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Andrew S. Winston

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“Jews will not replace us!”: Antisemitism, Interbreeding and Immigration in Historical Context

Andrew S. Winston

White nationalist cries of “Jews will not replace us!” and, “You will not replace us!,” at the 2017 Charlottesville, Virginia, rally were frequently discussed but rarely understood.¹ Taken as a sign of general hostility toward Jews or the belief that Jews were vaguely threatening, the deeper meaning of the “replacement” theme in relation to antisemitism has often been missed. In this article, I locate “Jews will not replace us” in the broader historical context of a long-lasting antisemitic narrative. This fear of a Jewish plan for world domination had two major themes. First, Jews would encourage massive non-white immigration from inferior races that would outbreed and eventually replace whites. Second, they would promote racial interbreeding that would destroy whites’ supposed natural advantages in intelligence and character, hastening replacement through “mongrelization.” These aims would be accomplished through Jewish-directed communism by promoting a “hoax” of racial equality.

Analysis of the antisemitic themes in “replacement” discourse is complicated by shifts and ambiguities in the meaning of “you” and “us” in “You will not replace us.” For contemporary white nationalists, “you” may refer to “global liberal elites” or “international bankers” or government. For those firmly devoted to Nazi ideology, all three categories are either Jews or liberals controlled by and brainwashed by Jews, real and imaginary. In earlier versions of the replacement idea, “you” might refer to Bolsheviks or communists, also said to be Jews. Similarly, the “us” for the Charlottesville organizers meant anyone of white European descent, with Russians specifically included, whereas nativists in the early 1900s feared replacement of the more narrowly conceived Nordic race.²

The use of the term “replacement” by contemporary ethno-nationalists, often used interchangeably with “white genocide,” is generally traced to the “great replacement” concept of modern European demographics popularized in 2011 by French philosopher Renaud Camus.³ He argued

1. Abigail Levin and Lisa Guenther, “White ‘Power’ and the Fear of Replacement,” *New York Times*, August 28, 2017.

2. See, John P. Jackson, “Codebreaking the Alt Right: ‘Russia is our friend!’,” December 9, 2017, <https://altrightorigins.com/2017/12/09/russia-is-our-friend/>.

3. Renaud Camus, *Le Grand Remplacement* (Neuilly sur Seine: Editions David Reinhard, 2011).

that immigration from North Africa and the Middle East to France would inevitably result in the end of French culture and the “French People.” For many readers, Camus’s dystopian analysis was a revival of the themes of *The Camp of the Saints*, Jean Raspail’s 1973 apocalyptic novel of Europe overwhelmed by hordes of Third World migrants who utterly destroy white European civilization. Neither book blamed the Jews, and so could appeal to a wider audience. But in the worldview of neo-Nazis who embraced both books, there was always a Jewish “hidden hand” behind the looming disasters of mongrelization and immigration. To examine the American roots of “replacement,” I first describe how early nativist fears of immigration became intertwined with Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy theories of the early 1900s, and incorporated tropes of Nazi propaganda outlining Jewish plans for white destruction. These ideas were refashioned after World War II in the context of the growing civil rights movement and fears of communism. Using the case of two academics who promoted ideas of replacement or destruction through Jewish conspiracy, Herbert Sanborn and Revilo P. Oliver, I show how earlier themes were redeployed in the 1960s and were carried into the twenty-first century, often with a new veneer of revived scientific racism. Despite substantial variations in the imagined Jewish plot, I show how ideas about anthropologist Franz Boas, his students, and their antiracist projects occupied a consistent, prominent place in these antisemitic narratives for nearly 100 years.

REPLACEMENT, IMMIGRATION, AND INTERBREEDING IN NATIVIST LITERATURE

Central to early twentieth century eugenics was the concern that due to poor social policies, natural selection would fail to eliminate the unfit, who would outbreed the fit, with “fit” understood to mean “socially successful.”⁴ In America, this concern for the replacement of the Anglo-Saxon majority by immigrants was articulated by sociologist Edward Ross. Although holding progressive views about the power of social conditions to improve human qualities, Ross warned of self-destruction:

For a case like this I can find no words so apt as “race suicide.” There is no bloodshed, no violence, no assault of the race that waxes upon the race that wanes. The higher race quietly and unobtrusively eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off from itself by collective action.⁵

4. See, Diane Paul, “The selection of the Survival of the Fittest,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 21, no. 3 (1988): 411–24.

5. Edward A. Ross, “The Causes of Race Superiority,” *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 18, no. 1 (1901): 57–89.

Later, Ross would expound on the consequences of massive immigration by the “Eastern Hebrews” from Poland and Russia in his widely read *The Old World in the New* of 1914, reprinted in *The Century Magazine*. Although he offered some positive remarks about family life and social spirit among Jews, Ross described East European Jews as generally immoral, unethical, and criminal due to their “inborn love of money-making,” and pushing their way into “prosperous parasitism.”⁶ Ross did not originate the concern over race suicide and the differential fertility rates of new immigrants, as this idea had appeared as early as the 1860s, and animated the concerns of many nativists and civic leaders in the early 1900s.⁷

Alarmed by the increasing “flood” (an image repeatedly used in anti-immigration history) of Eastern and Southern Europeans to America in the late 1800s and early 1900s, lawyer, conservationist, and amateur naturalist Madison Grant published the definitive work on Nordicism and immigration, *The Passing of the Great Race*.⁸ Grant was particularly disturbed by “Polish Jews, whose dwarf stature, peculiar mentality, and ruthless concentration on self-interest are being engrafted upon the stock of the nation.”⁹ The danger was that racial crosses always reverted to the lower race in Grant’s essentialist view, and the cross between a Nordic and a Jew was always a Jew. Although he did not call this result “replacement,” interbreeding would absolutely eliminate the alleged superior intellect and moral character of the “great” Nordic race, the results of evolution in cold climates. As any racial crosses would no longer be Nordic, the “great race” would pass out of existence and be replaced by mongrels.

Others in Madison Grant’s circle took up the cause, particularly his most devoted follower, eugenicist and journalist Lothrop Stoddard. Both agreed that the swarming, prolific Alpine, Mediterranean, and Asiatic immigrants (Eastern Jews were viewed as Asiatic Khazars) were crowding out native Nordic Americans, to the point of near extinction

6. Edward A. Ross, “The Hebrews of Eastern Europe in America,” *The Century Magazine* 88 September, 1914, 785–92. On the diversity of portrayal of Jews, see Eric Goldstein, “The Unstable Other: Locating the Jew in Progressive-Era American Racial Discourse,” *American Jewish History* 89, no. 4 (2001): 383–409.

7. See, John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York, 1955); Miriam King and Steven Ruggles, “American Immigration, Fertility, and Race Suicide at the Turn of the Century,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20, no. 3 (1990): 347–69; Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

8. Jonathan P. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2009).

9. Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or The Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916), 14.

in urban areas. But after the Bolshevik Revolution, Stoddard's concerns had a new emphasis:

Bolshevism thus reveals itself as the arch-enemy of civilization and the race. Bolshevism is the renegade, the traitor within the gates, who would betray the citadel, degrade the very fibre of our being, and ultimately hurl a rebarbarized, racially impoverished world into the most debased and hopeless of mongrelizations. Therefore, Bolshevism must be crushed out with iron heels, no matter what the cost.¹⁰

Stoddard implied that the Jews were in control of Bolshevism, and as the Red Scare developed in 1919 through 1920, many civic and military leaders agreed: the Bolshevik plan for conquest of America was through racial mongrelization and political chaos.¹¹ This new conception of replacement by planned destruction was a critical change from the passive race suicide described by Ross and other nativists.

THE JEWISH-BOLSHEVIK CONSPIRACY

In the late 1800s, Jewish conspiracy themes gained some traction in the United States through populist political movements promoting fears of international finance and "New York Bankers."¹² But not until Henry Ford's 1920 version, *The International Jew*, did the Bolshevik-Jewish conspiracy theory reach a mass American audience of well over 600,000. *The International Jew* not only presented the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, but a fully developed analysis of alleged Jewish control over all aspects of American life, including banking, the press, music, entertainment and politics.¹³ Bolshevism and the conquest of Russia were said to be financed by Jewish bankers, such as Jacob Schiff, as part of

10. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 221.

11. See, Joseph W. Bendersky, *The Jewish Threat: Anti-Semitic Politics of the U.S. Army* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). On early versions of Jewish Bolshevism, see Paul Hanebrink, *A Specter Haunting Europe: The Myth of Judeo-Bolshevism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

12. See, Robert Rockaway and Arnon Gutfeld, "Demonic Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century United States," *American Jewish History* 89, no. 4 (2001): 355–81.

13. See, Leo Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and *The International Jew*," *American Jewish History* 69, no. 4 (1980): 437–77. For a popularized account, see, Neil Baldwin, *Henry Ford and the Jews: The Mass Production of Hate* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011). The articles were authored by Ford associates under supervision of William Cameron and Ernest Liebold.

the master plan of total control.¹⁴ Although they seemed to oppose one another, Jewish capitalism and Jewish Bolshevism were two facets of the same plan, a theme that would recur in subsequent versions. Open immigration to allow for hundreds of thousands of Jewish communists to enter and subvert America was an essential feature of the plan, and the difficulty of passing immigration restriction was attributed to the omnipotent power of the Jewish cabal. *The International Jew* did not explicitly propose that Jews brought inferior races to America to destroy the Gentile world through mongrelization. However, Ford's newspaper did quote sociologist Werner Sombart saying that, given current immigration and birth rates, in fifty or one hundred years, the United States would only be inhabited by "Slavs, Negroes and Jews."¹⁵

In his 1925 manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler introduced a clear idea of Jewish Bolshevik aims for the destruction of the Aryan race through interbreeding:

With Satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people. With every means he tries to destroy the racial foundations of the people he has set out to subjugate. Just as he himself systematically ruins women and girls, he does not shrink back from pulling down the blood barriers for others, even on a large scale. It was and it is Jews who bring the Negroes into the Rhineland, always with the same secret thought and clear aim of ruining the hated white race by the necessarily resulting bastardization, throwing it down from its cultural and political height, and himself rising to be its master.¹⁶

Hitler's views of Jewish conspiracy were influenced by the 1918 Bolshevik revolution in Bavaria, and especially by the work of Nazi ideologues Dietrich Eckart and Alfred Rosenberg. Henry Ford's *The International Jew* was also an important influence, and Ford ultimately received a medal from the Third Reich. The primary evidence offered for Jewish

14. Jacob Schiff arranged loans to the Kerensky provisional government in hopes that tsarist oppression of Jews could be ended. See, Katherine A. Siegel, *Loans and Legitimacy: The Evolution of Soviet American Relations, 1919-1933* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015), 162, n. 129. Schiff strongly opposed the Bolsheviks, but distinctions between Kerensky and the Bolsheviks, the February and October revolutions, or communists and socialists were unimportant to Jewish conspiracy theorists.

15. "The Jew in Character and Business," *The Dearborn Independent*, May 22, 1920.

16. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Mannheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 325. On influences, see Roman Töppel, "Volk und Rasse: In Search of Hitler's Sources," in *German Yearbook of Contemporary German History*, Vol. 3: *Hitler – New Research*, ed. Elizabeth Harvey and Johannes Hürter (Oldenburg: De Gruyter, 2018), 71–110.

control of Bolshevism was the prominence of Jews in all revolutionary movements, especially in Russia. This theme of the Jewish leadership in Bolshevism was elaborated in early 1920s propaganda pamphlets from Eckart and Rosenberg. Complete with cartoon caricatures of hook-nosed Jewish Bolsheviks, the pamphlets portrayed even Lenin as suspect on account of his facial features and an allegedly Jewish wife. Rosenberg's accompanying text explained how the chaos of Bolshevism was under the control of "that element which, unalterable, and comparable only to itself, has represented since the very beginning of human history, the acme of the most unscrupulous and most insatiable greed: The Jew."¹⁷ Rosenberg made explicit use of material from *The International Jew*, especially on the roles of banker Jacob Schiff, Justice Louis Brandeis, and presidential advisor Bernard Baruch in a coordinated plan for Jewish world domination.

The International Jew, still in circulation in the United States until Ford's apology of 1927, was widely distributed in Germany and would remain a strong influence on American antisemitic activists of the 1930s, such as William Dudley Pelley, Father Charles Coughlin, Elizabeth Dilling, and Gerald L. K. Smith. Ford was not alone. Nesta Webster's conspiracy theories, first published in England, revived the Illuminati version of the *Protocols*, in which Jews controlled the Illuminati and political events through Freemasonry. Her work remained popular among American conspiracy theorists through the late twentieth century.¹⁸ These varied but interrelated Jewish conspiracy theories provided a common framework that could accommodate, normalize, and reinforce the idea that Jews aimed for the extinction, destruction, amalgamation, or replacement of white Americans and Christianity.

After the immigration restriction legislation of 1924, the focus of many committed Nordicists shifted away from the assumed threat of Southern and Eastern Europeans and turned back to racial amalgamation with "Negroes." This fear had been stoked in nineteenth century pamphlets and cartoons which suggested that Abraham Lincoln's election would bring about this horror.¹⁹ Although anti-miscegenation laws were in place until the 1960s, the *idea* that races were equal was an ever-recurring

17. Alfred Rosenberg, *The Grave Diggers of Russia*, also distributed as *Jewish Bolshevism*, originally published 1921, (Hollywood: Sons of Liberty, 1974). This tradition continued with Nazi-era publications such as Rudolf Kommos, *Juden Hinter Stalin* (Berlin: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1938). Both are currently distributed by white nationalists.

18. See, Martha F. Lee, "Nesta Webster: The Voice of Conspiracy," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 3 (2005): 81-104.

19. Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *Journal of Negro History* 34, no. 3 (1949): 247-343.

threat. Earlier, Prescott Hall of the Immigration Restriction League had written to Madison Grant in 1918 that “I am up against the Jews all the time in the equality argument.”²⁰ But which Jews? There was one clear answer: Franz Boas.

FRANZ BOAS AND DESTRUCTION BY RACIAL AMALGAMATION

In *The Passing of the Great Race*, Madison Grant did not name Boas, but ridiculed his research on intergenerational changes in skull shape among immigrants and dismissed any notion that environment could rapidly change essential racial characteristics that evolved over thousands of years. In Grant’s antisemitic worldview, Boas represented the aim of Jews to disrupt the obvious truths of Nordic superiority.²¹

Boas wrote a highly negative review of *The Passing of the Great Race*, and he publicly criticized the racial theories of Madison Grant and others in the 1920s while assisting Congressman Emmanuel Celler (D-NY) in opposing immigration restriction. As a Jew, Celler would figure in later conspiracy theories regarding immigration. Boas began his analyses of racial differences and their plasticity in the late 1890s, and from 1907 on, race relations, prejudice, and the use of science to promote racism were among his major concerns.²² His argument for the inevitability of biological amalgamation of the American Negro alarmed those who, like Madison Grant, believed that racial mixture produced reversion to the “lower type,” or a new, pathological human form.²³ Boas maintained that increased interbreeding would result in a less physically distinct Black population, and this amalgamation would reduce prejudice and help to solve the “negro problem.” Although this idea was not a central feature of Boas’ extensive writings on race, the assertion that Boas promoted interbreeding would be repeatedly featured by segregationists as evidence of the Jewish plan. After Hitler assumed power in 1933, Boas

20. Quoted in Franz Samelson, “On the Science and Politics of the IQ,” *Social Research* 42, no. 3 (1975): 467–88.

21. On Grant’s antisemitism, see, Allan Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 163–4.

22. See, Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

23. For example, “Prof. Boas Predicts Race Amalgamation,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1910, 2. On Boas and race, see, Lee Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). On Boas and miscegenation, see, Mark Anderson, *From Boas to Black Power: Racism, Liberalism and American Anthropology* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2019), chapter two.

became the most vocal scientific critic of Nazi racial theory and racial policies. His PhD from the University of Kiel was rescinded, and his books were allegedly burned. Leading German eugenicist Eugen Fischer, who supported Grant's earlier work, wrote an introduction to the German edition of Grant's 1933 *Conquest of a Continent* and took up the theme that opposition to the importance of race came from Boas, other Jewish anthropologists, and the "Jewish Press."²⁴

Although Grant and the racial eugenicists lost support among scientists in the 1930s, they retained a devoted following that worked to resist any change in the racial hierarchy of American life. Virginia racial activist Earnest Sevier Cox campaigned his entire life for "repatriating" all Black Americans to Africa, to prevent amalgamation and consequent destruction of the white race. With a long history of working with both Black nationalists and racist white politicians, Cox sought government support for his solution. In his writings in the 1920s to the 1940s, he did not publicly blame the Jews, but in private he viewed the NAACP, which opposed his repatriation bills, as under Jewish control and aiming for racial amalgamation.²⁵ Cox's beliefs were based loosely on the fact that of the forty founding members of the National Negro Committee that became the NAACP, four were Jewish: New York civic leader Henry Moskowitz, economist E. R. Seligman, and two Reform rabbis, Stephen S. Wise and Joseph Silverman. The decades-long leadership of Joel and Arthur Springarn provided additional evidence of Jewish control, as long as one ignored W. E. B. Du Bois, Mary White Ovington, and the other Black and white Protestant founders of the NAACP. Cox and other white supremacists believed the organization was run by the "Hidden Hand" of the ancient conspiracy, helped by funding from Jewish bankers Schiff and Lehman. Cox continued to view the Jews as the barrier to white salvation. Two years before his death in 1966, he wrote to neo-Nazi leader Matt Koehl regarding repatriation: "We will win this Cause, and all the Jews that are in Hell or out will not be able to eliminate the white race from the United States."²⁶

24. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 359–60.

25. John Jackson and Andrew S. Winston, "The Last Repatriationist: The Career of Earnest Sevier Cox," in *Race and Science: Scientific Challenges to Racism in Modern America*, eds. Hamilton Cravens and Paul Farber (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2009), 58–80. See also John P. Jackson, *Science for Segregation: Race, Law, and the Case against Brown v. Board of Education* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

26. Quoted in Jackson and Winston, "Earnest Sevier Cox."

Cox inspired Senator Theodore Bilbo (D-MS), the great supporter of repatriation of Black Americans to Africa, to write on the destruction of the white race through amalgamation:

Those people in the United States today who advocate a mongrelized Nation may be called disciples of Professor Franz Boas, who for many years was a member of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University. Professor Boas, a Jew, brought considerable notoriety to himself during the early years of this century by his efforts to destroy all concepts of race and to encourage and promote miscegenation in this country.²⁷

Although Boas had died five years earlier, Bilbo explained how his disciples, “vaccinated with the virus of poison of Boas’s teachings,” had become college deans and professors of anthropology, ethnology, and sociology. Through the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, fellowships and scholarships were used even in southern colleges so that “the damnable and blighting teachings of these disciples of Boas are being disseminated and inculcated into the minds of the pure-blooded Anglo-Saxon students of Dixie.”²⁸ Boas students Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish carried on the program for amalgamation by publishing the pamphlet, *Races of Mankind*, for distribution to soldiers; in Bilbo’s eyes, claims of racial equality were the foundation for legitimizing intermarriage. Repeatedly identifying Boas as a Jew and the *Washington Post* as “Jew controlled,” Bilbo avoided the full global conspiracy narratives of Nesta Webster or Henry Ford but still emphasized the communist plan for conquest by racial amalgamation. Earlier, he claimed that Jews were among his best friends and supporters and expressed sympathy for persecuted Jews, while denouncing New York “kikes” for their support of racial equality.²⁹

Bilbo was deeply disturbed by the *Races of Mankind*, and he asked Earnest Sevier Cox to write a review demonstrating the pamphlet’s false claims. Cox was explicit about the strategy of Jews to infiltrate and dominate nations, but he argued that Jewish advocates of miscegenation were “unrepresentative of the race” and few in number. The 1944

27. Theodore Bilbo, *Take Your Choice: Separation or Mongrelization* (Poplarville: Dream House Publishing, 1947), 159. The tenth chapter was devoted to Boas and his students, and the eleventh discussed the educational plans devised by a Boas student to effect amalgamation. Bilbo’s views were heavily influenced by the writings of Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, and especially Cox, who wrote the introduction. On Bilbo and Black nationalism, see Martin Fitzgerald, “‘We Have Found a Moses’: Theodore Bilbo, Black Nationalism, and the Greater Liberia Bill of 1939,” *Journal of Southern History* 63, no. 2 (1997): 293–320.

28. Bilbo, *Take Your Choice*, 165.

29. See, Robert Flegler, “Theodore G. Bilbo and the Decline of Public Racism, 1938–1947,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 68, no. 1 (2006): 1–27.

review was not published until segregationist Arthur Daugherty did so privately in 1951. Daugherty's foreword to the review perfectly summarized the reason he believed Jews promoted race-mixing: "Should the Anglo-Saxon, who made the United States what it is today, become mongrelized, the Jew would have no competition in ruling America in every walk of life. A mongrel cannot compete with a thoroughbred. The Jew looks centuries ahead in planning world domination."³⁰

In the 1950s, in the wake of the *Brown* decision, beliefs about the Jewish conspiracy for racial amalgamation found new audiences, both within and outside academia. Two case studies—of Herbert C. Sanborn and Revilo P. Oliver—illustrate how the communal efforts of retired academics helped to preserve the fantasy of Jewish racial plans.

HERBERT C. SANBORN AND DESEGREGATION AS "NATIONAL SUICIDE"

In 1955, Professor Emeritus Herbert C. Sanborn (1873-1967) of Vanderbilt University privately published and distributed a collection of essays and speeches entitled *The International Conspiracy*. In a rambling and obtuse fashion, Sanborn outlined the threat to Western civilization posed by a vast Jewish conspiracy responsible for the French Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, the spread of communism, both World Wars, the rise of the United Nations, and *Brown v. Board of Education*.³¹ In places, he drew heavily on the work of Nesta Webster. A prominent psychologist in the 1920s through the 1950s, Sanborn had been an important figure at Vanderbilt University, serving as chair of the department of philosophy and psychology from 1911 until his retirement in 1942. He was one of the early leaders of the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology, serving as president in 1922-23 and as an Honorary Member for Life of its Council. Sanborn's views on race were heavily influenced by noted British-American psychologist William McDougall, whose 1921 work on race and eugenics, *Is America Safe for Democracy*, was widely read. Sanborn frequently quoted McDougall on the dangers of miscegenation, and he quoted respected Egyptologist Flinders Petrie on race-mixing as the cause of ancient Egypt's decline. Sanborn wrote approvingly of the work of Arthur de Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Madison Grant, and Lothrop Stoddard.

30. Earnest Sevier Cox, *The Races of Mankind: A Review by Earnest Sevier Cox*, (Jellico: Arthur Daugherty, 1951), 1.

31. Herbert C. Sanborn, *The International Conspiracy* (Brentwood: Herbert C. Sanborn, 1955), found in Herbert Charles Sanborn Papers, Special Collections, Vanderbilt University (henceforth Sanborn Papers).

The belief that racial mixture would produce the end of the white race figured prominently in his many letters to Tennessee newspapers following *Brown v. Board of Education*: “But mixture of any two of the four great races has always produced a sub-race inferior to both parent races in culture, virility, vitality, and resistance to disease, mental and moral inferiority.”³² Sanborn’s racial view of history was complemented by his conspiracy theory regarding the “Invisible Judeo-Mongol Government,” labelling the conspiracy “Zionist” in order to indicate that not all Jews were to blame or were participants. Those running the conspiracy were described not as “racial Jews” but as Khazars, the purported eighth-century converts to Judaism, who were therefore “Mongol-Asiatics”:

Even the best informed Americans ignore the fact that they are today facing simultaneously three Mongolian foes: (1) The Judeo-Mongolian World Government – ‘The Hidden Hand,’ which controlled in 1925 (a) three hundred billion dollars of available capital; (b) the world’s press; and (c) many governments. (2) Mongolian Japan; (3) The Judeo-Mongolian Bolshevism, which according to the late Samuel Gompers is being financed with millions by the so-called international bankers (German-Anglo-American) who are all Judeo-Mongols.³³

Sanborn presumed that Franz Boas and his Jewish students, such as Otto Klineberg and Ashley Montagu, had taken over the social sciences, and were suppressing the truth about race and civilization. Sanborn communicated his views to leading pro-Nazi Americans such as H. Keith Thompson and George Sylvester Viereck, who both served as Nazi agents during World War II. Thompson organized a postwar effort to exonerate and free Admiral Karl Dönitz, Hitler’s successor in 1945, using endorsements from leading Americans, including Sanborn. Dönitz personally thanked Sanborn for his contribution.³⁴ Thompson was able to work with academics with intellectual sympathies for National Socialism as well as underground activists promoting a National Socialist revival, such as the hero of neo-Nazis, Francis Parker Yockey.³⁵

During the 1950s and 1960s, Sanborn was an active supporter of neo-Nazi groups. He served as an honorary editor for America’s premier

32. Herbert C. Sanborn, letter to *Nashville Courier-Journal*, n.d., ca. 1954, folder 7, box 24, Sanborn Papers.

33. Herbert Sanborn, “The Hidden Hand,” 3, n.d., folder 9, box 21, Sanborn Papers.

34. Karl Dönitz, letter to Herbert C. Sanborn, Aug. 21, 1957, folder 23, box 48, Sanborn Papers.

35. On H. Keith Thompson and Francis Parker Yockey, see, Kevin Coogan, *The Dreamer of the Day: Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International* (New York: Autonomedia, 1999). On George Viereck, see, Bradley W. Hart, *Hitler’s American Friends: The Third Reich’s Supporters in the United States* (New York: Saint Martin’s Press, 2018).

disseminator of Holocaust denial and Jewish conspiracy material, Willis Carto, founder of the Liberty Lobby and the Institute for Historical Review.³⁶ Sanborn's case is not one of unwitting recruitment; when asked to be an editor of the neo-Nazi periodical, *Western Destiny*, Sanborn replied that "I shall be very glad to accept the invitation."³⁷ Sanborn was particularly drawn to groups in which Nazi ideology was embedded in Christian discourse, such as Condé McGinley's Christian Educational Association and Gerald L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, and sent them his writings on race.³⁸ Both groups promoted ideas of the destruction of white Christians by communist Jews.

From the 1940s on, McGinley and his son produced a steady stream of vicious antisemitic material in their newspaper, *Common Sense*, often using material from the openly neo-Nazi National Renaissance Party.³⁹ Like many of Sanborn's correspondents, McGinley emphasized the menace of communism, but even superficial examination of *Common Sense* indicates that Jews were viewed as the true menace, the true source of communist treachery and the drive for racial integration. Even before *Brown*, *Common Sense* headlines announced in 1950 that "Yiddish Marxists Plot USA Defeat by U.S.S.R. Traitors Plan Slaughter and Conquest."⁴⁰

Sanborn began correspondence with Gerald L. K. Smith in the early 1960s. Like McGinley, Smith made heavy use of Christian and anti-communist discourse, but the underlying theme remained Jewish conspiracy.⁴¹ An ordained minister, Smith argued that he had been called by God to expose the Jewish conspiracy to the world and believed that he was personally under threat of death from the Jewish cabal. He distributed the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, along with his own

36. On Carto, see, George Michael, *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2008); Frank P. Mintz, *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985); Andrew S. Winston, "Science in the Service of the Far Right: Henry Garrett, the IAAEE, and the Liberty Lobby," *Journal of Social Issues* 54, no. 1 (1998): 179–210; Jackson, *Science for Segregation*.

37. Herbert Sanborn, letter to "Editor Western Destiny," n.d., ca 1965, folder 19, box 1, Sanborn Papers.

38. Glen Jeansonne, *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983).

39. Committee on Un-American Activities, *US House of Representatives Preliminary Report on Neofascist and Hate Groups* (Washington, D.C.: US House of Representatives, 1954).

40. *Common Sense*, *The Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper*, October 15, 1950, 1.

41. See, Ribuffo, *Old Christian Right*; Gleason, *Gerald L. K. Smith*.

pamphlets, such as *Satan's New Testament*.⁴² Although Smith had lost much of his following by the 1960s, he still had a sizeable circulation for his newspaper, *The Cross and the Flag*. Sanborn contributed an article explaining the biological and historical evidence of Black inferiority, the inevitability of intermarriage because of racial integration ordered by the Supreme Court, the “invariable deterioration” from interracial marriage, and the failure to understand the scientific facts due to the “Boas–Columbia school of anthropologists” whose “equalitarian ideology...has distorted the thinking of two generations of Americans.” Citing Nesta Webster, Sanborn explained that the dangers were due to “a shameless Cabal, as shameless Godless and ruthless as the world has ever seen,” and he closed ominously: “Desegregation is the first step toward national suicide of America and all that it stands for.”⁴³

When he became an editor for Willis Carto's *Western Destiny* and *The American Mercury*, Sanborn already knew some members of this circle, such as the 1946 president of the American Psychological Association, Henry E. Garrett. A major organizer of academic support for segregation and scientific racism, Garrett served as a director of the Pioneer Fund, founded in the 1930s to promote eugenics and American racial homogeneity. When, in 1959, Garrett and others founded the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE) and its journal *Mankind Quarterly*, Sanborn was asked to be a member of the executive committee and to serve on the editorial board of the journal.⁴⁴

Sanborn contributed a number of pamphlets to the anti-desegregation movement between 1955 and 1965. Among these were *Desegregation and Ethics*, in which he marshaled philosophical arguments against the *Brown* decision. In 1962, Sanborn wrote a summary and endorsement of biologist Wesley Critz George's defense of racial inequality, *The Biology of the Race Problem*.⁴⁵ Treasurer of the IAAEE Donald Swan, who once declared himself “an American Fascist,” thanked Sanborn:

42. Gerald L. K. Smith, *Satan's New Testament - The Devil's Bible: A Sensational Analysis of the Zionist Jew Plan for World Power* (Los Angeles: Christian Nationalist Crusade, 1975). Group Research Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

43. Herbert C. Sanborn, “Summum Jus, Summa Injuria,” 4, 9-10, 1963, folder 44, box 13, Sanborn Papers.

44. See, Jackson, *Science for Segregation*; William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Tucker, *The Funding of Scientific Racism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Winston, “Science in the Service of the Far Right.”

45. See, Jackson, *Science for Segregation*, 120-7.

16,000 copies of your review were mailed out last month...The mailing list included 5,000 members of the *American Psychological Association*; 3,000 members of the *American Sociological Association*; 3,500 members of the *American Anthropological Association*; 1,100 members of the *Genetics Society of America*; and 2,000 members of the *American Physiological Society*.⁴⁶

Sanborn's message that the end of segregation meant the destruction (he did not use "replacement") of the white race reached academics, anticommunists, neo-Nazis, and those who believed that integration was a threat to Christianity. His repeated disclaimer that not all Jews were to blame for the Zionist conspiracy to create world government meant that he could differentiate his position from the Nazi propaganda of Eckart and Rosenberg, while affirming older claims that the Bolshevik revolution was financed and carried out by Zionists, and that the Zionist program for world domination lay at the heart of racial integration.⁴⁷ Other writers, such as Revilo P. Oliver, were not so cautious in their general condemnation of Jews.

REVILO P. OLIVER AND "EXTERMINATION THROUGH MONGRELIZATION"

In the small but highly active community of postwar Nazi ideologues, Revilo P. Oliver (1908-1994) occupied a special place of honor and influence. A noted classics scholar, Oliver received his PhD from the University of Illinois in 1940. He joined the Illinois faculty in 1945, rising to full professor and retiring as emeritus in 1977. He claimed to read eleven languages, and for the early decades of his career he published frequently on Greek and Latin philology. From the 1950s on, his attention was increasingly devoted to politics, race, Jews, and conspiracy. After serving in a military intelligence unit in the Signal Services during World War II, he claimed to have discovered the secret that Roosevelt engineered the Pearl Harbour attack to force the United States into war.⁴⁸ This strategy was allegedly planned by Roosevelt's Jewish masters, and was aimed to produce fratricide among Aryans, a racial category that Oliver did not hesitate to use.

46. Donald Swan to Herbert Sanborn, December 10, 1962, Sanborn Papers. On Swan, see, Tucker, *Funding of Scientific Racism*.

47. Herbert Sanborn, *Is the Reaction of the South Emotional?*, Privately published, n.d., folder 21, box 21, Sanborn Papers.

48. A brief autobiographical sketch appeared in Revilo P. Oliver, *The Jewish Strategy* (Earlsville: Kevin Alfred Strom, 2002); see also, Damon T. Berry, *Blood and Faith: Christianity in American White Nationalism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2017).

As a founder of the John Birch Society and early collaborator with William F. Buckley on the *National Review*, Oliver's personal connections cut across a wide range of groups and political positions. He had high hopes that Senator Joseph McCarthy's (R-WI) revelations of hidden communists would lead to full disclosure of Jewish control of the government. In the 1960s, Oliver "discovered" that the John Birch Society was secretly run by the Jewish cabal, and that Birch Society founder Robert Welch, under their control, would not allow the truth to be known.⁴⁹ From the 1960s until his death he produced a steady stream of essays on the Jewish conspiracy and its power over the world in language reminiscent of *Der Stürmer*:

What sickness of our civilization has so paralyzed us that we permit the vermin to swarm over us? What stupor prevented us for so long from recognizing them? What has palsied our hands so that we make no move to rid ourselves of the infestation? "[T]he only really fundamental question is whether our race still has the will-to-live or is so biologically degenerate that it will choose extinction—to be absorbed in a pullulant and pestilential mass of mindless mongrels, while the triumphant Jews keep their holy race pure and predatory."⁵⁰

Aryans in America, he argued, had been seduced by Franz Boas, "a twisted little man consumed with hatred of the stupid Americans who had admitted him to their country and endowed him with a lush professorship—which he used to peddle pro-communist propaganda under the guise of 'science.'"⁵¹ Oliver also blamed liberalism in general and John Dewey in particular for making America susceptible to the takeover. Although originally a proponent of the essential place of Christianity for preserving Western civilization, Oliver became increasingly convinced that Christianity, by promoting human universality and brotherhood rather than racial survival, was itself a Jewish product and part of the conspiracy.⁵²

For his inner circle audience in *American Mercury*, *The Liberty Bell*, and other antisemitic periodicals, Oliver could praise Hitler's worthy attempt to defeat Jewish-led communism and explain the terrible Holocaust "hoax" perpetrated by Jews, who, responsible for all crimes committed under communism, were the true murderers. But the plan was not yet

49. Oliver described these events in Revilo P. Oliver, *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative* (London: Londinium Press, 1981).

50. Oliver, *America's Decline*, 241, 430.

51. Revilo P. Oliver, "The Shadow of Empire: Francis Parker Yockey after Twenty Years," *The American Mercury*, June 1966.

52. Berry, *Blood and Faith*, chapter one.

fulfilled. In *The Jewish Strategy*, Oliver argued that after the time of the *Protocols*, Jewish aims changed from exploitation and “feeding” on Aryans to “extermination through mongrelization and massacres,” particularly after Hitler “disrupted” the alleged Jewish control over Europe.⁵³ Although Oliver is not well known, he went on to become a mentor of William Luther Pierce, founder of the National Alliance and author of the notorious *Turner Diaries*, and of leading neo-Nazi activist Kevin Alfred Strom. Oliver’s writings on Jews and race-mixing became an important part of neo-Nazi culture in the early twenty-first century.

CARLETON PUTNAM: “DISASTROUS DECLINE” AND THE BOAS “EQUALITARIAN DOGMA”

Starting in the 1950s, Delta Airlines founder Carleton Putnam devoted his energies and money to preserving segregation following *Brown*.⁵⁴ With academic advice from noted Harvard anthropologist Carleton Coon and psychologist Henry Garrett, Putnam authored *Race and Reason*, a 1961 foundational text widely distributed within the segregationist community. Without invoking a worldwide and ancient conspiracy, Putnam nevertheless blamed the cult of Boas and his students for “hypnotising” Americans with their “equalitarian dogma” that refused to recognize the scientific facts of racial inequality. Knowingly or unknowingly, their work enabled the aims of communism: “the equalitarian ideology, which presumes to justify integration, is playing into communist hands, not only by setting section against section in America, but by spreading the equalitarian virus, and thus weakening the body politic to a point where more dangerous phases of the disease are contracted.”⁵⁵ The concept of an “equalitarian dogma” had been introduced by psychologist Henry Garrett, who declared the idea of equal potential of the Negro race to be the “scientific hoax of the century,” a claim that later appeared in Willis Carto publications alongside the claim that the Holocaust was a “hoax.”⁵⁶ In Garrett’s circle, both “hoaxes” were the product of Jews whom Garrett viewed as “willing to destroy Western Civilization.”⁵⁷

53. Oliver, *The Jewish Strategy*, 75.

54. See, Jackson, *Science for Segregation*; John P. Jackson, “In Ways Unacademic”: The Reception of Carleton S. Coon’s, “The Origin of Races,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 34, no. 2 (2001): 247–85; Tucker, *Funding of Scientific Racism*.

55. Carleton Putnam, *Race and Reason: A Yankee View* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1961), 73. The use of pathogen metaphors for Jews is noteworthy given the traditions of Nazi propaganda.

56. Winston, “Science in the Service of the Far Right.”

57. Not all postwar Jewish conspiracy tracts implicated Boas. See, for example, John L. Beatty, *Iron Curtain Over America* (Dallas: Wilkinson Publishing, 1952) and Frank L. Britton, *Behind Communism*, ca.1951, [www.archive.org/details/ BehindCommunismBritton_201903](http://www.archive.org/details/BehindCommunismBritton_201903).

In Putnam's 1967 sequel, *Race and Reality: A Search for Solutions*,⁵⁸ he argued that Boas' views on race were influenced by his family background, with a mother and father described as "radical socialists," and an uncle who was known to Karl Marx and was imprisoned because of participation in the 1848 revolution. As a young man, Boas's uncle Abraham Jacobi had been involved in socialist movements in Germany, but as a noted pediatrician in America, he showed no sign of revolutionary politics and neither did Boas.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Putnam claimed that Boas was a supporter of forty-six communist front organizations listed in 1944 by the House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee. Putnam elaborated on the alleged communist activities of Boas students, particularly Gene Weltfish and Ashley Montagu. "Anglo-American" members of the "cult," such as Mead and Benedict, were said to be welcomed and recruited to make the "minority group propaganda" appear to be impartial.⁶⁰ Putnam singled out Ashley Montagu, whose book, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, and whose work on the UNESCO Statements on Race of 1950 and 1951 had aroused the alarm of Henry Garrett, Carleton Putnam, and others in the community intent on preserving the American racial hierarchy. Montagu's decision to change his name from Israel Ehrenberg when he moved to the United States in 1927 was significant for Putnam, and meant that Montagu's concealed campaign was motivated by "outgroup resentments." Complete with footnotes, Putnam outlined the evidence for Black inferiority, including racial differences in IQ, and explained how complete interbreeding with Negroes in America would result in a disastrous decline in the intelligence of the "top layer" on which "civilization is totally dependent."⁶¹ But he was less explicit than Oliver regarding the scope and depth of the conspiracy.

Putnam's analysis linking Boas and racial integration with communism was used by Henry Garrett and other figures who edited and wrote for *Mankind Quarterly*, such as anthropologist Roger Pearson. In the 1950s, Pearson helped form the Northern League, whose stated purpose was to save the Nordic race from "annihilation" and "the forces which would mongrelize our race and civilization."⁶² He published antisemitic

58. Carleton Putnam, *Race and Reality: A Search for Solutions* (Cape Canaveral: Howard Allen, 1976).

59. Douglas Cole, *Franz Boas: The Early Years* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

60. Putnam, *Race and Reality*, 25.

61. Putnam, *Race and Reason*, 118.

62. Roger Pearson, "Editorial: Our Third Birthday." *Northern World* 4, (1959): 1-4, in Sanborn Papers. On Pearson, see Winston, "Science in the Service of the Far Right"; Tucker, *Funding of Scientific Racism*; Jackson, *Science for Segregation*.

articles in *The New Patriot*, edited *Western Destiny*, and collaborated with Willis Carto. In the 1980s and 1990s Pearson established himself as the editor of *Mankind Quarterly*, as a publisher of journals and books on race and civilization, and as a defender of academic freedom against the forces of Marxist ideology and the “Boasian hoax.”

Putnam’s version of Boas was also taken up by racial extremists such as George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party, and later by Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke.⁶³ Just before his assassination in 1967, Rockwell published *White Power*, a book so influential that the title became the name of the movement that it inspired. Here he fulminated against the crimes of the Jews in the style of 1930s Nazi propaganda, outlining the plan of world Jewry for enslavement and destruction of the white race. To achieve this aim, the “facts” of race had to be concealed through coordinated lying:

The first and most important of these pioneer biological liars was a pro-communist Jew named Franz Boas, who regularly sent warm greetings to Comrade Stalin on his birthdays (*Jewish Voice*, January 1942) and whose Red record cannot be denied by any objective observer. This communistic Jew began teaching anthropology at Columbia University in 1896 and dominated the anthropology department there until his death in 1942. Meanwhile, he produced one book after another “proving” that there were no such things as racial differences among men...The whole of Jewry pitched in with fanatic will to boost their boy. Boas was praised in every Jewish-owned newspaper and periodical and given every academic prize they could invent or promote. At the same time, the Jewish media blasted as “bigots” any critics who dared question their Jewish hero and his arrogant pronouncements against the facts of race. Little by little, the critics were intimidated and silenced, while the public began to see Boas as little short of a God. This Jewish mutual-admiration society made Boas the “acknowledged authority” in social anthropology and ethnology. His students and colleagues at Columbia—Herskovits, Kleinberg, Ashley Montague (sic), Weltfish (all Jews, and all pro-Red)—spread Boas’s antirace lies far and wide, deliberately poisoning the minds of generations of students and professors at American universities and prostituting a great science.⁶⁴

Although Rockwell used Putnam as a source, his version abandoned all restraint and adopted the language of a vast, highly coordinated Jewish

63. David Duke, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*, 1998, www.archive.org/details/MyAwakening_865.

64. George Lincoln Rockwell, *White Power*, online edition retrieved at www.archive.org/details/WhitePower_189. Original work published by John McLaughlin, Champaign, IL, 1967. On Rockwell, see Frederick J. Simonelli, *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

plan reminiscent of the discourse of *The International Jew*. Rockwell repeated the Boas story to Alex Haley, who interviewed Rockwell for *Playboy* magazine.⁶⁵ In *White Power*, Rockwell also raised a newer, pressing concern, immigration: “We have recently gone all the way in this insanity and opened up the country to the endless millions and millions and millions from teeming Asia and Africa.” That concern with immigration prefigured a swell of antisemitic conspiracist thinking in the next several decades.

THE REVIVAL OF “REPLACEMENT BY IMMIGRATION”

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, efforts to overturn the restrictions of the 1924 Immigration Act had not been successful. Only the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the amendment of 1950 offered opportunities for a substantial number of Jewish refugees, but the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, passed at the height of anti-communist fears, reaffirmed the quota system that had limited Jewish entry.⁶⁶ The belief that immigration was the means for communists to achieve conquest of America persisted, but not all anti-communist writers blamed the Jews. Archibald Roosevelt, the son of Theodore Roosevelt, for example, headed a small group in the 1950s called The Alliance that was formed to root out subversion.⁶⁷ In their perspective, the plot to overthrow America through immigration was socialist, and antisemitism and Nazism were both said to originate with socialism. John Birch Society founder Robert Welch eventually disowned Revilo Oliver and antisemitism while continuing his campaign against the communist conspiracy.

Not until the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 were the national origins quotas abolished, although immigration limits were still maintained. Congressman Emmanuel Celler had campaigned against the quotas for forty-two years. His success was viewed by racial extremists and neo-Nazis as a triumph of the Jewish cabal, a third disaster after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, also

65. On Rockwell and Haley, see, Lee D. Baker, “The Cult of Franz Boas and his ‘Conspiracy’ to Destroy the White Race,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 154, no. 1 (2010): 8–18.

66. See, Maddalena Marinari, “Divided and Conquered: Immigration Reform Advocates and the Passage of the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35, no. 3 (2016): 9–40. For a general history of immigration restriction, see, Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

67. One example of the work of The Alliance is Zygmund Dobbs, *The Great Deceit: Social Pseudo-Sciences* (West Sayville, New York: Veritas Foundation, 1964).

sponsored by Celler, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.⁶⁸ The discourse of a white majority losing control had new meaning.

In this new context, Wilmot Robertson's *The Dispossessed Majority* became a "bible" for many "White Power" movements and was admired by academics who subscribed to theories of Jewish replacement. Robertson was the pen name of Sumner Humphrey Ireland, an advertising executive who became a far-right activist in the 1960s when he joined the editorial board of *Western Destiny*. Edited by anthropologist Roger Pearson, who later edited *Mankind Quarterly*, *Western Destiny* brought together Herbert Sanborn, Henry Garrett, Earnest Sevier Cox, racial biologist Robert Kuttner, California State Senator Jack Tenney, Oswald Mosely follower A. K. Chesterton, Holocaust denial author Austin App, Nazi collaborator Admiral Sir Barry Domville, ex-SS *Hauptsturmführer* Arthur Erhardt, and others. Racial theory, integration, World War II revisionism, and Jewish conspiracy were major themes. Later, Robertson edited his own far-right periodical, *Instauration*, from 1975-2000, and his Howard Allen Press published works by Henry Garrett and Carleton Putnam.⁶⁹

With extensive footnotes and a scholarly tone, *The Dispossessed Majority* outlined the racial history of the United States, and the decline of the Nordic majority due to a wave of Southern and Eastern European immigration in the late nineteenth century. Robertson warned of the dangers of immigration by "unassimilable" races, including Jews and some Mediterranean and Balkan groups, providing an updated version of the nativism of Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. Avoiding the more extreme conspiracy rhetoric of Ford, Webster, Oliver, and Carto, Robertson described the growth of alleged Jewish financial and cultural control and other Jewish misdeeds, and the damage wrought by the Boasian school. In later editions and his next book, *The Ethnstate*, he argued forcefully for the races to separate into distinct political units. The 1965 immigration legislation meant that Congress had decided that:

the descendants of the British and other Northern Europeans, who had both created and put their cultural mark on the United States, no longer deserved legislative protection... The seemingly unstoppable influx of legal and illegal nonwhite immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, combined

68. In 2018, Celler's role in immigration legislation was still being discussed on the neo-Nazi website, Stormfront.org, among other venues. See <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1251114/>.

69. On Robertson's rhetorical strategies, see, Mitch Berbrier, "Impression Management for the Thinking Racist: A Case Study of Intellectualization as Stigma Transformation in Contemporary White Supremacist Discourse," *The Sociological Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2005): 411-33.

with the relatively high birthrate of blacks, Asians and Hispanics, and the below-replacement birthrate of most American whites, are fostering a rapidly increasing proportion of nonwhites that is making an indelible imprint on the American racial mold.⁷⁰

Revilo Oliver put the issue crudely, describing the Jewish plan to “import into this country hundreds of thousands of anthropoid pests, in preparation for Integration, when the occasionally troublesome White people will have been *replaced* (emphasis added) by a fetid mass of half a billion coffee-colored mongrels with the minds of rats.”⁷¹

The dangers of Boas and immigration were revived in the 1990s in the work of evolutionary psychologist Kevin MacDonald. In his trilogy, he described how the character and actions of the Jews were a competitive “group evolutionary strategy” that had evolved through genetic separation for many centuries.⁷² Antisemitism was the natural reaction of other groups. For MacDonald, the work of Boas helped realize a Jewish plan for a multicultural society in the United States, as a multicultural society would serve Jewish interests. Revising old tropes of Jewish money and political influence, MacDonald described how Jews in America worked in a coordinated way to delay and defeat immigration restriction for the advantage of Jews, while deceptively claiming to work for an end to racism. Jews were “at the forefront of the movement to eclipse the demographic and cultural dominance of European derived peoples in Western societies.”⁷³ In this scientized view, the Jewish drive for replacement is coded in the genes. MacDonald’s analyses were strongly criticized by other scholars, but he remains highly influential in white nationalist and anti-immigration circles, and he has worked closely with Richard Spencer, organizer of the 2017 Charlottesville, Virginia, rally.

By the 1990s, the discourse of “mongrelization” was substantially less acceptable to a wider audience. The more palatable language of “changing demographics” encouraged a revival of the early 1900s fears of alleged differential birth rates and new projections that white Americans would become a minority in the mid-21st century and would eventually die

70. Wilmot Robertson, *The Dispossessed Majority* (Cape Canaveral: Howard Allan Press, 1996 [orig. 1972]), 46, 52.

71. Oliver, “The Old Order Changeth, Too,” *Liberty Bell*, July 1989, 11.

72. Kevin MacDonald, *A People that Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (Westport: Greenwood, 1994); MacDonald, *Separation and its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (Westport: Greenwood, 1998); and MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (New York: Praeger, 1998).

73. MacDonald, *Culture of Critique*, 209.

out.⁷⁴ “Replacement” would be the end result of feminism, liberalism, and “cultural Marxism,” that, according to William Pierce’s National Alliance and other white nationalists, were all the work of the Jews. In this context, gender politics and the control of women’s bodies were particularly important. If white women refused to accept their natural responsibility to procreate and raise white children in a traditional family structure, they were contributing to race suicide. If, encouraged by Jewish propaganda, they interbred with non-white mates, they were “race traitors.”⁷⁵ The dangers of replacement demanded strong male dominance and female acquiescence, and a return to traditional gender roles. For contemporary neo-Nazis, feminism is an important element of the Jewish conspiracy to weaken white males and the white race.⁷⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Ideas of a Jewish plan for “replacement” to achieve world domination had significant variations, continuities, and discontinuities over the past century. The early discourse of “race suicide” and the fear of overbreeding Eastern and Southern European immigrants did not feature a Jewish conspiracy until the Bolshevik Red Scare of 1919-1920. Conceptions of the Nordic or Aryan race were generally abandoned after World War II in favor of a pan-European white race, now threatened in America by an allegedly communist-led civil rights movement promoting racial integration, leading to miscegenation. In this new context, the role of Franz Boas and his students in destroying racial consciousness and perverting academia became an important discursive weapon. The reinvigoration of immigration fears in the 1970s, now with an emphasis on “brown” people from the Americas rather than Eastern Europe, revived the issues of fertility and outbreeding in a new form. “Marxism” and “communism” have provided a consistent theme throughout this history. In some versions, the Jewish “hidden hand” was made explicit; in others, the Jewish role was coded as “Marxism,” or moderated by implicating only a subset of “Zionist Jews.” In most analyses, replacement by race-mixing was equivalent to “destruction,” “disappearance,” or “extinction” of the race, but in more extreme versions, Jews were also accused of mass murder.

74. See, Alexandra Minna Stern, *Proud Boys and the White Ethnostate* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019).

75. Barbara Perry, “‘White Genocide’: White Supremacists and the Politics of Reproduction,” in *Home Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism*, ed. Abby L. Ferber (New York: Routledge, 2004), 71-91.

76. See, for example, <https://unnforum.com/showthread.php?t=481295>.

The Franz Boas narrative has shown remarkable persistence for the past one hundred years, with versions ranging from calling the anthropologist and his acolytes “misguided” to “malevolent.” The image of Boas as a proxy for the fantasized power of “World Jewry” was repeatedly revived to interpret changing American demographics, the rejection of scientific racism in academia, and the successes of the civil rights movement. Boas served as the link between “real Jews” and the imagined Jews of the ancient conspiracy. To use Boas and his students in this way required a view of Jewish identity as an essence that explained his position on race and culture, even though Boas did not practice Judaism or participate in organized Jewish life. He viewed himself as a German of Jewish heritage who believed in full assimilation for secular Jews with Enlightenment values.⁷⁷ But if Jews have an ineluctable essence, then identifying Boas students, or bankers, or politicians, by their Jewish origins would be sufficient to understand their malevolent actions that threatened white existence. Jews were thought to function as a unit, a univocal “World Jewry,” although allowances were always made for the exceptional “good Jew.”

How shall we understand the antisemitism constituted through these conspiracy theories? Hofstadter’s classic phrase, “the paranoid style,” is of limited help, as it tended to emphasize personal idiosyncrasy or even pathology, an interpretation which Hofstadter explicitly disavowed. Contemporary questionnaire studies of the psychological correlates of conspiratorial attitudes may be relevant, but largely fail to capture the fundamentally social nature of these discursive products.⁷⁸ Only an analysis of the associations, collaborations, meetings, publications, and funding can explicate the communal production and preservation of these “alternative” versions of past and present, particularly those constructed by academics and wealthy, well-educated elites.⁷⁹ The antisemitic activists of the 1970s, as well as contemporary neo-Nazis and white supremacists, looked ever backward for inspiration in the work of Grant and Stoddard and the products of Nazi propaganda. Participants in the IAAEE,

77. Leonard B. Glick, “Two Types Distinct from our Own: Franz Boas on Jewish Identity and Assimilation,” *American Anthropologist* 84, no. 3 (1982): 545–65; Sharon Lindenburger, “‘Ich Bin Jüdischer Abstammung’ (I am of Jewish Lineage): The Conflicted Jewish Identity of the Anthropologist Franz Boas,” in *Disruptive Voices and the Singularity of Histories*, *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 13, ed. Regna Darnell and Frederic W. Gleach (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), 51–76.

78. For a review of conspiracy research, see, Karen M. Douglas et al., “Understanding Conspiracy Theories,” *Advances in Political Psychology*, Vol. 40, Suppl. 1 (2019): 3–35.

79. On “top-down” antisemitism, see Ribuffo, “Henry Ford and *The International Jew*.”

Carto's Liberty Lobby, or the Northern League were bound together by their shared reading and promotion of foundational texts that created both a sense of intellectual community and historical tradition. A 2013 reprint of Madison Grant's 1933 *Conquest of a Continent* contained a new foreword by white nationalist and Charlottesville rally organizer Richard Spencer. The "classic" works of Oliver, Putnam, and Robertson continue to inspire contemporary racist and antisemitic projects, sometimes with lethal outcomes.

"Conspiracy *theory*" does not capture what is clearly a grand vision of human history, evolution, genetics, culture, morality, politics, and more. *Weltanschauung* is the concept most apt, although the varied discourses emphasizing Illuminati or bankers or the NAACP or UNESCO suggest that we should speak of *Weltanschauungen*.⁸⁰ These diverse world views share the qualities of Saul Friedländer's "redemptive anti-Semitism," in that salvation required a new racial awakening and a clear vision of the relentless enemy.⁸¹ I do not mean to imply an "eternalist" position on modern antisemitism as an unchanging hatred from Richard Wagner to William Pierce.⁸² The Holocaust and its denial required a profound shift in the moral calculus. For the Nordics who were "awakened," the Jews who claimed they were the targets of genocide were actually the perpetrators of genocide and were therefore even more dangerous than previously suspected. As right-wing journalist Westbrook Pegler put it in 1956: "They control radio—Sarnoff and Paley both hebes. They control the big advertising agencies. They run the amusement business. They run banquets and command Ike and Earl Warren to attend and they do."⁸³ Such great Jewish power demanded dramatic action from those who had learned the secrets of the Jewish conspiracy and hoped to defeat the Jewish plan for replacement.

80. On the concept of *Weltanschauung*, see, Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's World View: A Blueprint for Power* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

81. Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, Vol. I: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1999* (New York, Harper Collins, 1997).

82. On defining antisemitism, see Jonathan Judaken, "AHR Roundtable: Rethinking Anti-Semitism: Introduction," *American Historical Review* 123, no. 4 (2018): 1122-1138.

83. Westbrook Pegler to Pedro del Valle, March 11, 1956, box 42, Westbrook Pegler Papers, Hoover Presidential Library.