Mediterranean was seen as a threat to India even before the Suez Canal was opened. But if this conflict of interests brought England into the Crimean War in 1853-56 and again brought a very bellicose England to the brink of war in the crisis of 1877-78, there had been other times when Russia and Britain cooperated against French ambitions in the Levant, as in the Mehemet Ali crisis of 1840. Beginning with the Russian advance into Transoxania and the annexation of the Central Asian Khanates of Kokand, Bokhara and Khiva (in the 'Seventies), Britain became increasingly anxious about a landward threat to India. Logistic and topographical considerations should have easily allayed any such anxieties in reasonable men, but evidently they did not. However, it would be wrong to speak of "fear" of Russia. The music-hall song to which reference has already been made probably summed up British sentiments in 1878 pretty accurately: "We don't want to fight but, by Jingo, if we do/ We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money, too!" In 1870, when Russia denounced the Black Sea Clauses of the 1856 Treaty of Paris, Odo Russell was empowered to tell Bismarck - and he did - that England was ready to fight Russia alone if necessary. This may have been brinksmanship. It worked: Bismarck hastily arranged a conference. The point is that even brinksmanship presupposes a certain degree of legitimate self-confidence.

Relations with France between Waterloo and the Fashoda Incident in 1898 followed a sort of sine-curve pattern. The British were very proud of having beaten "Boney" and inclined at times to think that they had done it almost singlehandedly.³⁷ However, they did not forget that it had taken a deuced long time to do it and that there had been some pretty anxious moments until Trafalgar put paid to any real prospect of a French invasion. Even after 1815,

^{37.} In London, Waterloo Station and Trafalgar Square are separated by just two short stops on the Bakerloo Line of the Underground.

France was still La Grande Nation. With the usual human faculty of believing several mutually exclusive things simultaneously, the British knew that they had licked the Little Corporal all by themselves and that it had taken four huge successive coalitions to do the job. Similarly, a century earlier, it had taken huge coalitions finally to defeat Louis XIV - while, at the same time, Marlborough did it alone. At all events, even with the example of Königgrätz so recent, few Englishmen in July 1870 (and fewer Frenchmen) thought that Prussia had much of a chance against France. But, as with Russia, though the French made the British nervous at times, it would be wrong to speak of "fear" - that despicable, paralyzing, emasculating fear which Britain, though not Britain alone, has shown from time to time since 1945. To sum it up as briefly as possible, there were crises with France in 1830 (suspicion of French designs on the revolting Belgians). There was considerable rivalry in the 1840s for possession of New Zealand. In 1840, there was concern about French ambitions in the Levant and Egypt. Because Prussia, Austria and Russia acted with England in 1840, France, under the ministry of Adolphe Thiers, threatened war and began that fortification of Paris which would be so significant in the War of 1870-71.38

Considerable good will was generated between France and Britain as a result of their alliance in the Crimean War. There was some genuine admiration for the gallantry of such French generals as Canrobert. Much of this good feeling would survive subsequent crises and be a ground of appeals for support of France by Francophiles in 1870. A wave of indignation and bad feeling, serious enough to tumble Palmerston briefly from office, followed the angry protest by France that the murderous Orsini bomb outrage of 1858 had germinated in England. In 1859, the Volunteers (a sort of gentlemenamateur soldiery and precursor of the Territorials) was hastily formed to meet a supposed French threat. The Commercial Treaty of 1860, which Richard Cobden negotiated with Napoleon III, seems to have pleased very few people except the two negotiants. The French vintners and some British industrialists benefited, but French industry on the whole wanted protection from the more advanced and efficient British, while British Free Trade purists objected to any sort of "treaty" in respect of trade. Palmerston disliked it for reasons of his own: he thought it would lead to further, and dangerous, reductions in armaments. A certain amount of not very dangerous mutual recrimination occurred in 1863 (when Britain failed to support France's pro-Polish policies) and 1864 (when France failed to support the rash implicit pledge by Palmerston of aid for Denmark). After 1871, the military grandeur of France was only a little more credible than that of Italy. Eventually, there would be a crisis when two expanding imperialisms collided in Northeast Africa; but the mutual chest-thumping soon stopped. The French backed down. Within a very few years a diplomatically isolated Britain and a France with strong fiscal and military-diplomatic arrangements with Russia would be groping towards the Entente Cordiale (and, in 1907, the Triple Entente) and the subsequent — and perhaps consequent — European Götterdämmerung.

It is in relation to the United States alone that real fear and a resultant paralysis of the will and distortion and hamstringing of foreign policy become evident. At the most profound level, the interests of the United States and of the British Empire were irreconcilably antagonistic; as irreconcilable as those of Rome and Macedon. This needs to be argued in the face of so many apparently confutative facts that I must once again crave the reader's indulgence and take a look at a period of about one hundred years of Anglo-American relations. Let it be admitted at once that there has been much conscious affection and good will between the two nations, especially between the better educated and the upper social strata. There has been much intermarriage at that level, in fact.39 Towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of this, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Cecil Rhodes, John Buchan, Homer Lea, and many other Englishmen and Americans were motivated by genuine good will and mutual admiration to try to pull the two nations together in harmony and cooperation. Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden," is a sympathetic tribute to the new American Empire in the Philippines. Some, like Mahan, even contemplated eventual political reunion. It was as though, as the United States became less and less Anglo-Saxon, the

^{38.} The relatively helpless Germans were particularly anxious so they went around singing rather splendid songs such as "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Sie sollen ihn nicht haben / Den freien deutschen Rhein" — which, no doubt, made them feel a lot better.

^{39.} Unfortunately this argument may be weakened somewhat by the reflection that much the same could be said about Anglo-German marriages. During the Franco-German War, for example, the Crown Princess of Prussia, Victoria, was English, the wife of Helmuth von Moltke was English, the wife of the Chief of Staff was English, and so was the wife of the Deputy Chief of Staff.

still-Anglo-Saxon American "Establishment" reached instinctively back to its roots and its *Urheimat*. That era is long gone. In the long run, American interests and those of Imperial Britain could never be in harmony. Despite all ties of blood and intermarriage; of continued British immigration (along with the hordes from southern and eastern Europe); despite so much common history and a common language; the relentless facts of geopolitics, and the prime imperative of all healthy organisms to expand their area of dominance, made the co-existence of a British Empire covering a quarter of the land area of the globe (and mistress of the three-quarters which is ocean), and a vigorous and growing United States reaching towards the role of Super Power, mutually irreconcilable.

So much for the statement of an hypothesis. Let us see if the historical record supports it. On 1 May, 1869, the Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Clarendon, wrote to Queen Victoria:

"The speech of Mr. Sumner, which breathes...extravagant hostility to England, occupies public attention...;

"It is the unfortunate state of our relations with America that to a great extent paralyses our action in Europe. There is not the smallest doubt that if we were engaged in a Continental quarrel we should immediately find ourselves at war with the United States."

Taken by itself, the affair of the Alabama claim could be dismissed as the temporary irritation and swaggering challenge of a nation whose adrenaline level had been very high for four years of desperate and bloody war and which, after concluding that war, found itself equipped with the largest and most powerful army of veterans in the world. Historians often treat the period of extreme bad feeling towards Britain as a phenomenon peculiar to the years just after the Civil War. Robert Blake, for example, discussing national feebleness and the unpopular truckling (as Blake interprets it) to foreign powers during Gladstone's first ministry (1868-74), instances the compliance by Gladstone with what seemed an excessive award — \$15,000,000 —

by the arbitrators of the Alabama case. Al Blake links this to "the fact that Britain could and did do nothing" when Russia unilaterally abrogated the Black Sea Clauses. "Finally, there was Britain's palpable impotence during the Franco-Prussian War." It seems to me that Blake has managed to compress in a few sentences an extraordinary number of questionable inferences and to link together, as if it were a special case under a particular ministry, several aspects of continuous British foreign policy. The Conservative party was no more inclined to European involvements than the Liberals and would scarcely have acted much differently in dealing with trans-Atlantic menaces. Lord Derby, addressing the Lords on 4 February, 1864, denounced the interventionist policies of Russell and Palmerston thus:

I fail to see what country there is in the internal affairs of which the noble Earl [Russell] and Her Majesty's Government have not interfered. Nihil intactum reliquit, nihil tetigit quod — I cannot say non ornavit, but non conturbavit. Or the foreign policy of the noble Earl, as far as the principle of non-intervention is concerned, may be summed up in two short, homely, but expressive words — "meddle and muddle".⁴³

Benjamin Disraeli, that extraordinary Jew d'esprit, sounded the Imperial trumpet (or was it a ram's horn?) in his re-election speech:

"The abstention of England from any unnecessary interference in the affairs of Europe is a consequence, not of her decline of power, but of her increased strength. England is no longer a mere European Power; she is the metropolis of a great maritime empire, extending to the boundaries of the farthest ocean." England was a world Power; she intervened continually in Asia, in Africa, in Australasia. Her sphere of activities and her duties lay on a

Africa, in Australasia. Her sphere of activities and her duties lay on a vastly greater stage than that of any Continental Power. ⁴⁴ And, indeed, when Disraeli finally assumed office (1874-80) as Prime Minister (instead of being Derby's perennial eminence grise), his over-

^{40.} Quoted in George Earle Buckle, ed., The Letters of Queen Victoria: Second Series, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1926), 1:594. Massachusetts' Senator Charles Sumner had made a menacing and bombastic speech demanding \$2,000,000,000 "reparations" from England for the gallant work of the Alabama (C.S.N.) which had been built in British yards. The same figure was claimed later by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish. It was the estimated entire costs of the American Civil War.

^{41.} Robert Blake, The Conservative Party from Peel to Churchill (London: Fontana, 1972), pp. 115-16.

^{42.} Blake, Conservative Party, pp. 115-16.

^{43.} Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3d series (1830-91), 173:27-29.

^{44.} W.F. Monypenny and G.E. Buckle, The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, 4 vols. (Repro. from rev. ed. of 1929; New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), 3:201. See, also, Sir A.W. Ward, "The Schleswig-Holstein Question," in The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy: 1783-1919, 3 vols. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1922-23), 3:9-10.

seas adventures took the form of a "forward policy" on the Northwest Frontier of India and in South Africa (the Transvaal annexed, and the Zulu War) where the incredibly rich diamond fields discovered in 1869 had become a monopoly of the DeBeers Company which had close links with Disraeli's friends, the Rothschilds. Even the arch-meddler himself, Russell, was not averse to using the argument of Imperial commitment when it suited him. In a speech to the Lords on 27 June, 1864, he stressed the far-flung demands on the Royal Navy — guarding against possible American aggression; safeguarding the extensive China trade; insuring the security of "our immense possessions in India." 45

At the other end of the Parliamentary political spectrum from Derby and Disraeli sat the Manchester School Liberal, John Bright, victorious veteran of the anti-Corn Law agitation — Pollux to Richard Cobden's Castor. Here too, peace and profit were the only sensible 'pursuits. 46 On January 18, 1865, Bright rejoiced in a public speech that the Balance of Power policy — "a ghastly phantom" which had been worshipped for one hundred and seventy years, loading the nation with debts and taxes and costing the lives of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen — had at last been "thrown down." 47

We have digressed thus far from our intent to discuss the special nature of Anglo-American relations in order to establish that — Robert Blake to the contrary — the desire to avoid confrontations with any Powers and a generally pacific policy, except in Imperial affairs, was shared by both parties.⁴⁸ The point is, then, that Claren-

45. Hansard, 176:310-24. Not that Russell ever abjured his two favorite Parliamentary activities; one of which was hectoring and lecturing foreign countries and the other of which was endeavoring to relive his early (1832) moment of glory by periodically introducing new Reform Bills.

46. The business of Britain, it might have been said, was business. The "nation of shopkeepers" sought otium cum dignitate and learned the painful lesson eventually that otium in a changing world is usually very much sine dignitate.

47. James E. Thorold Rogers, ed., Speeches on Question of Public Policy by John Bright (London, 1869), pp. 331-32; quoted in Kenneth Bourne, The Foreign Policy of Victorian England: 1830-1902 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 380-81.

48. As for the rest of Blake's contentions, it might be offered in mitigation that most reasonable men (even Palmerston) had recognized the impermanence and unenforceability of the Black Sea Clauses and that British amor propre was neatly salvaged by the London Conference which ratified the irreversible. As for Britain's "impotence" during the Franco-German War, she probably averted a serious violation of Belgian territory by the bilateral agreements Granville made with each belligerent to aid either party against any violation by the other (but

don's prediction that if Britain were engaged in a European war she would be attacked by the United States, was made in 1869, not in 1870. And while, had Britain entered the Franco-German War as a belligerent, Clarendon might well have been proved correct, the necessity remains of showing that Britain had anything to gain by entering that war or had any wish to do so. Sympathies might veer from mainly pro-German to mainly pro-French, but they were at all times divided. No vital British interests were at stake. Nor did it seem that they would be so long as Belgium was guaranteed. Yet the fear of the United States was there, and it is now possible to show its logical position in the long-range historical context.

The secret of British subservience to the United States since the Treaty of Ghent lay not in the position of this or that party but in the fact that the United States held, as it were, a hostage for Britain's compliant behavior. That hostage was Canada. Britain might well have successfully crushed the rebellion in 1776 had she not found herself at war simultaneously with Spain, Holland and France — the population of the last, alone being three times greater than her own. The War of 1812 was ineptly fought on both sides and indecisive. After that, however, it became more and more logistically impossible for Britain to fight a successful war against the United States or to defend Canada against a serious attack or attempt at annexation. By 1830, the population of the United States was beginning to draw level with that of Britain. The following table of

solely in the local defense of Belgium). Furthermore, it was British pressure which succeeded in getting the indemnity payable by France cut by nearly 17% — from \$6,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000 (Ward, "Schleswig-Holstein Question," in C.H.B.F.P., 3:44). Such sums seemed unconscionably large to the British in those days, but they compare rather well with the penalties imposed on Prussia at Tilsit and seem little more than loose change when compared to the 132,000,000,000 gold marks demanded of a starving and mutilated Germany by the Allies after the First World War (compounded by vast seizures of raw materials, cattle, shipping, and patents and investments held abroad).

49. Or, for that matter, impossible for any European Power realistically to threaten the United States with invasion and conquest. One of the most amazing pieces of impudent nonsense ever sold to a gullible public was the propaganda put out by President Franklin Roosevelt and the circles bent on getting the United States into World War II that "the Nazis" planned to invade South America and launch a land attack on the United States through Mexico. Even in these days of power-driven ships, the logistics of transporting a necessarily huge army across three thousand or more miles of ocean and then supplying it throughout a bitter invasion and subsequent campaign against a powerful foe are out of the question. One has only to think of the problems of "D-Day" when most of

population statistics abstracted from the census reports of both countries and rounded off to the nearest million will show the relative change of power in its rawest form:

Year	United States	Great Britain
1830	13,000,000	
1831		16,000,000
1840	17,000,000	
1841		19,000,000
1850	23,000,000	
1851		21,000,000
1860	31,000,000	
1861	V.	23,000,000
1,870	40,000,000	
1871		26,000,000
1880	50,000,000	
1881		30,000,000
1890	62,000,000	
1891		33,000,000
1900	76,000,000	
1901		37,000,000
1910	92,000,000	
1911		41,000,000
1920	106,000,000	
1921		43,000,000
1930	123,000,000	
1931		45,000,000
1940	132,000,000	
1941		No census
1950	151,000,000	
1951		49,000,000

Population figures alone are, of course, not an absolute measure of strength; but if the nations under comparison are more or less equal in respect of technical and scientific resources, of loyalty, courage

the German army was tied up in the East and there were only a few miles of English Channel to cross under an aerial umbrella of thousands of short-range fighters and the guns of a colossal armada.

and honor, of innate fighting ability, and of access to vital raw materials, then population becomes the decisive variable.

The fact is that, after 1814, there was no way in which Britain, still for many decades in the era of sail, could have transported and maintained in Canada an army sufficiently large to guarantee she would remain under the Union Jack. The options were to let Canada go or to pursue a policy of constant appeasement towards the United States. But, like the monkey with its paw in the cookie jar, Britain would not relinquish its hold on North America. It was an attitude which was to cost her very dearly indeed, perhaps bring down the whole Imperial edifice. For when, in the 'Eighties and after, a movement arose aiming at Imperial Federation, it was Canadian opposition (especially as led by Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Liberal French-Canadian Premier, 1896-1911) upon which it foundered. 50

Britain had one great opportunity in the middle of the nine-teenth century to solve the American problem. A British Bismarck, with the clarity of vision and the freedom from enmeshing tentacles of irrelevant moralism of a Realpolitik genius, would have seized the opportunity presented. All-out British support for the Confederacy would virtually have guaranteed the division of the United States into two countries — an industrial North sandwiched between British Canada and a South tied closely as a primary producer to Britain, as well as, it is to be hoped, by ties of closer kinship and cultural sympathies. But the British Liberal middle classes as well as the Methodist working class of Lancashire and Yorkshire, saw the war in terms of the slavery issue, and this rendered a realistic and pragmatic policy impossible.

For fifty years antislavery had been one of the main concerns of British foreign policy....The Emancipation Proclamation helped to clarify British opinion, and by his death Lincoln had

^{50.} The other Dominions were for it with varying degrees of enthusiasm. New Zealand even wanted an Imperial Federal army. As W.H. Smith said, the Empire must federate or perish. The scheme was launched in 1884 and won dedicated support from the "Round Table" circles right up to the outbreak of World War I. These were Milner's bright young men from South Africa — Philip Kerr, Lionel Curtis, John Buchan, and others. In fairness it should be added that the far more limited proposals of Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform League, which looked to the formation of a kind of Imperial Zollverein, were anathematized as heresy by the Free Trade dogmatists of the Liberal Party and their thickwitted and truculently short-sighted Labour supporters who raised the bogy of "dear food."

come to be something of a hero in Britain. But, except for slavery, the issues of the war were incomprehensible to the British.⁵¹

In 1823, Canning sought Anglo-American cooperation in keeping the Holy Alliance out of Latin America; and, although he might utter his famous boast the following year that he had "called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," the fact remains that the unilateral proclamation by President Monroe of the doctrine which bears his name was not only a snub to Britain's overtures but a warning that the British presence in the Americas was also on United States sufferance. In 1842 the Maine boundary question was settled by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which allotted the larger share of the disputed territory to the United States. Four years later, in 1846, the Oregon Treaty divided the Northwest along the forty-ninth parallel. True, it was not the line of "fifty-four forty or fight"; but the British had claimed the forty-second parallel, and the best land was in the southern sector.

In 1849, feeling against Britain ran very high. This was in no small measure due to the bitterly hostile agitation of the very large numbers of Irish immigrants then pouring into the Eastern cities. In May of that year the bloody Astor Place Riot occurred in New York. It was an episode of great violence ostensibly directed against the appearance of the English actor, William Macready, by the partisans of the American actor, Edwin Forrest. Actually, it was a political demonstration by a mob numbering several thousands. Three hundred and twenty-five policemen were unable to quell the violence and the militia had to be called out. Thirty-one people died; eleven militiamen were severely injured. A partial list of the dead — eighteen out of a total of thirty-one — was given on the front page of the New York Weekly Tribune of May 19, 1849. Eight of the eighteen had Irish names and/or were born in Ireland. It is reasonable to suppose this would be a fair sampling of the whole mob.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 was subsequently criticized in the United States as too favorable to British interests in Central

America, where the question of control of a future Atlantic-Pacific canal had arisen. But actually, without yielding any real advantage, the United States had stymied any further British activities in Gentral America or plans to build or control the future canal.

In 1861 came the "Trent affair," when the Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell, were forcibly removed from a British ship by an American frigate, the San Jacinto. (Britain had granted the Confederacy belligerent's rights.) This action amounted to an act of kidnapping on British "soil." Feelings ran high, but the Prince Consort is supposed to have been instrumental in watering down the original British demands for release, reparation, and apology, to an inoffensive protest. By 1863, bowing before Union threats of war, the British prevented the delivery to the Confederacy of ironclads, orders for which had already been accepted by Laird Shipyards⁵²

.The Irish Fenian Brotherhood was founded in New York in 1857 and conducted murders by bombing in England. In June 1866, a body of about 1,600 of these ruffians crossed the Canadian border to attack Fort Erie. They beat an inglorious retreat, however, when confronted with a force of Canadian regulars. What is serious about this raid is that Washington clearly looked the other way. We have already touched on the extreme claims for the damage done by the Alabama and the British payment of \$15,000,000 in 1872. In 1895, a grave crisis developed in the matter of the Venezuelan boundary with British Guiana. And this time Anglo-American relations and Anglo-German relations were directly linked in a way which reflects shamefully on Britain. The details of the dispute need not detain us; suffice to say, President Cleveland and Secretary Olney directed notes in the most bellicose terms to Britain, telling her, in effect, that she had no business in South American matters. Cleveland openly threatened war unless Britain submitted to the decision of an American commission. Britain yielded to these threats. At the same time on December 29, 1895 - Dr. Leander Starr Jameson led an unofficial raiding party of about six hundred men into the Transvaal with the plan of supporting an Uitlander rebellion against the Boer Government. The raiders were captured by the Boers, and were repudiated by the British Government. The act was clearly both illegal and, what is worse, badly executed. But when Kaiser William II sent a perfectly proper telegram of congratulations to President Kruger of the

^{51.} R.K. Webb, Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1970), p. 314. British understanding of Germany was even less: "On Italy they saw partially; on America they were myopic; on Germany they were blind...They could conceive of a united Italy sentimentally; Germany was beyond their imagination" (ibid., p. 315).

^{52.} As we shall see, Britain showed no such nicety of feelings in regard to trade with France during the Franco-German War.

Transvaal on having frustrated the raiders, the British public went into paroxysms of anti-German rage and hysteria. East End dockers beat up German sailors; Germans in London on business were boycotted or insulted; and the Press raged against the Kaiser and against Germany. 53 One cannot escape the very strong suspicion, acutely humiliating though it is, that the British were venting on Germany a rage they dared not show to the United States.

Three years later, in the Spanish-American War, Britain, and her unofficial poet-laureate of Empire, made suitable pro-American noises. However, in 1902 a dispute arose over the boundary between Canada and Alaska. President Theodore Roosevelt sent troops to the area and threatened to use force, refusing Canada's request to arbitrate the matter before The Hague Court or a neutral. Canada looked to Britain for support, but the British deferred to the Americans. Canadian opinion was contemptuous of British pusillanimity. However, in 1910 the Speaker of the House, Champ Clark, urged annexation of Canada and this — pis aller — somewhat revived Canadian loyalties to Britain.

Before World War I, Britain had had a "Two Power Plus 10%" naval policy; that is, that the Royal Navy's tonnage should be ten percent more than that of any other two navies combined. After World War I, although Britain had actually acquired yet more colonial and Imperial responsibilities (former German colonies), she agreed, by the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, to a policy of naval parity with the United States. She also, yielding to American pressure, dropped her 1902 alliance with Japan. President Franklin Roosevelt's involvement of the United States in World War II was not, as he himself had said, "in order to pull British chestnuts out of the fire." Nevertheless, as early as the promulgation of the so-called "Atlantic Charter" in August 1941, when the United States was

still technically a non-belligerent and Roosevelt was luxuriating in the euphoric conviction that he was the arbiter of the world's future, he tactlessly but accurately referred to the Prime Minister of England as "my able lieutenant, Mr. Churchill." (And — bitter irony — it was Churchill who had referred to Mussolini as "Hitler's tattered lackey, frisking at his heels.")

The economic and military dependence of Britain on the United States after World War II is a long and shameful record. It enabled the United States to put pressure on Britain to get out of India, and to go far beyond the stipulations even of the Balfour Declaration to permit the setting up of a sovereign Jewish state on Arab lands in Palestine. It enabled the United States to dictate the withdrawal of the British forces from Suez in 1956 after their successful operation to recover the Canal. ⁵⁶

Pathetically, the British talked for a while of their special relationship with the United States — even of "partnership." They would not see that partnership is only possible between those more or less equal in power or wealth. A Britain stripped of its Empire could only be a client-kingdom. It could no more be a partner of the United States than Athens — or perhaps Macedon — could be a partner of Rome. Modern Britain, sheltering under the supposed willingness of the United States to undertake a nuclear war in defense of what Yalta⁵⁷ has left of Europe, has sent each Prime Minister, cap-in-hand, to Washington since World War II. The mother of the Industrial Revolution — the land of Watt and Stephenson and, above all, of Isambard Kingdom Brunel — has foregone any participation in the great adventure of Space. Ultimate humiliation, she now turns for aid to the truncated Germany she has ridiculed, attacked and abused for a century and whose overtures she has, in the past, repeatedly spurned.

If we appear to have strayed far from the central theme of our study, it is because the "bag of tangled string" requires a lot of unraveling and disentangling if we are to understand the context of the facts we shall be presenting. The cross-currents of many relationships

^{53.} See, Alfred Leroy Burt, The Evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth: From the American Revolution (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1956), pp. 574-75.

^{54.} After World War II, the United States Navy was larger than the Royal Navy. A popular and soothing joke in England told of an American and a British destroyer, which chanced to be docked alongside each other. A Gob, leaning over the rail, calls out to a Tar: "Hey buddy, how's a secon' biggest navy in the world?" "Or right, myte," says the Tar, "Ows th' secon' best?" The joke quickly lost its point as the British were bumped even from second place.

^{55.} Of which the all-important promises in Clauses 2 and 3 were cynically abandoned after Yalta.

^{56.} Admittedly, the decision to comply was made by a sick and second-rate ex-glamor-boy Prime Minister. A cool and calculating Reàlpolitiker would have seen at once that the old diplomatic secret applied here a fortiori—that it is the weaker ally in difficulties who controls the stronger one. In 1956, the United States could no more have afforded to let Russia annihilate Britain than Germany in 1914 could have allowed Russia to annihilate Austria.

^{57.} And now Helsinki,

in their conscious and their unconscious aspects determine the pattern of each of them considered separately. One cannot understand British attitudes to Germany in the mid-nineteenth century without also understanding her attitudes to France, Russia, Italy, and the United States. And one cannot, it is my contention, understand Anglo-American relations adequately at any time without understanding the developing pattern of them for more than one hundred wears

The mid-Victorian English, however, were no more cursed with precognition than most people at any time. There still seemed a great deal of justification for their general self-satisfaction and $b'\beta\rho\iota s$. When Thomas Babington Macaulay, the Whig historian, was Law Member of the Governor General's Council at Calcutta, he issued a famous Minute on Education which envisaged creating in India "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect." To Macaulay, and to most Englishmen,58 there was nothing outrageous about such a plan. On the contrary, it would entail a lot of hard and devoted work and sacrifice, but, since the superiority of English tastes, opinions, morals, and intellect was self-evident, making the necessary sacrifices was a clear duty. And, indeed, there is a very long honor roll of devoted men who sacrificed health, comfort, and life itself, in the service of their wards, those lesser breeds without the law. Like good, Lockean Whigs and thoroughgoing environmentalists, they never doubted that education and training could turn anyone into a brown- (or black- or yellow-) skinned Englishman. What was the basis - or, rather, what were the bases - of this belief (which was beyond mere shallow vanity) in the superiority of all things English? They were indeed manifold. There was pride in Magna Carta and in the growth of Parliament in the Middle Ages. There was pride in the fact that in defense of parliamentary government the English had cut off a king's head and, thirty-nine years later, driven his younger son off the throne and into exile. There was pride in the English Bill of Rights of 1689. There was the unarguable fact that the Industrial Revolution was virtually a unique English phenomenon, which had brought great wealth and power to a hitherto not overly affluent nation. There was pride in the invincible island fortress concept. Had not Will Shakespeare told them that they were

"This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blesséd plot, this earth, this realm,
This England"?

For Englishmen sensitive to such things, and there were many, there was an ineffable love and worship of the exquisite beauty of England (at least, where other Englishmen had not erected "dark, satanic mills" or hideous industrial slums). ⁵⁹ There was pride, as was mentioned earlier, in the victory over Napoleon, and doubtless dimmer, but still dear, memories of victories over Philip II. There was a good deal of proud satisfaction among ordinary men in Palmerston's foreign policy — until the last humiliation of 1864. And last, but quite possibly most important of all in its capacity to instill an unshakable conviction of his moral superiority in the Englishman, there was a great, tangled complex of religious and quasi-religious notions about evangelicalism and missionary activities, and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. ⁶⁰ It is quite possible to deal with these

59. No one, I think, who really understands the magic of Rupert Brooke's poem, *Granchester*, can have failed to be personally acquainted with those feelings. Perhaps the same may be said of the music of Ralph Vaughan Williams. But it remains true that for far too many Englishmen it was not the teaching of Lob, or Puck, or Pan that they followed, but the gospel according to Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Herbert Spencer.

60. In 1807, the English abolished the slave trade and in 1833 they abolished slavery throughout the Empire. They ruined their own kin, the West Indian sugar planters, and they chivvied the Boers on the subject of their relations with the South African negroes and bushmen so that the Boers soon began the "Great Trek" north (1835-48) to escape the nagging and harrassing by the new owners of the Cape. In India, the missionaries and evangelical enthusiasts had hounded the "Company" and succeeded in restricting its charter each time it was up for renewal. They had interfered with native customs, traditions and religious practices so energetically that they finally provoked the horrible Mutiny of 1857.

^{58.} Though not all; there were some great Orientalist scholars who admired and valued much in Indian culture and traditions.

last individually and separately and, indeed, much has been written about each. It will serve our purpose better, however, to recognize in them a whole attitude of mind which, taken together with the pride in parliamentary institutions and in industrial power and wealth, produced that habit of preaching, exhorting, and instructing, not only hapless colored races, but European peoples with ancient civilizations and long and honorable traditions of their own. It was not a trait which the other Europeans ever found overwhelmingly endearing. Indeed, their political cartoonists were all too frequently inspired to portray England not as "Britannia" or "John Bull" but as a purse-lipped, spinsterish nursery governess. Commenting on Lord John Russell's tenure of the Foreign Office (1852-53 and 1859-65), A.J.P. Taylor says:

Russell's stock-in-trade as Foreign Secretary was the hectoring, lecturing dispatch, when he told foreign rulers the awful things that would happen to them if they did not follow the British

They were somewhat chastened with regard to Indian matters after that, but nagging the South Africans continued until, in 1961, they were driven out of the Empire altogether. And after that, the same process was begun on the previously immensely loyal Rhodesians, until they, too, seceded. As for missionaries: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been organized since 1701. By the end of that century, missionary societies positively pullulated. It is worth noting that, as one surveys the period of English history from the beginning of the reign of James I until the end of the First World War, the periods of the Restoration and of the Regency, when amorality, scepticism, cynicism and aristocratic hedonism were in the ascendant, seem brief interludes in a scene otherwise dominated by religiosity and puritanism. It is all too facile a game, however, to charge the Victorians with "hypocrisy," and one which has been very much overdone. They were capable of it, of course, as are the people of any age; but their religious beliefs were deeply and sincerely held. There was a whole-hearted conviction of an afterlife of rewards and punishments which had a salutary effect on the general level of moral integrity in politicians and merchants in mid-Victorian Britain. Queen Victoria, herself, was quite sure that she would be reunited with her "Angel" in the next world and be answerable to him for her stewardship of England since his death. "On the word of an Englishman" (in various languages) often sealed bargains between the natives of very exotic climes. On this subject, see, R.C.K. Ensor, England: 1870-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 137-42. Ensor places the highpoint of this general piety at 1870, after which, he says, there were some signs of diminution. In fairness, it must be said that the devout Christian is enjoined by his religion to proselytize to go out and spread the "good news"; indeed, even to "compel them to come

61. Though not one that any sane parent would be likely to let within miles of his own children.

Constitutional pattern. He lectured the Tsar on how to govern Poland; he lectured the Emperor of Austria on the way to treat Hungary [and got an appropriately saucy riposte from Prince Schwarzenberg on the subject of Ireland]; he lectured Bismarck for daring to attack Denmark; he lectured the United States for having a civil war; he lectured the whole of Europe on the virtues of Italian Nationalism. In fact he started the tradition that it is part of the duty of a British Foreign Secretary to tell other countries how to run their affairs....He only succeeded in bringing the name of Great Britain into contempt. 62

But contemporary critics of this unattractive and peculiarly Anglo-Saxon trait were not altogether wanting. In January 1871, in an article entitled "Political Lessons of the War," the Quarterly Review commented, inter alia, on the lengthy confrontation in the early 'Sixties of King William I (and Bismarck) with the Prussian Landtag Liberals on the matter of the military budget:

With that peculiar air of a pedagogue scolding naughty little boys, which certain English newspapers assume when they remonstrate with Continental potentates, he [William] was told that he was arrogating powers wholly inconsistent with his position; that such a conflict could have but one issue; and that, if he did not repent of his presumption, he had nothing to expect but the fate of Charles I. The awful imputation was even uttered against him that he did not understand the true British meaning of the word "constitutional." 63

The King, observed the *Quarterly* sardonically, had a much greater respect for the traditions of Frederick the Great than for those of the British Constitution.⁶⁴

* * *

We have already made passing references to the strange infatuation of the English with Italy and the cause of Italian unification. We

^{62.} From Napoleon to Stalin: Comments on European History (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1950), p. 116. With regard to the last sentence, I confess I do not know why Taylor puts the blame exclusively on Russell. Palmerston had already done a good deal of the same sort of thing as foreign secretary. "Little John" and "Pam" are as inseparable in their field as Cobden and Bright are in theirs.

^{63.} Quarterly Review, 130:267.

^{64.} Ibid.

should now take a closer look at this phenomenon, for nothing more clearly highlights the lack of generosity towards German unification.

Not in memory had there been a reception quite like it. On that April day in 1864 half a million wildly cheering people lined the streets of London to greet a hero from abroad. Wearing his famous red shirt and his South American poncho, he rode at the head of a parade of workers and trade union officials. His fair hair and beard were long in the manner of the Prophets.... His name alone was magic: Giuseppe Garibaldi. 65

A contemporary newspaper said:

"Garibaldi is on his way to England....The intelligence cannot fail to excite the warmest interest throughout the Country. By all classes...his arrival will be eagerly anticipated....He is the true hero....the embodiment of the cause of Italian unity....a soldier without ambition, a conqueror without pride, a captain and an exile without humiliation and bitterness....

"From end to end of the island...he will be greeted with such enthusiasm as will put to utter shame the calumnies and insults which faction heaps on Italian patriotism."

But it was not only the common people who idolized Garibaldi. John Morley writes:

The Italian sentiment in England reached its climax in the reception accorded to Garibaldi by the metropolis in April 1864. 'I do not know what persons in office are to do with him,' Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lord Palmerston (March 26), 'but you will lead, and we shall follow suit.' The populace took the thing into their own hands. London has seldom beheld a spectacle more extraordinary....vast continuous multitudes, blocking roadways, filling windows, lining every parapet with eager gazers. For five hours Garibaldi passed on' amid tumultuous waves of passionate curiosity, delight, enthusiasm.⁶⁷

And Gladstone, reminiscing on all this some twenty years later, expatiated on Garibaldi's "nobility of demeanour," "splendid

integrity," "native grace," "tender humanity," and "fiery valour." 68

Perhaps beneath the thick, uncomfortable clothing of sab-batarianism, of peace and of the humdrum pursuits of business and trade, the Old Adam yearned for some swash to buckle as his Elizabethan ancestors had done. There is no longer any doubt, for example, that in sexual matters in the Victorian era "a great prince in prison" lay — and broke out quite often and spectacularly. A recent biography of Gladstone reveals that even that devout High Anglican wrote wretched, cryptic notes about some unnameable temptations which bedevilled him and his agonized struggles to resist succumbing. Garibaldi may have been a surrogate, and Garibaldimania a means of sharing vicariously in a bolder, freer life.

But that is certainly not the whole story. The Honorable Henry Temple, who would succeed his father as Viscount Palmerston, was born in 1784. Now, except in the prosaic sense of literal enumeration, centuries begin and end at different times for different nations. For the English, the eighteenth century began about 1690 and did not end until the coronation of William IV in 1830 (some would say a few years later yet). Thus, Palmerston was really an eighteenthcentury aristocrat. As such, he was a humorous, generally tolerant dandy, though in no way effete. He was a successful lover of women and something of an athlete in other respects, also. Before he went to Harrow (at the age of eleven), the boy wrote fluently in Italian. He had been taught at home by a tutor, an Italian refugee, Signor Gaetano. As if this influence were not enough, there is the whole eighteenth-century world view to take into account. It was an age. which, reacting against the superstitions and barbarities — as it believed - of earlier centuries, harked back for its ideals of civilized life and manners to ancient Greece and Rome. From the "Grand Tour" which was the finishing touch in the education of young gentlemen; from the great success of Gibbon's Decline and Fall; from architectural motifs - peristyles, pillars, porticoes; from political nomenclature and symbolism (the revival of Senates and Senators; the symbol of the lictor's fasces); everything conspired to awaken an affection and

^{65.} Samuel C. Burchell, et al., Age of Progress (Great Ages of Man; New York: Time-Life Books, 1966), p. 97.

^{66.} Morning Star, 23 March, 1864. Quoted in Raymond Postgate and Aylmer Vallance, England Goes to Press (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937), p. 135.

^{67.} John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone, 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1903), 2:108-09.

^{68.} Speech at Stafford House, 2 January, 1883. It is one of those incorrigible injustices of history that such waves of adulation were afforded this not really very successful adventurer when the credit, as far as a native goes (Napoleon III and Bismarck did more for Italian unity than any Italian), belongs far more to the diplomatic skill and political energy of that vestpocket Bismarck, Count Cavour, Prime Minister of Piedmont. But Garibaldi was undoubtedly colorful, charismatic and personally brave.

reverence for the ancient world and for those peoples who were supposed to be its living heirs. True, Shelley, after seeing modern Greeks, might remark despairingly that the Greece of his own time was "more Hell than Hellas," but Byron would still die in the cause of Greek independence and Englishmen still think that they saw in the Italians the children of Caesar and Cicero, Livy and Vergil, Brutus and Marcus Aurelius. Palmerston first held the Foreign Office as early as 1830 but, if certain men set a tone to an age and find a harmony (for whatever reason) between their ideas and those of the public, then the "Age of Palmerston" is from about 1850 to 1864. For a good many years, what "Pam" thought and said had the ardent approval of most ordinary Englishmen.

BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION AND THE WARS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION

Then there was the matter of the severity with which the Austrian Generals Radetsky, Jellačič, Windischgrätz and Haynau had dealt with the revolts in Italy, Hungary, Vienna and Bohemia in 1848 and 1849. This strengthened dislike of Austria and sympathy for Italy. Finally, Austrian participation in the on-going war with Denmark was the latest factor in pro-Italian partisanship. If Italians were seeking freedom from the Austrians their cause must be just.

* * *

We can conclude this introductory chapter with a look at France and Germany in the period with which we are most concerned. As to France, we need consider only the Second Empire and, indeed, principally only the latter half — the decade of the 'Sixties. German affairs will require a rather longer segment of the historical diorama to be unfurled before us. With the Second Empire, the career — indeed the physical health — of Napoleon III is a kind of harmonic, or obbligato, to the fortunes of France. As Napoleon sickened, so did French society; as Napoleon became more and more indecisive and inept, so did French diplomacy, and various unsuccessful adventures resulted. Yet, it would be too simplistic to ascribe this to a natural and inevitable nemesis of personal rule. Much else besides Napoleon's ability, or lack of it, was involved.

In the Germanies, we must show something of the way in which the marriage of liberalism and nationalism proved barren and, with much spiritual agony, nationalism left liberalism's bed and cohabited with that hard-handed and virile chap, *Realpolitik* (who soon begat upon her the child of German unity which liberalism had not been able to do). And we must, because of the very real problems it gave rise to, show how after the divorce liberalism went heartbrokenly caterwauling that he could not only have sired the same child but that the birth itself would have been without travail.

Ex-Carbonaro, Prisoner-of-State, Prince-President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor Napoleon III was a man of many parts - all of them slightly inadequate. But it is all too easy to be epigrammatic about this kindly and well-meaning man, thrust by the heritage of his name and by his own daemon onto a world stage for which he was really not fitted. It is no wonder he concealed his innermost thoughts from those around him until this enigmatic quality became a byword throughout Europe. The Italians named him "Il Muto Imperator"; some men called him "the Sphinx of the Tuileries"; and Bismarck, with rather more rough humor than accuracy, "a sphinx without a riddle." Victor Hugo called him "Napoleon the Little." His territorial acquisitiveness, which Bismarck after Königgrätz was to deride as a policy of "pourboires," carned him the soubriquet of "un gourmand malgré lui." Karl Marx, in The Eighteenth "Brumaire" of Louis Napoleon, made use of the coup d'état of 1851 to illustrate his thesis that history repeats itself as farce. A.J. P. Taylor is kinder to Napoleon than most. Writing of the period just after Königgrätz, Taylor says,

Though Napoleon used the methods of a conspirator, he combined them with the vision of a statesman. The only security for France was to bind both national Germany and national Italy together for the common cause of Western Europe. His Italian policy succeeded, apart from the fatal flaw of Rome; his German policy might have succeeded if his followers had allowed him to apply it.⁷⁰

The "fatal flaw" of Rome presented an insoluble dilemma to an adventurer whose throne depended for support on the Catholic and Conservative French peasantry, and who at the same time espoused the cause of Italian unification (indeed, appears genuinely to have believed in the *principle* of nationality even for the German states) which would be incomplete without the Papal territories and Rome itself as a capital.⁷¹ In earlier centuries a Catholic Gallicanism might

^{69.} In this, however, there is at least a suggestion that the policies were not so much the Emperor's as those of the ministers and diplomats (and perhaps the Empress, too).

^{70.} Struggle for Mastery, pp. 176-77.

^{71.} In 1867, the French re-occupied Rome, which they had just vacated, and

have treated the papacy with little regard, but the heritage of the great Revolution had polarized France into anti-clerical Liberals on the one hand and Ultramontane, Conservative Catholics on the other. Since a Bonaparte with somewhat absolutist powers could hardly appeal to liberalism, it was the other France which he dared not alienate. As a result, despite winning Lombardy for Italy in 1859 and Venetia in 1866, he could never win Italian support when the final crisis came in 1870.⁷²

Who and what was he; this parvenu Emperor whom the Russian Tsar studiously avoided addressing, as the customary diplomatic protocol required, "Sire et mon frère," but only as "Votre Majesté"? The enigma begins with his very birth. His mother was the frolicsome Queen Hortense, daughter of Napoleon I's wife Josephine, and wife of Napoleon I's brother, Louis, King of Holland. Louis was a complaisant husband and Hortense was never very sure of the paternity of her offspring. One she was sure of was the Duc de Morny. His father was the illegitimate child of Talleyrand (among so many other things, the ci-devant Bishop of Autun) and the Comtesse de Flahaut (who was, in turn, the bastard of Louis XV and a Norman peasantgirl recruit for the "Deer Park").73 The Duc de Morny was, as might be expected, a man of considerable ability and, unlike his paternal grandfather, a loyal servant of the dynasty. There is no such interesting certainty about the identity of Napoleon III's own father. Physically, he was not recognizably a Bonaparte. There was something about him which almost suggests the description of "Kleinzach" in Offenbach's Les Contes d'Hoffman. He had an immense nose and short legs, and was as ugly, awkward and ungainly as Abraham Lin-

did not leave again until 1870 when the garrison was called home for the war. The action in 1867 had been to defend the Pope's domains from Garibaldi's Legion (which the French quickly broke at the skirmish of Mentana). "General de Failly proudly reported to Paris: "Le fusils Chassepot ont fait merveille.'" In addition, "French opinion was gratified to discover the devastating possibilities of the mitrailleuse" (Philip Guedalla, The Second Empire [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1946], p. 297).

72. On the other hand, experience would suggest that not having the Italians for allies is a distinct military advantage. Bismarck said of them that they had "large appetites but rotten teeth," and Winston Churchill is said to have remarked to the German Ambassador, Joachim von Ribbentrop, "We had them on our side last time. It is only fair that you should have them this time."

73. Roger L. Williams, The World of Napoleon III, 1851-1870 (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 48; and Betty Kelen, The Mistresses: Domestic Scandals of the Nineteenth Century Monarchs (New York: Avon Books, 1966), p. 74.

coln without even having the advantage of Lincoln's height. He was never challenged in the matter of his paternity, but it is hard to believe that he never wondered about it himself. Doubts of that sort—unresolved and unresolvable—would perhaps account for a certain quality of indecision and hesitancy at critical moments. It might also account for another eyewitness description of his appearance: "le regard vague et doux de son visage muet et triste avec l'air de rêve."

His constant succession of mistresses seems to have brought him little happiness. One cannot escape the impression that they were to him what food was to his uncle: a necessary interruption of more important matters and to be attended to as expeditiously as possible. He treated them generously enough, however. His marriage was not a source of much joy to him, either. Perhaps his nature was not capable of much joy; but, in any case, Eugenie was not likely to afford much to any man. Beautiful, proud, puritanically Catholic, she was the daughter of a Spanish grandee, the Count de Montijo, and the granddaughter on her mother's side of a middle-class Scottish wine merchant, William Kirkpatrick. Her imperiousness and her wellknown blazing temper when crossed were, no doubt, at least partly the result of knowing that her claim to royalty was as dubious as her husband's in the eyes of the ranking families of the Almanach de Gotha. The birth of the tragically ill-fated little Prince Imperial must have been the outcome of the nearest thing to immaculate conception for over eighteen hundred years. It is, in addition, a matter of common knowledge that, as Napoleon's health deteriorated in the 'Sixties, Eugenie came more and more to act as a sort of Regent. Prosper Mériméc said of her, "Il n'y a plus d'Eugenie, il n'y a plus qu'une impératrice." At the last, though, Napoleon III acted with courage, dignity, and honor. At Sedan, when it was clear that the battle was lost and, with it, the dynasty, he rode for hours in the thickest part of the fighting, seeking an honorable death rather than disgrace. Yet, a malevolent Fate, too, played her game to the end. Napoleon failed even in this quest; completed the trajectory of his career from prisoner at Ham to prisoner at Wilhelmshöhe and,

^{74.} It is extraordinary how often the downfall of thrones and dynasties has been closely connected with this kind of petticoat rule. Usually the wives are pretty, vapid, and strong-willed, and the husbands weak and uxorious, as in the cases of Charles I and Henriette Marie, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, and Nicholas and Alexandra.

after that, dragged out nearly three more pain-wracked and futile years at Chislehurst, in Kent, before death took him.

And what of the gaudy Empire itself? "La France s'ennuie," Lamartine had said in 1848 of life under the bourgeois July Monarchy of Louis Philippe. By the 'Sixties, especially after the Mexican fiasco and the supposed "humiliation" of "Sadowa" (Koniggratz), many Frenchmen were beginning to echo Lamartine's sentiments. Caesars are necessarily rather oppressive; and what good is a Caesar who brings home no captives behind his chariots, and provides no thrilling Triumphs to enliven the tedium? One way and another, since 1789, the French had become accustomed to a heady diet of political change at home, a succession of new social blueprints (called "constitutions") and a revolution every fifteen or twenty years. As if that were not enough, the first Napoleon had hardly departed Longwood for Valhalla when - a mere eight years after Waterloo -French soldiers were again tramping the dusty roads of Spain. In 1830, besides having a revolution, the French were busy capturing Algeria. The following year they were chasing the Dutch out of Belgium. Continuing adventures in North Africa, however, were not enough to offset the restlessness which a number of different factors combined to evoke. The upshot was the revolution of February 1848. But the romantic Liberals sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind: For six bloody days in June, Paris was the theatre of a servile revolt - a bitter, radical rebellion which frightened the Liberals and terrified and disgusted the conservative peasantry. After the usual "whiff of grapeshot" which Paris (and not Paris alone) seems periodically to require in the same way that a drunk requires strong, black coffee, the chastened populace was ready to accept another Napoleon. Thus, Louis Napoleon was elected President in December 1848, continued in office by a coup d'état in December 1851, and proclaimed the Second Empire in December 1852 - all without serious opposition. Indeed, the practice of carrying on government-by-plebiscite - at least in regard to major matters showed remarkable support for the Empire as late as May 1870. The decade of the 'Fifties was, on the whole, both prosperous and "good theatre." Young, enthusiastic, former Saint-Simonians introduced a kind of proto-Fascism-cum-Technocracy whose enemies would later call it the Empire of Stockjobbers, but which encouraged French trade and industry and brought a general rise in living standards. The Alsatian Protestant, Baron Haussmann, who was Prefect of the Seine from 1853 to 1870, gave Paris eighty-five miles of new streets and

tree-lined boulevards. Napoleon donated the Bois de Boulogne to the city, and his half-brother, De Morny, constructed the fashionable racecourse at Longchamps. And at first, at least, the foreign adventures turned out well. France, with some heroic bumbling help from England, some questionable aid from Sardinia-Piedmont, and some stolid but old-fashioned assistance from Turkey, won the Crimean War. In 1859, shortly after work had started on the construction of the Suez Canal, France joined Piedmont in the war against Austria and, after inflicting two heavy defeats on the Austrians, exacted Lombardy for Piedmont in the cause of Italian unification and took Savoy and Nice from Piedmont as commission for her services (the first example of the "pourboire" policy). This was, however, the highwater mark of the Empire. The Mexican fiasco of 1861 to 1866 was to end in an ignominious withdrawal of French troops in the face of United States threats.75 The unhappy Emperor Maximilian was abandoned to the merciless vengeance of the indio rebel, Benito Juarez, and was shot by his captors in 1867. This did not noticeably raise Napoleon's stock in the eyes of Maximilian's older brother, the Kaiser Francis Joseph of Austria. The Prussian victory at Königgrätz in 1866 was seen as a deadly blow to French prestige. Bismarck abruptly rejected Napoleon's futile and belated request for "pourboires" in the Rhineland after Prussia's victory over Austria and subsequent territorial gains. The attempt to acquire Luxemburg by purchase in 1867 was frustrated by the other Powers and the subsequent attempt (1868-69) to gain control of the Belgian railways also failed. Lord Newton, the biographer of Lord Lyons (British ambassador to France from 1867 to 1887) puts it thus:

If Napoleon III's career had ended in 1862 he would presumably have left a great name in history and a record of brilliant successes; after that period, however, everything seemed to go wrong for him. Poland, the Danish War, and the Austro-Prussian War had shown that his pretensions to control the policy of Europe had practically vanished; the incomprehensible Mexican enterprise had ended in disaster and disgrace. And to add to

75. The ignominy did not, however, touch the Foreign Legion which, in April 1863, in an action comparable only to the Alamo, Thermopylae and a handful of other supreme manifestations of the human spirit, covered itself with eternal glory. At Camerone, sixty-four Legionnaires engaged two thousand Mexicans and fought to the last. The wooden hand of the officer in command of the little detachment is a prized relic of the Legion to this day, and Camerone Day is the Legion's great annual celebration.

these glaring failures in foreign policy there was deepening discontent at home.⁷⁶

Friedjung, too, places the beginning of the decline of the Empire in 1863. Napoleon, he says, encouraged the Poles in their revolt but failed to give them any material support, remaining a "mere spectator." After the betrayal of Maximilian in Mexico, he henceforth "tried to shroud in secrecy plans which were often little more than a mixture of fantasy and indecision. He was still full of ideas but he lacked the strength to carry them out."

At home there was a strange, and seemingly imcompatible, mixture of stuffiness, philistinism, chauvinism, and debauchery. Alfred Cobban writes, scornfully:

The Second Empire was the real bourgeois monarchy, an age of plutocrats without the culture or taste of an eighteenth-century Farmer General, of fashionable priests without the religious feeling of a Lamennais or Lacordaire, of well-disciplined academics without the intellectual distinction of the Orleanist scholars, of glittering demi-mondaines whose possession was one of the chief forms of ostentatious expenditure....The fashionable painters and writers were even more insignificant than usual in modern times. Apart from Daumier's cartoons, Millet's paintings...and Courbet's realism, the only painters of real distinction were the rebels of the Salon des Refusés....The most lasting artistic creations that belong properly to the Second Empire are the comedies of Labiche and the operettas of Offenbach.⁷⁹

The gaudy, trashy frivolity did not, in any way, mitigate the ancient chauvinism. Indeed, it incorporated its own particular version.

Everyone was at the Opera one evening in March [1861] to see the preposterous new piece, all pilgrims and discords, which the Emperor had imported from Germany. They called it *Tannhäuser*, and anyone could see that M. Berlioz was right when he denounced the new barbarisms of Herr Wagner. For

one could hardly doubt, if one had heard enough Rossini and Meyerbeer, that opera was a succession of tinkling melodics punctuated by a ballet.⁸⁰

But is was the extreme sexual license which provided the single most distinguishing characteristic of Paris. There was to be nothing like it again until Berlin in the Nineteen Twenties. Paris was the City of Light and Delight - Tantric Art made flesh; Novo Herculaneum; the modern City of the Plain; New Sodom; Babylon-sur-Seine. In Paris, the Victorian English milord could shed, literally and metaphorically, his uncomfortable clothes.⁸¹ Queen Victoria vainly tried to keep her loutish, lecherous heir from the fleshpots, while her daughter, the Crown Princess Victoria of Prussia, wrote to her mother of the harm Paris was doing to the young scions of the British aristocracy. A raffish "Society" was ruled by les grandes horizontales, the vielle garde of the haute bicherie parisienne. There was Cora Pearl, who charged Fr.10,000 a night and is said to have spent a fortune of \$80,000,000. Then there was La Paiva, who once set fire to a client's Fr.12,000 and promised that while the notes burned she would be his. He took advantage of the situation, according to the diarist Viel-Castel, "like a man who knows that time is money."82 Baudelaire was dying of syphilis; as would Guy de Maupassant. The Duc de Gramont was paying the celebrated cancan dancer, Rigolboche, to cross a boulevard stark naked.

The claim of Dumas *fils* that "we are marching towards universal prostitution," was hardly an exaggeration. From the Emperor, down through every level of society, to ragged little girls who sold themselves for a few sous, the Empire seemed given over to the pursuit of sexual gratification. 83

Even in this world, chauvinism and national vanity had a place. Hortense Schneider, another of the *horizontales*, was a great success in *La Grande-Duchesse de Gerolstein*, one of those derisive French

^{76.} Lord Newton, Lord Lyons: A Record of British Diplomacy, 2 vols. (London: Edward Arnold, 1913), 1:77.

^{77.} Heinrich Friedjung, The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany: 1859-1866 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 91.

^{78.} Ibid.

^{79.} Alfred Gobban, A History of Modern France, 3 vois. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967), 2:170-71.

^{80.} Guedalla, Second Empire, p. 245. Actually, Tannhäuser does have a ballet too, the wild Bacchanale in the Venusberg.

^{81.} Writing of the consistently pro-French elements in England during the Franco-German War, Ensor (England, p. 6) includes the "fashionable people who had frequented the Paris of the Second Empire...." (as well as the radical Positivists).

^{82.} Quoted in Theo Aronson, The Fall of the Third Napoleon (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), p. 8.

^{83.} Ibid.

portraits of the smaller German courts which are at least as old as Voltaire's Candide.

Nor was this modern Pompeii limited to merely heterosexual extravagances. "The young Duke de Mouchy... was once arrested for dancing naked for the loudly applauding soldiers at the Pepinière Barracks." Well might Fleury say, "Pourtant nous nous sommes diablement bien amusés."

In 1867, the "Liberal Empire" was proclaimed by the Imperial Manifesto of January 19. It was a slight slackening of the reins — an unscrewing of the pressure valve. These were just possible tactics as long as no sudden, acute crisis developed. Napoleon himself had doubts; would not liberalization now convey a suggestion of

"l'air de vouloir me faire pardonner mes échecs au Mexique et en Allemagne. Par des raisons qu'il serait trop long d'expliquer je n'ai pas pu profiter des affaires allemandes et je suis obligé de revenir du Mexique. Dans cette situation de concessions ne m'affaibliraient elles pas?" 85

"Enfeebled" he was; but the bellicose new Opposition, the martial ardors of the *Corps Legislatif*, the gasconades of men — like the Duc de Gramont — more foolish but much more vigorous than the Emperor, pushed the ailing, aging Napoleon into the catastrophic decision of July 1870.

* * *

When the great philosopher-historian David Hume accompanied General St. Clair on a military mission to Vienna and Turin in 1748, the route lay along the courses of the Rhine and the Danube. Hume observed of Germany that it was "a very fine country full of industrious, honest people, and were it united would be the greatest power that ever was in the world." Even for genius it was a remarkable prediction. But German unity was not even a dream at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession. Half a century later it was well on the way to becoming a dream; and a century after Hume's prescient comment the dream nearly became a reality. But just as

it seemed that the Romantic-Liberal-Patriots had something firmly in their grasp, it melted and faded away "into air, into thin air." Another twenty years, more or less, and unification was achieved (except for German Austria) but by very different means than those the idealists had envisaged. The Germans had called themselves, with considerable justification, "Ein Volk der Dichter und Denker" (a people of poets and thinkers).87 But it was not through poetry or philosophy that unification was achieved, nor by pious Liberal aspirations, nor by the good will of neighboring States, nor by the voluntary surrender of their sovereign powers by Wettins, Wittelsbachs, or even Hohenzollerns, nor yet by speeches and majority resolutions but by iron and blood. People cannot wait centuries to achieve either a personal or a collective goal - unless, perhaps, they share the peculiar advantages of Ahasuerus. 88 Faute de mieux, three short wars were the means, and the last two of them, at least, the necessary means. They were not necessary because of any warlike compulsion on the part of the Germans but because neither the Hapsburgs nor France would permit German unification without an appeal to arms. The Punctation of Olmütz of November 1850, when Austria, with the approval of Tsar Nicholas I, airily brushed aside the Prussian Union of Frederick William IV and reconstituted the Frankfurt Federal Diet (which had been swept away in the heady days of 1848), showed that Austria would permit neither a grossdeutsch nor a kleindeutsch solution and looked forward to perpetuating the feeble Confederation under her presidency. As for France, Napoleon III might have a mauvais quart d'heure once in a while above the inconsistency between his "principle of nationalities" and the traditional French policy - since Richelieu, at the least - of keeping her eastern neighbor weak and divided; but there could be no doubt which claim would be the stronger when the crisis came. However, the "clear" lessons of history are clear only to those with the necessary acuity of vision. The Prussian Conservatives, and for a time Bismarck himself, tended to be Prussian Particularists rather than German Nationalists. "Nation' - das klingt jacobinisch," said at least some of the Kreuz-

^{84.} Aronson, Fall of Napoleon, p. 9.

^{85.} Quoted in Guedalla, Second Empire, p. 286.

^{86.} Quoted in W.H. Bruford, Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival (Cambridge: The University Press, 1968), p. 1.

^{87.} One of those creatures who battened on the stricken Germany of the Nineteen Twenties, Kurt Tucholsky, editor of Weltbühne, discharged some of his venom in a savage pun. The Germans, he said, were "Ein Volk der Richter und Henker" (judges and hangmen). Alberich could afford — for a while — to be witty at the expense of the fallen Aesir.

^{88.} Isaac Laquedem, not Xerxes.

Zeitung Junkers. Frederick William IV was inhibited from out-and-out commitment to German unity because of a deeply-held and quite genuine commitment to the dynastic principle, especially as embodied in the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. This was somewhat true of his brother and successor, William I. William, however, had Bismarck to contend with and, though he would drive Bismarck to despair and a frenzy of threats to resign, to kill himself, or whatever seemed appropriate, William knew when to yield to his Minister-Praesident (later Chancellor) under whom, he once remarked, it was difficult to be a king. As for the German Liberals: characteristically, they wanted unification without struggle or pain, and without imposing on themselves any of the discipline and self-denial necessary for struggle.

The South German Liberals [and the Prussian Liberals], Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort, the Crown Prince Frederick, the Crown Princess Victoria, Baron Stockmar, Robert Morier himself — all believed in German unity and parliamentary liberalism — all disapproved of Bismarck, all (though their intelligence levels varied considerably) agonised over methods while Bismarck did the work. 89

The Liberals of whom Seton-Watson writes were the Moderate Liberals. The Radical Liberals of the Fortschritt ("Progressive") Partei seemed for a while to constitute a much more serious threat to the attainment of German unification through the leadership of a powerful Prussia. In 1862, Bismarck had been appointed Minister-Praesident of Prussia and minister of foreign affairs as well. His friend the minister of war, General Graf Albrecht Theodor von Roon, had carried out some vitally necessary army reforms. The Fortschritt majority in the Landtag saw an opportunity to increase the scope of parliamentary power by emulating the mediaeval English parliament of Edward III or the Long Parliament of Charles I and using a fiscal iron maiden to humble the Court and Ministry. It refused all military appropriations. William, that gallant old soldier who loved his army above all else, considered abdication. Even the Crown Prince Frederick would not accept the throne under such extortion.

Bismarck took over as "king's man". In a defiant speech before an uproarious Diet, on January 27, 1863; he challenged his

opponents to unseat him and take over power themselves. This netted him the reproach of being hostile to the liberal trend of the time and in favour of dictatorial methods, but the primary duty at that particular moment was to save the state from disintegration. Later, in 1866, this was recognized by parliament itself.⁹⁰

The general joy and gratitude for the extraordinary victory over Austria in the Seven Weeks War and the clear beginning of the realization of the Liberal dream of German unity brought many of the Radical Liberals over to Bismarck's side. These were the new National Liberals who had split away from the old Fortschritt Partei and who, together with the now won-over Conservatives, constituted a great majority in the Landtag. In September 1866, a Bill of Indemnity was enacted which ratified retroactively the revenues collected by the administration to carry on government since 1862. Domestically, the clamor for more and yet more democracy died down considerably, and was relegated to the extreme Left.

Ultimately, in Prussia-Germany there were two important constitutions. There were many more, of course, appertaining to the component states and free cities of the North German Confederation (1867-70) and of the Second Reich (1871-1918), but the two that mattered were the Prussian Constitution of 1850-1918 and that of the Reich itself. The Reich Constitution was little more than that of the North German Confederation slightly adapted to fit the expanded territory. In the Reich there was universal manhood suffrage as in the French Second Empire (unlike contemporary England until 1884). The elected Reichstag was in fact, though not in theory, a unicameral parliament. There existed an upper chamber, the Bundesrat or federal council, composed of delegates from the states, but it rapidly became a moribund and otiose excrescence on the body politic. Thus far, the Reich was more democratic than the western

^{89.} Seton-Watson, Britain in Europe, p. 474. Including the Prince Consort in a list of those who disapproved of Bismarck's methods is somewhat open to question since the Prince died in 1861.

^{90.} Prince Hubertus zu Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, A Basic History of Germany (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1965), p. 93.

^{91.} Later in the century the National Liberals and the Conservatives came to constitute the Right, the Catholic Zentrum Partei the middle, and the Social Democrats the Left. The Radical Liberals had been largely discredited by the successes of Bismarck's policies and had no real plausible platform any longer. Upper-class fashionable Liberals in the Crown Princess' circle would never stop carping that it could all have been done without the dreadful rampaging of that unprincipled Machiavellian, but the German people seem to have regarded these wails with the respect they deserved.

Powers. Ministers, however, were responsible not to the *Reichstag* but to the Emperor (or to the Emperor and the Chancellor). The king of Prussia was "German Emperor" — not "Emperor of Germany" — and, in time of war, commander-in-chief of all the national forces.⁹²

The Second Reich was never a centralized state. Under the leadership of Prussia it was immensely stronger and more united than the old Confederation of 1815 to 1866 had ever been. But it was comprised of no less than four kingdoms, six grand duchies, twelve duchies, and three free cities (Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen). After 1911, the Imperial territory (Reichsland) of Elsass-Lothringen also obtained representation. In 1879, a supreme court (Reichsgericht) was established to rule on constitutional questions and function as a court of last resort.

Before and during World War I, the myth of a tyrannical and autocratic Kaiser was sedulously fostered in England and the United States. In point of fact,

[h] is was an exalted position of honor, but his constitutional powers were rather limited, far weaker than those vested in most republican heads of state, notably the President of the United States, who is his own prime minister and who in relation to Congress has the right of legislative initiative and wields the veto power.⁹³

The Prussian Constitution was a far less democratic document, but it made for social stability, and for moderation, restraint, and good sense in domestic affairs. The Prussian parliament was bicameral, consisting of a Herrenhaus, or House of Lords, and a Landtag, or Lower House. The Landtag was the important body. It was elected by universal manhood suffrage, but on an ingenious three-tier system whereby the number of representatives were divided equally among the three classes of taxpayers. Voices would be heard in England — and elsewhere — urging that those who had the larger stakes in the country ought to have the larger say in running its affairs, but only in Prussia was such a policy effectively implemented.

In contrast to France, where new constitutions were adopted roughly every generation, or the United States, where the original

document was continually being amended and reinterpreted according to the shibboleths of the particular era, the Prussian Constitution remained in force without substantive change until the state itself fell to revolution and treason in 1918. The Minister-Praesident of Prussia, like the Reichskanzler of the Reich (the offices were usually held by the same individual), was responsible to his sovereign. But a strong chancellor could and did dominate. Von Bülow (1900-09) brought William II to heel on several occasions, and Bismarck certainly generally had his way with William I.

* * *

The British public had no comprehension of the Germany we have been describing. They had been wrong, but with a patronizing tolerance, about the pre-Bismarck Germany, seeing it as a land of impractical romantics and incomprehensible pedagogues. The new picture which, in a grossly distorted way, was being forced upon them, was disagreeable and disturbing but equally mystifying. They had become the wealthiest nation in the world through free trade economic liberalism: they fancied themselves the freest people in the world through parliamentary liberalism. How could the Germans be so obstinately wrongheaded as to favor a kind of old-fashioned protectionist-cameralism? How could they subordinate the obvious moral rectitude of parliamentary government of the British sort to this odd passion for unification? Yet there were a number of important common elements which should have made for greater understanding. There was a knowledge and sense of racial kinship - a matter of importance in the thought of the nineteenth and earlytwentieth centuries. Germany, and especially Prussia, was a Protestant country like England. Prussian Pflicht should have awakened sympathetic echoes in a people who admired the ethics of Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby and one of whose greatest poets had called duty, "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God." That they did not understand Bismarck is not surprising. Genius is rarely understood, and Bismarck met much opposition, hostility and incomprehension - as well as moral disapproval - in his own country. But the British were also hostile to William, who exemplified all the qualities of character which epitomized the English ideal of a Christian gentleman. He deserves some attention from us now, especially since his personal character and honor are so deeply involved in the vitally crucial matter of the famous interview with Benedetti, the

^{92.} The familar title, "commander-in-chief," has been, when applied to German arrangements, usually given as "supreme war lord," for no other reason that I can see but that it has a more sinister and menacing ring.

^{93.} Löwenstein, History of Germany, p. 102.

"Ems Telegram," and the responsibility for the Franco-German War. "A modest man, yet he was to raise the House of Hohenzollern to its greatest glory." "Frugal," "unostentatious," "a bold and fear-

less officer, but not a brilliant man"; thus is William described by

Walter Nelson.94

He accompanied the Prussians in the War of Liberation and quickly distinguished himself for bravery in battle. In 1814 he joined a furious Russian cavalry charge at the Battle of Bar-sur-Aube and, shortly afterward rode unaccompanied through murderous gunfire to obtain certain intelligence requested by his father, which action earned him a Russian decoration and the Iron Cross. The acclaim he received surprised him; characteristically, he thought he'd done nothing noteworthy. He was only sixteen.95

In 1814, he visited England. He though that England was a "garden." He preferred London to Paris, and spoke of longing to return to England. 96 It is illuminating to note William's Anglophilia alongside that of the more sophisticated Bismarck (vide infra, pp. 90, 258).

William's wife, Augusta, was a great trial to him. She made common cause with the "advanced" Liberal faction around the Crown Prince and Crown Princess ("Vicky"). The Crown Prince Frederick was a man of quite extraordinary handsomeness and nobility of mien - the perfect type of Aryan demi-god. He was not unintelligent and proved a very skilled and able army commander in 1866 and again in 1870. Like Queen Victoria's "Angel," the Prince-Consort Albert, Frederick appears to have been a most loving and tolerant husband married to a woman of only moderate intelligence but great vehemence of expression. Energetic and passionate and, like so many upper-class Englishwomen, with a distinct tendency to be officious and domineering, Vicky was, in fact, probably less intelligent than her "Dearest Mama," and she was, naturally, a lot less experienced in statecraft. Though she deeply desired AngloGerman amity, her tactlessness and her prejudices came to earn her the hostile appellation of "Die Engländerin." 97

But who could not unreservedly love William - that "verray parfit gentil knight," sans peur et sans reproche? Author after author has paid tribute to William's unfailing courtesy, his gallantry to the ladies, his consideration and good manners towards all ranks. Napoleon himself testified to the tears in William's eyes when he contemplated the fallen Emperor sitting dejectedly in a farmhouse after the Battle of Sedan. To Napoleon he held out his hand, saying, "Sire, le sort des armes a décidé entre nous, mais il m'est bien pénible de revoir Votre Majesté dans cette situation."98 The relative brusqueness with which he dismissed the importunate Benedetti on the famous occasion in the Kurgarten at Ems was so uncharacteristic of the old gentleman that it must have been a most disagreeable necessity. "Throughout the war," says Nelson "William was generous with his praise for the French."99 He blamed the war, ultimately, on the French Revolution. That vast uprooting of the stable institutions of religion and monarchy brought into being a France which had never since known peace. 100

Pflicht - duty - was to William paramount. At twenty-two, he had been deeply in love with the Princess Eliza Radziwill, but accepted with fortitude the prohibition against marrying her in view of her relatively low social status. It is a romantic story which may well have inspired the plot of The Student Prince. He had small patience with maudlin self-pity. According to Nelson, William once attended a lecture on "The Poetry of Sorrow" delivered by a Jewish writer named Berthold Auerbach. Afterwards, he told the lecturer that he was quite astonished, he had never heard of the poetry of sorrow and had had no personal experience of it. Nelson affects to believe that this demonstrated William's inability to feel strong emotion. 101 But the incident is susceptible to quite another interpretation, and one which seems more plausible: that William, with his Spartan, soldierly

^{94.} Walter Henry Nelson, The Soldier Kings: The House of Hohenzollern (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1970), pp. 283-84.

^{95.} *Ibid.*, p. 285.

^{96.} Ibid., p. 286. This unrequited affection of German statemen and rulers, including Bismarck, Crown Prince Frederick (Kaiser Frederick III), Kaiser William II, and Adolf Hitler, is a tragic irony of modern history.

^{97.} Cf. Marie Antoinette ("the Austrian whore") or Alexandra ("the German bitch").

^{98.} Nelson, Soldier Kings, p. 312. One might profitably note the contrast with the boorish and ill-bred behavior of General Eisenhower when General Jodl surrendered in 1945. Eisenhower ostentatiously refused to shake hands with the German general,

^{99.} Ibid., p. 311.

^{100.} Ibid.

^{101.} Nelson, Soldier Kings, p. 296.

background and personal, stoic courage, was revolted by the Levantine "art" of wailing and breast-beating. It is most unlikely that insensitivity was the explanation. There was the incident with Napoleon at Scdan; there was the unhappy love affair; and his agony of grief was evident when, on the edge of the grave himself, he learned that his only son's illness was also fatal and that he would soon follow his father into the darkness.

The last year of [William's] life was tragic — but because of the tragic illness of his son, the crown prince, not because of his own sufferings. William I died peacefully...on March 9, 1888.... During the night of the eighth, he sat up and sobbed, "My son, my poor Fritz!" thinking of the incurably ill crown prince....His daughter...urged him to rest. "I have no time for that now," William said a few hours before dying. 102

* * *

The inability of the mid-Victorian English to admire Bismarck is considerably less surprising. Not that Bismarck was anti-English.

Bismarck loved the England which had produced his heroes Shakespeare and Byron. He admired the England which had fought for, and won, imperial supremacy. But he had no admiration for liberal England....where newspaper articles were of more importance than the arguments of statesmen, and where fear of the taxpayer triumphed over the needs of national defense. 103

If there is, as we have suggested, an "Age of Palmerston"— aristocratic Whiggery compounded by his own special brand of insouciant pugnacity— there is also an "Age of Gladstone." This "Age of Gladstone" is one of earnest, Christian liberalism, cheeseparing budgets, and avoidance of foreign adventures. It comprises Gladstone's first ministry (1868-74) and, to a diminished extent, his second (1880-85). Bismarck and Palmerston would have appreciated and under-

stood each other even as they played on opposite sides of the Great Game: Gladstone and Bismarck represented two utterly irreconcilable world-views. Such dim comprehension as was possible could only evoke - on both sides - revulsion and contempt. We cannot doubt Bismarck's loyalty, at first to Prussia and his fellow Junkers, then to Germany; and always to the Monarchy. But Bismarck - who so often amused himself by telling the absolute truth pour épater les bourgeois - said once, "If I had to go through life with principles, I would feel as though I had to walk a narrow path in the woods and had to carry a long pole in my mouth."105 Like Richard Wagner, he was something of a Nietzschean superman - "Jenseits von Gute und Böse" - and his great work could not else have been accomplished. Gladstone, on the other hand, could hardly write a page without the words "moral" or "morality" appearing on it. He was very thoroughly educated in the Classics. A convinced High Anglican churchman, it was his Christianity more than anything else which caused him to move from his early Toryism to Liberalism. Of Palmerston, a German couplet has it: "Hat der Teufel einen Sohn / So ist er sicher Palmerston." Difficulties of scansion aside, no one, certainly not Bismarck, would ever think of Gladstone with the respect due the Crown Prince of Hell: instead, Bismarck (thinking, no doubt, of the futility of the Paulskirche Liberals of 1848, the "Professors' Parliament") reserved for Gladstone his most contemptuous soubriquet. He called him "Professor Gladstone." 106

Bismarck, and Bismarck's achievements, were — at least for a long time — not so much a cause of anxiety as a cause of irritation to the English, in that the latter were being compelled to undergo the painful process of discarding old and comforting notions and searching for satisfactory new ones. A *Times* editorial of October 20, 1860, discussing the Schleswig-Holstein question, huffed that German statesmen were unpredictable and unreasonable. One looked in vain for profundity and found only pedantry. Policies were dictated not by practical considerations but by "dreamy historical" notions. The

^{102.} *Ibid.*, p. 323. The Crown Prince, who succeeded William as the Emperor Frederick III, was already unable to speak and in great pain. Three months later, he died of throat cancer.

^{103.} Raymond J. Sontag, Germany and England: Background of Conflict, 1848-1894 (New York: Appleton-Century, 1938), p. 73.

^{104.} Disraeli's ministry is a kind of sneak-preview or curtain raiser for the full efflorescence of Imperial pagentry in the age of Salisbury.

^{105.} Quoted in Hajo Holborn, Germany and Europe: Historical Essays (New York: Doubleday-Anchor, 1971), p. 46.

^{106.} His attitude toward Disraeli was wary but certainly not contemptuous. In Disraeli he recognized an exotic version of his own unscrupulousness. "Der alte Jude" was the one to watch, remarked the Chancellor at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

German politicians were martinets and sophists and their ambitions were born of weakness and perversity. 107

In 1861, a British traveller, a certain Captain Macdonald, became involved in an undignified fracas with a Prussian railway guard in an arrogant defiance of the law. The Captain subsequently cooled his heels for a few days in a Prussian jail. The English were moved to furious indignation. Questions were asked in Parliament. The *Times* sternly warned Prussia that she was a weak and ineffectual nation whom no one counted as a friend or feared as an enemy 108

"We can fight own own battles, wherever it is necessary to defend our own shores, or send 100,000 men to the other side of the earth to reconquer an insurgent province. Prussia unaided could not keep the Rhine or the Vistula for a month from her ambitious neighbours. England fought Revolutionary France for twenty years, defeating her enemies continually by land and sea; Prussia was overthrown by a war of three weeks. A good understanding between States so different in vigour and resources must be for the benefit of the weaker." 109

Sontag sums up the events of the seventh decade as follows:

The English followed Bismarck's lightning transformation of the map and of the German mind with mixed incredulity and disgust. Invariably they were still trying to understand the move he had just completed when his next move confronted them with a new inexplicable situation. Such lack of comprehension was natural. For more than a generation, continental politics had centered around Paris and St. Petersburg, while the German states gravitated uneasily and helplessly between the two centers of power....Only after Sedan did the English realize that power had shifted to Berlin. They were blinded, however, not only by the map which had endured so long as to seem changeless; they were blinded also by the inveterate habit of believing British ideals the only right ideals....These were the years in which the German Empire was being formed by blood and iron. English cosmopolitanism had always assumed that other people were somewhat imperfect copies of Englishmen. That assumption was obviously challenged by the Germans who had so long been lectured with impunity if with slight result. 110

* * *

We mentioned a little earlier one other major source of British bewilderment at the strange notions of her Continental cousins. Free trade had brought such wealth to Britain that its doctrines ("Manchester School") had become a secular religion and The Wealth of Nations, its Bible. We can conveniently bring this necessarily lengthy and discursive introduction to an end with a brief look at a man named Friedrich List and his great antithetical (to The Wealth of Nations) work, The National System of Political Economy. List was exiled from Württemberg as a young man in 1825 for advocating the Zollverein (the Prussian-led Customs Union of some of the German states).111 List then went to the United States, returning to Germany as U.S. consul at Leipzig in 1831. In 1841, he published The National System of Political Economy. Free trade, argued List with great cogency, is naturally the dogma of the most advanced industrial nation. With no competition to speak of, free trade is wholly to that nation's advantage. But England had "forgotten" that she did not, in fact, rise to her present wealth and power by free trade but by nurturing her nascent industry behind strong protectionist policies. List sincerely admired the constitutional liberties and freedoms of Britain; her industrial might, inventiveness, and productive exploitation of uncultivated lands. He praised, too, like a good Macaulayite Whig, Britain's civilizing mission among savage and barbarous peoples.

But such an enormous preponderance of wealth and power could only throttle the infant industrial systems of other nations in a world-wide, economic free-for-all. German industry would need protection for some time to come. There was a mercantilistic corollary to this thesis. Wealth without military power was vulnerable and transitory— as witness the Italian republics, the Hanseatic League, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. England was great, free, and wealthy

^{107.} Sontag, Germany and England, p. 31.

^{108.} Quoted, ibid., p. 33.

^{109.} Quoted in Sontag, Germany and England, p. 33.

^{110.} Ibid., pp. 79-80.

^{111.} Four years later, Württemburg jointed the Zollverein.

^{112.} We have already noted a widely-held similar sentiment in France at the time of the Commercial Treaty of 1860.

- but only after being hammered and disciplined by the Tudors and some of their successors. 113

List met the Great Men of England in 1846: Peel, Palmerston, Cobden. All, according to Sontag, treated him with friendly courtesy but with amused tolerance for his extraordinary wrong-headedness. 114 Since List's commitment to Liberal politics was not in question, his legacy was a special kind of German liberalism which, from the first, flummoxed the British. It was later embodied in the policies of the National Liberal Party (after the split from the Progressive Party). In this kind of world view, the thesis that only "Eisen und Blut" ever really achieved solutions to major problems, while still consciously very repugnant, is logically implicit and therefore, ultimately, acceptable or at least tolerable.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Mr. Dietz:

17 March 1983

With a sense of admiration and gratitude, I have just finished reading Prof. Revilo P. Oliver's brilliant and moving memoir, America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative. I cannot too highly commend it to those of your readers who may not yet have seen it. The passage of seventeen years has not only left Dr. Oliver's decision to break with the conservative movement fully vindicated, but his painfully honest account of his own unwitting role in a malevolent hoax engineered by our eternal enemies shows him to be an even better, braver, and wiser man than we have always known him to be. Few writers, even on serious subjects, have the intellectual courage to face the grim realities of our world without taking refuge in the fairy tales of "faith" or "ideology;" to have, as well, the moral courage to admit freely his errors, in areas of experience where a man could easily dissemble and none be the wiser, makes Dr. Oliver truly one of a kind.

My only criticism of the book is that the narrative portion ends with the summer of 1966, when Dr. Oliver resigned from the John Birch Society. Perhaps you can persuade him to write a sequel—I think that America's Decline: The Making of a Radical might be an appropriate title—which would carry the story of his experiences and reflections forward to the present time. I would hope that (as does the existing volume for the period 1936-66) it would also contain an exhaustive bibliography of his post-1966 writings, and a generous selection from them. Indeed, if it be not presumptuous to suggest it, I hope that one day soon Dr. Oliver will give us a full autobiography. It will be instructive for future generations of our race to learn how one man survived the jewification of America, and remain untouched by the intellectual squalor and moral decay that were already rife in the years just after World War I, when he was still a boy.

Let us salute one of the keenest minds of our time—a scholar, gentleman, and true Aryan patriot of whom it may be said that (If I may adapt here what Lucan wrote about Cate) victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Oliverio.

Yours for the Victory of our Race and Nation, B.L.H., Illinois

Gentlemen:

18 March 1983

Please enter our subscription for 12 monthly issues of THE LIBERTY BELL, \$15. enclosed.

We are now editing a newsletter on the Jewish promotion campaign of Senator Allan Cranston, an unscrupulous Gentile with a wealthy Jewish Aug./Sept. 1983

^{113.} See, Friedrich List, The National System of Political Economy (transl. by S.S. Lloyd, M.P., from German ed. of 1841; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1885), Chapter 4 ("The English"), passim.

^{114.} Sontag, Germany and England, p. 58.

wife—he himself has a 40-year record serving the Jewish-Communist movement in the U.S.A. for money. He serves as a goy (Gentile) front for Jewish capitalism—in 1940 he brought out a vicious book against Germany, and he has been on the Jewish payroll ever since. He is now

being groomed by them as the next presidential candidate!

CPAC, here in northern California, is maintaining an intelligence service for the Christian-American community on the behind-the-scenes Jewish-financed Communist and so-called "liberal" left. We are expanding a cooperative, non-profit news service nationwide on Jewish political and business activities, sharing with other patriotic, white Americans an exchange of information and political intelligence by monitoring the news and TV media.

If we ever can be of service to your excellent and courageous efforts in any way, please let us know immediately.

Keep up the good work!

B.F.P., CPAC, California

Dear Mr. Dietz:

20 March 1983

Enclosed you will find copies of Teutonic Unity Newsletter No. 26 which I think will tell you the truth as concern the events mentioned in the news articles on pages 62, 63, and 64 of the February 1983 edition of The Liberty Bell. Also enclosed is a letter from Mr. Roeder's deputy here in the United States, Mr. Alexi Erlanger. It pretty well explains those events also. I do hope you see fit to print at least the explanation from the Newsletter No. 26 by compatriot Roeder, as I feel it is needed to give Liberty Bell readers "the other side of the coin" after the earlier articles from German papers appeared in the February edition of the Liberty Bell.

Best wishes.

G.H. Mississippi

Dear George:

25 March 1983

Enclosed you will find some literature I received from the NS Vanguard just the other day. Maybe I am an old dreamer, but I have to admit I was impressed by what this group has to say. Especially the fact that they do not ask for money for some emergency. Do you believe these guys—they have actually gone into business and are willing to work for the money they need. Outside of yourself, this is something new as far as I know (ein Wunder!).

I can't imagine any NS group that has not heard of "Liberty Bell", but on that one chance in a million I sent them a price list of yours and told them you were a "good old boy." Who knows, maybe something good will come of it. I did not have a copy of "Liberty Blll to send them; I hand them out when I am done with them except for some issues I intend to keep for myself. When I think of all the NS material I have handed out in this sad excuse for a city, I could puke. The average slob just couldn't care less and the ones who are interested want to go out (right now) and shoot something. They scare the hell out of me.

One thing has really supprised me, though. For almost three years now I have been Trustee for my mother and during that time I have come to meet another class of people: lawyers, stock brokers, business men, etc. I have found that these people have a real grasp of what the hell is going on. They already know what we are trying to tell the slobs. They already know what the Jews are up to and they know that the average black is an animal. Of course, knowing about it and doing something about it are two different things, aren't they? These people have money, brains, and influence, but they also have a lot to lose. There is a lot of potential there if it could be tapped, but how?

Being a Trustee is a real corker: like a bank clerk, I can look but not touch. My mom is a good Christian, talks about Heaven all the time but fights like hell not to go there. How's that for pure greed talking? Oh well, it comes and goes. I have a bad case of cabin fever and my thinkin gets stinkin.

Y'all take care now, Y'hear?

88!

G.A., Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Dietz:

28 March 1983

Thank you for sending me the back copies of The Liberty Bell which I asked for. You are doing a very good job in the war against the Jewish menace, keep it up.

I have taken the liberty of sending you two copies of our party's (National Socialist Action Party) publication; I hope you'll like them. It goes without saying that if you have any advice or comments about them, they will be gratefully received. We are all new to the game of producing a publication, we were and still are active on the streets (which is were it matters), and we are lacking in know-how, but feel that it is still a good attempt. There are some article in "Liberty Bell" which I should like to reprint; I was wondering if you would give me permission to reprint them. them.

Victory Hail! A.V., London, England

Dear George:

29 March 1983

I just received the April 83 issue of The Liberty Bell with your note that my previous letter had arrived safely. Thank you.

Also my thanks for publishing the article "An Open Letter to the Gentiles" by Lt. Col. F.P. Farrell. It is by far the best treatise on this important subject I have read lately, because of its condensed form, fluidity and precise wording. Anybody with some intelligence, and who loves his country, after having the luck of reading the article, must find himself fully awake, as far as the present political, cultural, social, and economic situation is concerned, and will certainly start asking questions and look for more books.

In a few days, once translated, I will send you a complete list of names Aug./Sept. 1983

(real and adopted) of the first Communist government in Sowjet Russia, after their takeover in 1918. The list shows that out of 502 leading Communist politicians 459 (!) were JEWS, while the nationalities of the rest—in most cases—are doubtful, but they are listed as such.

For a change, I had a very good laugh the other day, and I think you would like to share the cause with me. I was told by a historian, who shares our ideas and ideals, that when the Spaniards conquered Mexico, with the sword and the cross, they were admired by the Indians, after having fought fierce battles against them, because of their bravery, advanced technology, as well as intelligence. Behind the soldiers came the Friars.

When the Indians, however, saw the great conqueror Hernan Cortez kiss the hand of one of the skinny, barefooted friars, who was almost in rags, they shook their heads in disbelief, wondering what was going on in the head of such a brave soldier they all feared and respected.

However, when they were shown a cruzifix, and told that this was the God the White Man venerated and adored most, one of the leading Indians replied that this was a very stupid thing to do and that, instead of venerating a skinny, naked individual nailed to a cross, it would be much wiser, and natural, that they should venerate the fellow who nailed him to the cross!

That was Mother Nature in its purest expression, through the tongue of a native who, although culture-wise inferior to the White Europeans, had been constantly in contact with Nature and understood its laws.

My best wishes for you and your family. 88! R.M., Mexico

Dear George: 10 200 March 1983

Enclosed \$15. for my renewal of the Liberty Bell, plus \$12. for ten copies of the April Liberty Bell. Keep up the good work and never stop

doing all that you can to glorify the memory of Adolf Hitler!

In the sacred unfailing Bond,

Dear George:

29 March 1983

Received the March 1983 issue of The Liberty Bell and enjoyed it immensely. The article (excerpts) by Ben Klassen I found exceptionally good and to be the truth that has needed telling for some time. Last year, a friend from Minnesota send me a copy of Klassen's "Nature's Eternal Religion" and recommended that I read it. At that time I was busy working 10 to 12 hours a day to fulfill the requirements of my parole from the Zionist stooge government and also active with my AWP/Viking Youth group and never got the time. I have already sent word to search my library and bring it to me ASAP.

Also would like to comment on the letter from W.H.A., Ill. The statement about the Japanese success being based on Japan's use of National Socialist principles is very true. National Socialism, the brain

child of Adolf Hitler, the greatest genius who ever lived, is being subverted and bastardized by niggers and other mud races to destroy the White Race. A friend of mine sent me a radical nigger paper a few months ago; these militants have a "party program" that was practically all stolen from National Socialism; they had just substituted "African" for Aryan. And the Aryan Race continues to blindly follow the jew-media masters and ignore the only political philosophy which can save them from extinction. All our major cities are electing non-white officials and anyone who opposes them is immediately labeled "racist," which in most circles is considered the worst label one can wear (I, personally, wear it proudly).

'I am back in jail which is something I should be used to by now (but I remember Rudolf Hess and try to do no less). This time I am charged with possession of an illegal weapon (which a police spy has admitted bringing into my girl friend's house), and intimidating a judge (someone painted a swastika on his door). I have been held since Oct. 27, 1982 under a \$100,000 bond. My fiance was also arrested and charged with possession of the same gun and it took over \$1,000. of legal expenses to get the charges against her dropped. Three of her children were arrested for putting up National Socialist posters and one was sent to a girl's home for no other reason and I quote the judge (the same one who claimed he was intimidated), "to get her away from the Nazis."

The Zionists have control of this country, The illegal government in Bonn has nothing on this country. I have learned the hard way that it is just as illegal to display a swastika in Tennessee as it is in Munich, Germany. The damned ADL, of course, gets its nose into all of this, some from all the way in Atlanta, Georgia.

I am enclosing a brief newspaper clipping; it's not too informative, but it will give you an idea of what happened. All told, there were some 30 odd different clippings in various papers and over 100 different radio and TV reports, all giving the news with such a slant as if being a Naitonal Socialist was illegal. All of the copies I had have been filed in court as I am trying to get a change in venue on the case.

George, I have come to the realization that the day of peaceful demonstration and legal pamphleteering has already passed. We are too far down the road to racial destruction. The court system in this country is entirely under the control of the Jews, and we are fast approaching the point when to claim pride in being White will be grounds for arrest, and all the so-called conservatives, with their legal elections and candidates, are helping this along. Look at Reagan, he is just as much a flunky for Israel as Carter was or as Connally, or whoever will be President. They have control of the legal system, and that is a fact. The main threat to the White Patriots these days is not in Moscow—but right in Washington DC! I hope enough true Aryans will wake up and realize this before it is too late. If not, the Smithsonian Institute will have a stuffed White Man on display right next to the Dodo bird within 150 years. For the brainwashed masses will help the mud races annihilate those of us who are willing to fight and die for our Aryan heritage. And their reward for this racial treachery will

be being allowed to live as long as they assimilate with some inferior race. And "God's Chosen Rats" will rule the world. The handwriting is on the wall, it only takes a small amount of common sense and courage to realize that!

But "Kosher Konservatives" still preach the lies that freedom of speech and "equal rights" exist. They exist for anyone but the White Race and, slowly but surely, what little freedom the White people still have are going down the drain.

The Jews are already making noises to outlaw publications such as yours and I have no doubt that in a very few years they will do it with the strong support of White "Liberals." I believe that people should carefully re-read "Mein Kampf" and listen to what Hitler said about the people's duty toward the kind of government we have now.

Well, I have raged enough. I am just now beginning to get back in touch with old comrades. I've been tied with legal matters and just recently got the actual time to correspond again.

One other thing, they transferred me to the state prison for a while after my arrest (they said they were afraid 'Nazi terrorists' would try to break me out), and while I was there I heard rumors that nigger-commie groups were requesting White racial literature from White Patriot-type publishers for intelligence and also to cause a financial drain. I think it's supposed to be nation-wide. Don't know which publishers or anything, but you should be careful of such requests.

The people need dedicated men now more than ever before. I'd like to see a move of unity among all White Nationalists now, but I've been expressing those sentiments for several years, as you well know. But I still have faith that we will all rally together when it becomes absolutely necessary for defense of our families' lives.

I'm enclosing \$2, for the next issue of Liberty Bell. The address I'm putting down is my fiance's. She will forward it to me and I never know when these people will transfer me somewhere else again. My best to your family and friends and keep up the good work-we can and will triumph, we MUST!

> Heil Hitler! James W. Parker c/o PO Box 214, McKenzie, TN 38201

My dear Liberty Bell:

30 March 1983

The Liberty Bell

"They went in hiding for fear of the Jews."

We are still hiding. Today we have only Simon Wiesenthal and the hunted. Today we are like deaf mutes in a corner signalling to each other, only those few get the message who know the signs. We are tying knots in the wind.

At this moment, in our nation's capital a tempel to Jewish hatred and horrible vengeance is being built. No protest is made. In Lyons, France, Klaus Altmann Barbie is now being tried for a myth-holyhoax, hoaxacost. Exposure of the whole myth of the six million should emerge from there-not the death of one patriot.

A Leader should arise from all our two-bit publishers who could unite all strength to hire lawyers to defend Altmann. A Leader should emerge who could use talent represented by all readers to open stores of books and records on the edges of major campuses across our nation. Your publications fall from our hands, we sigh, and evil persists.

Mrs. J.E., Indiana

Dear Sir:

3 April 1983

Like a good many other Americans, I suspect, I am infuriated by the plans for the Holocaust Museum, for which Congress has already authorized the government (i.e., has forced the mostly Aryan taxpayers of the United States) to donate an INITIAL \$30,000,000.

It is ironic indeed that the monument to the Americans who fell in Vietnam, located not far from the site of the Holocaust Museum, is, by comparison, a simple, modest structure which was largely funded by individual private contributions.

The real reason for the far more generously funded Holocaust Museum lies in psychological and political factors. The Museum is a monument which is inteded to admonish us against the crimes which were allegedly committed against EUROPEAN Jews by European governments which passed out of existence nearly four decades ago. It really constitutes and represents a huge, official rationalization of our role in the Second World War, which resulted in the enslavement of eastern and part of central Europe by the Communists, who demonstrated their cruelty and desire to dominate the world any number of times before and after 1939.

We can be nearly certain that monuments of this size will never be built in Washington which will memorialize the victims of Katyn or the millions of Baltic and Ukrainian victims of Communist tyranny, for such a monument would remind of our stupidity in dealing with the Communists at a time when it would have been far easier to do so. A monument to the victims of Operation Keelhaul, who wanted to defend Europe against Communism, is out of the question, of course. And yet, it is the Communists who are arming themselves to the teeth and who thus constitute a PRESENT menace to our very existence.

The Holocaust Museum represents a propaganda triumph of Jewry. If there is any consolation for the Aryan taxpayers who will be forced to pay for it, it lies in the fact that the Holocaust Museum will be a permanent reminder of the disproportinate political power of Jews in the United States.

> Sincerely, Dr. Charles E. Weber, Member Edit. Advis. Cte., Journal of Hist. Review Oklahoma

Dear George:

4 April 1983

I really enjoyed the March '83 issue of Liberty Bell. Packed full of

goodies, it was. I enclose a few bombshells I dropped on local newspaper editors.

I smell a war brewing, and it will be fought between White Gentiles on one side against White Gentiles on the other side. It will spell the end of the White Race as we know it, I am quite sure. Guess who will win?

Part, at least a good part, of our problem is that the solide European stock will not multiply. The Germans, who could lead the world in anything they set their minds to, have the lowest birthrate in Europe: 1.1 children per couple. That is not enough to sustain the population. The Scandinavians are just a bit better, but still, not enough to sustain. Even without the bloody war, it seems we are doomed.

The good European-stock nationalities in the USA DO s eem to be proliferating lately. Everywhere I go it looks like Rabbitville. God bless them all! Women are are having babies again. The trouble is, WE ARE targeted too, and although both the USA and USSR could absorb a considerable amount of strikes, due to the great expanses involved, we still would have to operate at a greatly reduced number of people. Bleaksville!

There is one nation of White, productive, reasonably intelligent people with a very positive birth rate that is still not targeted by either NATO or Warsaw, and that is Ireland. The you-know-whos are already trying their damndest to get Ireland into NATO where it would also be targeted. Ulster is already, of course, but this little piece of real estate that sits out in the Atlantic could probably survive a nuclear Holocaust that will engulf Europe and the USA. The Atlantic winds that have been such a bain to the population in the past, could prove to be what saves the place sometime in the future, IF the Republic does not get seduced into the NATO family.

Speaking of the Irish, I certainly like the tune of Col. F.P. Farrell. We [the Irish] have a way with words sometimes, and while most Irish writers that become famous deal with happy wars and love stories, every now and again we come up with a man capable of some very biting invective, backed by the ability to research, and a certain enthusiasm that seems to be inherited.

I had a remarkable opportunity to pick out my own daughter-in-law. I spotted a beautiful young girl, full of class, far from the pack of zombies that fill the high schools lately, of Irish-Norwegian lineage, and just encouraged the dickens out of my eldest son to date her. They now have a beautiful, blue-eyed, blonde baby boy, and I'm tickled pink! Hang in there you old-timers—it CAN be done!

Regards, Cmdr. E.T., New Jersey

Dear George:

7 April 1983

... The April issue of the Liberty Bell looks great as always. Keep up the good work! Dr. Oliver's "Populism and Elitism" should be required reading in the public schools. If it had been available when I was there, I would not have poured sulfuric acid in my history textbook. Yours is one of the finest periodicals of its kind around, (a much more professional

publication than some newspapers I could trust . . .).

Sincerely, S.D., California

13 April 1983

Please cancel my order for additional copies of the pamphlet, The Federal Reserve Board. After reading the book on Money Creators, I have come to the conclusion that it is a scheme to turn people away from their own government and to get them to think like the COMMUNISTS think. It contains FALSE STATEMENTS and HALF TRUTHES [sic].

Where is there any proof that Abraham Lincoln was killed by the Jews? I HAVE A BOOK THAT PROVES THAT IT WAS THE ROMANS CATHOLICS WHO HAD HIM PUT TO DEATH. Why not quote all of First Timothy 6:10? Money itself has no power, it is the LOVE OF MONEY that produces harlots, thives [sic], bank robers [sic], liars, etc.

I have known for some time about the International Bankers but there is no proof that they are ALL JEWS. Jesus was a Jew and so were the Apostles and most of the early Christians. Had it not been for them we would not have had a Gospel to preach to a sinful world. The most of the hospitals, schools and charitable institutions got their start from following the instructions found in the LORD'S BOOK, not the White Man's Bible.

The LORD'S BOOK informs us the gold of the world will wind up in Jerusalem. Read Zechariah 14:14. if you are not against the Book that has stood the test of the ages.

There are good Jews as well as covetous Jews in the world and that is true of all nations. The best Jew that ever lived is Jesus who is still alive wheather [sic] you believe it or not.

If you are not a hopeless person, I have other pamphlets I will be glad to send you FREE OF CHARGE. Think it over,

T.H. Masters, Pastor New Hope Baptist Church Rt.2 Box 28 B, Anadarko OK 73005

Dear Mr. Dietz:

13 April 1983

I have been reading over the sample copies of The Liberty Bell you sent me some weeks ago and decided that there would be too many valuable ideas I would be missing if I did not subscribe to it, so here is my money order for \$15. for a year's subscription, to begin with the April issue. If such a giant as Revilo Oliver writes for a periodical, it must be a pretty significant one.

Sincerely,

Dr. C.W., Oklahoma

Dear Mr Dietz:

Aug./Sept. 1983

15 April 1983

Enclosed find my check for \$25. for renewal of my subscription and copies of "Zionism Rules the World."

With appreciation I have been reading the data by Lt. Col. Farrell who

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appears to be one of the too few who tell it as it is. It is fact that the religious cults serve the Zionists by promoting British Israel which, as you know, is occult and masonry. I cite this because "New Solidarity" has published data proving this; the title is "The British Royal family is behind the masonic Holy War in Mid East," which proves that the British are the power behind the Zionist One World Conspiracy.

I received from Mr. White, the publisher, [of Western Front] data in which he calls for all conservatives to unite for action, Liberty Bell is also included. He also reveals that he belongs to the Identity Movement, which is British Israel, the Judaeo-Masonic Illuminati, and the cult promotes milleniumism, which is also Zionism.

Yours truly, Mrs. R.M., New York

Dear Mr. Dietz:

26 August 1983

The Liberty Bell

Thank you so much for the complimentary July copy of The Liberty Bell. Due to personal and financial conditions, I have not been able to keep up my subscription, and I have missed it tremendously. I glean much information also from the wonderful letters sent in by your readers. This is to thank them too, I painfully discern that Manfred Roeder has fallen on some dark and troubled times and, whether he was erratic or not, above all, he was courageous and gifted. His Teutonic Unity series were, in my estimation, masterpieces of perception and truth. What tragedy that he has been brought to such a compromising and humiliating fate. I truly feel for him.

However, I take intense exception to the letter by R.W., California, pp. 23-24. He quotes, as he says, from the "Great" book by Philip Wily, "A Generation of Vipers," which is anything but "great." The "vipers" referred to herein is the American Mother of the terrible Depression years. Not only is there a chapter on the "American Mom," as he states, but the entire book is the ravings of a mad man. After reading about three-fourths of this lascivious, perverted rubbish I was so sickened of it, I returned the book to the library, I later learned only Jewish critics hailed this as a noteworthy history of the White Christian woman. And, the Jewish actress Hedy Lamar wrote a lavish introductory piece for the disgusting, trashy book. He adds insult to injury by quoting the porn writer, Henry Miller.

Everything was blamed on this lowly, insipid creature, the "American Mom." Yet, Hedy Lamar rose to stardom as a sexpot, when she traipsed through the woods nude, in a European film, where she originated. She could not act, could hardly speak intelligibly and was flat chested and hipless. All her gawdy and fabulous garments were especially designed with built-in busts and hips. This highly touted European Jewish actress was caught taking fancy toggery from a Los Angeles department store. But as things work out with Jews, she was left off the hook. If such had happened to one of these lowly White Christian women, they would have been shamed, tormented and, no doubt, spent time in jail or state prison. As to "stupid Americans" that R.W.'s second wife habitually refers to—she

has, in my opinion, one of the most stupid. They surely deserve each other. So, I say how dare R.W. speek so disparagingly: of American women—past, present and future? Whatever greatness this nation has achieved, it was largely through its women and it will continue to do so. The most famous European woman on the American scene today is ZAZ ZAZ GABOR. She must be at least sixty years old and pretends she is

ZAZ GABOR. She must be at least sixty years old and pretends she is twenty—while ploying the dinner circuit in silly ploys—that require no ability. She bulges from every seam of her velvet, satin and lacy gowns—dripping in diamonds. Her interviews are the most absurd chatter—mostly bragging how the super rich American men are begging for her attention. We can get along quite well without these pampered "shes" and R.W.'s stupid letters.

In closing, I would like to request the name and address of the writer who signed his name R.S., New York.

Most truly yours, Mrs. L.H., Texas

Dear Friend.

18 April 1983

Thank you for all you sent in filling my order. As usual, the material is invaluable. My eternal gratitude to you for all your efforts.

Public TV channel 8 (Houston,TX) put on a travesty last night at 10:30. PM titled "From Dust and Ashes," another worn-out Holocaust Fantasy. It began with a slap at revisionist historians and ended with narrator Frank Blair ominously warning us "we must let no-one doubt the Holocaust." Avery depressing assault upon truth.

Since I am not in a position at this time to send a donation, I would still like to present you with this "gift" I wrote in honor of the GREAT ONE, whose birthday comes next Wednesday the 20th. Hope you enjoy it:

Best wishes for your continued success. You are doing an excellent and commendable job for all our people; I thank you.

Sincerely, R.G., Texas

Following is the poem written by the above correspondent:

MAN AGAINST TIME

Where does he come from, this Man of Destiny,
Who does his utmost to build the Wall, to hold back the Sea?
Neither known nor understood by those of his day,
He knows, for a Tomorrow, HE must show the way;
Devoting his life to the Higher Cause, He undertakes his solemn Duty.
His Spirit motivated by Love Divine, His Movement a thing of Beauty;
The world a witness to the Awakening of His Folk,
Their minds united as One as He spoke;
But understands not the throng of Mass-Man,
Their minds polluted by the Evil Ones, as only THEY can.
Yet, up from the depths arise the Folk.

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Free, at last, from slavery's yoke; United in Spirit, and all of ONE WILL, Begin their march, their Destiny to Fulfill; For the good of all, they do exist, But their words of Truth, the Evil Ones do twist, And pronounce the Great One as worse than a Knave, To destroy Him they must, the WORLD to save. A valiant effort, like none before seen, To purge the Evil, make once again clean, The banner of the Ancients the gallant ones unfurl, And for a precious Moment in Time, They hold back the World. But time catches up, and the Supermen fall, As the sea rolls in, and breaks over the Wall. Total destruction is ordered, and followed by those, Blinded by Evil, seeing not past their nose. They even join in celebration, and laugh with glee, At the death of He who would have saved you and me. An now, years later, their own nests becoming mud, Was it REALLY for THEMSELVES that they spilled so much blood? Slowly the dawning begins to take place, And a grimace of horror comes over their face; Wrongly, now they know, they celebrated their Feast, As they, too, are consumed by the Hexagon Beast. And in their deathly turmoil they will know, That it WAS indeed TRUTH that He came to show. That instead of following His Direction to Life, They chose the Beast's way, the way of strife. And in their dying moment, as on TODAY they choke, In the recessess of their instincts they will recall the Folk, And wish that they had heeded the call, Of He who tried, who gave his all. For THEM, it will indeed mean the Death Knell, as they belatedly recognize the decay they smell. But for those of the Blood, the Future will be Bright, For His Spirit rises from the grave, and WE KNEW He was right; And over the Sea of Life we shall once again sail, FOR THE MESSAGE IS TRUTH: HE DID NOT FAIL!

Dear George:

24 April 1983

I heard the news about the "Diaries of Adolf Hitler." Perhaps you have access to someone who can better inform us about the nature of these volumes. According to the news, history will have to be revised. Also, the holocaust is not alluded to, but, Hitler mentioned that if the Jews could not be gotten rid of, they ought to be taken out to the ocean in ships and sunk. All is irrelevant so far. I think the juicier parts are still unread. All in all, I think that we will come out of this smelling like a rose. But, Dr. Oliver should address this question. I, of course, do not have very much of

an opinion yet, and no certain knowledge of it. I think that the contents, which are locked up in a Swiss bank, ought to tell us something about the nature of the release of these documents. They are so well timed. Right after Beirut! Also coincident with the depresssion. I think, at this time, that some hidden hand, perhaps one of our own, had judged the time to be right. Also, there must be persons in high places who have had a say about the papers, because the papers have been made known for two years.

88! R.H., Indiana

Dear George:

25 April 1983

I have read often that Henry Ford said, "History is bunk." I could not agree more, but I wonder whether Mr Ford's reasons for saying that were the same as mine.

I called the Greensboro Record's Hot Line for information, but they referred me to the history department of a local negro college, A & T State University. A woman professor answered that she thought that Mr Ford confused and equated history with folklore and mythology. I find it difficult to believe that a brilliant man like Mr Ford would make such a mistake.

Do you know about what inspired Henry Ford to make this oft quoted statement. If so, I think that your comments would be of interest to the readers of Liberty Bell and should be published in it.

I regard history as bunk because, as has often been said, "The right side wins in every war because history is written by the winners." Also, history, like all the social sciences, is influenced by politics. Often the politically acceptable explanation is far from the truth, as in the case of India's Independence. The history books in India, Britain, and world-wide, tell you that it was brought about by passive resistance (satyagraha). Actually, that was a factor, but the coup-de-grace was brought about by Chandre Bose, who led a defection of the Indian army, which brought it about way ahead of schedule.

Sieg Heil! K.W., North Carolina

Dear Mr. Dietz:

3 May 1983

I am enclosing a letter which is my contribution to the 300th German-American celebration. I have my doubts that it will appear in the Savannah Morning News, but there is always a chance. In the meantime, I thought of the Liberty Bell and would be proud to see you print it, providing you have space.

Mit herzlichem deutschen Gruss!

Ihr R.M., Georgia

Dear Sir:

2 May 1983

Although little publicized, this year of 1983 marks the 300th anniversay commemorating the arrival of the first German immigrants in Aug./Sept. 1983

America. Historically, on October 6, 1683, following a 75-day voyage on the vessel "Concord," thirteen families from Krefeld am Rhein, under the leadership of Franz Daniel Pastorius, landed at what is now Philadelphia and subsequently founded the community of Germantown, Pennsylvania.

According to the 1980 census, 52 million U.S. citizens claimed German ancestry, which makes German-Americans our largest ethnic group. From the very beginning, German-Americans have contributed immeasurably to the growth and well-being of our country. Had it not been for the Prussian General Friedrich von Steuben, for example, Washington's ragtag Continental Army at Valley Forge might never have survived and gone on to victory in the Revolutionary War. General Washington was quick to recognize the German's organizational and disciplinary abilities and, upon his recommendation, Congress appointed von Steuben Inspector General of the entire army! In only a few months he managed to transform the raw troops into a well-disciplined and effective fighting force. The Revolutionary War also brought forth a celebrated German heroine: Maria Ludwig Hays McCauley, better known as Molly Pitcher, because she carried pitchers of water to her husband and other soldiers on the front line. Germans also fought with distinction in the Civil War, sometimes composing entire regiments of the Union Army. (Are your school children aware of this?)

German immigrants came to America, bringing with them their superior skill and craftsmanship, intellect and high moral standards in every field of endeavour. Unlike other ethnic groups, they created no crime problem and even the poorest were eager to work hard, learn the new language and to assimilate quickly into the mainstream of American life.

Why, then, have German-Americans and, for that matter, Germans world-wide, failed to receive the proper recognition and creditability they so justly deserve? The widespread and effective use of enemy propaganda is obviously the most logical answer. It all goes back to the British posters of World War I, depicting Belgian babies being mutilated by German soldiers, and continues to the present day, and a deluge of "Holocaust Docu-Drama" cluttering up our TV screens and bookstands. Bear in mind that Hitler's Germany almost wiped out the horror of atheistic communism, and the enemy at home and abroad will never forget it! In all probability, had it not been for American aid and collaboration with the Bolsheviks during WWII, the Russian red goose would have been cooked! And so, Hollywood, TV, and the media, continue to crank out more and more films and fiction, always unfavorable, not only to "Nazi"-Germany, but to Germans in general-but never against Communism. The latest of these is the ridiculous but nonetheless hateful BBC fantasy called 'Private Schulz." All this garbage naturally has its effect in portraying the average German as some kind of dumb brute who commits unspeakable atrocities at the drop of a hat.

Let us, therefore, upon this historic occasion, no longer be beguiled by this constant avalanche of hatemongering, but render due honor and respect in a salute to our glorious German heritage. Sincerely, R.F., Georgia

Dear George:

3 May 1983

For a long time I could not write to you because I was so busy with the office, house work, classes (learning languages including German), and reading reviews, journals I receive. Nevertheless, I read with great interest the articles in Liberty Bell. I like all the issues and articles which enlighten us on true history and governments. Every year I have all twelve issues bound into a book. I also have Der Schulungsbrief, with all their beautiful covers, bound.

* * * * *

I hope you and the family are alright. I do admire your courage to inform your fellow Americans as you do. Unfortunately, many do not understand the situation.

If you have beautiful photos of the Fuehrer and places of tradition in Germany, I should like to buy some of them, and I shall send you the money through my bank in France. It seems that our old Aryan symbol has a long history. In Hindu mythology, in one Purana (I have all of them—a kind of Bible could be made of them) I read that the eagle was representing the race of Gods and the snake the one of the devil. The eagle is an enemy of the snake in that Purana and remains one up to now; symbolically, the snake is an evil doer. I saw in one of your issues the same symbol. Let us hope that—like Garuda, the King of the Eagles—all Eagles will win over the snakes some day.

With all my best wishes and regards, M.H., India

Dear Mr. Dietz:

3 June 1983

Please renew my LB subscription and send me the following six cassette tapes. Check is enclosed.

I like ordering from Liberty Bell because of prompt service. Some organizations take more than two months to fill an order.

Thank you, R.R., Michigan

Dear George:

5 June 1983

Sending you the enclosed modest check as my quarterly pledge is a real privilege but does not begin to pay for the additional authoratative education I have acquired from your painstaking diligence in what you do.

Best regards, W.S., California

* * * * *

The following is a letter by Tom Metzger of the White American Political Association, Box 65, Fallbrook CA 92008, addressed to a Mr Bernard Arendt. Because of its interesting topic we are reprinting this letter here with the writer's permission:

14

7 June 1983

After our meeting of May 22nd I felt compelled to answer your challenge of a return to the Constitution in a little more detail.

If we are to come to a correct conclusion to any problem, we must use a correct premise and correct logic, if the answer is to be valid. Your premise I believe to be an honest one, along with many good White people who believe the Constitution of the United States is a working solution for all men and nations at all times, if they only would adhere to it. I held such a premise for many years.

The reason my premise has changed, hopefully through the use of correct logic, is that the U.S. Constitution was an evolutionary triumph of thought brought about by primarily the Northern European White race of people. The apex of such an evolution seems to center in Britain, with reinforcements from North Europe proper, Ulster, Scotland and other spots, in that small area of the world. A homogeneous race of people of slightly different customs and even speech, but nonetheless not a racially pluralistic society.

It is my premise that after at least thousands of years of natural selection within the Northern European, a genetically superior man and woman appeared that was equipped with politically creative genius on a wider scale than had ever existed in kknown e human history. If you will study the backgrounds of the men who wrote the Constitution, you will find their families all originated in an area that covered a very small part of the globe, perhaps even a few hundred square miles. The Constitution didn't create the men: Northern European men created the Constitution. Without such men in leadership and, above all, a homogeneous society of above average intelligence, such a system is absolutely impossible. So, when a person tells you he or she is not a White racist, but wants to reinforce the U.S. Constitution, it reminds me of a person who would love to drive his car, but has no gasoline to power it.

Empirical knowledge will show you that in a study of world history no other race of people has ever been able to create and maintain such an idea of government and beyond that to implement it for long periods, and, as I have said, even then we are speaking of a uniquely small percentage of the White race who were, for a short while, able to maintain a Republic, but which died at least by the time the Civil War erupted. The ancient fraud of democracy took its place, which was an outgrowth of religious mad men who, in attempting to create Heaven on Earth, have only succeeded in creating Hell on Earth. All of the rantings of Marxists is simply another mad religious belief system that appeals, as does religion in general, to primitive non-Whites and the ever growing number of primitive Whites, genetically inferior, intellectually dull, and with the creative powers that run after a Picasso or the Beatles.

I am sorry to tell you, Mr. Arendt, that in a pluralistic, racially mixed, one-man-one vote society, the Constitution becomes almost a parallel of the great Pyramids of Egypt which look down on a country populated by racial sludge, who sit on their haunches and look up in wonderment as to

where such colossal monuments come from, with no knowledge of the White race that created such wonders.

The U.S. Constitution stands over us today, not as a beacon, but as a grave stone in memory of a great race, uniquely equipped for its creation. The White men and women who understand this know that through massive disgenics, race mixing, corruption, and the death of widespread positive racial education, we are moving backward in time. The Constitution has been amended many times and will be amended again to serve the purpose of our masters. It has become the Maginot Line, the allusion of safety in a sea of madness, not as our protector, since only the promise of the shedding of blood gave that simple parchment life in the first place.

The U.S. Constitution today is only given power when it may be used to destroy northern man's creations, or to create conditions of genetic destruction to the remnant of its creators. Conservatives clutch at the Constitution like a man facing impending doom calls out for a God to save him, but there is no answer from Heaven or parchment paper.

I do not know what the future of the White race holds as far as survival and expansion. I do know that nature gives no quarter and there is no evidence of a guarantee of survival for a dinosaur or a White man or woman. I do know that to meet such a challenge of nature and anti-man, the White race must equip itself with the survival instincts of the Norseman who was full of love for his family and his kind, but ruthless against any who would challenge him or his woman.

A correct premise and correct logic do not lead to the Constituion as a saviour of the White race, and surely that piece of paper is of no value to any other race. This is why all the groups who attempt to revive the Constitution fail. The youth is not interested, most White people are not interested. Non-Whites don't know what you are talking about, no matter thow much they sit there with dul! eyes and nod their heads.

Down deep, most everybody who is able to use simple logic understands the next step. Many try to push it out of their mind with religious nonsense, alcohol, drugs, etc., but either racial war, racial extinction, or both, looms before us as surely as the glorious sun rises in the East, or cide. in a symmetry of the control of

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Sincerely, Tom Metzger, California

8 June 1983

Dear George: Andrew Williams August Control The quality of the Liberty Bell is getting better all the time. Like wine, the issues get better with age. It seems people in Florida are waking up more and more to the hoaxes of the FED, the holohoax, and our ZOG [Zionist Occupation Government] -controlled "Dumbocrazy" government.

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Best regards, A.W., Florida

Tokyo Community Joins B'nai B'rith

TOKYO (JTA) — For the first time in B'nai B'rith International's 139-year history, an entire Jewish community has decided to affiliate with BBI.

As a result of the efforts of B'nai B'rith International vice president Steve Rudman and honorary president Jack Spitzer, the Jewish community of Tokyo — some 90 families — has joined the world's largest and oldest Jewish service organization.

The new group will be called "The Jewish Community of Japan," the name of the Tokyo Jewish community center that houses a synagogue, Judaica library, kosher kitchen and mikva. "The officers of the community will also be the officers of the B'nai B'rith group," said Seymour Reich, BBI membership chairman.

Dear George:

1 July 1983

Enclosed is my order, and also a copy of a news clipping from a Jewish newspaper. Your readers may be interested to know that the Jews have indeed singled out Japan for conquest.

88

S.M., Minnesota

Gentlemen:

2 July 1983

I have been told that a recent issue of "The Liberty Bell" (the June 1983 issue, I believe) contains a new article by Dr. R. P. Oliver. If this is so, I would appreciate it if you would send a copy of that issue or an offprint of the article. I enclose a check for \$3.00 (an estimate, as I do not know what the exact price would be).

Do you have available an index to "The Liberty Bell, or a list of some or all of the articles that have appeared in past issues? If so, kindly send a copy (or advise of the cost, if there is a charge).

With thanks,

Truly yours, N.G., Calfiornia

Does the West have the will to survive?



That is the obvious question posed by Jean Raspail's terrifying novel of the swamping of the White world by an unlimited flood of non-White "refugees." But there is also a less obvious and even more fundamental question: Must Whites find their way to a new morality and a new spirituality in order to face the moral challenges of the present and overcome them? THE CAMP OF THE SAINTS is the most frightening book you will ever read. It is frightening because it it is utterly believable. The armada of refugee ships in Raspail's story is exactly like the one that dumped 150,000 Cubans from Fidel Castro's prisons and insane asylums on our shores in 1980 - except this time the armada is from India, with more than 70 times as large a population. And it is only the first armada of many. If any book will awaken White Americans to the danger they face from uncontrolled immigration, it is THE CAMP OF

THE SAINTS. For your copy send \$7.00 (which includes \$1.00 for shipping) to: LIBERTY BELL PUBLICATIONS, Box 21, Reedy, WV 25270 USA Ord. # 3014

Please remember: Our fight is Your fight! Donate whatever you can spare on a regular—monthly or quarterly—basis. Whether it is \$2., \$5., \$20., or \$100. or more, rest assured it is needed here and will be used in our common struggle. If you are a businessman, postage stamps in any denomination, are a legitimate business expense—and we need and use many of these here every month, and will be gratefully accepted as donations.

Your donations will help us spread the *Message of Liberty* and *White Survival* throughout the land, by making available additional copies of our printed material to fellow Whites who do not yet know what is in store for them.

Order our pamphlets, booklets, stickers, and—most importantly—our reprints which are ideally suited for mass distribution at reasonable cost. Order extra copies of *Liberty Bell* for distribution to your circle of friends, neighbors and relatives, urging them to subscribe to our unique publication. Our bulk prices are shown on the inside front cover of every issue of *Liberty Bell*.

Pass along your copy of *Liberty Bell*, and copies of reprints you obtained from us, to friends and acquaintances who may be on our 'wave length,' and urge them to contact us for more of the same.

Carry on the fight to free our White people from the shackles of alien domination, even if you can only join our ranks in spirit. You can provide for this by bequest. The following are suggested forms of bequests which you may include in your Last Will and Testament:

- 1. I bequeath to Mr. George P. Dietz, as Trustee for Liberty Bell Publications, P.O. Box 21, Reedy WV 25270 USA, the sum of \$..... for general purposes.
- 2. I bequeath to Mr. George P. Dietz, as Trustee for Liberty Bell Publications, P.O. Box 21, Reedy WV 25270 USA, the following described property for general purposes.

DO YOUR PART TODAY — HELP FREE OUR WHITE RACE FROM ALIEN DOMINATION!